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## The Atharvaveda and its Paippalādaśākhā

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## Prefatory Remarks

Arlo Griffiths

While no thematic volumes of papers exist, to my knowledge, on the traditions of the other three Vedas, the traditions of the Atharvaveda do seem to be a favored topic. A volume of *Historical and Critical Studies in the Atharvaveda* was published in 1981 by Suryakant BALI (Delhi: Nag Publishers), presenting papers from a seminar that took place at Delhi University in 1980. More recently, Abhijit GHOSH has brought out *Ātharvaṇā, a collection of essays on the Atharvaveda with special reference to its Paippalāda tradition* (Kolkata: Sanskrit Book Depot, 2002), mainly comprising papers presented at a seminar that took place at Jadavpur University in 2001. Another volume, in commemoration of the Oriya Sanskritist K.C. Acharya, was published by Acharya's pupil Prafulla K. MISHRA in 2003: *New Dimensions in the Atharvaveda* (Delhi: Pratibha Prakashan).

The clear difference between those volumes and the present one lies in the direct connection with primary material, in manuscript form, that is maintained in almost all papers collected here: that primary material, which is quite rich, has to a large extent not been made known yet or studied at all. Several of the most pertinent questions concerning the history of the Atharvavedic, and specifically the Paippalāda tradition, moreover, remain unsolved even after publication of three volumes dedicated to this field of study. Bringing out yet another thematic volume dealing with the Atharvaveda and its Paippalāda-Śākhā, one that focuses specifically on the unpublished material and on the historical problems surrounding the Paippalāda tradition, does not, therefore, seem to require any further justification.

The ten papers collected here can be divided into five categories. The contribution by PHILIPP KUBISCH presents the results of his study of the particularities of **Atharvavedic Meter** on the basis of kāṇḍas 1–7 of the 'vulgate' *Śaunakasaṃhitā*. In the context of this volume, however, his contribution also intends to lay the basis for a sophisticated treatment of the metrical patterns found in and metrical problems posed by the *Paippalādasamhitā*, that is still in the process of being edited. A reviewer of Dipak BHATTACHARYA's 1997 *editio princeps* of *Paippalādasamhitā* kāṇḍas 1–15 justly observed about that edition: "no attention seems to have been paid to prosody".<sup>1</sup> Developing an adequate terminological apparatus for the analysis of the metrical irregularities of Atharvavedic meter is a desideratum felt by all those involved in editing the *Paippalādasamhitā*, several of whom are contributors to this volume. At first sight, the apparatus developed by Kubisch in his contribution seems both remarkably thorough and

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<sup>1</sup>J.C. WRIGHT, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 65 (2002), 194–196, p. 194.

complex. Kubisch is at this time preparing an edition of kāṇḍa 20, which will allow him to test in practice the utility of his analytic apparatus, and we look forward eagerly to the results.

The next four contributions concern **Material from the Paippalādasamhitā**. ALEXANDER LUBOTSKY presents a new edition with translation of the hymn 8.15, whose contents have certain implications for the relative chronology of the *Ṛgvedasamhitā* and (this part of) the *Paippalādasamhitā*. The paper illustrates the extent to which improvements can be made upon the *editio princeps*, and exemplifies the interesting information that can be culled from all parts of this text, which is still half-unpublished. WERNER KNOBL's wide-ranging paper arrives at a convincing explanation for the two hitherto unknown words *jatraya-* and *abhīl-*, the first of which had to be resurrected from the corrupt manuscript-readings in a passage which had been previously edited, while the latter is found in kāṇḍa 20, in a passage edited here for the first time with collation of Orissa manuscripts. YASUHIRO TSUCHIYAMA starts from the hymn 10.4, and tries to show the interest of the material contained in kāṇḍa 10 for the history of royalty in Indian social history. TIMOTHY LUBIN's contribution is a bridge to the next group of contributions, in that it shows the value of the *Nīlarudropaniṣad*, a text composed entirely out of verses culled from the *Paippalādasamhitā*, for the *textus constitutio* of the latter, but also uses this 'Upaniṣad' as a starting point for important observations on the medieval history of Atharvavedic transmission in western India, and from there to the East.

There are two contributions that deal specifically with the only surviving stronghold of Paippalāda tradition, **The Atharvavedic Tradition of Orissa**. Both papers deal with different genres of the literary heritage of this tradition. In my own contribution, I build up a survey of the Atharvavedic ancillary literature preserved in Orissa around another 'Upaniṣadic' work, called *Caranavyūhopaniṣad*. ALEXIS SANDERSON demonstrates the interest of one of the extant ancillary genres, that of tantric texts attributed to the *Āṅgirasakalpa*, which have considerable implications for the evaluation of the medieval role of Atharvavedic priests in the broader religious landscape of Orissa.

The next pair of papers deal with **The Atharvavedic Tradition of Kashmir**, a tradition that seems to have left no physical traces except for the famous Tübingen birchbark manuscript of the *Paippalādasamhitā* in Śāradā script. WALTER SLAJE's paper discusses the historical events leading up to the copying of this manuscript, or its exemplar, in the year 1419 AD, and provides the background that can explain the need for a re-import of the text into Kashmir from 'Karnataka' in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, the extraordinarily corrupt nature of the sole Kashmirian witness, and the fact that the corrupt nature of the text as contained in it could never be improved upon from oral tradition — because such a tradition, if it had been alive until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, could not have survived the politico-religious turmoil of the time described in this contribution. That there must have been an earlier tradition of the Paippalāda Atharvaveda

in Kashmir, and one that knew more genres than the Saṃhitā which is the sole genre that the Kashmir tradition has transmitted to modern times, is proven by KEI KATAOKA's contribution on the Kashmirian philosopher Bhaṭṭa Jayanta, generally known as Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. With these two papers, all of the currently known historical sources pertaining to the Paippalāda tradition in Kashmir are covered.<sup>2</sup>

The final contribution deals with **Epigraphical Evidence** concerning Atharvavedic traditions in medieval India. ANNETTE SCHMIEDCHEN is able to add some new entries to the previously known epigraphical record relative to Atharvavedic brahmins. She provides a valuable contextualization, against the background of what is known from (copper-plate) epigraphy about medieval land donation practices, of the relevant inscriptions, and the information they contain on settlement and migration of Atharvavedic brahmins. The resulting picture points out early medieval Gujarat, and later medieval North Bengal and Orissa, as centers of Atharvavedic learning, and is of considerable relevance to the debate concerning the transmissional history of the *Paippalādasamhitā*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Durgamohan BHATTACHARYYA's 1955 paper "Lights on the Paippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda" (*Our Heritage* III.1, 1–14), contains a reconstruction of the text called *Atharvavidhāna* preserved in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (II.127) and the *Agnipurāṇa* (262), with reference to many parallels in Atharvavedic primary and ancillary texts. If it can be shown that the AgP copied this from the VDhP, and that the latter text presents the 'original' composition, this *Atharvavidhāna* could — since the origins of the VDhP lie "in Kashmir or a neighbouring region" (Alexis SANDERSON in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 47 [2004], 229–300, particularly p. 275) — turn out to constitute a third piece of information about the nature and extent of AV tradition in medieval Kashmir.

<sup>3</sup>Southern India, and specifically the region now known as Karnataka, notwithstanding claims to the contrary (see D. BHATTACHARYYA's Introduction to his edition of *Paippalādasamhitā* 1–15 [1997], pp. xxxviii f. and xlix, with further references), is not likely to have played any role of importance in this transmission. There are only two epigraphical mentions of Atharvavedic brahmins falling in the modern borders of Karnataka and early enough to precede the attested arrival of Paippalādins in Eastern India, but none of the scant South Indian epigraphical evidence is explicitly connected with the Paippalāda-Śākhā. I take this opportunity to rescind my own statement in a paper published in 2002 (referred to and justly criticised in n. 8 of Walter Slaje's contribution to this volume). In that 2002 paper, I suggested that 'Karnata(ka)', in Pseudo-Jonarāja's account of a medieval re-import of the Atharvaveda into Kashmir from *Karṇāṭa*, might have denoted Orissa. This, I admit, is not likely. However, I still prefer to keep open the possibility that this reference to 'Karnata(ka)' was the result of some geographical misconception, because it cannot be made to fit with the other evidence at our disposal.

As to subalpine regions southeast of Kashmir, Dipak BHATTACHARYYA's article "Atharvaveda – Notes on History and Text-History", pp. 9–29 in Lars GÖHLER (ed.), *Indische Kultur im Kontext* [...]. *Festschrift für Klaus Mylius* (Wiesbaden 2005), reports (p. 25) on his attempts to uncover more evidence from the Kulu valley in Himachal Pradesh than the one copper-plate grant that is item no. 11 in Schmiedchen's contribution. He further points to evidence for employment in the 17<sup>th</sup> century of Paippalāda Atharvavedic priests in, and a settlement of such priests near Almora, the royal seat of a ruler Baj Bahadur Chandra, in present Uttaranchal. In this context, BHATTACHARYYA (pp. 26f.) refers to the employment of Paippalāda mantras in the *Rājadharmakaustubha* of Anantadeva, composed under the patronage of Baj Bahadur Chandra. Since this text was apparently composed in Benares, however, its evidence may be of more di-

This volume contains eight papers that were presented during a panel at the 29. *Deutscher Orientalistentag* in Halle, in 2004. Also on behalf of my co-editor, who has been kind enough to allow me to write these prefatory remarks, I would like to thank Kei Kataoka and Alexis Sanderson for their willingness to contribute important papers even though they had not formed part of the panel. We thank also Walter Slaje for accepting this volume in the series for which he is responsible, as well as Jürgen Hanneder and Kengo Harimoto for their help in taming the L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X software that has been used for typesetting this book. We gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness to the board of the Glaserapp-Stiftung for a generous subvention towards the costs of printing this volume.

Leiden, April 2007

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rect relevance to the question of Paippalāda presence in that center of learning. Despite the enormous chronological gap, there may even be a connection with the evidence constituted by items 14 and 19 in Schmiedchen's contribution.





# The Metrical and Prosodical Structures of Books I–VII of the Vulgate Atharvavedasaṃhitā

Philipp Kubisch

## Purpose

Whereas the stanza and verse types of the Ṛgveda (ṚV) have been described in detail for the first time by Hermann OLDENBERG in the first volume (all published) of his *Die Hymnen des Ṛigveda* (1888: 1–190) and even more comprehensively by Edward Vernon ARNOLD in his monograph *Vedic Metre in its Historical Development* (1905) and since then numerous scholars have corrected and deepened their results, up to now only little attention has been paid to the metre of the two Atharvavedasaṃhitās (Śaunakīyasaṃhitā [ŚS] and Paippalādasamhitā [PS]), after the ṚV the oldest vedic collections of sūktas.

Two pages were dedicated to this subject by Maurice BLOOMFIELD in his treatise on the Atharvaveda from 1899. Having mentioned the often arising difficulty of distinguishing between poetry and prose and furthermore “the greater freedom and irregularity of all types”<sup>1</sup> he stated:

Atharvan metres are so generally capable of improvement that we are in danger of singing our own rather than Atharvan hymns, when we apply ourselves to the task of improving them.<sup>2</sup>

In the introduction to his annotated ŚS-translation, William Dwight WHITNEY added to BLOOMFIELD’s remarks the observation that the Anuṣṭubh is the predominant stanza in the Atharvaveda.<sup>3</sup> Concerning the quality of Atharvan metres he suspected — just like BLOOMFIELD — that “the irregular verses outnumber the regular.”<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately none of these claims has been founded on precise computations of the available data, neither by WHITNEY nor by anybody else during the last century.

To contribute to filling this gap I attempted in my Viennese *Diplomarbeit* to document statistically which types of stanzas and verses occur in ŚS I–VII and to investigate how much of the material is regular and which types of irregularities are to be found.<sup>5</sup> The limitation to the vulgate’s core kāṇḍas<sup>6</sup> was necessary due to constraints of time, but as e.g. regarding Atharvan stanzas a shift

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<sup>1</sup>BLOOMFIELD 1899: 41.

<sup>2</sup>BLOOMFIELD 1899: 42.

<sup>3</sup>WHITNEY I: cxxvi.

<sup>4</sup>WHITNEY I: cxxvii.

<sup>5</sup>The study was prepared under the supervision of Prof. Chlodwig Werba to whom I want to express my deep gratitude for his professional guidance. It is hoped the entire study can be published separately in the near future.

<sup>6</sup>LANMAN I: cxlii.

of relative frequencies in comparison to the ṚV is certainly a common feature of both recensions, I am optimistic that the presented statistics will cast some light on Atharvan metre in general and may also be useful to the contemporary PS-editors. In this paper I will discuss the method employed to examine this selection of Vedic textual material with regard to metre and summarize the results.

## Database

Using the edition of ROTH–WHITNEY (1924) as a starting-point, I prepared a database including the complete text of the first seven kāṇḍas.<sup>7</sup> Besides that, metrical analyses have been prepared of all poetic material, in the form of schemata including prosodical symbols for all syllables; pāda-designations have been assigned to all pādas<sup>8</sup> and each stanza has been categorized. Upon these pāda-designations and stanza-categorizations I have founded pāda- and stanza-statistics for each kāṇḍa.

## Pāda-analyses: general

The pāda-designation contains symbolically encoded information about the number of syllables, the prosodical structure of the verse and phenomena such as restoration or omission of syllables. Since occurrence of such last-mentioned phenomena does not play a role in the pāda-statistics which is just aimed at showing which verse types occur and to what degree these verses are regular or not, symbols used to denote such phenomena will not be dealt with in the following. Instead, I will confine myself to the explanation of symbols designating verse types and their structure.

But first some general remarks concerning my analyses must be made: principally, I have analyzed the text of ŚS without taking notice of better readings of parallel texts. That is, in case of catalectic or hypersyllabic verses I have attempted to give the text a regular form by restoration or omission of syllables, even if a parallel version from the ṚV or PS has another metrically unproblematic reading. E.g., with regard to pāda 2.1.4d (*dhāsyúr eṣá nanv eṣó agníḥ*), I have suggested that the true reading is *dhās;yúr eṣá nan<sub>u</sub>v eṣó agníḥ*, although PS 2.6.4d shows another way of obtaining the correct syllable-number (*dhāsyur n<sub>u</sub>v eṣa nan<sub>u</sub>v eṣo agníḥ*).<sup>9</sup> If such restoration or omission of a syllable is not possible,

<sup>7</sup>Syllables to be restored or omitted have been marked in sub- and superscript (e.g. *t<sub>u</sub>vam* and *pr<sub>ṭh</sub>i<sup>i</sup>vī*).

<sup>8</sup>In this paper the terms “verse”/ “pāda” and “stanza”/ “mantra” respectively are used with the same meaning.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. ZEHNDER 1999: 36.

I have assessed the pāda as irregular: e.g., concerning pāda 4.5.5a (*yá áste yás cáрати*) the reading of RV 7.55.6a makes clear that after *yás* a *ca* has to be inserted, but I judged that the pāda is heptasyllabic.

In case of metrical ambiguity up to three possible interpretations have been recorded. The interpretation which seemed most likely to me has been given first and in the statistics only this first interpretation is included. It has to be admitted, however, that the determination which interpretation is most probable is often difficult and subjective. E.g., pāda 2.27.2a is transmitted in the form: *suparṇás tvānvavindat*. The following readings are possible:

*suparṇás tvā́nvavindat;*  
*suparṇás tvā́n<sub>u</sub>vavindat;*  
*suparṇás t<sub>u</sub>vā́nvavindat.*

Because of the fact that *tvā* in pāda b (*sūkarás tvā́khanan nasā́*) is pronounced monosyllabically it seems probable that it is monosyllabic in pāda a also. But it is difficult to decide which of both other possible readings is the best. I have preferred the first one because it produces trochaic rhythm in the second half.<sup>10</sup> In the following, the problem of ambiguity will be discussed repeatedly and I will try to explain some of my conventions.

## Verse types

The following verse types are to be found: pentad verse, dimeter verse and trimeter verse. I will now discuss my ideas about their prosodical structures, which irregularities I have decided to mark, and how this has been done.

### Pentad verse

The pentad is the shortest verse in the Veda. In ŚS I–VII not infrequently two of them (“Pentadenreihe”<sup>11</sup>) take the place of one pāda of a Trimeter-stanza and sometimes also sole pentads occur in combination with other verses.

In the predominant form of the pentad the third syllable is short and the second and fourth are long, but besides that also length of the third and shortness of the second and (rarely) the fourth are found.<sup>12</sup> In my work pentads which show in their middle a rhythmic alternation of short and long syllables have been marked with the symbol “V”, but those which have three short or long syllables in this place, with “#V”, e.g. 4.2.5b<sup>1</sup> *samudré yásya* (#V) and 4.2.5b<sup>2</sup> *rasām íd āhúḥ* (V).

<sup>10</sup>ZEHNDER 1999: 55 (*ad* PS 2.16.2a) reads *tvā́n<sub>u</sub>vavindat*.

<sup>11</sup>OLDENBERG 1906: 750 (= I/225).

<sup>12</sup>OLDENBERG 1888: 95.

Only in sūкта 2.5 extended pentads were discovered. They have been characterized with “°V”. The underlying pādas are found in PS 2.7 (ZEHNDER 1999: 37–39).

Principally, it is often difficult to distinguish the “Pentadenreihe” from a Triṣṭubh-pāda. E.g., the deficiency of pāda 5.1.7c *utá vā śakró rátnam dadhāti* might be removed by pronouncing *rátnam* trisyllabic (*rát<sub>a</sub>nam*), but since this reading has no parallels in the ṚV or ŚS, the interpretation as “Pentadenreihe” might be preferred.<sup>13</sup> If both interpretations seemed possible to me I have listed them both, but in trimeter-context usually the Triṣṭubh-interpretation as the first one, which is included in the statistics.

### Dimeter verse

The octosyllabic dimeter is without doubt the most common verse type in the Atharvavedasaṃhitās. It is found with other dimeter-pādas in Gāyatrī-, Anuṣṭubh-, Pañkti- and Mahāpañkti-stanzas and also in combination with other verses.

Dimeter-pādas have no caesura, but they fall into two halves, the first of which is less strictly regulated than the second one.<sup>14</sup> Whereas I have treated the first half as prosodically free, I have marked the prosodical structure of the last four syllables in the following way: pādas which show regular iambic rhythm have been characterized with the symbol “A”, those which are trochaic (like those in Ṛgvedic “trochaic Gāyatrī” stanzas) with “+A” and those which have the antispast (as in uneven pādas in the classical Śloka) with “+#A”. Pādas which show any other (“irregular”) prosodical structure have been marked with “#A”.

Already OLDENBERG (1892: xiii) pointed out that in post-Ṛgvedic Anuṣṭubh-stanzas in the second half of uneven pādas neither the diiambus nor the antispast is the predominant prosodical structure, but that all possible combinations are found. For this reason it was in some cases questionable whether an uneven pāda with irregular prosodical structure should be made regular by intervention in the recorded sandhi. E.g., pāda 6.15.3a has trochaic rhythm in the second half: *yáthā sóma óśadhīnām*. But it is possible to “amend” the pāda by means of double sandhi and disyllabic pronunciation of the *ā* of the ending of the gen. pl.: *yáthā sóma óśadhīn<sub>a</sub>ām*. In such cases I have recorded both conceivable readings, but that one which stands closer to the transmitted text as the first one, which is included in the statistics. If the same phenomenon was found in an even pāda, however, I only recorded the reading with iambic cadence. Thus, uneven Anuṣṭubh-pādas were treated in a different way than even pādas.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. PS 6.2.7a. GRIFFITHS (forthc.) analyzes the verse as Triṣṭubh-pāda lacking one syllable and rejects trisyllabic *rat<sub>a</sub>nam*. Note, however, that assumption of such pronunciation would seem to be supported by developments in middle Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Pāli *ratana*.

<sup>14</sup>OLDENBERG 1888: 8; cf. ARNOLD 1905: 10 and KORN 1998: 11.

Dimeter-pādas consisting of seven syllables have been marked with the symbol “A7”. According to ARNOLD (1905: 161) most of these pādas lack the last syllable, that is the first four syllables are followed by three syllables with the structure  $\cup - \cup$ <sup>15</sup> (“catalectic” dimeter verse). He called other verses of seven syllables “heptasyllabic verses”. Brent VINE (1977: 247) attempted to prove that these pādas are “acephalic”, that is that a trisyllabic opening is followed by a regular dimeter cadence:  $\cup - \cup \cup$ . But principally, it is often doubtful if the syllable-number of such catalectic or acephalic pādas is to be corrected by restoration of a syllable. Such questionable restorations involve the disyllabic reading of long vowels<sup>16</sup> and syllabic scansion of semi-vowels after light syllable. The following cases may be suitable to exemplify this problem.

1.26.1b: *hetír devāso asat* is neither catalectic in ARNOLD’s sense nor acephalic in VINE’s. Instead, the syllabic deficiency might be removed by the reading *dev<sub>a</sub>āso* (producing iambic rhythm in the second dimeter with antevocalic -o being scanned as long<sup>17</sup>), but such scansion is not demonstrable elsewhere in ŚS or in RV.<sup>18</sup>

6.135.1b: *itthāṃ vājram ādade* is either acephalic or may be amended by the trisyllabic reading *vāj<sub>a</sub>ram*. For this reading several instances are found in ŚS I–VII, but always in trimeter-breaks.<sup>19</sup>

Principally, in such cases both possible interpretations have been recorded, but the irregular/catalectic reading has been given first and included in the statistics. Accordingly, the statistical result of 121 “A7-”verses is the maximum number of pādas which may be interpreted as consisting of seven syllables.

<sup>15</sup>The meaning of the symbols is as follows:  $\cup$  = short syllable;  $-$  = long syllable;  $\cup$  = *syllaba anceps*.

<sup>16</sup>Except for disyllabic pronunciation of the gen. pl. in *-ām*, an entirely unproblematic restoration (cf. OLDENBERG 1888: 163–171). Affected are among other things mostly the nom. pl. in *-ās* and the abl. sg. in *-āt*. Already OLDENBERG (1888: 183) noted: “Bedenklich wird der Sprachforschung das Zulassen der Vocalgruppe *aa* erscheinen.” But later on he stated: “Uebrigens darf es zur Beschwichtigung aller Bedenken ausgesprochen werden, dass eine volle Erklärung aller der in Rede stehenden Formen als sprachlicher Erscheinungen vielleicht überhaupt gar nicht das wäre, was hier geleistet werden müsste. Denn man wird zu berücksichtigen haben, dass die hieratisch-künstliche Vortragsweise der vedischen Texte, die schon für die Zeit ihrer Abfassung mit Wahrscheinlichkeit angenommen werden darf, den Erscheinungen, wie die Sprache sie darbot, eine willkürliche Steigerung und Ausdehnung aufgedrängt haben kann, welche auf die Rechnung der altindischen Sprache zu setzen verfehlt sein würde” (1888: 184).

<sup>17</sup>Such unexpectedly long scansion of a diphthong in front of a vowel is beyond doubt in the cadences of the following trimeter-pādas: 4.8.3a; 4.27.1b; 5.1.1c; 5.1.3b; 5.1.4b; 5.2.9a; 7.82.3d. But in the case of the uneven dimeter-pādas 1.29.5a; 6.21.1c and 6.100.1a, the prosodical value of the diphthong is unclear.

<sup>18</sup>Except maybe for RV 5.41.17b, cf. OLDENBERG 1909: 338.

<sup>19</sup>2.14.4d and 5.29.10c. Maybe also 4.24.6c. These instances can be added to the list given by WHITNEY (1881: 5). Outside of the core *kāṇḍas vājra-* might be trisyllabic at the beginning of dimeter-pādas only in ŚS 11.10.12d (= 13b) and 3e (= 27d), but like 6.135.1b these pādas could also be interpreted as acephalic.

Whereas hypersyllabic dimeter-pādas are rare in the ṚV,<sup>20</sup> 70 such pādas were found in ŚS I–VII. In many cases they might be improved by omission of glosses or interpolations. E.g., stanza 2.29.5 (= PS 1.13.2ab) is transmitted as follows:

*úrjam asmā ūrjasvatī dhattam, páyo asmai payasvatī dhattam |*  
*úrjam asmái dyāvāprthiví adhātām, víśve devā marúta úrjam āpah ||*

Whereas pādas c and d are regular Triṣṭubh-pādas (in c read *prthivī*), both pādas of the first half can hardly be analyzed likewise. Instead, because it seems strange that in the first half of the stanza *asmai* is twice unaccented, but then in pāda c bears the udātta, it might seem probable that the first half is based upon two original dimeter-pādas: *úrjam ūrjasvatī dhattam, páyo payasvatī dhattam* (twice “+ #A”).<sup>21</sup> Such extended pādas have been characterized with the symbol “°A”.

### Trimeter verse

Both subtypes of Vedic trimeter verse (Triṣṭubh- and Jagatī-pādas) are structured equally. For this reason it will suffice to explain my ideas about their prosody in detail only by means of the Triṣṭubh-pāda. In the paragraphs on the Jagatī- and the Triṣṭubh-Jagatī-pāda I will restrict myself to demonstrating the differences.

#### *Triṣṭubh-pādas*

Triṣṭubh-pādas usually occur in Triṣṭubh-stanzas which consist of four such pādas, but they are also found in groups of two, three, five or six. Besides that, in the Atharvavedasamhitās they are frequently combined with dimeter- or Jagatī-pādas.

Triṣṭubh-pādas consist of three parts: opening, break and cadence. In most cases they have a caesura, which is either after the fourth or the fifth syllable (“early” and “late” caesura) and marks the end of the opening. This caesura was treated in the same way as the end of a pāda. If the caesura is found after the fourth syllable the break consists of three syllables, otherwise it is disyllabic.<sup>22</sup> The cadence includes four syllables. In the database Triṣṭubh-pādas with early caesura were characterized with the symbol “Ta”, those with late caesura with “Tb”.

Only in very few cases it is not possible to determine the position of the caesura. E.g., pāda 5.18.5c: *sám tásyéndro hṛdaye gním indhe* can be interpreted either as “Ta” by cancelling the Abhinihitasandhi between break and cadence or

<sup>20</sup>ARNOLD 1905: 161.

<sup>21</sup>This explanation of these two verses has been kindly proposed to me by Arlo Griffiths.

<sup>22</sup>Cf. e.g. KORN 1998: 14.

as “Tb” by cancelling the Praśliṣṭasandhi in the opening. In the database both possibilities have been recorded. My choice for “Tb” is entirely arbitrary.

In some Triṣṭubh-pādas there is a “weak” caesura in the place of a seam of a compound<sup>23</sup> or of a morpheme boundary.<sup>24</sup> Such pādas have been marked with the symbols “Tca” or “Tcb”, depending on whether the “weak caesura” is found after the fourth or the fifth syllable. Only few Triṣṭubh-pādas entirely lack the caesura (symbol “Tc”).<sup>25</sup>

In the opening an iambic rhythm is usually given,<sup>26</sup> that is in case of early caesura length of the second syllable and in case of late caesura length of the second and fourth syllable are to be expected. Pādas which do not comply with this expectation were marked with the symbol “+” in front of the “T”.

In case of early caesura the break prefers the anapaest (UU–) or creticus (–U–).<sup>27</sup> Triṣṭubh-pādas which have another prosodical structure in the break have been characterized with the symbol “+#” (e.g. “+#Ta”). Irregular structure of opening and break has been marked with the symbol “+(#)”. The cadence is the most rigidly regulated element of a Triṣṭubh-pāda: here trochaic rhythm is to be expected (–U–U). Pādas which do not follow this regular pattern have been characterized with the symbol “#”, those with irregularities in opening and cadence with “(+)#” and those which have an irregular break and a wrong cadence with “(+#)”.

In case of late caesura the cadence is usually equally trochaic. Since for this reason the eighth syllable is normally long and besides that the seventh is regularly short, it can be stated that the caesura is — independently of its position — followed by the same prosodical pattern, preferably the anapaest, which in case of caesura after the fifth syllable reaches into the cadence.<sup>28</sup> In this way the eighth syllable is both the end of the break and the starting-point of the cadence, but nevertheless a Triṣṭubh-pāda with late caesura and short eighth syllable was marked as containing an irregular cadence, not only an irregular break.

Several variants of the discussed hendecasyllabic types are found: catalectic pādas in which an opening of four syllables is combined with a disyllabic break (Virāṣṭhānā-verse, symbol “T1”) and dodecasyllabic pādas containing a pentasyllabic opening and a trisyllabic break (symbol “T2”).<sup>29</sup> Pādas with a trisyllabic

<sup>23</sup>In most cases of a *devatādvandva* (2.1.4a; 2.10.1d; 2.29.4c; 4.6.2a; 4.22.4a; 4.30.1c; 4.30.5d; 5.12.9a; 6.58.1b; 6.58.2a; 7.82.4d; 7.82.5d). From the fact that dual-dvandvas with both members inflected and accented preferably appear in this position — both members being separated by the caesura — INSLER (1998) inferred that both elements are not univerted. Instances for other compounds in this position are 3.28.6b and 6.47.1a.

<sup>24</sup>E.g., 4.16.2c: *d<sub>i</sub>vāu samniṣādyā yān mantrāyete*.

<sup>25</sup>E.g., 4.21.7d; 5.20.11d; 6.84.1a and 7.109.2a.

<sup>26</sup>ARNOLD 1905: 12; OLDENBERG 1916: 492 and 500 (= II/1218 and 1226).

<sup>27</sup>ARNOLD 1905: 12; OLDENBERG 1916: 494 (= II/1220).

<sup>28</sup>OLDENBERG 1888: 56.

<sup>29</sup>On these variants cf. OLDENBERG 1888: 67–71.

opening which is followed either by a di- or trisyllabic break<sup>30</sup> are characterized with the symbol “T3”. Catalectic pādas without caesura — or with “weak” caesura — were marked with the symbol “T1c”, dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh-pādas which lack a caesura — or have a “weak” caesura — with “T2c”.

Principally, as in the case of irregular dimeter pādas, it is often questionable if such pādas are to be regularized by an uncertain restoration or omission of a syllable. E.g., regarding pāda 2.28.3b (*yé jātá utá vā yé jānitvāḥ* [“T3”]) the syllable-number could be corrected by reading *jāt<sub>a</sub>āḥ*. Such pādas have been treated like catalectic dimeter-pādas, that is in the database the irregular reading has been recorded first and in the statistics only this irregular reading has been included.

Like extended dimeter verses, many extended Triṣṭubh-pādas might be amended by omission of a superfluous word. E.g., pāda 6.63.1c seems to contain two breaks: *tát te ví ṣyām<sub>i</sub>y áyuṣe vārcase bálāya*. Here omission either of *áyuṣe* or of *vārcase* would yield a regular Triṣṭubh-pāda with late caesura. Or with regard to pādas 4.26.7d: *stáumi dyāvāprthiví nāthitó johavīmi*, 4.28.7c: *stáumi bhavāśarváu nāthitó johavīmi* and 4.29.7c: *stáumi mitrávārunau nāthitó johavīmi*, it might be considered to replace the dual-dvandvas by the elliptic duals *dyāvā*, *bhaváu* and *mitráu*. In all mentioned cases it might also be possible to assume condensed ūha-pādas, as LANMAN (1903: 301–302) found in ŚS 8.8.2cd: “the words of the saṁhitā appear plainly to be ... the condensed form of two half-verses which vary by only a single word and are condensed by the non-repetition of all that is common to both.” Be that as it may, such pādas have been marked with the extension-symbol “°” in front of the “T”.<sup>31</sup>

It was noted above that some pādas can be interpreted either as “Pentadenreihe” or as Triṣṭubh-pāda. Besides that, some cases are found which can be scanned either as two dimeter-pādas or as extended Triṣṭubh-pāda. E.g., pādas 5.7.7cd: *véda tvāhám<sub>i</sub> nimívantīm, nitudántīm arāte*, following two dimeter-pādas, also seem to be two dimeters,<sup>32</sup> the first octosyllabic and ending in an antispast and the second catalectic. But as *nimívantīm* and *nitudántīm* are very similar in meaning it is also conceivable to interpret one of these two words as a gloss and to assume an original Triṣṭubh-pāda with early caesura: *véda tvāhám<sub>i</sub> nitudántīm/nimívantīm arāte*.<sup>33</sup> Comparably pādas 6.140.1cd: *táu dántau brahmaṇas pate, śiváu kṛṇu jātavedaḥ* can be scanned as two octosyllabic dimeters. But firstly *jātavedaḥ* is a typical word of a Triṣṭubh-cadence, and secondly the fact that two vocatives stand so near to each other makes it imaginable that *brahmaṇas pate* is a secondary interpolation and that the text is based upon an original Triṣṭubh-

<sup>30</sup>E.g., 2.10.2b: *śáñ śomah<sub>a</sub> sah<sub>a</sub> áuśadhībhiḥ* with disyllabic break in contrast to 5.3.11b with trisyllabic break: *yó gojíd dhanajíd aśvajíd yāḥ*.

<sup>31</sup>Another example of an extended Triṣṭubh-pāda would be PS 5.15.2b, whose interpretation as “13” (= “J2”) by LUBOTSKY has been rightly criticized by ZEHNDER (2004: 58f.).

<sup>32</sup>Cf. GRIFFITHS forthc. ad PS 7.9.7cd.

<sup>33</sup>This interpretation has been suggested to me by Prof. Chlodwig Werba; *nitudántīm* would produce a better break than *nimívantīm*.

pāda with late caesura: *tāu dāntau śivāu kṛṇu jātavedaḥ*.<sup>34</sup> However, in both cases I have given the dimeter-interpretation as the first one, simply because it is more obvious.

### *Jagatī-pādas*

Jagatī-pādas are found in Jagatī-stanzas and furthermore in combination with dimeter- and Triṣṭubh-pādas. They differ from Triṣṭubh-pādas in so far as the cadence includes five syllables: –U–UU.<sup>35</sup> Their structure is marked in the same way as that of Triṣṭubh-pādas (“Ja”, “Jb” etc.) and the same syllabic irregularities are found as discussed above. Not infrequently catalectic Jagatī-pādas are found in a Triṣṭubh-context and hypersyllabic Triṣṭubh-pādas in a Jagatī-context.<sup>36</sup>

In some cases it is difficult to determine whether a pāda is Triṣṭubh or Jagatī. E.g., pāda 3.3.1a: *ácikradat s<sub>u</sub>vapā ihá bhuvat* is transmitted side by side with two Triṣṭubh-pādas (b and d) and one Jagatī-pāda (c). Being scanned as Triṣṭubh-pāda the cadence would be irregular in so far as the eighth and tenth syllable are short. Being scanned as (catalectic) Jagatī-pāda with caesura after the fourth syllable and disyllabic break the offending syllable in the cadence would be the ninth. This irregularity might be removed by means of lengthening of the *-á* (*ihā*). In this case both possible analyses have been recorded, the interpretation as Triṣṭubh-pāda as the first one because of the correctness of the syllable-number.

Another comparable difficulty occurs in the case of pādas 3.21.1ab: *yé agnáyo aps<sub>u</sub>v àntár yé vr̥tré yé púruṣe yé ásmasu*. Here the problem is the determination of the pāda-boundary. WHITNEY (I: 124) suggested to analyze the text as 11+8 rather than 8+11. In this case the Triṣṭubh-pāda in the beginning (*yé agnáyo aps<sub>u</sub>v àntár yé vr̥tré*) would include an irregular cadence which might be corrected by means of scanning *yé* (before a consonant) as short. In the other case “11” would not denote a Triṣṭubh-pāda, but a catalectic Jagatī-pāda (“J1”) and *yé* in front of a vowel being scanned as short. I have listed both interpretations but I preferred the second one since I do not know a certain parallel for short scansion of a diphthong before a consonant.

### *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī-pādas*

Some Triṣṭubh-pādas can be scanned as Jagatī-pādas by means of restoring a syllable in the last place but one. If the pāda is not in pure Triṣṭubh-context this

<sup>34</sup>As Arlo Griffiths informs me, a preliminary edition of the parallel passage PS 19.49.9cd (on the basis of two Orissa-mss.) would be: *tau dantau brahmaṇā brahmaṇas pate, śivau kṛṇu tvam iha jātavedaḥ* (“J3” and “Tb”; cf. BARRET 1940: 78: *tau dantau vrahmaṇas pate, mā hīnsiṣṭam pitaram mātaram ca*).

<sup>35</sup>Cf. e.g. OLDENBERG 1888: 42.

<sup>36</sup>LUBOTSKY 2002: 12.

possibility has been recorded by the definition of the pāda as “T/J”. E.g., in case of pāda 2.35.4a: *ghorā ṛṣayo nāmo ast<sub>u</sub>v ebhyaḥ*, it is conceivable to scan *ebhyaḥ* as trisyllabic, because of the fact that in the same stanza side by side with two Triṣṭubh-pādas (b and d) one Jagatī-pāda (c) is found.

## Overview of symbols

For the sake of clarity the symbols explained in the last paragraphs shall now be listed:

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| A   | Anuṣṭubh-pāda/octosyllabic dimeter verse   |
| A7  | heptasyllabic Anuṣṭubh-pāda/dimeter verse  |
| J   | Jagatī-pāda/dodecasyllabic trimeter verse  |
| Ja  | Jagatī-pāda/dodecasyllabic trimeter verse with early caesura                                 |
| Jb  | Jagatī-pāda/dodecasyllabic trimeter verse with late caesura                                  |
| Jc  | Jagatī-pāda/dodecasyllabic trimeter verse without caesura                                    |
| Jca | Jagatī-pāda/dodecasyllabic trimeter verse with “weak” caesura after the fourth syllable      |
| Jcb | Jagatī-pāda/dodecasyllabic trimeter verse with “weak” caesura after the fifth syllable       |
| J1  | hendecasyllabic Jagatī-pāda with caesura after the fourth syllable                           |
| J1c | hendecasyllabic Jagatī-pāda without/with “weak” caesura                                      |
| J2  | tridecasyllabic Jagatī-pāda with pentasyllabic opening, trisyllabic break and Jagatī-cadence |
| J2c | tridecasyllabic Jagatī-pāda without/with “weak” caesura                                      |
| J3  | Jagatī-pāda with trisyllabic opening, di- or trisyllabic break and Jagatī-cadence            |
| T   | Triṣṭubh-pāda/hendecasyllabic trimeter verse   |
| Ta  | Triṣṭubh-pāda/hendecasyllabic trimeter verse with early caesura                              |
| Tb  | Triṣṭubh-pāda/hendecasyllabic trimeter verse with late caesura                               |
| Tc  | Triṣṭubh-pāda/hendecasyllabic trimeter verse without caesura                                 |
| Tca | Triṣṭubh-pāda/hendecasyllabic trimeter verse with “weak” caesura after the fourth syllable   |
| Tcb | Triṣṭubh-pāda/hendecasyllabic trimeter verse with “weak” caesura after the fifth syllable    |

- T1 Virāṭsthānā-verse, decasyllabic Triṣṭubh-pāda with caesura after the fourth syllable
- T1c decasyllabic Triṣṭubh-pāda without/with “weak” caesura
- T2 dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh-pāda with pentasyllabic opening, trisyllabic break and Triṣṭubh-cadence
- T2c dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh-pāda without/with “weak” caesura
- T3 Triṣṭubh-pāda with trisyllabic opening, di- or trisyllabic break and Triṣṭubh-cadence
- T/J Triṣṭubh-pāda which can be scanned as Jagatī-pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
- T/Ja Triṣṭubh-pāda with early caesura which can be scanned as Jagatī-pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
- T/Jb Triṣṭubh-pāda with late caesura which can be scanned as Jagatī-pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
- T/Jc Triṣṭubh-pāda without caesura which can be scanned as Jagatī-pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
- T/Jca Triṣṭubh-pāda with “weak” caesura after the fourth syllable which can be scanned as Jagatī-pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
- T/Jcb Triṣṭubh-pāda with “weak” caesura after the fifth syllable which can be scanned as Jagatī-pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
- T/J1 decasyllabic Triṣṭubh-pāda with caesura after the fourth syllable which can be scanned as Jagatī-pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
- T/J1c decasyllabic Triṣṭubh-pāda without/with “weak” caesura which can be scanned as Jagatī-pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
- T/J2 dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh-pāda with pentasyllabic opening, trisyllabic break and Triṣṭubh-cadence which can be scanned as tridecasyllabic Jagatī-pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
- T/J2c dodecasyllabic Triṣṭubh-pāda without/with “weak” caesura which can be scanned as tridecasyllabic Jagatī-pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
- T/J3 Triṣṭubh-pāda with trisyllabic opening, di- or trisyllabic break and Triṣṭubh-cadence which can be scanned as Jagatī-pāda (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one)
- V Virāj-pāda/Pentad

- extended pāda (gloss, interpolation, condensed ūha-pādas)
- + 1) [in front of "A":] dimeter verse which ends in trochaic rhythm
- 2) [in front of "T", "J" or "T/J":] trimeter verse which lacks iambic rhythm in the opening
- # 1) [in front of "A":] dimeter verse which ends neither in a diiambus nor in a trochee or antispast
- 2) [in front of "T", "J" or "T/J":] trimeter verse with irregular cadence
- 3) [in front of "V":] pentad verse with three short or long syllables in its middle
- +# 1) [in front of "A":] dimeter verse which ends in an antispast
- 2) [in front of "T", "J" or "T/J":] trimeter verse whose caesura is followed neither by the anapaest nor by the creticus
- (+)# trimeter verse which lacks iambic rhythm in the opening and contains an irregular cadence
- +(#) trimeter verse which lacks iambic rhythm in the opening and whose caesura is followed neither by the anapaest nor by the creticus
- (+#) trimeter verse whose caesura is followed neither by the anapaest nor by the creticus and which contains an irregular cadence

### Pāda-statistics: summary

In conclusion, the statistical result of the pāda-descriptions in the database shall now be summarized. All in all **6689 pādas** have been included in the statistics.<sup>37</sup> Namely:

**79 pentads** (= 1,18%). Of these 61 are "V" (= 77,22%), 8 are "#V" (= 10,13%) and 10 are "°V" (= 12,66%);

**3919 dimeter** (= 58,59%). Of these 2511 are "A" (= 64,07%), 120 are "+A" (= 3,06%), 335 are "+#A" (= 8,55%), 762 are "#A" (= 19,44%), 121 are "A7" (= 3,09%) and 70 are "°A" (= 1,79%);

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<sup>37</sup>Metrical pādas which are in one stanza mixed with prose and pādas from "formulaic" hymns (cf. below, p. 19f.), have been excluded from the statistics because their interpretation is often very uncertain. Besides that, some especially irregular pādas have not been included in the statistics, mainly pādas consisting of six syllables (1.11.3a; 2.29.4d; 2.32.6d; 3.21.9a; 3.23.5d; 4.15.15a; 5.13.7b; 5.29.14b; 6.16.3d; 6.16.4c; 7.70.3a) and trimeter with irregular structure in all three members (1.31.3b; 2.1.4c; 3.1.5a; 3.4.4a; 4.12.7a; 4.14.8c; 5.11.9c; 5.18.4d; 5.26.3a; 5.29.11c; 6.113.1b; 6.117.2c).

**2287 trimeter with Triṣṭubh-cadence** (= 34,19%). Of these

- 1) 1140 have early caesura (= 49,85%): 562 are "Ta" (= 24,57%), 131 are "+Ta" (= 5,73%), 269 are "+#Ta" (= 11,76%), 79 are "+(#)Ta" (= 3,45%), 18 are "#Ta" (= 0,79%), 6 are "(+)#Ta" (= 0,26%), 12 are "(+#)Ta" (= 0,52%), 42 are "T1" (= 1,84%), 14 are "+T1" (= 0,61%), 2 are "+#T1" (= 0,09%), 4 are "#T1" (= 0,17%) and 1 is "(+)#T1" (= 0,04%);
- 2) 1007 have late caesura (= 44,03%): 714 are "Tb" (= 31,22%), 172 are "+Tb" (= 7,52%), 10 are "+#Tb" (= 0,44%), 5 are "+(#)Tb" (= 0,22%), 15 are "#Tb" (= 0,66%), 7 are "(+)#Tb" (= 0,31%), 1 is "(+#)Tb" (= 0,04%), 33 are "T2" (= 1,44%), 27 are "+T2" (= 1,18%), 15 are "+#T2" (= 0,66%) and 8 are "+(#)T2" (= 0,35%);
- 3) 27 have a trisyllabic opening (= 1,18%): 19 are "T3" (= 0,83%), 7 are "+#T3" (= 0,31%) and 1 is "(+#)T3" (= 0,04%);
- 4) 43 are without/with "weak" caesura (= 1,88%): 6 are "Tc" (= 0,26%), 3 are "+Tc" (= 0,13%), 1 is "#Tc" (= 0,04%), 1 is "(+)#Tc" (= 0,04%), 1 is "(+#)Tc" (= 0,04%), 8 are "Tca" (= 0,35%), 4 are "+Tca" (= 0,17%), 1 is "+#Tca" (= 0,04%), 2 are "Tcb" (= 0,09%), 6 are "+Tcb" (= 0,26%), 1 is "+#Tcb" (= 0,04%), 1 is "(+)#Tcb" (= 0,04%), 1 is "T1c" (= 0,04%), 3 are "+T1c" (= 0,13%), 3 are "+T2c" (= 0,13%) and 1 is "+(#)T2c" (= 0,04%);
- 5) 70 are extended (= 3,06%): 7 are "°T" (= 0,31%), 19 are "°Ta" (= 0,83%), 1 is "°+Ta" (= 0,04%), 6 are "°+#Ta" (= 0,26%), 1 is "°#Ta" (= 0,04%), 34 are "°Tb" (= 1,49%), 1 is "°+Tb" (= 0,04%) and 1 is "°#Tb" (= 0,04%).

**383 trimeter with Jagatī-cadence** (= 5,73%). Of these

- 1) 164 have early caesura (= 42,82%): 86 are "Ja" (= 22,45%), 17 are "+Ja" (= 4,44%), 32 are "+#Ja" (= 8,36%), 10 are "+(#)Ja" (= 2,61%), 7 are "#Ja" (= 1,83%), 3 are "(+#)Ja" (= 0,78%), 8 are "J1" (= 2,09%) and 1 is "+J1" (= 0,26%);
- 2) 188 have late caesura (= 49,09%): 136 are "Jb" (= 35,51%), 34 are "+Jb" (= 8,88%), 3 are "+#Jb" (= 0,78%), 2 are "#Jb" (= 0,52%), 1 is "(+)#Jb" (= 0,26%), 7 are "J2" (= 1,83%), 4 are "+J2" (= 1,04%) and 1 is "+(#)J2" (= 0,26%);
- 3) 3 have a trisyllabic opening (= 0,78%): 3 are "J3";
- 4) 9 are without/with "weak" caesura (= 2,35%): 1 is "Jca" (= 0,26%), 4 are "Jcb" (= 1,04%), 3 are "+Jcb" (= 0,78%) and 1 is "J1c" (= 0,26%);
- 5) 19 are extended (= 4,96%): 1 is "°J" (= 0,26%), 5 are "°Ja" (= 1,31%), 1 is "°+#Ja" (= 0,26%), 11 are "°Jb" (= 2,87%) and 1 is "°+#Jcb" (= 0,26%).

**21 Triṣṭubh-pādas which could also be scanned as Jagatī-pādas** (by restoration of a syllable in the last place but one) (= 0,31%). Of these

- 1) 11 have early caesura (= 52,38%): 4 are “T/Ja” (= 19,05%), 1 is “+T/Ja” (= 4,76%), 1 is “+#T/Ja” (= 4,76%), 1 is “+(#)T/Ja” (= 4,76%) and 4 are “T/J1” (= 19,05%);
- 2) 9 have late caesura (= 42,86%): 6 are “T/Jb” (= 28,57%), 1 is “+T/Jb” (= 4,76%), 1 is “#T/Jb” (= 4,76%) and 1 is “+#T/J2” (= 4,76%);
- 3) 1 is extended (= 4,76%): 1 is “°T/Ja”.

### Mantra-analyses

Each of the seven kāṇḍas’ 2030 stanzas has been fitted into one of fifteen categories. A table gives an overall view of the result.<sup>38</sup>

|                 | Kāṇḍa 1 |       | Kāṇḍa 2 |       | Kāṇḍa 3 |       | Kāṇḍa 4 |        | Kāṇḍa 5 |        | Kāṇḍa 6 |       | Kāṇḍa 7 |        | total |        |
|-----------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|-------|---------|--------|-------|--------|
|                 | abs.    | %     | abs.    | %     | abs.    | %     | abs.    | %      | abs.    | %      | abs.    | %     | abs.    | %      | abs.  | %      |
| Anuṣṭubh        | 84      | 54,90 | 69      | 33,33 | 117     | 50,87 | 125     | 38,70  | 147     | 39,62  | 231     | 51,68 | 96      | 33,92  | 869   | 43,15  |
| Bṛhatī          | –       | –     | –       | –     | –       | –     | –       | –      | 1       | 0,27   | 3       | 0,67  | 2       | 0,71   | 6     | 0,30   |
| Formula         | –       | –     | 45      | 21,74 | 12      | 5,22  | 16      | 4,95   | 50      | 13,48  | 12      | 2,68  | –       | –      | 135   | 6,70   |
| Gāyatrī         | 14      | 9,15  | 8       | 3,86  | 2       | 0,87  | 10      | 3,10   | 4       | 1,08   | 30      | 6,71  | 11      | 3,89   | 79    | 3,92   |
| Jagatī          | 1       | 0,65  | –       | –     | 1       | 0,43  | 4       | 1,24   | 3       | 0,81   | 8       | 1,79  | 7       | 2,47   | 24    | 1,19   |
| Mahāpaṅkti      | –       | –     | –       | –     | 2       | 0,87  | 3       | 0,93   | 4       | 1,08   | 6       | 1,34  | 1       | 0,35   | 16    | 0,79   |
| N.N.            | 8       | 5,23  | 19      | 9,18  | 21      | 9,13  | 71      | 21,98  | 38      | 10,24  | 17      | 3,80  | 20      | 7,07   | 194   | 9,63   |
| Not metrical    | –       | –     | 7       | 3,38  | –       | –     | –       | –      | 11      | 2,96   | 9       | 2,01  | 6       | 2,12   | 33    | 1,64   |
| Paṅkti          | 14      | 9,15  | 5       | 2,42  | 9       | 3,91  | 6       | 1,86   | 9       | 2,43   | 9       | 2,01  | 3       | 1,06   | 55    | 2,73   |
| Partly metrical | –       | –     | 3       | 1,45  | 1       | 0,43  | –       | –      | 6       | 1,62   | 2       | 0,45  | 2       | 0,71   | 14    | 0,70   |
| Satobr̥hatī     | –       | –     | –       | –     | –       | –     | –       | –      | –       | –      | 1       | 0,22  | –       | –      | 1     | 0,05   |
| Triṣṭubh        | 28      | 18,30 | 33      | 15,94 | 44      | 19,13 | 63      | 19,50  | 74      | 19,95  | 81      | 18,12 | 101     | 35,69  | 424   | 21,05  |
| Triṣṭubh-Jagatī | 3       | 1,96  | 17      | 8,21  | 21      | 9,13  | 24      | 7,43   | 19      | 5,12   | 29      | 6,49  | 32      | 11,31  | 145   | 7,20   |
| Uṣṇih           | –       | –     | –       | –     | –       | –     | –       | –      | –       | –      | 5       | 1,12  | 1       | 0,35   | 6     | 0,30   |
| Virāj           | 1       | 0,65  | 1       | 0,48  | –       | –     | 1       | 0,31   | 5       | 1,35   | 4       | 0,89  | 1       | 0,35   | 13    | 0,65   |
| total           | 153     | 99,99 | 207     | 99,99 | 230     | 99,99 | 323     | 100,00 | 371     | 100,01 | 447     | 99,98 | 283     | 100,00 | 2014  | 100,00 |

Eleven of these fifteen categories are well-known from the ṚV: Gāyatrī, Anuṣṭubh, Paṅkti, Mahāpaṅkti, Virāj, Triṣṭubh, Jagatī, Bṛhatī, Satobr̥hatī, Uṣṇih and Triṣṭubh-Jagatī.<sup>39</sup> Obviously, WHITNEY’S supposition as to the Anuṣṭubh

<sup>38</sup>The following 16 stanzas occur twice (in ŚS I–VII) and have therefore been excluded from the statistics: 4.17.3 (= 1.28.3), 5.6.1 (= 4.1.1), 5.6.2 (= 4.7.7), 5.23.10–12 (= 2.32.3–5), 6.58.3 (= 6.39.3), 6.84.4 (= 6.63.3), 6.94.1–2 (= 3.8.5–6), 6.95.1–2 (= 5.4.3–4), 6.101.3 (= 4.4.7), 7.23.1 (= 4.17.5), 7.75.1 (= 4.21.7), 7.112.2 (= 6.96.2).

<sup>39</sup>Stanzas consisting of four pādas, which are in differing distribution partly Triṣṭubh-, partly

being the predominant Atharvavedic stanza is verified. Whereas in the ṚV its frequency is about one fifth that of the Triṣṭubh, in ŚS I–VII it is twice as common as the Triṣṭubh, representing about 43% of the total number of stanzas. The Gāyatrī, the second in order of frequency in the ṚV, does not play a prominent role in the Atharvaveda with scarcely 4% being composed in this metre and similarly the Jagatī, number 3 in the ṚV, is with just 1% an extremely rare stanza-type in ŚS I–VII. Of the remaining above-mentioned categories only the Triṣṭubh-Jagatī-group represents a significant fraction, that is 7% of the total number. The share of pure Trimeter-stanzas consisting of four pādas in the whole thus being increased to almost 30% (21% Triṣṭubh + 1% Jagatī + 7% Triṣṭubh-Jagatī), these stanzas nevertheless next to the Gāyatrī show the heaviest losses in comparison to the ṚV.

This dwindling of stanza types widespread in the ṚV, not to mention the complete absence of Dvipadā-Virāj-, Kakubh- or Purauṣṇih-stanzas, is compensated not only by a marked increase of the Anuṣṭubh, but also by the occurrence of a large number of new stanza types, indicated in the statistics by the category “N.N.,” which is the third in order of extent, representing more than 9% of all counted stanzas. Although some stanza types have been included in this category which are found also in the ṚV, but are rather rare or “somehow irregular” — like Dvipadā-Triṣṭubh-stanzas or Trimeter-stanzas with one pāda being replaced by two Pentads —, this group consists to a large degree of stanza types formed by combinations of octo- and hendecasyllabic verses. In the following I list all different types I was able to identify:

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| T+T+T+A     | 4.24.2; 4.24.3; 4.24.5; 4.24.6; 4.26.2; 4.26.3; 4.26.4; 4.26.6;<br>4.27.4; 4.27.5; 4.27.7; 4.28.7; 4.29.3; 4.29.4; 6.111.1; 7.60.1<br>= 16 |
| T+T         | 1.26.2; 5.6.8; 5.26.1; 5.26.2; 5.26.4; 5.26.5; 5.26.6; 5.26.7;<br>5.26.8; 5.26.9; 5.26.10; 5.26.11; 5.27.5; 5.27.10; 6.83.4 = 15           |
| T+T+J+A     | 4.23.2; 4.23.3; 4.25.2, 4.25.3; 4.27.1; 4.27.6; 4.28.2; 4.28.3;<br>4.28.4; 4.28.6; 4.29.2; 4.29.6 = 12                                     |
| T+T+A+A     | 2.4.1; 3.19.3; 3.30.6; 3.31.5; 4.8.5; 4.23.6; 5.7.6; 5.30.14;<br>6.32.2; 7.56.4 = 10   |
| T+T+T+T+T+T | 2.10.2; 2.10.3; 2.10.4; 2.10.5; 2.10.6; 2.10.7; 3.15.4; 4.38.5;<br>5.11.11 = 9   |
| J+T+T+A     | 4.23.5; 4.24.1; 4.24.7; 4.26.1; 4.26.5; 4.27.2; 4.29.1; 4.29.5<br>= 8  |
| A+A+T+T     | 1.15.1; 2.6.5; 2.29.5; 3.12.3; 6.140.3 = 5   |
| T+A+A+A     | 1.19.2; 3.19.2; 4.18.6; 5.31.11; 7.102.1 = 5   |

|             |                                     |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| A+A+T       | 4.37.7; 5.27.3; 6.84.2; 7.78.1 = 4  |
| A+A+T+A     | 1.28.3; 3.19.1; 4.25.7; 5.31.12 = 4 |
| J+J         | 7.14.1; 7.14.2; 7.116.1 = 3         |
| T+A+A       | 3.17.7; 5.14.8; 5.21.3 = 3          |
| A+A+A+T     | 2.26.3; 3.21.6; 6.80.1 = 3          |
| A+T+T+T     | 3.5.1; 3.28.6; 4.2.6 = 3            |
| J+A+A+A     | 1.4.4; 4.14.3; 4.15.4 = 3           |
| J+J+J+A     | 4.23.1; 4.24.4; 4.25.1 = 3          |
| V+V+V+V+V   | 2.5.1; 2.5.2; 2.5.3 = 3             |
| T+T+V+V+T   | 3.21.7; 6.62.2; 6.113.3 = 3         |
| A+T         | 5.27.2; 5.27.6 = 2                  |
| T+A         | 5.27.4; 5.27.7 = 2                  |
| T+V+T       | 5.27.11; 5.27.12 = 2                |
| A+A+J+J     | 3.19.7; 5.13.2 = 2                  |
| A+T+A+A     | 6.140.1; 7.64.2 = 2                 |
| T+T+A+T     | 2.6.4; 6.80.3 = 2                   |
| T+J+T+A     | 4.27.3; 4.29.7 = 2                  |
| T+J+J+A     | 4.28.1; 6.134.1 = 2                 |
| J+T+J+A     | 4.25.6; 4.28.5 = 2                  |
| J+J+T+A     | 4.23.7; 4.25.4 = 2                  |
| V+V+T+T+T   | 5.2.4; 7.79.2 = 2                   |
| A+A+A+A+T   | 4.2.8; 6.140.2 = 2                  |
| T+T+V+V+A   | 4.25.5; 5.7.1 = 2                   |
| T+T+T+T+T   | 4.34.7; 5.11.6 = 2                  |
| T+T+A+A+A+A | 3.19.6; 7.26.3 = 2                  |
| T+J         | 7.116.2 = 1                         |
| T/J+A       | 7.22.1 = 1                          |
| A+T+V       | 4.12.6 = 1                          |
| J+A+T       | 7.22.2 = 1                          |
| J+J+T       | 2.3.6 = 1                           |
| J+J+J       | 6.20.2 = 1                          |
| T/J+T/J+J   | 4.16.8 = 1                          |

|               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| A+A+V+V       | 7.55.1 = 1  |
| A+T+A+T       | 7.67.1 = 1  |
| A+T+T+A       | 7.82.2 = 1  |
| A+T+T+J       | 1.25.4 = 1  |
| A+J+J+T       | 3.21.1 = 1  |
| T+A+T+T       | 7.53.4 = 1  |
| T+J+A+A       | 4.6.2 = 1   |
| T+J+A+T       | 6.58.2 = 1  |
| J+T+A+A       | 4.37.5 = 1  |
| J+T+A+T       | 1.35.4 = 1  |
| V+V+T+A+A     | 3.23.6 = 1  |
| V+V+T+T+J     | 2.28.4 = 1  |
| V+V+T+J+T     | 3.21.2 = 1  |
| V+V+T+J+J     | 7.87.1 = 1  |
| V+V+J+T+T     | 7.5.2 = 1   |
| A+A+A+T+A     | 4.26.7 = 1  |
| T+V+V+T+T     | 4.32.3 = 1  |
| T+A+A+A+A     | 4.15.12 = 1 |
| T+T+A+A+T     | 4.38.7 = 1  |
| T+T+T+A+A     | 3.22.3 = 1  |
| T+T+T+T+A     | 4.10.7 = 1  |
| T+T+J+T+J     | 5.28.6 = 1  |
| J+T+A+A+A     | 5.30.12 = 1 |
| J+T+T+T+T     | 4.34.6 = 1  |
| V+V+V+V+J+J   | 6.97.1 = 1  |
| A+A+V+V+A+A   | 7.75.2 = 1  |
| A+T+A+A+A+A   | 3.10.7 = 1  |
| T+T+V+V+V+V   | 3.8.4 = 1   |
| J+J+T+T+T+T   | 2.10.8 = 1  |
| V+V+V+V+V+V+T | 1.11.1 = 1  |
| T+T+A+A+A+A+A | 6.29.3 = 1  |
| T+T+T+T+V+V+T | 5.1.9 = 1   |

T+T+T+T+T+T+T+T 4.34.5 = 1

V+V+T+A+A+A+V+V 4.11.7 = 1

V+V+V+V+V+V+V+V+V 2.5.4 = 1<sup>40</sup>

Further investigation of this material may prove to be interesting. The Atharvaveda on the one hand records the disappearance of old Vedic stanza types, like the Gāyatrī, which have no successors in classical Sanskrit poetry, but may on the other hand foreshadow post-Vedic/middle Indo-Aryan metres. Such an investigation, however, is outside the scope of this contribution.

Besides these new stanzas the Atharvavedasamhitās include some material which is not purely metrical. An alternation between poetry and prose can be proved in both sūktas and single stanzas, and for this reason some stanzas have been categorized either as “Not metrical” or “Partly metrical”. E.g., the first four stanzas of sūkta 7.97, which are all good Triṣṭubhs, are followed by four definitely non-metrical stanzas. Stanzas 4 and 5 of sūkta 7.81 are more difficult to judge:

*darśò 'si darśatò 'si sámagro 'si sámantaḥ |*  
*sámagraḥ sámanto bhūyāsam góbhīr ásvaiḥ prajāyā paśúbhīr grḥáir dhánena || (4)*

*yò 'smān dvēṣṭi yám vayám dviṣmās tāsya tvám prānēnāpyāyasva |*  
*ā vayám pyāsiṣīmahi góbhīr ásvaiḥ prajāyā paśúbhīr grḥáir dhánena || (5)*

The first half of stanza 4 could be interpreted as consisting of two Anuṣṭubh-pādas (*darśò 'si darśatò 'si sámagro 'si sámantaḥ*), the first of which even shows iambic rhythm in the last four syllables (with *-o* before vowel being scanned as long), but the second half is clearly non-metrical. The formulation in the beginning of stanza 5 occurs repeatedly in the Atharvavedasamhitās<sup>41</sup> and has, as far as I know, always been characterized as prose.<sup>42</sup> Disyllabic pronunciation of the root *dviṣ* “to hate” may be undemonstrable in the ṚV, but it would nevertheless bring about a perfect Triṣṭubh-pāda with late caesura: *yò 'smān d<sub>u</sub>vēṣṭi yám vayám d<sub>u</sub>viṣmāḥ*.<sup>43</sup> What remains of the first half is certainly prose, but the beginning of the second half, again, seems to be metrical (“A”), followed by the non-metrical refrain known from the preceding stanza. This example may be suitable to illustrate the difficulty of drawing the line between prose and poetry, already mentioned by BLOOMFIELD as noted above. In principle, I have

<sup>40</sup>The following stanzas have also been categorized as “N.N.”, but include an especially problematic pāda: 2.29.4 (T+T+T+?); 3.1.5 (?+A+A); 4.12.7 (?+T+A+A); 4.14.8 (T+T+?+T+T); 4.15.15 (?+V+A+A); 5.21.11 (J+T+?+T/J); 5.26.3 (?+T); 5.26.12 (?+T+T+T); 5.29.14 (A+?+V+T); 6.113.1 (T+?+V+V+T).

<sup>41</sup>In ŚS I–VII: 2.11.3; 2.19–23.1–5; 3.27.1–6; 7.81.5.

<sup>42</sup>See e.g. ZEHNDER on PS 2.48 (1999: 115).

<sup>43</sup>Or: *yò 'smān dvēṣṭi yám vayám d<sub>u</sub>viṣmāḥ* (= Tb). Several Yajurvedasamhitās have the reading ... *yám ca vayám* ... (cf. the references given by ZEHNDER). In this case the position of the caesura must be after the fourth syllable.

attempted to register all material which could be interpreted as metrical, even if it is so only by accident, and consequently, both stanzas have been categorized as “Partly metrical”.

Whereas the two categories discussed in the last paragraph include together less than 3% of the whole, the group “Formulas” is with more than 6% the fifth in order of extent. This important feature of Atharvan prose has been identified by Hermann OLDENBERG:

Unter den prosaischen Zaubertexten herrschen sehr entschieden die vor, die in kürzerer oder längerer Reihe von Sätzen dasselbe Schema wiederholen, variiert nur nach der Abfolge irgend eines Systems, etwa der Zahlenreihe, der Weltgegenden oder Aehnlichem. (. . .) Der Typus des Zaubertexts mit Durchführung eines bestimmten Schemas, oft geradezu in tabellarischer Weise, ist offenbar uralte; daß der strengen Regelmäßigkeit zuliebe da Prosa bevorzugt wurde, begreift sich leicht.<sup>44</sup>

To exemplify this statement OLDENBERG referred to three sūktas, two of which are taken from ŚS I–VII (2.15 and 3.26). But in case of sūkta 2.15 his view gives rise to a contradiction. In six stanzas we find the following scheme: *As both X and Y do not fear, are not harmed, so, my breath, fear not.*<sup>45</sup> However, as each of these six stanzas is a regular Gāyatrī, it is to be seen that the adoption of a formulaic scheme is not necessarily connected with prosaic form. But the parallel version of the Paippalādins (6.5) — adding to the refrain a fourth dimeter-pāda and so bringing about Anuṣṭubh-stanzas<sup>46</sup> — contains three stanzas (2, 3 and 6), the first pāda of which consists of nine syllables, due to the names applied for X and Y. In this way the Anuṣṭubh-stanzas become irregular.

My impression is that such groups of stanzas in which a scheme is realized (“formulaic hymns”)<sup>47</sup> are in most cases — not always — based upon a metrical structure which only in some stanzas is disturbed. The difficulty of assessing this material is increased by the fact that such “formulaic hymns” often include very rare stanza types. E.g., in sūkta 2.17, in seven stanzas the following scheme is used: *X art thou; X mayest thou give me: hail!* The first six stanzas could be scanned as Triṣṭubh-pādas with early caesura, e.g.: *ójo 'asīy ójo me dāḥ s<sub>u</sub>vāhā* (1). But in the last one, with *paripāṇam* as X, the metrical structure of the preceding stanzas can hardly be recognized. Besides that, stanzas consisting of just one verse are not found in the RV.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup>OLDENBERG 1917: 10-11 (= III/1758-1759).

<sup>45</sup>The translation follows WHITNEY I.

<sup>46</sup>This seems to be preferable to the ŚS-text, cf. GRIFFITHS forthc.

<sup>47</sup>I wish to thank Erwin Steinbach, who suggested the German term *Formularhymnus* to me.

<sup>48</sup>But cf. PS 7.20 (ed. GRIFFITHS forthc.), a sūkta which is very similar to ŚS 2.17. In its ten stanzas, the following scheme is adopted: *To X, the one that slays enemies, hail!*, X in each stanza being represented by a different name of the wind. Whereas the first six stanzas can be scanned unproblematically as Triṣṭubh-pādas with early caesura, in the last four stanzas the opening

In other cases adoption of a scheme in definitely prosaic form is connected with a metrical refrain. E.g., in sūkta 6.107 the refrain *cātuṣpād yác ca naḥ s<sub>u</sub>vám* is clearly metrical. Only in very few cases “formulaic hymns” are completely unmetrical. For this reason it seems to me that these “formulaic hymns” take up a special position between poetry and prose. In any case further investigation of the material categorized as “Not metrical”, “Partly metrical” and “Formula” may supply information regarding the development of the oldest Indo-Aryan prose.

In the end it has to be stated that (post-Ṛgvedic) metre still remains a field requiring precise investigations. The statistics summarized in this paper are far from giving answers to all questions, but it is hoped they will supply a useful basis for further linguistic and philological studies.

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Lanman, Charles Rockwell

I–II → WHITNEY I–II

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with the applied *vātanāman* is either too short (stanzas 7 and 8 [read *vātāya?*]) or too long (stanzas 9 and 10). As in the case of ŚS 2.17, the break is irregular and the question arises whether mantras made up of one single pāda can be called metrical.

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## PS 8.15. Offense against a Brahmin\*

Alexander Lubotsky

The topic of my paper is a hymn from the Paippalāda Atharvaveda, which is typical of what we can expect from this text: new material, new insights in the life of the Vedic Indians, new words, archaic verb forms next to grammatical innovations and, at the same time, new problems of various kinds, especially those of the tradition of the text and its relation to the Brāhmaṇas.

This hymn, which represents an appeal to the Brahmins to stay united in their protest when one of them is abused, is as far as I know unique in its subject matter. The keyword of the hymn is *kilbiṣa-* ‘offense, abuse’, which appears almost in every stanza, and the question arises what kind of abuse is here meant. It must of course be something serious and the first thing which comes to mind is *the* offense against a Brahmin, *the* archetypical *brahmakilbiṣá* so to speak, described in the famous hymn RV 10.109 (~ ŚS 5.17, PS 9.15), which is concerned with the abduction of a Brahmin’s wife by a king. Our hymn does not specify what kind of property has been taken (no doubt, a king could also expropriate land or cattle), but it seems probable to me that the poet seeks to achieve Brahmanic unity against a king’s high-handedness. We get important information about the usual procedure in case of an offense against a Brahmin from the beginning of RV 10.109:

RV 10.109.1 ~ ŚS 5.17.1 ~ PS 9.15.1

*tè 'vadan prathamā brahmakilbiṣe 'kūpārah saliló mātariśvā |  
vīlūharās tāpa ugró mayobhūr āpo devīḥ prathamajā ṛténa ||*

They spoke first at the offense against a Brahmin: the boundless sea, Mātariśvan, Tapas of stout heat, the mighty Refresher,<sup>1</sup> the heavenly waters — the first-born according to the Ṛta.

The first deities who spoke at the offense were the powers of nature closely connected with Varuṇa (*prathamajā ṛténa*), the reason presumably being the fact that an offense against a Brahmin is an offense against the Ṛta (cf. also stanza 5 below: *brahmakilbiṣe prokta ud eva tiṣṭhet sa ṛtasya panthāḥ* ‘When an offense against a Brahmin is announced, up he should rise. This is the path of the Ṛta’). These powers of nature seem to act as the prototypical Brahmins, who in our hymn are summoned to speak unanimously at the offense of a Brahmin.

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<sup>1</sup>The Wind? Cf. 10.169.1a *mayobhūr vāto*.

It is remarkable that in this hymn, archaic and late features exist side by side: on the one hand, we find here an archaic form *niṃsīta* (stanza 5), but, on the other hand, the poet's knowledge of the definitive make-up of the ṚV (see ad stanza 6) and of the Brahmanic families which only appear in the Brāhmaṇas (stanza 2) makes a late impression. Since the hymn contains 13 stanzas and is thus 2 stanzas longer than the usual 11 in this kāṇḍa, we may assume that stanzas 2 and 6 are later additions (note that these two stanzas only contain the names of the families plus the last pāda, which is identical with that of stanza 1). The additions may have been induced by the aim to involve as many Brahmanic families as possible in the protest. In particular, stanza 6 can be seen as an attempt to address the Ṛgvedins. We may also see in this light the mentioning of the name Prasravaṇa, which is only known from the KauṣB, a text of a Ṛgveda school.<sup>2</sup>

#### 8.15.1 PS only (d: 2d, 6d)

|                                 |      |
|---------------------------------|------|
| yo jāmadagnya iha kauśiko ya    | (11) |
| ātreya uta kāśyapo yaḥ          | (9)  |
| bharadvājā gotamā ye vasiṣṭhās  | (11) |
| tebhyaḥ pra brūma iha kilbiṣāṇi | (11) |

Who is a descendant of Jamadagni here, who of Kuśika, who of Atri, and who is a descendant of Kaśyapa, the Bharadvājas, the Gotamas and the Vasiṣṭhas — to them we announce here the offenses.

jāmadagnya] **K**, jāmadagniya **JM V/126 [Ma Mā]**, jāmadagniya(→ ya) **Ku** kauśiko ya] **Or**, kauśika **K** yaḥ] **Ku V/126 [Ma Mā] K**, jaḥ **JM** bharadvājā gotamā ye] **Ku V/126 [Ma]**, bha(+ dvā)rajā gotamā **JM**, bharadvājo gotamo **Mā**, bharadvājā gautamā yaṃ **K** vasiṣṭhās] **K**, vasiṣṭhās **Or** tebhyaḥ] **Or**, tebhyaḥ **K** kilbiṣāṇi] **Or**, kilviṣāṇi **K**

The stanza refers to the descendants of the seven seers, although the usual PS list of the seven seers includes Viśvāmitra instead of Kuśika (cf. 5.28.4, 11.5.13, 14.7.3). Both names most probably refer to the same family,<sup>3</sup> however. At ṚV 3.53.10,11, the Kuśikas are addressed as those belonging to the clan of Viśvāmitra. BHATTACHARYA edits *jāmadagnya*.

a. The reading *jāmadagniya* of the Or. mss. is less probable in view of the metre (no caesura). Cases where the Or. tradition alleviates consonant clusters by inserting an epenthetic vowel are very common.

<sup>2</sup>I am indebted to Arlo Griffiths for providing me with the critical apparatus for this hymn. The use of editorial signs and brackets throughout this paper conforms with the system explained in GRIFFITHS & LUBOTSKY 2000–01: 196, n. 1. The Or. mss. **Ku**, **JM** and **V/126** were collated through autopsy. In words with *br*, BARRET consistently transliterates the spelling in **K** of the common ligature as *vr*, and BHATTACHARYA follows him in this regard. In every case, a transliteration *br* could also be defended. Since the meaning of the text is nowhere affected by the decision how to transliterate this sign, I have everywhere assumed it stands for *br*.

<sup>3</sup>The authors of book III of the ṚV, cf. OLDENBERG 1888: 209 = 1967: 578.

d. For the meaning of *kilbiṣa-*, cf. the discussion in GRIFFITHS forthc. ad PS 7.3.6 and further ŚS 6.96.2 (= 7.117[112].2 ~ PS 3.17.4, 19.12.5) *muñcāntu mā śapathyād átho varuṇyād utá | átho yamásyā páḍbīśād víśvasmād devakilbiṣāt* ‘Let them free me from that which comes from a curse, then also from that which is of Varuṇa, then from Yama’s fetter, from all offense against the gods’ (WHITNEY); ŚS 6.118.1 (~ PS 16.50.3) *yád dhástābhyāṃ cakṛmá kilbiṣāṇy akṣāṇāṃ gatnūm upalīpsamānāḥ | ugrampaśyé ugrajítāu tát adyāpsarásāv ánu dattām ṛṇām nah* ‘If with our hands we have done offenses, desiring to take up the course (?) of the dice, let the two Apsarases fierce-seeing, fierce-conquering, forgive today that guilt of ours’ (WHITNEY).

### 8.15.2 PS only (d: 1d, 6d)

|                                       |        |
|---------------------------------------|--------|
| *agastayaḥ kaṇvāḥ kutsāḥ prasravaṇā   | (12/P) |
| virūpā gargā mudgalā +yaskāḥ śaunakāḥ | (13/P) |
| saṃkṛtayo brāhmaṇā ye na drugdhās     | (11/P) |
| tebhyaḥ pra brūma iha kilbiṣāṇi       | (11)   |

The Agastis, the Kaṇvas, the Kutsas, the Prasravaṇas, the Virūpas, the Gargas, the Mudgalas, the Yaskas, the Śaunakas, the Saṃkṛtis — the Brahmins who are not deceitful, to them we announce here the offenses.

JM: agastya<……>vaṇā • \*agastayaḥ] agastyayaḥ Or, agastyayaḥ K kaṇvāḥ kutsāḥ] Ku V/126 [Ma], kaṇvā kutsāḥ Mā, kāṇvaḥkutsā K prasravaṇā] [Mā], praśravaṇā Ku V/126 Ma, pasravaṇā K virūpā] viṛpā Or, viśvarūpāḥ K gargā] JM [MaMā] K, gargā Ku V/126 +yaskāḥ] jaskāḥ Or, ayaskās K śaunakāḥ |] śūnakāḥ | Or, śaunakās [om. ||] K saṃkṛtayo] K, saṃhrdayo Or brāhmaṇā] K, brāhmaṇe Ku V/126 [Ma Ma], brahmaṇ{o}e JM drugdhās] ḍṛgdhās Or, dugdhās K tebhyaḥ] Or, tadyāḥ K [[misprint Bh.: tadyaḥ]] brūma] Ku JM V/126 [Ma] K, vṛma Mā kilbiṣāṇi ||] Or, kilviṣāṇi Z K

Pādas a–c are prose. This may be an indication that the whole stanza is a later addition, induced by the endeavour to mention as many Brahmanic families as possible. The fact that the text mentions the descendants of Prasravaṇa, the name which is only attested in a Ṛgvedic Brāhmaṇa, may be interpreted as an invitation towards the Ṛgvedins to join the ranks, cf. also below, ad stanza 6. BHATTACHARYA edits *agastyayaḥ* and *śūnakāḥ*.

a. The descendants of Agasti are called *agástayaḥ*, the unanimous reading of the PS mss. being due to contamination of the two forms of the name: *agastya-* (ṚV+) and *agasti-* (ŚS 4.9.3 = PS 4.38.3). Prasravaṇa is a rare name. As far as I know, it is only attested in KauṣB 13.3, where Avatsāra is called *prāsravaṇa-* ‘descendant / son of Prasravaṇa’.

c. For the name Saṃkṛti, cf. ŚB 14.9.4.31 (at the very end of the BĀU) *sāṃkṛtīputra-* in the Brahmanic genealogy. The name also occurs several times in name-lists in the Sūtra literature (e.g. LāṭyŚS 6.4.13, BaudhŚS-Pravara 23:437.1ff.).

For the meaning cf. 8a *tasmai sa druhyād ya idaṃ nāyad* ‘To him (to the oppressed Brahmin) he will be deceitful, who will not come here’. The idea of the sentence seems to be that the Brahmins that have come are not deceitful to the Brahmanic cause, to the Brahmanic unity, to the oppressed Brahmin.

### 8.15.3 PS only

|   |      |
|---|------|
| yō nottiṣṭhād brāhmaṇe nādhamāne          | (11) |
| māndyena dr̥pta uta dhair̥yeṇa            | (11) |
| viśve devā upadraṣṭāro a <sub>a</sub> sya | (11) |
| tasmin viṣaṃ saṃ nayān kilbiṣyam          | (11) |

Who will not rise, being confused by sloth and by presumption, when a Brahmin is in distress, the All-Gods, who witness this, will pour the poison of the offense into him.

nottiṣṭhād] Ku V/126 [Ma Mā], nottiṣṭhā JM, notiṣṭhād K brāhmaṇe] Ku V/126 [Ma Mā], brāhmaṇo JM K māndyena dr̥pta] Or, nānyena tr̥pta K [[Bar.: nātyena; I read with R-V/Bh.]] |] Or, om. K a<sub>a</sub>sya] ‘sya Or, tra K tasmin viṣaṃ] Or, tasminiṣaṃ K nayān] Ku V/126 [Ma Mā], nayāma JM, nayāṃ K kilbiṣyam] Ku V/126 [Ma Mā], kilbiṣaṃ JM, kilviṣyam K

b. *māndya-* is a Vedic hapax. *dhāirya-* n., being derived from *dhīra-* ‘wise, intelligent’, usually has positive connotations (‘intelligence, forethought’), but here this is evidently not the case.

d. *kilbiṣya-* ‘pertaining to the offense’, to be read as *kilbiṣya-*, is a hapax.

### 8.15.4 PS only

|   |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| yā ropayaḥ kilbiṣe brāhmaṇasya              | (11)               |
| yāni caināṃsi bahudhā duṣkṛtāni             | (12 <sup>T</sup> ) |
| *anuttiṣṭhan [prokta] ātmani +tan ni dhatte | (11)               |
| tathā tad devā uta veśayanti                | (11)               |

Whatever pains there are in an offense against a Brahmin and whatever transgressions, [whatever] manifold misdeeds, he who will not stand up [when (an offense) is announced] puts it into himself, and so the gods make it enter [him].

ropayaḥ] Or, ropayaṃ K kilbiṣe] Or, kilviṣe K brāhmaṇasya yāni] Or, brāhmaṇasyāthāni K caināṃsi] Or, jīnāṃsi K duṣkṛtāni] Ku JM V/126 [Ma] K, dr̥ṣkṛtāni Mā |] Ku V/126 Mā[Ma] K, || JM \*anuttiṣṭhan] anutiṣṭhan Or, anutiṣṭhaṃ K prokta ātmani] Or, proktātmānu K +tan ni] taṃ ni Ku V/126 [Ma Mā] K, tiṃ ni JM tathā] Or, tasmai K tad devā] Ku JM [Ma Mā] K, tadevā V/126

BHATTACHARYA edits *anutiṣṭhan* and *taṃ ni*; his *vahudhā* must be a misprint.

c. The emendation *anuttiṣṭhan* has been suggested to me by Jan Houben. The reading *tan* has already been proposed by BARRET. It seems likely that

*prokte* has been taken from the following stanza. If we delete this word, we get a regular triṣṭubh line.

**d.** The same idea as in pāda **d** of the previous stanza. Since *veśāyati* often occurs with a locative complement and since Kashmir reads *tasmai*, it seems attractive to emend *tathā* to *\*tasmīn*. For the meaning, cf. GELDNER's remark ad ṚV 1.176.2a: "*ā-viś* Kaus. ist s.v.a. einem (Lok.) etwas insinuierten".

### 8.15.5 PS only

|   |      |
|---|------|
| nā <sub>a</sub> śnīyān na piben na *śayīta  | (11) |
| na *niṃsīta jāyāṃ no <sub>u</sub> ta putram | (11) |
| brahmakilbiṣe prokta                        | (7)  |
| ud eva tiṣṭhet sa ṛtasya panthāḥ            | (11) |

He should not eat, should not drink, should not be lying. He should not kiss the spouse, nor the son. When an offense against a Brahmin is announced, up should he rise. This is the path of the Ṛta.

nāśnīyān] Or, nāśnīyāṃ K piben] JM V/126 [Ma Mā], pi(+ be 4)n Ku, pibeyaṃ K \*śayīta] śain Or, śaita K \*niṃsīta jāyāṃ] niṃsīta jāyān Ku V/126 Mā, niṃsīta jāyāṃ JM [Ma], niṃśaibhujā(→ tujā)yāṃ K putram |] putraṃ | Or, putraṃ [[om. ]] K brahmakilbiṣe] JM V/126 [Ma Mā], brahmaki{.}biṣe Ku, brahmakilviṣe K prokta ud] Or, proktaud K tiṣṭhet sa] Or, tiṣṭhesva K ṛtasya panthāḥ ||] Ku V/126 [Ma Mā], ṛtasya panthāḥ | JM, ritasya panthā [[om. ]] K

BHATTACHARYA misprints *piven* and *vrahmakilbiṣe*.

**a.** I adopt BARRET's emendation (p. 283). Cf. also BHATTACHARYA 1997: xxxvi.

**b.** BHATTACHARYA's conjecture *niṃsīta* is adopted here. This is an archaic athenatic form of the reduplicated present to *nas* (cf. *nīṃsate* 3pl. med. ṚV+). GOTŌ 1987: 200f. argued that the meaning of this present is 'aufsuchen', 'to visit' and not 'to kiss', as had been usually assumed. Although the Ṛgvedic passages are often ambiguous, it seems clear, however, that in the PS the meaning 'to kiss' is unavoidable, cf. especially 1.55.4ab *madhuman mama nīsanam* (read: *\*niṃsanam*) *jaghanam madhuman mama* 'sweet is my kissing, my loins are sweet'. The word *\*niṃsana-* shows that already by the time of the PS *niṃs-* was conceived as a root.

### 8.15.6 PS only (6d = 1d, 2d)

|                                  |      |
|----------------------------------|------|
| śatarcino mādhyamā ye maharṣayaḥ | (12) |
| kṣudrasūktānām uta yā prajeha    | (11) |
| ṛṣīṇām yāni janimāni vidmas      | (11) |
| tebhyaḥ pra brūma iha kilbiṣāṇi  | (11) |

The [descendants of the] Śatarcins, [the descendants of] the great ṛṣis who have composed the middle parts, and those here who are the progeny of those whose

hymns are short — whichever races of the ṛṣis we know, to them we announce here the offenses.

śatarcino] [Ma? Mā?] K, śatarccino Ku JM V/126 mādhyamā] Or, sā(→ mā)dhyamā K maharṣayaḥ] Ku V/126 [Ma Mā] K, maharṣ{i}ayaḥ JM yā] Ku V/126 [Ma Mā], {jā}yā JM ṛṣīnām] Ku JM [Ma Mā] K, ṛṣīnām V/126 yāni janimāni] JM [Ma Mā] K, jāni janimāni Ku, jānimāni V/126 tebhyaḥ pra] thus Or K [[note °ḥp°]] kilbiṣāni ||] Or, kilviṣāni Z K

BHATTACHARYA's edition omits the apparatus for this stanza.

The stanza seems to be a later addition. This is indicated by its strange position in the hymn and by the fact that it mentions the authors of the Ṛgvedic hymns, which are only known since the late texts of the Ṛgveda school: while the *mādhyamāḥ* are referred to at KauṣB 12.3:5ff., the earliest other attestation of *śatarcinaḥ* seems to be at AitĀ 2.2.1 (alongside the *mādhyamāḥ*), and the *kṣudrasūktāḥ* are not referred to before ŚāṅkhGrS 4.10, ĀsvGrS 3.4.2. A typical passage is ŚāṅkhGrS 4.10.3: *śatarcinaḥ, mādhyamāḥ* — *gr̥tsamadaḥ, viśvāmitraḥ jamadagniḥ, vāmadevaḥ, atriḥ, bharaadvājah, vasiṣṭhaḥ* — *pragāthāḥ, pāvamānāḥ, kṣudrasūktamahāsūktāḥ*. For *viśvāmitraḥ jamadagniḥ*, cf. ṚV 3.53, 10.167.4.

a. The intention of the poet is clear: he addresses the descendants of the great poets of the ṚV, but the syntax is rather cumbersome.

c. Note the aberrant form of 1pl. pf. → pres. *vidmas*. The regular form *vidma* is the usual form and is abundantly attested in the PS, but *vidmas* is further found at 15.13.10c (*iṣūr yā eṣām vidmas*) and *vidmasi* is found at 17.12.2b, 17.13.13c (*nāmadheyāni vidmasi*) and at 19.47.2b (*mayūraṃ vayaṃ vidmasi*). The latter form is secured by the metre and conclusively shows that *vidmas* is not a mistake of the transmission, but an original 1pl. form of the PS, although it is not attested in the ŚS. The present form *vidmas(i)* is most probably due to the reinterpretation of ppf. *avet* as an impf.

### 8.15.7 PS only

|                                   |                    |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| sodaryāṇām pañcadaśānām śatānām   | (12 <sup>T</sup> ) |
| trayastrimśad ud aśiṣyanta devāḥ  | (11)               |
| ekasmin viddhe sarve arupyan      | (10)               |
| tad brāhmaṇe kilbiṣam anv avindan | (11)               |

From the fifteen hundred of the same kin, there were [only] thirty-three gods left. When one was wounded, all suffered racking pain. In that way they discovered the offense against a Brahmin.

pañcadaśānām] Ku V/126 [Ma Mā] K, pañca{śa}daśānām JM trayastrimśad] thus Or K [[misprint Bar.: trayastrinśad]] K ud aśiṣyanta] Or, utaśiṣyanta K devāḥ |] Or, devāḥ K [[om. |, but note °ḥ e°]] viddhe] K, vidye Or arupyan tad] 'rpyam Ku [Ma], rpyam JM V/126, rūpyam Mā, rupyamtvad K brāhmaṇe] Or, brāhmaṇa K kilbiṣam] Ku JM [Ma Mā], kilbiṣ{e}am V/126, kilviṣam K avindan] Or, avindaṃ K

BHATTACHARYA edits '*rupyam*.'

a. In early Vedic, *sodarya-* is only found in the PS. Cf. 6.12.5d *sarvaiḥ sodar<sub>i</sub>yaiḥ saha* 'together with all [my] siblings'. Later, the word appears in the Gṛhyasūtras (GRIFFITHS forthc. ad loc.).

'Fifteen hundred' is more likely than 'hundred fifteen'. The original number of gods must be big and presumably be divisible by three, cf. ṚV 3.9.9ab *trīṇi śatā trī saḥāsrāṇy agnīm trimśác ca devā náva cāsaparyan* '3339 gods honored Agni'.

d. *kilbiṣam* + loc. means 'offense against smbd.', cf. ŚS 5.19.5cd *kṣīrām yād asyāḥ pīyáte tád vai pitṛṣu kílbīṣam* 'when her milk is being drunk, this is really an offense against the Fathers'.

### 8.15.8 PS only

|   |      |
|---|------|
| tasmai sa druhyād ya idaṃ n <sub>a</sub> āyad | (11) |
| yo nottiṣṭhād yo na vadātā asmin              | (11) |
| brāhmaṇasya kilbiṣe nāthitasya                | (11) |
| sodaryatām ichato brāhmaṇeṣu                  | (11) |

To him (to the oppressed Brahmin) he will be deceitful, who will not come here, who will not rise, will not come to an agreement about this, about the offense against an oppressed Brahmin who is seeking solidarity among the Brahmins.

JM: vadātā<...>hmaṇasya • sa druhyād] sadṛhyād Or, taddruhyād K ya idaṃ | Or, dīdaṃ K nottiṣṭhād] Or, notiṣṭhād K na vadātā asmin] Or, nojātāsmi K kilbiṣe] Or, kilviṣam K sodaryatām] Ku V/126 [Ma Mā] K, sodary{ā}atām JM ichato] Or, íschato K brāhmaṇeṣu] Or, vrāhmaṇeṣu K

b. The cadence is wrong. It is conceivable that the original text had *vadāta asmin* with a more archaic subjunctive form (*vadāte*). For the meaning of *vad* in the middle ('to converse, consult, come to an agreement', later maybe 'to (re)claim') see GOTÖ 1987: 282. Cf. further ṚV 10.109.4: *devā etāsyaṃ avadanta pūrvē saptaṛṣāyās tāpase yé niṣedúḥ | bhīmā jāyā brāhmaṇasyópanītā durdhām dadhāti paramé vyòman* "Die Götter, die sieben Ṛṣi's, die sich zur Kasteiung niedergesetzt hatten, besprachen sich vormals über diese: Furchtbar wird des Brahmanen Weib, wenn es von einem anderen heimgeführt wird; es schafft Unordnung im höchsten Himmel" (GELDNER). The author of the PS hymn clearly summons the Brahmins to do the same.

d. *sodaryatā-* is a hapax.

### 8.15.9 PS only

|                                      |      |
|--------------------------------------|------|
| ut *tiṣṭhata brāhmaṇāḥ saṃ vadadhvaṃ | (11) |
| jītaṃ yācāmi punar aitu sarvam       | (11) |
| indrā <sub>a</sub> gnī viśve devās   | (8)  |
| te me jītaṃ punar ā vartayantu       | (11) |

O Brahmins, rise, come to an agreement: “I ask for [returning] what has been scathed. Let it come back whole again. Let Indra and Agni, the All-Gods bring back to me again what has been scathed.”

JM: te me<10> • ut \*tiṣṭhata brāhmaṇāḥ] uttiṣṭhadbrāhmaṇāḥ Or, uttiṣṭhadvrāhmaṇās K vadhvaṃ] Or, vadhvaṃ K yācāmi] Ku JM, yācāmi(→ ma) Ma, yācāma V/126 [Mā], yācāmi K sarvaṃ |] Or, sarvaṃ K [[om. |, but note °ṃ i°]] indrāgnī] Ku [Ma Mā] K, indrāgni JM, indrāgn{i}ī V/126 jītaṃ] V/126 [Ma Mā], jī{t·}taṃ Ku, jītaṃ K vartayantu ||] varttayantu || Or, vardhayantu Z K

BHATTACHARYA edits *uttiṣṭhad* and *yācāma*.

a. In the present context, I do not understand the form *uttiṣṭhad*, which the mss. transmit unanimously. The proposed emendation yields better metre.

b. For the meaning of *jīta-* (both ‘what is scathed’ and ‘who is scathed’), cf. ŚS 12.5.57ab (= PS 16.146.7ab) *ādāya jītāṃ jītāya lokè ’múṣmin prā yachasi* ‘Taking to thyself what is scathed for him who is scathed, thou presentest [it to him] in yonder world’ (WHITNEY).

The reading *yācāma* (1pl. subj.) found in V/126 Mā (and Ma, *post correctionem*) is also theoretically possible: it would mean that the direct speech of the Brahmins begins with *punar aitu sarvaṃ*. However, *me* in pāda d pleads for the adopted reading.

#### 8.15.10 PS only

|                         |     |
|-------------------------|-----|
| sa dīrgham āyusḥ kṛṇute | (8) |
| sa prajāyai cikitsati   | (8) |
| yo brāhmaṇasya brāhmaṇo | (8) |
| hūto †anveti† kilbiṣe   | (8) |

He makes his own life long, he takes care for his progeny, who, being a Brahmin, speaks (?) at the offense against a Brahmin, when called upon [to do so].

āyusḥ kṛṇute] Or, āyusḥkṛṇoti K sa prajāyai] Or, suprajāye K cikitsati] Ku JM V/126 [Mā], cikicha(→ tsa)ti Ma, jigiśchati K hūto] Or, huto K †anveti†] Ku JM V/126 [Ma], anyeti Mā, nnatu K kilbiṣe] Or, kilviṣe K

d. *anveti* or *anvetu* is most probably the authentic reading of the archetype, but the verb is always transitive and does not suit the context. I would propose to emend the text to *\*vadati* (cf. 11d and ṚV 10.109.1, discussed in the introduction) and assume that *anveti* is due to perseveration from passages like PS 9.24.6cd *amaiva puṇyam astu no atrn* (lege: *attrn*) *anv eti* (or: *etu*) *kilbiṣam* ‘let it be propitious for us at home, the offense goes/may go to the Devourers (name of the demons)’, PS 20.23.9d *yuṣmān anv etu kilbiṣam* ‘let the offense go to you’.

#### 8.15.11 PS only

|                          |     |
|--------------------------|-----|
| nāsyā prajāṃ śarvo hanti | (8) |
| na rudro hanti nāśaniḥ   | (8) |

yó brāhmaṇásya brāhmaṇáh (8)  
 satyám vádati kílbise || (8)

Neither does Śarva slay, nor does Rudra slay, nor [does] the thunderbolt [slay] the progeny of him, who, being a Brahmin, speaks the truth about the offense against a Brahmin.

**JM:** from satye to 13b avāyati | (inclusive) written *in margine* • nāśaniḥ |] **Or**, nāśani **Z K** |] **V/126** [**Ma Mā**] **K**, || **Ku** brāhmaṇásya] **Ku V/126**, brāhma(+ ṇa)sya **Ma**, brāhmasya **Mā**, brahmaṇásya **K** [[misprint Bar.: vrahmanásya]] brāhmaṇáh] **Ku V/126** [**Ma Mā**] **K** [[brāhmaṇah]], brāhmaṇa **JM** satyám vádati] satye vadati **Or**, satyámva(→ tyéva)dati **K** kílbise] **Ku V/126** [**Ma**], kilbiṣam **JM**, kiṣe **Mā**, kílvise **K**

BHATTACHARYA edits *satye*.

Accents are marked on the second hemistich in **K**, and on the first word of the next stanza. I have added the accent on *vádati*, and corrected *brāhmaṇáh*, which is incorrectly accented in the ms., without marking this word as an emendation. Cf. GRIFFITHS 2004: 60 (with n. 27) for another case of an accented mantra unique to PS.<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Introduction to GRIFFITHS forthc., §2.1.1.4, for general information on the sporadic marking of accents in **K**.

a. Cf. PS 20.61.8ab *na tatra bhavo hanti na śarva iṣum asyati* ‘There Bhava does not slay, nor does Śarva shoot an arrow, ...’.

#### 8.15.12 PS only

tám somapītho juṣate (8)  
 nṛcakṣā grāvabhiḥ saha | (8)  
 yo brāhmaṇasyāstām hṛdaḥ (8)  
 sūrya ivāpālupat tamaḥ || (8)

The drink of Soma, looking after men, together with the pressing-stones is pleased about him, who has removed a shot [arrow] from the Brahmin’s heart as Sūrya [removes] the darkness.

tám] **Or**, tvám **K** somapītho] **K**, somapitho **Or** juṣate] **Or**, juguthe **K** nṛcakṣā] **Or**, nṛcakṣād **K** grāvabhiḥ] **JM** [**Ma**], grāmabhiḥ **Ku**, grāvabhi **V/126**, śrāvabhi **Mā**, grāvabhis **K** saha] **Ku V/126** [**Ma Mā**] **K**, saḥ **JM** |] **Or**, *om.* **K** brāhmaṇasyāstām] **Ku V/126** [**Ma Mā**], brāhmaṇasyāstām **JM**, brā[[*line*]]brāhmaṇasyāstām **K** hṛdaḥ] **Or**, hṛdas **K** sūrya ivāpālupat] sūrya ivāpālapat **Or**, sūryaivāpālupat **K** tamaḥ ||] **Or**, tamaḥ **K** [[*om.* |, but note °ḥ y°]]

BHATTACHARYA edits *brāhmaṇasyāstām*.

<sup>4</sup>By contrast with the mantra PS 1.65.4 edited there, the accentuation — although limited in extent — has been done with care here: *udātta* (vertical stroke above accented *akṣara*), *anudāttatara* (vertical stroke below preceding *akṣara*) and dependent *svarita* (dot below ensuing *akṣara*) are all duly marked.

a. Present VI *juṣate* is an innovation of the AV, arisen from the a-aor. *juṣa-* of the RV.

### 8.15.13 PS only

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| ya utthāya kilbiṣe brāhmaṇasya-                                 | (11)   |
| -annam <sup>+</sup> ichann avāyati                              | (8)    |
| ubhe enaṃ dyāvāpṛthivī saṃ tapatām                              | (13/P) |
| athait <sub>uv</sub> agatasya panthām    15    <i>anuvāka</i> 3 | (9/P)  |

Who would rise at the offense against a Brahmin and go away, looking for food, let both Heaven and Earth scorch him, and let him go [along] the path of what is not gone (= Death).

**JM:** the marginal addition ends with *avāyati* 3; thereafter in line 3: {*syānnasītsannavāyati* |} • *kilbiṣe*] *kilviṣe* **K** *brāhmaṇasyānnam* <sup>+</sup>*ichann*] *brāhmaṇasyānnasītsann* **Ku** **V/126** **Mā**, *brāhmaṇasyānnasīchann* **JM** [**Ma**], *brāhmaṇasyāṃnamaiśchaṃ* **K** *avāyati* |] **Or**, *avāyate* | **K** [[**Bar.**, **Bh.** omit |] *ubhe enaṃ*] **Ku** **JM** [**Ma** **Mā**], *ubhe ekaṃ* **V/126**, *utainaṃ* **K** *saṃ tapatām*] **V/126** [**Ma**], *saṃtapatām* **Ku**, *santapatām* **JM**, *saṃtapam* **Mā**, *santapatām* **K** *agatasya*] **Or**, *aktasya* **K** *panthām* || 15 || *anuvāka* 3 ||] *panthām* || ṛ 13 || 15 || a 3 || **Ku**, *panthām* || ṛ {·}12 || 15 || **JM**, *panthām* || 15 || ṛ (*sec. m.* ·) || a 3 || **V/126**, *panthām* Z 5 Z anu 3 Z **K**

BHATTACHARYA edits <sup>o</sup>*nnasīcchann*. Presumably, pādas **c** and **d** are prose.

**d.** The collocation *agatasya panthā-* is a standing expression in the AV, cf. ŚS 14.2.74c *tām vahantv āgatasyaṅnu pānthām* (~ PS 18.14.4c ... *ābhi panthām*) 'her let them carry along the road of what is not gone' (WHITNEY), ŚS 11.10.16f *candrāmā yutām āgatasya pānthām* 'let the moon put [them = the enemies] on the track of what is not gone' (WHITNEY). Cf. *ṛtasya panthāḥ* in 5d above.

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# Zwei Studien zum Wortschatz der Paippalāda-Saṃhitā\*

Werner Knobl\*\*

Von den beiden, in nachfolgenden Wortstudien behandelten Wörtern ist das eine erst noch zu suchen, das andere zwar schon gefunden, aber noch zu erklären.

## A. Auf der Suche nach dem Schlüsselwort

Die drei eng zusammengehörigen Strophen PS 7.15.6/7/8 sind in der sehr verdienstvollen editio princeps von Dipak Bhattacharya<sup>1</sup> — und in einer von Arlo Griffiths mir großzügig im voraus zugänglich gemachten Fassung seiner kritischen Neuausgabe des sechsten und siebten Buchs der PS<sup>2</sup> — bereits ediert worden. Gestützt auf diese beiden Editionen, die durch kleinere, jeweils begründete Veränderungen ergänzt wurden, lege ich meiner Übersetzung und Erläuterung der Stelle folgende Version zugrunde:

*uṣṇīṣaṃ tvā śīrṣakt<sub>i</sub>yā vāsas tvā +tan<sub>i</sub>vāmayāt |*  
*candraṃ hiraṇyam andh<sub>i</sub>yāt \*karṇādattaṃ śukraṃ bhrājad*

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\*Diese Wortstudien sind dem Andenken Paul Thiemes (18.3.1905 – 24.4.2001) gewidmet, der am 18. März 2005 seinen 100. Geburtstag gefeiert haben würde.

\*\*Mit Dankbarkeit gedenke ich der großzügigen finanziellen Unterstützung, die mir das Japanische Ministerium für Erziehung und Wissenschaft im Rahmen des COE-Programms der Literarischen Fakultät der Universität Kyoto gewährt hat und durch die meine Teilnahme am 29. Deutschen Orientalistentag vom 20. bis zum 24. September 2004 in Halle an der Saale sehr erleichtert wurde. Den Freunden Arlo Griffiths und Masato Kobayashi bin ich für ihre technische Hilfe bei der Herstellung einer brauchbaren Druckvorlage sehr zu Dank verbunden. Diwakar Acharya, Arlo Griffiths und Annette Schmiechen danke ich für zahlreiche Hinweise und Verbesserungsvorschläge, Arlo besonders auch noch dafür, daß er seine Manuskripte zu der von mir in der zweiten Wortstudie (B. Eine Hautkrankheit namens *abhīlī-*) besprochenen Stelle, PS 20.62.9a–63.5d, verglichen und einen kritischen Apparat meinen Zitaten hinzugefügt hat. Die *variae lectiones* zu PS 7.15.6–8, dem Gegenstand meiner ersten Wortstudie, sind hingegen in seiner Dissertation (siehe die übernächste Fußnote) schon alle verzeichnet.

<sup>1</sup>Dipak Bhattacharya, *The Paippalāda-Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda, Critically edited from palmleaf manuscripts in the Oriya script discovered by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya and one Śāradā manuscript. Volume One, Consisting of the first fifteen Kāṇḍas. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1997: 515.*

<sup>2</sup>Arlo Griffiths, *The Paippalādasamhitā of the Atharvaveda: Kāṇḍas 6 and 7. A New Edition with Translation and Commentary. Proefschrift, Universiteit Leiden, 2004: 404–407.* Angesichts der Tatsache, daß dieses *magnum opus* bislang noch seiner Endfassung entgegenharrt, erlaube ich mir die Freiheit, mich einstweilen auf das vom Verfasser freundlichst mir zur Verfügung gestellte Manuskript der Dissertation zu beziehen. Denn es war ja gerade durch diese Vorarbeit und deren ein langes Nachdenken anregende Vorläufigkeiten, daß ich zur Behandlung obiger Stelle, vor allem aber zur Lösung des durch *(datkravyāt)* gestellten Problems veranlaßt wurde. Wenn schon die deminutiven *libelli* nicht zu klein sind, um *sua fata* zu haben, dann werden auch die *opera magna* ihre Geschichte und ein eigenes Schicksal beanspruchen dürfen — zumal im Leben der Freunde ihrer Autoren.

*bādhiryāt pātu dakṣiṇā* || 6 ||

*upabarhaṇaṃ t<sub>u</sub>vā gr̥tv<sub>a</sub>āmayān maṇayo yakṣmād †datkravyāt†* |

*aṅgarogād abhyañjanam annaṃ tvāntast<sub>i</sub>yāmayāt* || 7 ||

*adhaspadād āmayataḥ pado rogād upānahau* |

*daṇḍas tvādattaḥ pari pātu sarpād dakṣiṇataḥ prayato dakṣiṇena* || 8 ||

[Ein Priester spricht seinem Auftraggeber zum Dank für empfangene Geschenke folgenden Wunsch aus:]

Als [mir von dir überreichter] Priesterlohn soll dich schützen: der Turban vor Kopfweg, das Gewand vor Leibschmerz, der leuchtende Goldschmuck vor Blindheit, der vom Ohr genommene hell glänzende [Ring] vor Taubheit. [6.]

Das Kopfkissen [soll dich schützen] vor Nackenschmerz, der Halsschmuck vor dem *yākṣma* . . . , das Körperöl vor Gliederschmerz, die Speise vor Bauchweh. [7.]

Die Sandalen [sollen dich schützen] vor einer unten an den Füßen schmerzenden Fußkrankheit. Der von dir gegebene Stab soll [dich] ringsum schützen vor [dem Biß] der Schlange, von rechts (und von Süden),<sup>3</sup> dargebracht mit der Rechten. [8.]

Meiner ausführlichen Diskussion der Editoren-Crux †**datkravyāt**† seien einige — hauptsächlich textkritische — Bemerkungen vorausgeschickt. Sie betreffen *andhyāt* in 6c, \**karnādattaṃ* und das suppliierte [*kuṇḍalam*] in 6d, die metrische Struktur von 7a, das von Bhattacharya getrennt edierte *dat kravyāt* in 7b, die Syntax von 8a–b und das vermutliche Kompositum *tvādattaḥ* in 8c.

**6c.** Alle Orissa-Handschriften ebenso wie das einzige Kaschmir-Manuskript überliefern einhellig *andhyāt*. Es mag uns zwar zunächst so erscheinen, als fordere nicht sowohl die im Sanskrit sehr beliebte Wortbildungsregel, nach welcher aus Eigenschaftswörtern neutrale Abstrakta mit jenem Suffix *-ya-* abgeleitet werden, das Dehnstufe des Vokals der ersten Silbe bewirkt,<sup>4</sup> als vielmehr

<sup>3</sup>Mit diesem ‘Süden’ könnte auf König **Yama** und sein Totenreich angespielt sein, in das der **Yajamāna** durch einen Schlangenbiß versetzt zu werden drohte, wenn der dem Priester als Lohn für seinen Opferdienst überreichte Stab ihn nicht mit magischer Kraft davor zu schützen vermöchte. Arlo Griffiths weist mich noch eigens darauf hin, daß der Opferherr insofern besonders gefährdet erscheinen könnte, als er ja auf der Südseite des Opferplatzes sitzt und der aus südlicher Richtung drohenden Gefahr — etwas leichtsinnig — den Rücken kehrt.

<sup>4</sup>Vgl. Wackernagel & Debrunner, AiGr II 2, 821 f. § 660a & 834 ff. § 667; ferner in Pāṇini’s Grammatik zum Beispiel die Sūtren Aṣṭādhyāyī 5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas [tva-talau] . . . 123 [varṇa-]dr̥ḍhādibhyaḥ śyañ ca* 124 *guṇavacana-brāhmaṇādibhyaḥ [karmaṇi ca]*. In dem Gaṇa *dr̥ḍhādayaḥ* zu A 5.1.123 (Gp. 118 ed. Böhtlingk 119\*) findet sich zwar *badhira-* (118.16 ed. Böhtlingk), nicht jedoch *andha-*. Aber wir werden diese in unterschiedlicher Länge überlieferte Liste von Eigenschaftswörtern wohl ebenso als einen unabgeschlossenen *ākṛti-gaṇa-* ansehen dürfen wie den Gaṇa *brāhmaṇādayaḥ* zu A 5.1.124 (Gp. 167 ed. Böhtlingk 128\*). Zur Überlieferung vgl. Robert Birwé, Der Gaṇapāṭha zu den Adhyāyas IV und V der Grammatik Pāṇinis. Versuch einer Rekonstruktion. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1961, 324 f. & 326 ff.

auch das parallele *bādhiryāt* in Zeile e Vṛddhi des ersten Vokals. Dennoch haben wir von einer — immerhin zweifach nahegelegten und somit notfalls begründbaren — Emendation der Überlieferung zu *\*āndhyāt* abzusehen, weil das Abstraktum auch an einer anderen Stelle der Paippalāda-Samḥitā mit kurzem Vokal anlautet. Es findet sich nämlich ein zweiter Beleg des Nomens in dem Vers PS 2.81.2a *yad andhiyaṃ yad algaṇam*. Ob die dort bezeugte Dreisilbigkeit uns erlaubt, mit Zehnder, Buch 2,<sup>5</sup> 182, von *andhiya-* als einer *-iya-*Ableitung zu sprechen, oder ob das *-i-* des auch in unserem Vers metri causa dreisilbig zu lesenden *andhiyāt* als bloßer Sproß- und Svarabhakti-Vokal zu werten ist, soll hier nicht entschieden werden.

Auch bleibe vorläufig dahingestellt, ob wir berechtigt sind, “*āndhiya-*” als “die jüngere Form” (so Zehnder, loc. cit.) zu bezeichnen. Jedenfalls ist ein von *andhā-* ‘blind’ abgeleitetes Abstraktum nicht erst in der Suśruta-Samḥitā mit gedehntem Anlaut belegt. Es kommt vielmehr auch schon im Vedischen vor. Abgesehen von einer Stelle der späten (und obskuren) Tejobindu-Upaniṣad, findet sich vṛddhiertes *āndhya-* (*\*āndhya-*) n. bereits in den beiden ältesten Śrauta-Sūtren des Yajurveda, und zwar in einer von 72 respective 32 Formeln, die *pāpmano vinidhayah* ‘Ablegungen je eines Übels [in verschiedenen Menschen, Tieren, Dingen, und Gegenden]’ genannt werden: BaudhŚS 2.5: 39.6 *gavaye ma āndhyaṃ gaure me bādhiryam* ‘im Bos gavaeus [soll] meine Blindheit [deponiert sein], im Bos gaurus meine Taubheit’<sup>6</sup> — das Abstraktum steht also auch hier in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft von *bādhirya-* n. — und VādhŚS [“Mantrapariśeṣa”] 15.9 *tāmanyēṣu ma āndhyam* ‘in den Tāmanyas [soll] meine Blindheit [abgelegt sein]’.<sup>7</sup>

Falls nun *āndhya-* n. nicht “die jüngere Form” wäre, es sich vielmehr — und im Widerspruch zu Zehnders Annahme — gerade als die ältere Form erweisen sollte, so ließe sich unser im ersten Vokal gekürztes *andhya-* als eine Unregelmäßigkeit von jener Art ansehen, wie sie auch im Falle anderer Nomina mit ursprünglich langem *-ā-* der ersten Silbe schon für die ältere Sprache einigermaßen belegbar ist.

Zu vergleichen wären z.B. *aṇḍa-* (JB 2.58:1 *aṇḍa-parśu-*) ← *āṇḍā-* n. & m. ‘Ei’ & ‘Hode’ (RV<sup>4x</sup> +) oder *antra-* (VaikhŚS 13.17: 172.3 *antrāṇi* & ĀgniGS 3.5.1: 140.20

<sup>5</sup>Thomas Zehnder, Atharvaveda-Paippalāda, Buch 2: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar. Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner Verlag, 1999.

<sup>6</sup>Vgl. W. Caland, Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana (AKM XII.1.), Leipzig, 1903 (= Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1966), 18 f. § 23.

<sup>7</sup>Vgl. W. Caland, Eine dritte Mitteilung über das Vādhūlasūtra, Acta Orientalia 4, 1926, 3 = Kleine Schriften, 1990, 305; M. Sparreboom and J. C. Heesterman, The ritual of setting up the sacrificial fires according to the Vādhūla school, 1989, 89 & 91, und vor allem Yasuke Ikari, Zinbun 34 (2), 1999, 25.

*antrāṇi* [ʔ]<sup>8</sup>)<sup>9</sup> ← *āntrá-* n. ‘Eingeweide’ (RV<sup>2x</sup> +) oder *marga-* (ĀpGS 20.12 *gavām marge*) ← *mārga-* m. ‘Weg’ (ältester [ʔ] Beleg in RVKh 1.2.12 [= ŚvetU 1.4c] *trimārga-bheda-*). Solche in vedischen Texten allerdings noch sehr vereinzelt Beispiele von ‘Vokalkürzung vor einer Konsonantengruppe’ scheinen das später in den Volkssprachen wirksam gewordene Dreimorengesetz anzukündigen, ja vorwegzunehmen, es sei denn man spricht mit Wackernagel, AiGr I, 1896, 44 § 39 Anmerkung, kurzerhand von Prakritismus. Ausführlicher hierzu: Wackernagel, KZ 59, 1932, 32 = Kleine Schriften I, 1953, 343 mit Anm. 1.

6d. Sowohl Bhattacharya als auch Griffiths edieren im Anschluß an die Lesung offenbar aller Handschriften *karṇād dattam*. Statt ‘vom Ohr gegeben’ erwartet man jedoch ‘vom Ohr genommen’. Deshalb schlage ich vor, mit einer nur geringfügigen Änderung der bezeugten Lautfolge, besser *\*karṇādattam* (= *karṇā-ādattam*) zu lesen. Unter dem Einfluß der benachbarten Ablative auf *-āt* konnte aus dem erschlossenen Kompositum *\*karṇādattam* leicht ein weiterer Ablativ herausgelesen und das aufgrund dieses Mißverständnisses übriggebliebene *attam* zu dem im *dákṣiṇā*-Geschenks-Kontext so offenbar sinnvollen *dattam* ergänzt werden.<sup>10</sup>

In seinem Kommentar zur Stelle hat Arlo Griffiths, Proefschrift 405, unter Hinweis auf Wilhelm Rau, *Metalle und Metallgeräte im vedischen Indien*, Wiesbaden, 1973, 51 f., schon vermutet, daß als einziges, zu den drei neutralen Adjektiven in 6d in Gedanken zu ergänzendes Substantiv, nur das Neutrum *kuṇḍalam* in Frage kommen kann. Diese Vermutung findet in mehreren *samāvartana*-Kontexten ihre Bestätigung, in denen vom Snātaka gefordert wird, daß er für sich und seinen Lehrer — oder nur für diesen — neben einem Turban (*uṣṇīṣa-*), Ober- und Untergewand (*vastra-yuga-*), einem Stab (*danda-*), Sandalen (*upānah-* / *upānad-yuga-*), Körperöl (*anulepana-*), einem Halsschmuck (*maṇi-*) und einigen anderen Requisiten auch zwei Ohrringe (*kuṇḍale*) besorge. Siehe zum Beispiel ĀśvGS 3.8.1–2 oder ŚGS 3.1.18. Die Parallelen zu unserem *dákṣiṇā*-Kontext sind frappant. Übrigens werden zwei Ohrringe (*kuṇḍale*) nicht nur hier, sondern auch in zwei Śrautasūtren des Sāmaveda als *dákṣiṇā*- erwähnt: LŚS

<sup>8</sup>Mit kurzem *a*-Anlaut nach Vishva Bandhu, VWC IV 1, 224a. Der ĀgniGS-Kontext, *sarpiṣāntrāṇi pūrayitvā* (‘nachdem er die Gedärme mit Butterschmalz gereinigt hat’), erlaubt jedoch keine eindeutige Entscheidung zugunsten einer Kürze des anlautenden Vokals.

<sup>9</sup>Die von Vishva Bandhu, VWC I 1, 288b, 289a und 6, 3769c verzeichneten PS-Belege für *antra-* finden sich zwar alle in der einzigen Kaschmir-Handschrift, es wird jedoch keine von ihnen durch die mehreren Orissa-Manuskripte bestätigt. Die *K*-Lesungen sind belegt an folgenden vier Stellen: PSK<sup>8+3x</sup> 4.30.1d–8d *cārum antrādam ... dviṣantam*, 16.148.7a *yat te gudās, v antreṣu*, 17.29.10 *yad antragudam* und 19.18.5c *yathāsyām antram ...*. An der ersten Stelle liest Bhattacharyas Ausgabe jedoch *cārum annādam ...*. Die drei zuletzt zitierten Stellen sind zwar noch nicht verbindlich ediert, aber die PSK entsprechenden PSO-Passagen scheinen überall anders zu lesen, wie mir Arlo Griffiths nach dankenswerter Einsicht der ihm vorliegenden Handschriften freundlich mitteilt.

<sup>10</sup>Die Gefahr, das ebenfalls mit *-datta-* zusammengesetzte *tvādattaḥ* ‘der von dir gegebene [Stab]’ in Zeile 8c auf gleiche Weise zu verlesen, bestand hingegen nicht, weil die Sprache mit keinem Ablativ *\*tvād* einer solchen Verlesung Vorschub zu leisten vermocht hätte.

4.12.8 und DŚS 12.4.13.<sup>11</sup>

Besonders aufschlußreich im gegenwärtigen Textzusammenhang ist jedoch eine AV-Parallelstelle, an der sich zwar nicht *kuṇḍalé*, wohl aber das synonyme *pravartāu* findet. Ich meine die fünf Nominalsätze in der Prosa von ŚS 15.2.5 (PS 18.28.2) *viññānaṃ vās[o á]har usñīṣaṃ rātrī kēsā háritau pravartāu kalmalīr mañīh* ‘[Sein, des Vrātya, zweiteiliges] Gewand ist das Unterscheidungsvermögen, [sein weißer] Turban ist der Tag, [seine schwarzen] Haare sind die Nacht, [seine runden] Ohrringe sind die beiden Goldgelben (Sonne und Mond), [sein im Kreis umgelegter] Halsschmuck ist [deren] Hof’.<sup>12</sup> Wie in unserer Passage erscheinen also auch hier *vāsas-*, *usñīṣa-* und *mañī-* neben einem Wort für ‘Ohrring’.

7a. Im Gegensatz zu zehn ziemlich regelmäßigen Anuṣṭubh-Zeilen (6a–e, 7b–d, 8a–b) und zwei ganz regulären Triṣṭubh-Pādas (8c–d) fällt der Jagatī-Vers 7a aus dem Rahmen des metrisch Üblichen. Dieser versuchsweise mit zweifacher Auflösung als *upabarhanaṃ tvā grīvā āmayāt* gelesene Vers ist nicht etwa durch seine Zwölfsilbigkeit außergewöhnlich, sondern allein dadurch, daß hier das enklitische *tvā* unmittelbar nach der Zäsur eines trimetrischen Pāda zu stehen scheint. An keiner der 589 Belegstellen von *tvā* im RV findet sich das Pronomen in dieser Position. Auch in der ŚS ist es nirgendwo in gleicher Stellung belegt. Ob dieser negative Befund ebenso auf die PS zutrifft, wird sich erst nach Abschluß der kritischen Editionen aller 20 Bücher entscheiden lassen.<sup>13</sup> Freilich

<sup>11</sup>Zum Dual *kuṇḍale* vgl. noch Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya I 7.16–17 (ed. Kielhorn–Abhyankar, Poona 41985) *suvarṇaṇḍalāḥ ... kuṇḍale bhavataḥ* ‘Der Goldklumpen [als *dravya-* ‘Stoff’] wird [modifiziert] zu zwei Ohrringen [als *ākṛti-* ‘Form’] — mit einer ebenso seltsamen wie seltenen Attraktion des finiten Verbs ans Prädikatsnomen: ‘Der Goldklumpen werden zwei Ohrringe’. Vgl. J. S. Speijer, Sanskrit Syntax, Leiden 1886, 18 § 27, 2 und J. S. Speyer, Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax, Straßburg 1896, 30 § 95 a. Der in diesen beiden Werken zitierte einzige Beleg für Attraktion eines verbum finitum ans nominale Prädikat in Manu-Smṛti 9.294cd *sapta prakṛtayo hy etāḥ saptāṅgaṃ rājyam ucyate* (“these [foresaid] seven elements are named together the seven-membered kingdom” [Speijer]) scheint mir nicht eindeutig genug zu sein, um als ein gutes Beispiel für die rare Erscheinung gelten zu dürfen. Denn die beiden Verse lassen sich auch als von einander unabhängige Sätze auffassen, die dann so zu übersetzen wären: ‘diese (König, Minister, Residenz, Reich, Schatz, Armee und Verbündete) sind die sieben Elemente [der Königsherrschaft]; und die Königsherrschaft wird [dementsprechend] siebengliedrig genannt’; vgl. G. Bühler, The Laws of Manu, SBE 25, Oxford 1886, 395: “... (hence) a kingdom is said to have seven limbs (aṅga).”

<sup>12</sup>Zwar ist die Bedeutung ‘Hof’ im Sinne von ‘Halo, Nimbus’ von mir geraten, aber nur sie scheint die Gleichsetzung des vom Vrātya um den Hals getragenen Schmuckstücks mit einem *kalmalī-* in ihrer ganzen, offenbar beabsichtigten Konkretheit verständlich zu machen. Jedenfalls ist der von Mayrhofer, EWA I 325 s.v., aus dem PW [2.177: “viell. Glanz (etwa der Sterne)"] fast wörtlich übernommene Bedeutungsansatz [“vielleicht: Glanz (der Sterne?)”] nicht so bestimmt und anschaulich, daß er an der oben zitierten AV-Stelle mit aller wünschenswerten Genauigkeit passen würde.

<sup>13</sup>Bis dahin werden wir uns wohl noch ein gutes Lustrum gedulden müssen.

könnte unsere Zeile einstweilen auch ohne Zäsur gelesen werden.<sup>14</sup>

**7b.** Die als Crux markierte Lesung †**datkravyāt**† stammt von Griffiths, Proefschrift 405. Bhattacharya liest stattdessen in zwei Wörter getrenntes **dat kravyāt**, ohne jedoch wenigstens das rätselhafte **dat** — seiner sonstigen Gepflogenheit entsprechend — mit einer geraden Linie unter der Zeile als ein Rätsel zu kennzeichnen. Was mag der Herausgeber der Erstedition sich zur Bedeutung dieses Wörtchens gedacht haben? Außer im Kompositum könnte *dánt-* m. ‘Zahn’ wohl kaum die Form *dat* annehmen. Oder hätte man sich etwa einen Injunktiv des *a*-Aorists von *dā* ‘geben’ vorzustellen? Gesetzt den Fall, wir stellen uns dies vor, so erhebt sich damit zugleich die Frage: Würde denn hier ein ‘hat gegeben / gibt / soll geben’ syntaktisch funktionieren? Doch offenbar ebenso wenig, wie ein falschem Anschein nach neutraler, ‘blutiges Fleisch fressender’ Zahn in Verbindung mit dem Ablativ *yakṣmāt* auch nur einigermaßen befriedigenden Sinn ergäbe.

**7d.** Als *-tya*-Ableitung von *antár* ‘innen’ (RV<sup>154×</sup> +) wäre eigentlich \**antástya*- zu erwarten, wie es AB<sup>2×</sup> 1.21.5<sup>2×</sup> und AA<sup>2×</sup> 1.5.1<sup>2×</sup> tatsächlich, wenn auch ohne Akzent, belegt ist. Aber unter dem Einfluß vor allem des antonymen Adjektivs *níṣṭya-* ‘auswärtig’ (RV<sup>3×</sup> +) konnte das ursprünglichere *antastya-* ‘inwendig’ dessen Retroflexe übernehmen und zu dem einigermaßen befremdlichen *antaṣṭya-* umgestaltet werden. Eine weitere retroflektierte *-tya*-Bildung, nämlich das homomorphe *āvīṣṭya-* ‘offenbar’ (RV<sup>2×</sup> +), mag bei dieser Beeinflussung eine gewisse Nebenrolle gespielt haben.

**8a.** Es wäre immerhin möglich, die beiden Wörter dieses Verses als von *pado rogād* unabhängige Ablative anzusehen und unmittelbar auf *upānahau [pātām]* zu beziehen. Dann müßte *adhaspadād āmayataḥ* mit ‘vor dem, was unten an den Füßen schmerzt’ wiedergegeben werden. Es erscheint mir jedoch einleuchtender, den Ausdruck als eine nähere Bestimmung der ‘Fußkrankheit’ selbst zu verstehen, denn durch die ‘von unten’ angebundenen Sandalen (*upānāh-* ← \**upa-Hnād<sup>h</sup>*-) sollen die Füße ja besonders vor einer Krankheit geschützt werden, die sie ‘von unten’ anzufallen droht. Übrigens läßt sich *adhaspadād* ebenso gut als Adverb wie auch als ein weiteres, *rogād* qualifizierendes Adjektiv interpretieren.

**8b.** Nach seiner grammatischen Form könnte der Genitiv *pado* im Sandhi vor *rogād* zwar als Singular *padás* aufgefaßt werden. Es ist aber weitaus wahrscheinlicher, daß wir es mit dem Dual *padós* zu tun haben und also beide Füße als potentiell von der Krankheit Betroffene gemeint sind.

**8c.** Bhattacharya edierte Pāda 8c als *daṇḍas tvā dattaḥ pari pātu sarpād* (‘der [von dir] gegebene Stab soll dich ringsum schützen vor [dem Biß] der Schlange’), was man freilich nicht als Fehler bezeichnen kann. Doch scheint mir *daṇḍas*

<sup>14</sup>Wenn angenommen werden dürfte, daß hier ein Dichter von der poetischen Kraft gewisser Ṛṣis des Ṛgveda am Werke war, so würde ich zu vermuten wagen, er habe die Zäsur absichtlich suspendiert, um damit symbolisch auszudrücken, der Schmerz im Nacken werde durch das diesem untergeschobene Kissen wirksam aufgehoben.

*tvādattaḥ* ('der von dir gegebene Stab') den Vorzug zu verdienen. Das Kompositum *tvādatta-* ist im Vedischen zwar nur zweimal belegt, nämlich ṚV 2.33.2a und 8.92.18b — während das synonyme (?)<sup>15</sup> *tvādāta-* etwas häufiger vorkommt: ṚV<sup>4×</sup> (ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 20.6.6c = ṚV 1.10.7b = ṚV 3.40.6c) — aber trotz dieser Seltenheit auch in unserer PS-Passage *tvā* und *dattaḥ* als Zusammensetzung zu lesen würde die Rarität *tvādatta-* um einen weiteren Beleg vermehren (wenn auch zugleich deren Kostbarkeit in demselben Maße vermindern). Und so zu lesen wäre ebenso sehr zum Vorteil der oben erwogenen Emendation von getrennt überliefertem *karnād dattam* zu komponiertem *\*karnādattam*, wie umgekehrt dieses geeignet wäre, ein *tvādatta-*Kompositum zu stützen. Auch ließe sich daran denken, daß hiermit auf ṚV 2.33.2ab = TB 2.8.6.8 angespielt wird, wo 'heilsamste Arzneien', die ein volle hundert Jahre währendes Leben gewähren mögen, *tvādatta-* genannt werden.<sup>16</sup>

Nach diesen kritischen Vorbemerkungen nun zur Diskussion der Crux selbst. In den oben zitierten drei Strophen PS 7.15.6–8 werden **zehn** dem Priester zur Belohnung (*dākṣiṇā-* f.)<sup>17</sup> für seinen Opferdienst überreichte Gaben aufgezählt, die den Opferherrn — in genauer Entsprechung zu seinen Geschenken — vor den folgenden, verschiedene Körperteile affizierenden Leiden schützen sollen: **1.** ein Turban, *uṣṇīṣa-* n., vor Kopfweg (6a), **2.** ein Gewand, *vāsas-* n., vor Leibschmerz (6b), **3.** Gold, *hīraṇya-* n., vor Blindheit (6c), **4.** ein Ohrring, das implizite *\*kuṇḍalā-* n., vor Taubheit (6de); **5.** ein Kopfkissen, *upabārhaṇa-* n., vor Nackenschmerz (7a), **6.** ein Halsschmuck, *maṇi-* m., vor ... (7b), **7.** Körperöl, *abhyāñjana-* n., vor Gliederschmerz (7c), **8.** Speise, *anna-* n., vor Bauchweh (7d), **9.** Sandalen, *upānāh-* f., vor einer Fußkrankheit (8ab) und **10.** ein Stab, *daṇḍā-* m., vor Vergiftung durch Schlangenbiß (8c).

Überall sind hier die betroffenen Partien entweder unmittelbar genannt: **1.** der Kopf (*śīras-* / *śīrṣaṇ-* n.) in *śīrṣ-akti-* f.,<sup>18</sup> **2.** der Körper (*tanū-* f.) in *tanuv-*

<sup>15</sup>Die Möglichkeit, daß *-dāta-* von einer anderen Wurzel abgeleitet sei als *-datta-* 'gegeben', wird von Geldner, Übersetzung I 11, kurz erörtert in seiner Anmerkung zu ṚV 1.10.7b (= ṚV 3.40.6c) *indra tvādātām id yāsaḥ* 'Von dir, Indra, wird die Auszeichnung verliehen'. Am ehesten kommt jene Wurzel *dā* in Frage, zu der einerseits das Präsens (*ava-**d-yā-ti* 'trennt (ab)'), andererseits *d-āya-te* 'teilt zu' gebildet wird; vgl. Manfred Mayrhofer, EWAia I 717 s.v. *DĀ*<sup>4</sup> & I 700 s.v. *DAY*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>16</sup>*tvādattebhī rudra śāntamebhīḥ śatām hīmā aśṭya bheṣajēbhīḥ* 'möchte ich durch die von dir, o Rudra, gegebenen heilsamsten Arzneien hundert Winter [lange Lebenszeit] erlangen.'

<sup>17</sup>Es sei mir hier — wie auch gelegentlich in späteren Abschnitten dieser Studien — gestattet, nominale Stammformen so zu akzentuieren, wie sie in vedischen Texten belegt sind oder wie es den uns bekannten Intonationsregeln entspricht. Daß die PS, im Unterschied zu den meisten anderen Samhitās, fast durchgehend ohne Akzentzeichen überliefert ist, braucht wohl nicht eigens betont zu werden. Zu den wenigen, ausnahmsweise akzentuierten Stellen im Kaschmir-Manuskript vgl. Arlo Griffiths, Kāṇḍas 6 and 7, Introduction XX–XXI, § 2.1.1.4: "Sporadic marking of accents."

<sup>18</sup>Zur evident richtigen Erklärung des Kompositums *śīrṣ-akti-* 'Kopfschmerz' (ŚS<sup>5×</sup> 1.12.3a, 9.8.1a, 12.2.19d & 20d, 12.5.23) vgl. F. B. J. Kuiper, Acta Orientalia 17, 1939, 22 ff. = Selected Writings, Amsterdam, 1997, 178 ff.

*āmayā-* m., 5. der Nacken (*grīvā-* f., eigentlich die [sieben] Halswirbel) in *grīva-āmayā-* m., 7. allgemein die Glieder (*āṅga-* n.) in *aṅga-rogā-* m., 8. die Eingeweide (*\*antastya-* n.) in *antastya-āmayā-* m., 9. die beiden Füße (*pād-* m.) in *adhaspadā-* und *padō rogā-* m.; oder sie sind indirekt mitgemeint: 3. die Augen in *āndhya-*, 4. die Ohren in *bādhīrya-*, 10. ein unbestimmter, durch Schlangengift infizierter Körperteil in *sarpā-* m.

Nur in 7b (6.) scheint der Name desjenigen Körperteils zu fehlen, welcher durch die als *yākṣma*<sup>19</sup> identifizierte Krankheit betroffen sein könnte. Oder verbirgt sich der schmerzlich vermißte Name etwa hinter dem mit zwei Kreuzen quasi als doppelte Crux markierten<sup>20</sup> und von unserem kritischen Herausgeber vorläufig unübersetzt gelassenen †*datkravyāt*†? Jedenfalls werden wir an eben dieser Stelle nach dem verborgenen Namen zu suchen haben in der Hoffnung, hier fündig zu werden. Wer aber fündig werden will, muß findig sein. Und so wollen wir im folgenden versuchen, am Leitfaden just eines Schmuckstücks zum Fundort hinzufinden.

Vor der *yākṣma*-Krankheit in 7b sollen die ihr voranstehenden *maṇāyas* schützen. Diese könnte man versucht sein, als ‘Amulette’ wiederzugeben, und ‘Amulett’ als Wiedergabe von *maṇi-* ist an zahlreichen anderen Stellen durchaus möglich und angemessen. Es wäre zwar auch hier nicht gerade falsch, aber mißverständlich würde es doch sein.<sup>21</sup> Denn solange wir unter einem Amulett nichts anderes verstehen als irgendeinen Fetisch, ein Maskottchen beliebiger Art, ist der Gebrauch dieses Wortes hier nicht eindeutig genug. In einem Zusammenhang, der neunmal auf ganz bestimmte Körperpartien Bezug nimmt,<sup>22</sup> erwarten wir beim zehnten Mal ebenfalls ein Wort von einschlägiger Bedeutung. Und diese Erwartung wird auch nicht enttäuscht: wir brauchen uns nur darauf zu besinnen, daß *maṇi-* m. konkret einen ‘Halsschmuck’ bezeichnet.<sup>23</sup> Der kann freilich als Talisman verwendet werden und apotropäischen Zwecken dienen, aber das ist hier nicht der springende Punkt. Denn sonst könnten ja

<sup>19</sup>Eine Art ‘Schwindsucht’ oder ‘Auszehrung’?

<sup>20</sup>Doppelte Crux in dem Sinn, daß sowohl †*dat* als auch *kravyāt*† unlösbar scheinende Rätsel aufgeben.

<sup>21</sup>Leicht mißverständlich ist auch Wilhelm Raus Übersetzung, *Metalle und Metallgeräte*, 53 Anm. 62, von *maṇi-* in JB 2.12: 5–6 *niṣkasya haitan maṇe rūpam | tasmān niṣkaṇi maṇim srajaṇ purastād bibhrati* “Das ist ja die Gestalt eines Halsreifs, eines Amuletts. Daher trägt man einen Halsreif, ein Amulett, ein Blumengewinde vorn [auf der Brust].” Hier stehen ja drei Arten von **Halsschmuck** in schönster Parallelität nebeneinander: **Halsreif**, **Halskette**, **Halskranz**.

<sup>22</sup>Genaugenommen achtmal auf einen bestimmten, beim neunten Mal aber — nämlich im Falle des Schlangenbisses — auf einen unbestimmten Körperteil.

<sup>23</sup>Vgl. Manfred Mayrhofer, *EWAia* II 293 s.v. mit Literatur. Besonders aufschlußreich ist das nur RV 1.122.14a (erstaunlicherweise ohne Akzent!) belegte Bahuvrīhi-Kompositum *maṇi-grīva-* (*\*maṇi-grīva-* oder *\*maṇi-grīvā-*? Hatte der Dichter etwa die Absicht, seinem eigenen, grammatisch berechtigten, Schwanken dadurch poetischen Ausdruck zu verleihen, daß er die Intonation suspendierte?) ‘mit einem Halsschmuck um den Hals’, wenn man es vergleicht mit dem ganz parallel gebauten, und regulär betonten, *rukṃā-vakṣas-* (RV<sup>6x</sup>) ‘mit einem Brustschmuck auf der Brust’.

ebenso all die anderen Geschenke, vom Turban bis zum Stock, ‘Amulette’ genannt werden, da es auch deren Bestimmung ist, Übel abzuwenden. Worauf es hingegen in unserem Kontext vor allem ankommt, das ist der eindeutige Bezug jeder einzelnen *dākṣiṇā*-Gabe auf je einen bestimmten Körperteil. Ein solcher soll nämlich jeweils — durch die allerdings magische Wirkung jenes Geschenks — vor dem speziell ihn bedrohenden Leiden geschützt werden.

**Exkurs 1:** Daß mit *maṇí-* m. (RV<sup>1×</sup> [1.33.8b] +) eine Glasperle oder eine Glasperlenkette gemeint sein kann, geht deutlich aus folgender Textstelle des Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa hervor. JB 3.73:1–3.74:1 wird berichtet, wie die Asuras einst dem Kaṇva Nārṣada, der mit einer Asurī verheiratet war, an schattigem Ort, *pracchāye*, einen zum Ausruhen einladenden goldenen Sessel, *hiraṇmayīm āsandīm*, hinstellten in der hinterhältigen Absicht, ihn damit zu töten. Obwohl ihn seine Frau eindringlich davor gewarnt hatte: *tasyām māupa veśīr iti*, setzte sich Kaṇva dennoch selbstvergessen darauf nieder, *tasyām ha pramatta upa viveśa*. Augenblicklich, *tad eva*, wurde der Sessel zu Stein und bedeckte ihn ganz mit einer harten Hülle, *śilā bhūtvā-abhisam viveṣte*. Kaṇvas Söhne Triśoka und Nabhāka erfuhren davon und kamen herbeigeeilt. Mit dem Wunsch, den Stein zu zerbrechen, sang Nabhāka die von ihm erschauten und nach ihm benannten vier Nābhāka-Hymnen RV 8.39–42. Da wurde der fest eingeschlossene Vater in dem steinernen Sessel ringsum sichtbar, *tasyām pary adṛśyata* (3.73:9), und zwar *yathā maṇau maṇisūtram paridrṣyeta- evam* (3.74:1) ‘so, wie in einer Perle eine Perlenschnur ringsum sichtbar ist’. Damit nun aber die Schnur durch die Perle hindurch sichtbar werden könne, muß die Perle so durchsichtig sein wie Glas — oder doch so durchscheinend wie ein dem Glas ähnliches Material. Mit dem deutschen Wort ‘Glasperle’ oder dem englischen ‘bead’ soll nun aber nichts anderes gemeint sein als ein solches Einblick ins Innere gewährendes transluzentes Juwel oder Kleinod. Wenn sich bei ‘Edelstein’ die Konnotation ‘opak’ vermeiden ließe, so wäre auch dieser Ausdruck als Übersetzung von *maṇí-* geeignet. Ja er würde im obigen JB-Kontext sogar besonders glücklich gewählt sein, da sich dort der Sessel ja in ‘Stein’ verwandelt. Warum also nicht in ‘Edelstein’?!

Derselbe Vergleich mit einer ‘Glasperle’ und deren Schnur findet sich auch noch an einer anderen Stelle des Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa, nämlich in JB 2.245:1 *yatho ha vai maṇau maṇisūtram otaṃ syād evam eṣu lokeṣu trirātra otaḥ* ‘wie aber die Perlenschnur in die Perlenkette gefädelt ist, so ist auch der Trirātra (3-Tage-Ritus) in die [drei] Welten hier gefädelt’. Ähnlich PB 20.16.6 *tad yathā-ado maṇau sūtram otaṃ evam eṣu lokeṣu trirātra otaḥ* “Just as in ordinary life a thread [is] strung through a pearl, so is this three-day-rite strung through the three worlds” (Caland).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup>W. Caland, Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, The Brāhmaṇa of Twenty Five Chapters, Translated. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1931, 545.

In unserem PS-Kontext sind wir nun also darauf gefaßt, daß sich das einstweilen unentzifferte Wort auf einen Körperteil bezieht, der in unmittelbarer Nähe der um den Hals getragenen Glasperlen(kette[n]) liegt. Das könnte zunächst der vordere Teil des Halses sein, also die Kehle, deren Name, *kaṅṭhā-* m., erstmals an drei Stellen der Paippalāda-Saṃhitā belegt ist.<sup>25</sup> Denn auf den hinteren Teil des Halses, nämlich das Genick, wurde gerade erst Bezug genommen mit dem Kompositum *grīvā-āmayā-* 'Nackenschmerz' in 7a. Es könnte zweitens auch die Brust sein, auf die die Halskette hinabreicht, oder ein Teil der Brust, zum Beispiel das Brustbein. Wörter, welche die Brust bezeichnen, sind *úras-* n., *krodā-* m. und *vákṣas-* n.: die beiden Neutra sind seit dem ṚV bezeugt, *úras-* 2×, *vákṣas-* 9×; das Maskulinum *krodā-* seit der ŚS, wo es 3× belegt ist. Das Sternum scheint — wenn man dem PW glauben will; doch siehe unten, Exkurs 3 (S. 50 f.) — mit dem seltenen Wort *kīkasā-* f. gemeint zu sein, das einmal im ṚV und fünfmal in der ŚS vorkommt. Und schließlich könnte das Gesuchte etwas zwischen Hals und Brust Liegendes sein, zum Beispiel das Schlüsselbein. Keines der oben genannten Wörter, von *kaṅṭhā-* bis *kīkasā-*, hat eine zu †**datkravyāt**† nach Silbenzahl und Lautfolge auch nur annähernd passende Gestalt. Aber eben eine solche Gestalt ist von dem bislang vermißten Worte gefordert.

Die Entzifferung einer zunächst unverständlichen Lautfolge wird desto eher gelingen, je weniger sie von den Lesungen der Handschriften abweicht und je sorgfältiger sie *alle* Lesungen berücksichtigt. Gerade eine allseitige Beachtung ist in diesem textkritisch schwierigen Falle besonders wichtig, und sie ist es auch, die zum Erfolg führen wird. Die drei Or.-Mss. **V/126**, **Mā**, und **Ku** lesen zwar übereinstimmend **datkravyāt**, und so hat Bhattacharya (wie vorläufig auch Griffiths) ediert; das Ms. **K** aber bietet stattdessen nicht mehr als ein offenbar zu kurz gekommenes **atravyā**. Es wäre nur allzu leicht und verführerisch naheliegend, dieses kürzere **atravyā** als eine Verstümmelung der trügerisch einheitlichen Orissa-Lesung **datkravyāt** zu verstehen. Ohne die Frage vorschnell entscheiden zu wollen, läßt sich aber auch sagen: Den beiden Lesungen gemeinsam sind die Laute **atravyā**. Es könnte ja sein, daß sich aus eben dieser scheinbar verstümmelten Lesung die Lösung des Rätsels ergibt.

Das auslautende **t** der Or. Mss. werden wir getrost verwenden dürfen, denn ein zweiter Ablativ neben *yakṣmāt* läßt sich ohne große Schwierigkeit rechtfertigen, wenn ein den *yákṣma-* qualifizierendes Adjektiv vorausgesetzt wird. Die Lautfolge **avya** aber legt es nahe, von der mit dem — höchstwahrscheinlich svaritierten — Suffix **-ya-** gebildeten Ableitung eines **-u-**Stamms auszugehen und

<sup>25</sup>PS 16.147.6ab (PSK 16.147.4ab) *yat te hanvor daurbhāg.yaṃ kaṅṭhe klomasu viṣṭhitam*, PS 16.149.9ab *kaṅṭhadaghnāṃ †mahimārttimṛṇāṃ† devebh.yaḥ kilbiṣaṃ yad babhūva*, PS 17.36.1 (PSK 17.29.10) ... *yaḥ kaṅṭhaḥ sā dhruvā* ... Die Existenz dieses Nomens ist aber auch für die *-yā-*Ableitung *kāṅṭhya-* vorauszusetzen, welche einmal in der Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā belegt ist: VSM 39.9 = VSK 39.7.1 *bhavāsya kāṅṭhyaṃ rudrāsyaṅtāhpārśvyaṃ mahādēvasya yākṣ charvāsya vāniṣṭhūḥ paśupāteḥ puritām*.

als letzten Teil des gesuchten Wortes *-av-ya-* zu analysieren.<sup>26</sup>

**Exkurs 2:** Nominale Bildungen, die mit dem keine Vrddhi der ersten Silbe bewirkenden svaritierten *-yā*-Suffix von *-u*-Stämmen abgeleitet sind und in der Sequenz *-avyā-* enden, sind seit der ältesten Sprache gut bezeugt:<sup>27</sup> *apsavyā-* (MS<sup>1×</sup> 2.3.3: 30.16–17; KS<sup>2×</sup> 12.6: 169.2, 35.15: 61.4): *apsú* ‘im Wasser’ (RV<sup>84×</sup> +),<sup>28</sup> *iṣavyā-* (VSM<sup>1×</sup> 22.22 = VSK<sup>1×</sup> 24.8.1; MS<sup>1×</sup> 3.12.6: 162.8; KS<sup>1×</sup> Aśv 5.14: 170.4–5; TS<sup>1×</sup> 7.5.18.1): *iṣu-* f. → m. ‘Pfeil’ (RV<sup>11×</sup> +), *ṛtavvyā-* (TS<sup>7×</sup> 5.3.1.1&2; 5.3.11.32; 5.4.2.13): *ṛtú-* m. ‘Jahreszeit’ (RV<sup>38×</sup> +), *kaśipavyā-* (TB<sup>1×</sup> 1.6.8.9): *kaśipu-* n. ‘Matte, Kissen’ (ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 6.138.5 +), *paśavyā-* (RV<sup>1×</sup> 7.98.6a = ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 20.87.6a; MS<sup>10×</sup>; KS<sup>5×</sup>; KpS<sup>4×</sup>; TS<sup>3×</sup>): *paśú-* m./n. ‘Vieh’ (RV<sup>55×</sup> +), *pāmsavyā-* (VSM<sup>1×</sup> 16.45 = VSK<sup>1×</sup> 17.7.4 = MS<sup>1×</sup> 2.9.8: 126.13 = KS<sup>1×</sup> 17.15: 258.9 = KpS<sup>1×</sup> 27.5: 136.6 = TS<sup>1×</sup> 4.5.9.1): *pāmsú-* m. ‘Staub’ (ŚS<sup>2×</sup> 7.109.2, 12.1.26 +), *madhavyā-* (PS<sup>2×</sup> 1.88.2c, 4.20.1c; MS<sup>2×</sup>; KS<sup>1×</sup>; KpS<sup>1×</sup>; TS<sup>3×</sup>): *mádhu-* n. ‘Honig’ (RV<sup>254×</sup> +), *yātavvyā-* (MS<sup>2×</sup> 2.3.1: 27.17, 28.1; KS<sup>2×</sup> 11.11: 158.11,15): *yātú-* m. ‘Zauber’ (RV<sup>4×</sup> +), *rajjavvyā-* (ŚB 6.7.1.28; KŚS<sup>2×</sup> 17.2.9, 26.2.7): *rájju-* f. ‘Seil’ (RV<sup>1×</sup> +), *vasavyā-* (RV<sup>11×</sup> +): *vásu-* n. ‘Gut’ (RV +), *vāyavyā-* (RV<sup>1×</sup> 10.90.8c; ŚS<sup>2×</sup> 9.6.17 / PS 16.112.4, 19.6.14c / PS 9.5.12c +): *vāyú-* m. ‘Wind’ (RV<sup>137×</sup> +), *vāstavyā-* (VSM<sup>1×</sup> 16.39 = VSK<sup>1×</sup> 17.6.3; MS<sup>3×</sup> 1.6.42: 92.8,9; 2.9.7: 126.1; KS<sup>1×</sup> 17.15: 257.19; KpS<sup>1×</sup> 27.5: 135.10–11; TS<sup>1×</sup> 5.2.8.5): *vāstu-* n. ‘Stätte’ (RV<sup>9×</sup> +), *śaravyā-* (RV<sup>2×</sup> 6.75.16b, 10.87.13c; ŚS<sup>6+2×</sup>; TB<sup>2×</sup> 1.7.6.8, 3.4.3.1 +): *śáru-* f./m. ‘Pfeil’ (RV<sup>18×</sup> +) und — im Hinblick auf unser Problem von besonderem Interesse, insofern ein Körperteil betroffen ist — *hanavyā-* (ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 6.43.3a / PS 19.33.9a): *hānu-* f. ‘Kiefer’ (RV<sup>7×</sup> +).

<sup>26</sup>Zum Taddhita-Suffix *yāt*, das als *tit* svaritiert ist gemäß Pāṇini, Aṣṭādhyāyī 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*, vgl. besonders A 5.1.2 *u-gav-ādibhyo yat*, wonach dieses Suffix (/ -yā- /) an [Stämme auf] *-u-* und an *gav-* usw. (Gaṇapāṭha 72, ed. Böhtlingk 109\*–110\*) antritt. Für die nach dem *gavādi*-Gaṇa zu dieser Regel gebildeten zweisilbigen Stämme *gāvya-* (RV<sup>29×</sup> +), *médhya-* (RV<sup>2×</sup> +), *nābhya-* (ŚS<sup>3×</sup> +), *kūpya-* (VS<sup>3×</sup> +) usw. bedeutet dies, daß deren Svarita ganz von dem ihm vorangehenden Udātta abhängt und infolgedessen natürlich nachtonig ist. Bei der Betonung von unter gleicher Bedingung entstandenen mehr als zweisilbigen Stämmen wie *asuryā-* (RV<sup>28×</sup> +), *barhiṣyā-* (RV<sup>1×</sup> 10.15.5b +) oder *haviṣyā-* (RV<sup>1×</sup> 1.162.4a +) handelt es sich jedoch um den sogenannten selbständigen oder unabhängigen (*jātyā-* / *nītya-*) Svarita. Vgl. A 6.1.213 *yato* [205 *dvy-ac*, 197 *ādir*, 159 *udāttaḥ* ...], wonach ein Nominalstamm, der auf dieses Suffix ausgeht und zweisilbig ist, den Hochton auf dem Vokal der Anfangssilbe trägt.

<sup>27</sup>Die von Wackernagel & Debrunner, AiGr II 2, 808 § 651 d, gegebene Liste dieser Ableitungen ist noch ziemlich unvollständig. Mit den im folgenden angeführten Beispielen und deren Belegstellen habe ich mich nach Kräften bemüht, möglichst alles mir Zugängliche zu erfassen. Gewiß wird künftig noch einiges nachzutragen sein.

<sup>28</sup>Freilich ist *apsú* ursprünglich kein Wortstamm, aber der Lokativ Plural von *āp-/ap-* f. ‘Wasser’ wird dennoch zuweilen als solcher behandelt, sowohl in Kompositis wie *apsu-jīt-* (RV<sup>8×</sup> 8.13.2c *sām apsu-jīt* ‘aller Gewässer Ersieger’ [Geldner]) und *apsu-yogā-* (ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 10.5.5 *apsuyogāir vo yunajmi* :: PS 16.127.5 *apāṃ yogair* ... ‘with water-junctions I join you’ [Whitney]), als auch in den Ableitungen *apsavyā-* (MS<sup>1×</sup>, KS<sup>2×</sup>) und *apsu-mānt-* (MS<sup>7×</sup>); vgl. AiGr II 1, 46 § 19d.

Das unklare *ūrjavya-* (RV<sup>1×</sup> 5.41.20a) — nach Sāyaṇa ist es der Name eines Königs — scheint von einem, allerdings unbelegbaren, \**ūrju-* abgeleitet zu sein. Walter Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Ṛgveda*, Erstes Heft, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1924, 182 s.v. *ūrjavya*, gibt als Bedeutung des Neutrums (?) “Nahrungs-, Kraftfülle” an und vermutet, daß es dem parallelen *paśavyā-* “Reichtum an Vieh” (RV<sup>1×</sup> 7.98.6a = ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 20.87.6a +) nachgebildet sei.

Ich verweise weiterhin einerseits auf die ohne Akzent belegten Bildungen AB<sup>4×</sup> 6.32.1,16,17<sup>2×</sup>; KB<sup>1×</sup> 30.5 (ed. Lindner = 30.4.11 ed. Sarma); GB<sup>4×</sup> 2.6.12<sup>4×</sup>: 262.15, 263.4,5–6,7 *kāravya-* (\**kāravya-*): *kāru-* m. ‘Sänger’ (RV<sup>48×</sup> +), auf BSS<sup>3×</sup> 1.7: 11.2–3; 5.1: 129.6,7–8; BhŚS<sup>3×</sup> 5.14.6,14; 8.1.21; MŚS<sup>1×</sup> 1.7.1.18; VŚS<sup>1×</sup> 1.4.4.31 *caravya-* (\**caravya-*): *caru-* m. ‘Topfbrei’ (RV<sup>6×</sup> +), auf den Prātiśākhya-Ausdruck *tālavya-* (\**tālavya-*; VSPr 3.35 +): *tālu-* n. ‘Gau-men’ (VSM<sup>1×</sup> 25.1 +), auf das von Pāṇini, Aṣṭādhyāyī 4.3.168, als Ableitungsgrundlage von *pārasava* gelehrte *paraśavya-* (\**paraśavya-*): *paraśu-* m. ‘Beil’ (RV<sup>11×</sup> +), auf die von Patañjali unter vtt. 1 & 4 zu A 5.1.2 (Mbh. II.337.4 & 18) erwähnten *śaṅkavya-* (\**śaṅkavya-*): *śaṅku-* m. ‘Holzpflock’ (RV<sup>1×</sup> +) & *saktavya-* (\**saktavya-*): *saktu-* m. ‘Schrotmehl’ (RV<sup>1×</sup> +), andererseits auf das zwar unbelegte, aber nach Pāṇini, A 5.2.4, bildbare \**anavya-*: *ānu-* m. ‘Panicum miliaceum’ (VSM<sup>1×</sup> 18.12 = VSK<sup>1×</sup> 19.4.4, MS<sup>1×</sup> 2.11.4: 142.3, KS<sup>1×</sup> 18.9: 272.6, KpS<sup>1×</sup> 28.9: 147.8, TS<sup>1×</sup> 4.7.4.2), und das bislang nur lexikalisch bezeugte *ūravya-* (\**ūravya-*): *ūru-* m. (RV<sup>7×</sup> +) ‘Oberschenkel’ aus Amara-kośa 2.9.1ab, wo es in einer Reihe von sechs Synonymen neben *ūruja-*, *arya-*, *vaiśya-*, *bhūmi-sprś-* und *viś-* aufgeführt ist.

Zu vergleichen sind auch die aus infinitiven *-tu*-Stämmen abgeleiteten Gerundiva auf *-tavyā-*, von denen die zwei allerersten Beispiele je einmal im Atharvaveda belegt sind: ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 4.23.7b (PS 4.33.7b) *janitavyā-* und ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 5.18.6a (PS 9.17.8a) *himsitavyā-*.<sup>29</sup>

Sehr zur Lösung des Problems beitragen können ferner einige svarierte *-yā*-Ableitungen von Nominalstämmen, die Körperteile bezeichnen.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup>Weitere mit dem im Vergleich zu *-tavya-* älteren Suffix *-tavyā-* gebildete Gerundiva finden sich in Vishva Bandhu’s *Vedic Word-Concordance*, Volume V, Part 2: Index ab ultimo, 273e [*yaṣṭavyā-*] – 274e [*dagdhavyā-*] verzeichnet. In den YV-Saṃhitās kommen die folgenden R1-*tavyā*-Bildungen am häufigsten vor: *aśitavyā-* (MS<sup>5×</sup>, KS<sup>5×</sup>, KpS<sup>4×</sup> [= S<sup>14×</sup>]), *kartavyā-* (KS<sup>7×</sup>, KpS<sup>3×</sup>, TS<sup>2×</sup> [= S<sup>12×</sup>]), *grahītavyā-* (MS<sup>7×</sup>, KS<sup>11×</sup>, TS<sup>2×</sup> [= S<sup>20×</sup>]), *cetavyā-* (MS<sup>10×</sup>, KS<sup>9×</sup>, KpS<sup>7×</sup>, TS<sup>9×</sup> [= S<sup>35×</sup>]), *bhavitavyā-* (MS<sup>6×</sup>, MS<sup>4×</sup>, KpS<sup>2×</sup> [= S<sup>12×</sup>]), *yaṣṭavyā-* (MS<sup>7×</sup>, KS<sup>2×</sup> [= S<sup>9×</sup>]) und, mit den weitaus meisten Belegen, *hotavyā-* (MS<sup>51×</sup>, KS<sup>20×</sup>, KpS<sup>11×</sup>, TS<sup>17×</sup> [= S<sup>99×</sup>]).

<sup>30</sup>Vgl. Pāṇini, Aṣṭādhyāyī 4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc ca* [54 *yat*, 53 *tatra bhavaḥ*] und 5.1.6 *śarīrāvayavāḍ yat* [5.1.5 *tasmai hitam*] — diesen beiden Aphorismen entsprechend tritt das Suffix *-yā-*, wenn auch jeweils in verschiedener Funktion, an Körperteilbezeichnungen — und die Kāśikā Vṛtti mit den allerdings nur zweisilbigen und daher gemäß A 6.1.213 anfangsbetonten Beispielen *dantya-*, *kaṇṭhya-*, *oṣṭhya-* zu A 4.3.55 sowie *dantya-*, *kaṇṭhya-*, *oṣṭhya-*, *nābhya-*, *nasya-* zu A 5.1.6. Nach dem *gavādi*-Gaṇa zu 5.1.2 gebildet sind hingegen die dreisilbigen *udaryā-* (VS<sup>1×</sup> +): *udāra-* n. ‘Bauch’ (RV<sup>9×</sup> +) und *ūdhanyā-* (MS<sup>1×</sup>, KS<sup>1×</sup>, KpS<sup>1×</sup>): *ūdhar-* / *ūdhan-* n. ‘Euter’ (RV<sup>50×</sup> +). Unabhängig davon ist auch das TS 3.1.7.1 und ŚB 14.4.1.8 (= BÄUM 1.1.8 / BÄUK 1.3.7) je einmal belegte *āsanyā-*: *āsān-* n. ‘Mund’ (RV<sup>28×</sup>) erwähnenswert.

Darunter sind besonders jene Adjektiva von Interesse, welche verschiedene nach dem Ort ihrer Entstehung oder ihres Aufenthalts<sup>31</sup> benannte Unterarten der *yākṣma*-Krankheit spezifizieren: ṚV 10.163.1c = ŚS 2.33.1c / PS 4.7.1c *yākṣmaṃ śīrṣaṇyām* "die Auszehrung, die im Kopf sitzt" (Geldner), ṚV 10.163.2c = ŚS 2.33.2c / PS 4.7.2c *yākṣmaṃ doṣaṇyām* "die Auszehrung, die in den Vorderarmen sitzt" (Geldner), ŚS 2.33.5a / PS 4.7.6a *yākṣmaṃ bhāsadyām* "the *yākṣma* of the rump" (Whitney), ŚS 2.33.7c = ŚS 20.96.23c / PS 4.7.7c *yākṣmaṃ tvacasyām te* "the *yākṣma* of thy skin" (Whitney). Zu vergleichen wäre auch ŚS 9.8.1c / PS 16.74.1c *sārvam śīrṣaṇyām te rōgam* "every head-disease of thine" (Whitney).

Von gewissen, *apacit*- genannten Symptomen einer Hautkrankheit<sup>32</sup> heißt es ŚS 7.76.2b, daß sie *upapakṣyā-* sind: "along the sides" (Whitney).<sup>33</sup> Eine andere Art von Krankheit wird ŚS 9.8.5b mit dem gleichen Suffix als *viśvāṅgyām* "of all the limbs" (Whitney) charakterisiert, während die PS-Parallele 16.74.5b stattdessen das mit dem Suffix *-īna-* gebildete *viśvāṅgīnam* liest.

Den oben angegebenen Bedingungen entsprechend, ist also ein *-u*-Stamm zu suchen, von dem 1. ein Adjektiv auf *-avyā-* abgeleitet werden kann, das eine Abart der *yākṣma*-Krankheit qualifiziert, und zwar ein *-u*-Stamm, durch den 2. ein Körperteil bezeichnet wird, der in unmittelbarer Nähe des *maṇi-* genannten Halsschmucks liegt, und dessen *-u-* 3. auf ein Wortstück folgt, das mit den allen Handschriften gemeinsamen Lauten *atr* möglichst genau übereinstimmt. Soweit ich sehe, kommt überhaupt nur ein einziges Wort in Frage, das diese Bedingungen alle drei zugleich erfüllt, und das ist *jatru-*.

**Exkurs 3:** In der jüngeren Sprache bezeichnet das zumeist neutrale *jatru-*, wenn es auch vielleicht nicht ausschließlich in diesem Sinne gebraucht wird, das Schlüsselbein. Siehe zum Beispiel Amarakośa (ed. Loiseleur Deslongchamps)<sup>34</sup> 2.6.2.29cd: *skandho bhujāśiro 'mso 'strī sandhī tasyaiiva jatruṇī*, oder Halāyudhakośa (ed. Jośī)<sup>35</sup> 523c: *jatru vakṣo'msayoh sandhīh*, oder die Vaija-

<sup>31</sup>Auf einen solchen Ort bezogen ist Pāṇini's Sūtra A 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*, das nicht nur für unser *-yā-*Suffix, sondern auch für andere A 4.1.83 ff. eingeführte Suffixe gilt. Der Formulierung dieses Sūtras entsprechend kann *-yā-* als ein *tātrabhavika*-Suffix bezeichnet werden.

<sup>32</sup>Zu *apacit*- 'rash with pustules' vgl. Kenneth G. Zysk, *Religious Medicine: The History and Evolution of Indian Medicine*, New Brunswick (U.S.A.) and London (U.K.): Transaction Publishers, 1993, 82–86.

<sup>33</sup>Vgl. Sāyaṇas Kommentar: *upapakṣyā upapakṣe pakṣasamīpa upakakṣe bhavāḥ*.

<sup>34</sup>Amarakośa ou vocabulaire d'Amarasinha, publié en sanskrit avec une traduction française, des notes et un index par A[uguste] Loiseleur Deslongchamps. I & II. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1988 (= Paris, 1839 / 1845).

<sup>35</sup>Halāyudhakośaḥ (Abhidhānaratnamālā). Sampādakaḥ: Jayaśaṅkara Jośī. Lakhnaū: Hindī Samiti, 1967 (= 1957).

yantī (ed. Oppert),<sup>36</sup> S. 178 Z. 138: *aṃsasandhī tu jatruṇī*. Vgl. auch, in Aufzählungen der Knochen des menschlichen Körpers, Yājñavalkya-Smṛti 3.88cd *grīvā pañcadaśāsthīḥ syāj jatrv ekaikaṃ tathā hanuḥ* “der nacken besteht aus fünfzehn knochen, ein schlüsselbein an jeder seite und die kinnlade” (Stenzler),<sup>37</sup> oder Viṣṇu-Smṛti 96.70–72: *pañcadaśāsthīni grīvā [70] jatrv ekam [71] tathā hanuḥ [72]* “The neck consists of fiveteen (bones). The collar-bone consists of one (bone on each side). The jaw likewise” (Jolly).<sup>38</sup>

Jean Filliozat, *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne*,<sup>39</sup> 119 n. 1 und 123 f., schreibt dem Wort eine etwas weitere Bedeutung zu, indem er es als “l’arc osseux sterno-claviculaire” (119) und als die Verbindung von “clavicules et sternum” oder als die “régions claviculaires et sternales” (123) bestimmt. Fürs Klassische rechnet Filliozat allerdings mit der engeren Bedeutung “base du cou, jointure du cou et de la poitrine” (123).

Dagegen betont Rudolf Hoernle, *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India: Osteology*,<sup>40</sup> 159 f.: “In the earliest medical compendia the term *jatru* is either synonymous with *grīvā*, neck, or signifies more especially a particular aspect of it. The neck contains two structures, posteriorly the cervical column, denoted more particularly by the term *grīvā*, and anteriorly the windpipe, denoted more particularly by the term *jatru*.” Von der Bedeutung ‘clavicule’, die Amarasimha und in seinem Gefolge auch andere Lexikographen für *jatru-* annehmen, vermutet derselbe Hoernle, op. cit. 166, daß sie durch ein Mißverständnis zustande gekommen sei.

Vom Schlüsselbein kann man im Singular sprechen, da die beiden S-förmigen Einzelknochen, aus denen es besteht, und die in der Mitte durch das Brustbein eng miteinander verbunden sind, als ein einziger durchgehender Bogen erscheinen, der sich zwischen Schulter und Schulter spannt. Deshalb ist singularisches *jatru-* eine ebenso natürliche Gebrauchsweise des Wortes, wie unsere Singulare ‘le clavicule’ oder ‘the collarbone’ oder ‘das Schlüsselbein’ es sind. Der freilich ein wenig pedantisch anmutende Dual *jatruṇī* der Lexikographen und Kommentatoren bedarf eigentlich keiner Rechtfertigung. Einzig die in vedischen Texten vorherrschende Mehrzahl der Pluralformen heischt eine Erklärung. Diese herbeizuführen, sind einige Brāhmaṇa-Stellen besonders geeignet, und keine eignet sich besser als JB

<sup>36</sup>The Vaijayantī of Yādavaprakāśa. For the First Time Edited by Gustav Oppert. Madras, 1893.

<sup>37</sup>Adolf Friedrich Stenzler, Yājñavalkya’s Gesetzbuch, Sanskrit und Deutsch. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1970 (= Breslau, 1849).

<sup>38</sup>Julius Jolly, *The Institutes of Viṣṇu*, Text with English Translation and Critical Notes, Re-edited by J. L. Kamboj. Delhi / Varanasi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1991 (≅ SBE VII).

<sup>39</sup>Jean Filliozat, *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne, ses origines et ses parallèles grecs*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1949.

<sup>40</sup>A[ugust] F[riedrich] Rudolf Hoernle, *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India. Part I: Osteology or The Bones of the Human Body*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907 (= New York: AMS Press, 1978).

2.57: 181.11, wo pluralisches *jatravas* dicht neben dem Singular *jatrus* steht. Die JB-Passage, in welcher der durch einen siebzehnteiligen Stoma charakterisierte Opfertag mit siebzehn *jatru-* genannten Körperteilen gleichgesetzt wird, lautet so: *aṣṭāv ime jatravo 'ṣṭāv ima ūrdhvo jatrus saptadaśas tad eva saptadaśam ahaḥ*. Mit dem zweimaligen ich- und hier-deiktischen *ime* 'diese' weist der Sprecher offenbar auf je acht *jatravas* am eigenen Körper hin. Deren Summe von 16 wird nun als Siebzehnter ein *ūrdhvoas* 'senkrechter' *jatrus* hinzugezählt. Für diesen aber kommt kein anderer Körperteil in Frage als das vertikale Brustbein. Also werden wir von den jeweils acht *jatravas* erwarten dürfen, daß sie auf beiden Seiten des Sternums gelegen sind, vermutlich quer dazu verlaufen und, da sie mit dem gleichen Wort bezeichnet werden, ebenso knochenhaft wie das Brustbein — oder jedenfalls knochenartig, also zum Beispiel von knorpelhafter Konsistenz — sein mögen. Die Schlüsselbeinknochen entsprechen zwar all diesen Erwartungen, doch sind sie eben nur zwei. Zweimal sieben weitere Knochen werden benötigt, um die erforderliche Gesamtzahl von 16 voll zu machen. Hier bieten sich die sieben 'echten' Rippen an — oder aber die das Brustbein mit diesen Rippen verbindenden Rippenknorpel von gleicher Anzahl.

Der JB-Passage parallel geht ŚB 12.2.4.11<sup>41</sup> *úrah saptadaśāḥ | aṣṭāv anyé jatrávo 'ṣṭāv anyá úrah saptadaśám* 'Der siebzehnteilige [Stoma] ist die Brust. Die einen *jatravas* [auf dieser Seite der Brust] sind acht, die anderen [auf dieser Seite] sind acht; der siebzehnte ist die [ganze] Brust / die Brust [selbst]'.<sup>42</sup> In Fußnote 2 zu seiner Übersetzung dieser Stelle, SBE 44, 163 f., spricht sich Eggeling zunächst gegen die im PW s.v. *jatru* mit aller Vorsicht angesetzte Bedeutung 'tuberculae costarum' aus, die er mit "tubercles of the ribs, the projections near the 'heads' of the ribs where these join the spinal vertebrae" paraphrasiert. Gegen diese eine — ebenso wie gegen jene andere, als 'Fortsätze der Wirbel' angegebene — Konjunkturalbedeutung hatten Böhlingk & Roth selbst schon geltend gemacht: damit scheine nicht zusammenzustimmen, daß die *jatravas* gemäß ŚB 8.6.2.10 (siehe sogleich) "zur Brust gerechnet werden". Deshalb vermutet nun Eggeling, loc. cit.: "Perhaps, therefore, the *jatravaḥ* may rather be the costal cartilages connecting the seven true ribs with the sternum". Von dem achten *jatru-* auf jeder Seite der Brust aber nimmt derselbe Gelehrte an, es sei "the ligament of the collarbone where it joins the sternum". Wie sehr auch jene Vermutung einleuchten mag, so wenig wird uns diese Annahme zu überzeugen vermögen. Bei weitem naheliegender ist es doch, statt der Sehnenbänder, die das Brustbein mit

<sup>41</sup>Akzentlos und ohne Daṇḍa, im übrigen aber beinahe gleichlautend ist GB 1.5.3: 116.1–2: *urāḥ saptadaśo 'ṣṭāv anyé jatravo 'ṣṭāv anyá urāḥ saptadaśam*.

<sup>42</sup>Angesichts der Parallelität der beiden Brāhmaṇa-Stellen scheint die Vermutung nicht ganz abwegig, daß *úras* in ŚB *úrah saptadaśám* im Sinne von *ūrdhvo jatrus* in JB *ūrdhvo jatrus saptadaśas* aufzufassen sei, also ebenfalls 'Brustbein' bedeute. Und tatsächlich hat Hoernle, Osteology 105 § 42.3 den ŚB-Ausdruck mit "and the breast-bone (*uras*, sternum) is the seventeenth" wiedergegeben.

den beiden Schlüsselbeinknochen verbinden, diese zwei Knochen selbst den zweimal sieben Rippenknorpeln hinzuzuzählen.

Die zweite ŚB-Stelle steht im Agnicayana-Kontext. Hier sind verschiedene, nach einzelnen Metren, *chāndas-*, bezeichnete und daher *chandasyā-* genannte Backsteine, *īṣṭakā-*, die beim Bau des Feueraltars der Reihe nach aufgelegt werden, mit bestimmten Teilen am Körper des Prajāpati — und damit indirekt auch des Yajamāna — identifiziert. ŚB 8.6.2.10 *pārśavo bṛhatyāḥ | kīkasāḥ kakúbhaḥ só 'ntareṇa triṣṭúbhaś ca kakúbhaś ca bṛhatīr úpa dadhāti tasmād imā ubhayātra pārśavo baddhāḥ kīkasāsu ca jatrúṣu ca* 'Die Bṛhatī-Ziegel sind [seine] Rippen, die Kakubh-Ziegel [seine] *kīkasās*. Die Bṛhatī-Ziegel legt er (der den Feueraltar bauende Priester) zwischen den Triṣṭubh- und Kakubh-Ziegeln auf. Deshalb sind die Rippen hier auf zwei [einander entgegengesetzten] Seiten<sup>43</sup> befestigt, an den *kīkasās* und an den *jatrúvas*.' Zunächst ist daran zu erinnern, daß die Triṣṭubh-Ziegel kurz zuvor mit der Brust (oder dem Brustbein?) gleichgesetzt wurden: ŚB 8.6.2.7 *úras triṣṭúbhaḥ*. Daraus folgt für unsere Stelle: Da die Rippenknochen sich von der Brustmitte bis zur Mitte des Rückens erstrecken, müssen die *jatrúvas* entweder an diesem oder an jenem Ende liegen. Böhtlingk & Roth, PW III 15 s.v. *jatrú*, hatten sich mit den beiden geratenen Bedeutungen 'Rippenhöcker (tuberculae costarum)' oder 'Wirbelfortsätze', wenn auch nur zögernd, dafür entschieden, daß die *jatrúvas* am Rückenende der Rippen gelegen sind. Dagegen war Eggeling aufgrund von ŚB 12.2.4.11 der Ansicht gewesen, sie bildeten einen Teil der Brust. Um diese Auffassung mit der für *kīkasā-* zwangsläufig antonymen Bedeutung zu bestätigen, sei auf ṚV 10.163.2 (= ŚS 2.33.2 / PS 4.7.2) *grīvābhyas ta uṣṇīhābhyah kīkasābhyo anūkyāt | yáḥṣmaṃ ... ví vṛhāmi te* "Von deinem Nacken, von den Halswirbeln, von den Rippen, vom Rückgrat ziehe ich die Auszehrung ... dir ab" (Geldner) hingewiesen, wo *kīkasā-* neben *anūkyā-* 'Rückgrat' steht und also auf ähnliche Weise zum Bereich des Rückens gerechnet werden muß,<sup>44</sup> wie die im Vers einander benachbarten

<sup>43</sup>Nach dem einzigen Saṃhitā-Beleg von *ubhayātra* in ṚV 3.53.5ab *pārā yāhi maghavann ā ca yāh|i iṅdra bhrātar ubhayātrā te ārtham* "Geh fort, du Gabenreicher, und komm wieder, Bruder Indra; an beiden Orten hast du ein Ziel" (Geldner; vgl. dessen Note zu 5b: "*ubhayātrā*, d.h. hier und zu Hause", nämlich hier bei uns und daheim bei dir in der Ferne) und nach sämtlichen ŚB-Belegen (ŚBM<sup>10×</sup>, ŚBK<sup>4×</sup>) zu urteilen, bezeichnet dieses Adverb regelmäßig einen konträren Gegensatz. Insofern hat Eggelings Ansicht, daß sowohl die *kīkasās* als auch die *jatrúvas* im Brustbereich angesiedelt seien, nicht viel an Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich. Vgl. seine Übersetzung, SBE 43, 114: "these ribs are fastened on both sides, on the breast-bone and the costal cartilages", und dazu die Fußnote 2: "That is, on both sides of the chest".

<sup>44</sup>A. F. Rudolf Hoernle gebührt wohl die Ehre, ŚB 8.6.2.7&10 zum erstenmal annähernd richtig verstanden zu haben. JRAS 1906, 924 übersetzt er den letzten Satz dieser Textstelle so: "Hence these ribs, on either side (i.e. at either of their ends), are fastened to the thoracic vertebrae (at the back) and the costal cartilages (in front)", indem er die *kīkasās* als 'Brustwirbel', und somit als einen Teil des Rückgrats, die *jatrúvas* aber als 'Rippenknorpel', und somit als einen Teil der Brust, auffaßt. Vgl. auch seine leicht veränderte Wiedergabe der ŚB-Passage in *Osteology*, 1907, 106. Allerdings muß vorläufig offen bleiben, ob *kīkasā-* wirklich eine ganze 'thoracic vertebra'

*grīvā-* und *uṣṇīhā-* beide als zum Hals gehörig anzusehen sind. Auch sonst werden in diesem Hymnus die jeweils von einer Abart des *yākṣma-* befallenen Körperteile in Gruppen aufgezählt, die der gleichen Region zugeordnet sind, zum Beispiel in Strophe 1: Augen, Nase, Ohren, Kinn, Gehirn und Zunge als vom *yākṣma- śīrṣaṇyā-*, der im Kopf sitzenden Auszehrung, affizierte Organe.

Zwar läßt sich ‘Schlüsselbein’ als primäre Bedeutung von *jatru-* anhand der oben behandelten vedischen Belegstellen einstweilen nicht eindeutig nachweisen. Wir werden aber nach einer gewissenhaften Prüfung derselben immerhin jetzt schon sagen dürfen, daß die von Böhlingk & Roth, PW III 15 s.v. **jatru** aufgrund einer einzigen, schwerverständlichen Stelle im ŚB mit gebührender Reserve angesetzten alternativen Bedeutungen “die Fortsätze der Wirbel oder die Rippenhöcker, tubercula costarum” beide ganz aufzugeben sind.

Nun hat Caland in seiner Übersetzung von ĀpŚS 15.15.1 *abhito dhr̥ṣṭī jatruṇām rūpam* “beiderseitig [stellt er] die zwei Schürhaken als die Fortsätze der Wirbel [dar]”<sup>45</sup> zwar ausgerechnet einen der beiden zweifelhaften Bedeutungsansätze des PW übernommen, aber einige Jahre später ist derselbe Gelehrte mit seiner die betroffene Körperpartie vermutlich genauer treffende Wiedergabe von VaikhGS 2.5: 24.13–14 *sarvato vapati nādhō jatror* als “He ... shaves his head all round ... taking care not to shave him beneath the **collar bone**”<sup>46</sup> davon wieder abgekommen und hat also unausdrücklich nicht nur sich selbst, sondern auch das PW korrigiert.

Ältester Beleg des Substantivs *jatru-* ist der Ablativ Plural *jatrubhyas* in der Verszeile ṚV 8.1.12b (= SV 1.244 = ŚS 14.2.47b / PS 18.11.7b = PB 9.10.1 = KŚS 25.5.30) *purā jatrubhya ātṛdaḥ*, die Geldner mit “bevor (das Geschoß) die Schulterknochen durchbohrt” wiedergibt, Oldenberg, Noten II 72, aber als “ehe die Rippenknorpel ... angebohrt (durchbohrt) werden” übersetzt, indem er sich für die Bedeutung ‘cartilagine costarum’ auf Hoernle, Osteology 164, beruft. Was Geldner mit den “Schulterknochen” meint, ist nicht ganz klar. In einem streng anatomischen Sinne scheint er dieses Wort hier nicht zu gebrauchen. Oder bezieht er sich damit auf den sogenannten Schultergürtel, also auf das Ensemble von je zwei Schulter-

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bezeichnet, wie Hoernle annimmt, oder aber nur einen Teil davon, und zwar — wie ich vermuten möchte — den seitlichen Vorsprung oder Fortsatz (‘transverse process’), der in späteren medizinischen Texten *sthālaka-* genannt wird, da er als ‘Basis’ und ‘Sockel’ die zugehörige Rippe stützt, indem er deren Rippenhöcker (tubercula costae) festen Halt gibt. Vgl. Osteology, 146 f.

<sup>45</sup>W. Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, Achstes bis Fünfzehntes Buch aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt. Amsterdam: Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1928 (= Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1969), 455.

<sup>46</sup>W. Caland, Vaikhānasaśmārtasūtram, The Domestic Rules and Sacred Laws of the Vaikhānasa School Belonging to the Black Yajurveda Translated. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1929 (= New Delhi: Ramanand Vidya Bhavan, 1982), 44.

blättern und Schlüsselbeinknochen? Im Glossar<sup>47</sup> hatte Geldner, S. 64a s.v. *ja-trú-* m., noch die beiden reichlich heterogenen Bedeutungen “Schlüsselbein, pl. Brustwirbel” angesetzt.

Für unsere Zwecke ist es zwar nicht entscheidend, ob wir die ursprünglichste Verwendung von *ja-trú-* endgültig herausfinden oder vorläufig unentschieden lassen, worauf es sich zuerst bezogen haben mag. Immerhin wird spätestens im klassischen Sanskrit das Wort eindeutig auch auf die Schlüsselbeinknochen angewandt. Da wir jedoch die Pluralformen des Vedischen ernst nehmen müssen, stellt sich uns folgende Alternative: Entweder hat *ja-trávas* zunächst eine Pluralität bezeichnet, etwa die Brustwirbel (Geldner, Glossar) oder die Rippenknorpel (Oldenberg, Noten, im Anschluß an Hoernle). Dann wäre das Wort später auf die Schlüsselbeinknochen übertragen worden. Oder aber es war damit von Anfang an vor allem das Schlüsselbein gemeint. Dann wäre der Plural als elliptisch zu erklären, und *ja-trávas* hätte also eigentlich ‘das Schlüsselbein und die anderen [ihm benachbarten Knochen oder Knorpel]’ bedeutet. Wenn Hoernle, Osteology 164, behauptet: “The plural excludes any reference to the clavicles”, so hat dieser Gelehrte offenbar alles vergessen, was er über elliptische Ausdrucksweise im Altindischen wie in anderen Sprachen je gewußt haben mag.<sup>48</sup>

Außer in ŚS 14.2.47b / PS 18.11.7b (= RV 8.1.12b) *purā ja-trúbhya ātr̥daḥ* (siehe oben), das Whitney, offenbar nur sehr zögernd, mit “before the piercing of the neck-ropes (? *ja-trú-*)” wiedergibt,<sup>49</sup> findet sich *ja-trú-* noch an einer zweiten, im Gegensatz zur ersten vom RV unabhängigen Stelle des AV. In einer hyperbolischen Verherrlichung des Reisbreis mit einer ganzen Serie von, sagen wir, pseudo-mystischen Identifikationen<sup>50</sup> heißt es ŚS 11.3.9–10: *khālah pātraṃ sphyāv āmsāv īṣe anūkyè* [9] *āntrāṇi ja-trávo gūdā varatrāḥ* [10] “The threshing-floor ⟨is⟩ [its] receptacle, the two splints (*sphyā*) ⟨are⟩ [its]

<sup>47</sup>Karl F. Geldner, Der Rigveda in Auswahl, Erster Teil: Glossar. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1907.

<sup>48</sup>Zum elliptischen Plural siehe Bertold Delbrück, Altindische Syntax (= Syntaktische Forschungen, 5), Halle an der Saale: Buchhandlung im Waisenhaus, 1888 (= Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968 = 1976), 102, mit dem “für unseren Geschmack auffällige[n]” Beispiel MS 1.8.1: 116.4–5 *saptā grāmyāḥ paśávaḥ* “die sieben zahmen Thiere”. In dieser Siebenzahl sind nicht nur Mensch (*puruṣa-*), Pferd (*āśva-*), Rind (*gāv-*), Schaf (*āvi-*), und Ziege (*ajā-*) — also die fünf auch sonst als *paśú-* bezeichneten Lebewesen — inbegriffen, sondern zusätzlich noch Gerste (*yáva-*) und Reis (*vṛthi-*). Siehe auch op. cit. 600, Nachtrag zu 102, MS 4.5.6: 72.10 *sārvāṇy anyāni śrōtrāṇi* “alle anderen Sinne (eig[entlich] Gehöre)”. Vgl. ferner das mehrmalige *saptā hōtaras / hōtr̥n / hōtr̥bhis* des RV, welches sich auf den Hotar und die anderen sechs Opferpriester bezieht, und den in Prosa häufigen Plural *prānās* im Sinne von ‘Aushauch (*prānā-*), Einhauch (*apānā-*), [vyānā- usw.]’ oder, noch allgemeiner, ‘[alle] Lebensfunktionen’.

<sup>49</sup>So übersetzt auch W. Caland, Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, The Brāhmaṇa of Twenty Five Chapters, Translated. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1931, 227, offenbar im Anschluß an Whitney.

<sup>50</sup>Whitney, Vorspann zu 11.3: “The rice-dish, hot and yellow and nourishing, is a symbol of the sun (cf. vs. 50); its ingredients and the utensils used in making it are identified with all sorts of things in the most grotesque manner of the Brāhmaṇas.”

shoulders, the two poles (*īṣā́*) [its] spines (*anūkyā́*). Entrails ⟨are⟩ [its] neckropes (? *jatrú*), intestines [its] straps” (Whitney). Der große amerikanische Gelehrte hat sich hier einmal, wenn auch nur zweifelnd, auf den in vielen anderen Fällen mit äußerster, ja sarkastischer Skepsis behandelten Kommentator verlassen, der *jatrávaḥ* durch *anaḍud-grīvāṇāṃ śakaṭa-yojanārthā rajjavāḥ* glossierte.

Die Parallele in PS 16.53.6 (PSK 16.53.14–16) lautet hingegen: *khalah pātram uṣṭārau bāhū sphyāv aṃsau gudā varatrā īṣānūkyam yugāni jatrávaḥ* .... In der Gleichsetzung von Körperpartien mit Teilen eines Ochsengepanns leuchtet es unmittelbar ein, daß die Deichsel (*īṣā́*) mit der Wirbelsäule (*anūkyāṃ*)<sup>51</sup> identifiziert wird, denn beide erstrecken sich in der Längsrichtung. Ebenso evident aber ist es, wenn als genaue Entsprechung zu den quer zur Deichsel angebrachten Jochen (*yugāni*) eines Gespanns die Schlüsselbeinknochen (*jatrávaḥ*) genannt sind.

Zu vergleichen ist ferner *jatrávaḥ* in den beim Aśvamedha verwendeten Mantras VSM 25.8 = VSK 27.8.1 = MS 3.15.7: 179.11 = KSAśv 13.6: 188.17 = TS 5.7.16.1 *īndrasya kroḍó* (VSK *kroló*) ‘*dityai* (MS ‘*dityāḥ*) *pājasyāṃ diśāṃ jatrávaḥ* ‘Dem Indra [gehört] die Brust [des Opferpferdes], der Aditi der Bauch, den Himmelsrichtungen [gehören] die Schlüsselbeinknochen’. Zwar übersetzt Keith TS *jatrávaḥ* mit “cervical cartilages”, aber das ist kaum richtig. Auch Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra trifft mit seiner Erklärung von *jatrávaḥ* als ‘unterhalb des Nackens liegende Blutgefäße’, *grīvāyā adhastād dhamanyāḥ*, wohl nicht das Richtige. Genauer sind Sāyaṇa, der *jatrávaḥ* in der TS-Passage mit *aṃsa-samīpa-vartīny asthīni* kommentiert, und Griffith, der VS *jatrávaḥ* als “clavicles” wiedergibt.<sup>52</sup>

Wenn ich nun also vorschlage, PS 7.15.7b statt der in ihrem letzten Teil unmöglichen Wortfolge *maṇayo yakṣmād datkravyāt* der Editionen ein sinnvolles *maṇayo yakṣmāj jatrávyāt* zu lesen, so bin ich gehalten, noch auf zwei Schwierigkeiten einzugehen. Die eine betrifft den *k*-Laut, der sich — offenbar schon im Orissa-Hyparchetyp — zwischen *t* und *r* des von mir als ursprünglich angenommenen \**jatrávyāt* eingeschlichen hat. Wenn man aber bedenkt, wie schwerverständlich selbst das Ausgangswort *jatrú*- den damit konfrontierten Überlieferern einiger nachrgvedischer Texte im Laufe der Zeit geworden sein muß — so daß die Verszeile ṚV 8.1.12b (= ŚS 14.2.47b / PSK 18.11.7b) *purā jatrábhya ātṛdah* ‘[noch] vor dem Anbohren der Schlüsselbeinknochen (?)’ in der MS 4.9.12: 133.12b zu *purā cakṛbhya ātṛdah* und im TĀ 4.20.1 (= ĀpMB 1.7.1b)

<sup>51</sup>Beziehungsweise mit dem vorderen Teil des Rückgrats eines Zugtiers, nämlich den Halswirbeln. Zu *ānūka*- m./n. und *anūkyā*- n. in diesem engeren Sinne vgl. PW I 227 s.v. *ānūka* Bed. 1 (“Rückgrath, insbes. dessen oberer Theil”) und ŚB 3.8.3.11 (: ŚBK 4.8.3.7) mit Eggelings Anmerkung, SBE 26, 202 n. 2.

<sup>52</sup>Vgl. auch Mahīdhara zur VS-Stelle: [*skandho bhujāśiro ’mso ’strī*] *saṃdhī tasyaiva jatruṇīti amarah* (= AK 2.6.2.29) *aṃsakakṣayoḥ saṃdhir jatru*.

zu *purā jartṛbhya ātrdaḥ* verschlimmbessert werden konnte — dann wird man a fortiori von dem aus *jatṛú-* abgeleiteten Adjektiv *\*jatravyà-* annehmen dürfen, daß es sich frühzeitig unmittelbarem Verständnis entzog, ja widersetzte. Die **K**-Lesung *atravyā* legt nahe, daß der Archetyp \*G aus Gujarat noch *jatravyāt* las. Und in diese offenbar undurchsichtig gewordene Lautfolge ein geläufiges *kravyá-* 'blutiges Fleisch'<sup>53</sup> oder gar das besonders im AV sehr häufige Kompositum *kravyād-* 'blutiges Fleisch fressend' (RV<sup>7×</sup>, ŚS<sup>47×</sup> +) hineingelesen zu haben, stellt eine zwar fehlgeleitete, aber verzeihlich naheliegende Verdeutlichung dar. Wir werden sie den Trägern der Tradition mit umso größerer Indulgenz nachsehen können, als die Traditoren — ihrer scheinbaren Absicht, uns, die Empfänger der Überlieferung, in die Irre zu führen, zum Trotz — uns vielmehr die sehr willkommene Gelegenheit gaben, ein neues Wort ausfindig zu machen. Ich bin versucht zu sagen: es noch einmal erfinden zu dürfen.

Die zweite Schwierigkeit aber betrifft den Übergang von der als ursprünglich anzunehmenden sandhibedingten Doppelkonsonanz *jj* an der Wortfuge zwischen *yakṣmāj* und *jatravyāt* zu einem doppelten *dd*, das dann allerdings in der Handschrift **K** vereinfacht wurde. Hier kann ich mich nur auf eine zu vermutende Ähnlichkeit der Schreibung (und Aussprache) berufen. Zwar hebt Zehnder, Buch 2, 15, hervor, daß die Verwechslung von *j* und *d* einer der "besonders typische[n] und häufige[n] Fehler der Orissa-Mss." sei, ob man jedoch eine vergleichbare Fehlschreibung für den Archetyp \*G — oder für einen von dessen Vorgängern — annehmen darf, hängt von dem darin verwendeten Schrifttypus ab.

In einer Entwicklungsphase der im alten Gujarat gebräuchlichen Schriftsysteme, in welcher sich *j* und *d* vor allem dadurch unterschieden haben mögen, daß beim *j* die obere der beiden Kurven nach rechts, beim *d* jedoch nach links geöffnet ist,<sup>54</sup> konnte es leicht geschehen, daß im Falle eines doppelten *jj* dessen insgesamt vier Krümmungen, wenn sie nicht deutlich genug als in gleicher Richtung offen geschrieben wurden, einer Verlesung der ganzen Ligatur als *dd* Vorschub leisteten.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup>In den Saṃhitās ist unkomponiertes *kravyá-* nur an folgenden drei Stellen belegt: MS 3.10.1: 130.13–14 *kravyām vā etārhi paśúr yārhy āśṛtaḥ* und TS 5.5.10.4 ≅ PS 2.56.2 *kravyā nāma stha*.

<sup>54</sup>Vgl. A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography, First Indian Edition*, Delhi: 1986 [Original Edition, Oxford: 1963], 280 zum "double-curved *ja*" und 283 zum "double-curved *da*".

<sup>55</sup>In der westindischen Valabhī-Schrift des 6. bis 9. Jahrhunderts ist die Ähnlichkeit von *j* und *d* jedenfalls so groß, daß eine Verlesung der Ligatur *jj* als *dd* leicht vorstellbar ist, wenn diese undeutlich oder nicht vollständig geschrieben wurde, wie mir Annette Schmiedchen versichert, die mich freundlicherweise auf folgende Inschriften hinweist: *Epigraphia Indica* 22, Nr. 19, Zeile 34: *jjo* in °*āgrajjo*° und Zeile 36 (jeweils Tafel 2): *ddā* und *rdda* in °*proddāmodāraddāṇḍa*°; *Epigraphia Indica* 35, Nr. 37, Zeile 36 (Tafel 2a): *jja* in °*sajjana*° und Zeile 68 (Tafel 3) *ddā* in °*asmaddāyo*°. Auch sei die Möglichkeit einer Verlesung der Ligatur "gewissermaßen in zwei Schritten" zu erwägen, und zwar so, daß zunächst *jj* zu *j* vereinfacht und dieses dann als *dd* verlesen wurde.

Textkritisch relevant ist hier der Hinweis auf PS 6.2.4b *\*ajuryam*, das Griffiths, Proefschrift 25 f., mit Recht in den Text aufgenommen hat, obwohl die Handschriften *duryam* (K) oder *aduryam* (Or) lesen, also alle *d* an Stelle von *j* bieten. Zur Begründung dieser unabweislichen Emendation bemerkt Griffiths, Proefschrift 26, ganz richtig: “since K’s *duryam* is impossible metrically, and Or *aduryam* (adopted by BHATTACHARYA without underlining) does not make sense, I conclude that \*G must already have been corrupt here, and emend our text on the basis of ŚS [5.1.4b].” Der Fehler sei verständlich, fügt er hinzu, “in view of cases where Agni is called *dúrya-* (RV 7.1.11, 8.74.1), and can alternatively be explained graphically as well.” Mir scheint, die graphische Erklärung ist mehr als eine bloße Alternative; sie ist für sich genommen plausibel genug, um uns davon zu überzeugen, daß die Vertauschung schriftbedingt ist. Auch war *dúrya-* zur Zeit des AV offenbar nicht mehr in lebendigem Sprachgebrauch. Die einzige Belegstelle, an der sich das Wort im AV findet, ŚS 14.2.5d / PS 18.7.5d (= RV 10.40.12d = ĀpMB 1.7.11d) *priyā aryamṇó dūr;yāñ aśmahī* ‘Möchten wir (ich, die Braut, mit meinen Leuten) [gut] zum Gehöft [des Bräutigams] gelangen, als Aryaman (dem Gotte der Gastfreundschaft) liebe [Gäste]’, ist aus dem RV übernommen, und an dieser Stelle bedeutet *dúrya-* gerade nicht ‘Hausgenosse’, wie es für eine Benennung Agnis erforderlich wäre, sondern ‘Haus’ (Geldner) oder ‘homes’ (Whitney). Und kann man denn das einhellig überlieferte *aduryam* der Or. Mss. als Fehler verständlich machen, wenn man es negativ so auffaßt, wie es aufgefaßt werden müßte, nämlich als ‘Nicht-’ oder ‘schlechter Hausgenosse’, und es dennoch sinnvoll auf Agni beziehen? Das ist doch wohl nicht gut möglich.

Daß schließlich der *yákṣma-* mit all seinen Unterarten den ganzen Körper befallen und in jedem einzelnen von dessen Gliedern sich einnisten und sein Unwesen treiben kann, wird durch den Hymnus RV 10.163.1–6 und die daraus erweiterten Fassungen ŚS 2.33.1–7 und PS 4.7.1–8 erwiesen. In den beiden AV-Versionen, ŚS 2.33.6a / PS 4.7.5a, sind allgemein die Knochen (*ásthi-* / *asthán-* n.) als möglicher Sitz der Krankheit genannt. In allen drei Fassungen, RV 10.163.2 = ŚS 2.33.2 / PS 4.7.2, werden aber auch besondere vom *yákṣma-* befallene Einzelknochen (und -knorpel ?) aufgezählt, zum Beispiel die von Hals oder Nacken (*grīvā-* f. und *uṣṇīhā-* f.), die (eines Teils) des Rückgrats (*anūkyā-* n.), und die ‘tuberculae costarum’ oder ‘transverse processes’ (? *kīkasā-* f.). In diesen Knochenzusammenhang fügt sich ein *yakṣmāj \*jatravyāt* ‘vor dem *yákṣma-* der Schlüsselbeinknochen’, wie ich in PS 7.15.7b statt des unverständlichen *yakṣmād †datkravyāt†* zu lesen vorschlage, bruchlos ein.

Nach erfolgreich abgeschlossener Suche dürfen wir rufen: Hurra, wir haben es gefunden, das Schlüsselwort; es ist das Schlüsselbein. Und als Übersetzung der Zeile PS 7.15.7b *maṇayo yakṣmāj \*jatravyāt* ergibt sich somit: ‘die Halsperlen(ketten) [sollen dich schützen] vor dem *yákṣma-* der Schlüsselbeinknochen.’

## B. Eine Hautkrankheit namens *abhīlī-*

Das bisher nur aus dem in mehrfacher Hinsicht einen späten Eindruck machenden 20. Buch der Paippalāda-Saṃhitā bekannt gewordene Femininum *abhīlī-* ist in dem kurzen, nicht mehr als sieben Strophen umfassenden Abschnitt PSO 20.62.9a–63.5d (: PSK 20.58.7a–59.4b) fünfmal belegt. Dieser Abschnitt lautet in der von Arlo Griffiths und mir hergestellten vorläufigen Ausgabe so:

*yathedam abhram arbhakaṃ parjanyaḍ apa<sup>+</sup>śīyate |  
evā me aśvinā mukhāḍ abhīlīy apa<sup>+</sup>śīyatām || 9 ||*<sup>56</sup>

Wie dieses winzige Gewölk von der Gewitterwolke wegfällt,  
So soll, ihr Aśvins, von meinem Gesicht die Abhīlī wegfallen.

*abhīlī naśyetaḥ paras tvacaṃ me mābhi mimlapaḥ |  
agastīyasya brahmaṇā abhīlīm nāśayāmasi || 10 ||*<sup>57</sup>

Abhīlī, schwinde fern von hier; laß mir die Haut nicht welken!<sup>58</sup>  
Mit des Agastya Zauberspruch lassen wir die Abhīlī schwinden.

*sesicām upatvacām nāśaya ā pururūpād abhīlīyaṃ mukhāt || 1 ||*<sup>59</sup>

Laß schwinden [mir] vom vielfarbenen Gesicht die [schwarze] Abhīlī,<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup>abhram arbhakaṃ] arbhā arbhaka JM, arbhakam arbhakaṃ Pa V/122, abhram arbhaka K apa<sup>+</sup>śīyate] apa śīyate Or, abhisamyathā K [[Bar.: °sṛṃya°] evā] Or, yāvā K abhīly] Pa V/122 K, abhily JM apa<sup>+</sup>śīyatām] apa śīyatām Or, upa samyathā K

<sup>57</sup>abhīlī] Or, abhela K naśyetaḥ] JM, nasyetaḥ Pa V/122, naśyetaḥ K tvacaṃ] Or, ṭṛcar K mimlapaḥ] Pa V/122, mimlipaḥ JM, jaṃlumaha K brahmaṇābhīlīm] Pa V/122, brahmaṇābhīlīm JM, vrahmaṇāvīlīn K nāśayāmasi ||] nāśayāmasi || ṛ 10 || 62 || JM, nāśayāmasi || 62 || ṛ || Pa V/122, nāśayāsasi | nāśayāmasi Z 5 Z K [[Bar.: °masi | nāś°]

<sup>58</sup>Das Verbalkompositum *abhi-mlā* ist belegt in dem Adjektiv *ānabhimlāta-* RV 2.35.13cd (= KS 35.3: 53.6 = KpS 47.4: 350.21) *só<sup>a</sup>pāṃ nāpād ānabhimlātavarṇo anyāsyevēhā tanvā vīveṣa* "Apām Napāt von unverwelklicher Farbe wirkt hier gleichsam mit dem Körper eines Anderen" (Geldner). Der "Körper eines Anderen", *anyāsyā ... tanvā*, ist der des Feuers, seinerseits "von unverwelklicher Farbe".

Bezeugt ist dieses Verbaladjektiv auch in dem vom Ṛṣi-Namen \**anabhimlāta-* abgeleiteten Patronymikon *ānabhimlāta-* 'Sohn des Anabhimlāta' ŚBK 16.4.6.2 = BÄUK 2.6.2. Vgl. dazu Vishva Bandhu, Vedic Word Concordance II (Brāhmaṇa Section) 98 Anm. c: "= (gotrapravartaka-) ṛṣi-vīṣeṣa-".

<sup>59</sup>sesicām upa°] Or, sesic(āmu)pa K [[Bar.: seci\*m upa] pururūpād abhīlyam] purṛpād abhīlyam JM, purṛpād abhīlyam Pa V/122, pururūpā | dabhīlām K mukhāt ||] mukhāt ||<sup>1</sup> JM, mukhāt | Pa V/122, mukhā | K

<sup>60</sup>Die bunte Vielfarbigkeit meines Gesichts ist gleichbedeutend mit dessen gesunder Schönheit, und sie bezeichnet damit den größtmöglichen Gegensatz zu der durch Krankheit verursachten monochromen Schwärze.

die an der Haut [haftet<sup>61</sup> und deren Flüssigkeit] sickern<sup>62</sup> ergießt.<sup>63</sup>

*yan me kṛtād apriyād āruroha malaṃ mukham |  
apāṃ vāta iva śīpālaṃ sūryas tad apa lumpatu || 2 ||*<sup>64</sup>

Den Fleck, der mir das Gesicht aufgrund einer feindlichen<sup>65</sup> Tat<sup>66</sup> bewachen hat, soll die Sonne wegreißen,<sup>67</sup> wie der Wind die Śīpāla[-Pflanze] der Gewässer [wegreißt].<sup>68</sup>

*apa me (')bhīlī patat<sub>u</sub>v abhraṃ +vātahrtaṃ yathā |*

<sup>61</sup>Sollten sich Lesung und Verständnis dieses Wortes als richtig erweisen, dann wäre *upa-tvac-a-* (\**upa-tvac-ā-*) ein weiterer Vertreter des zum Beispiel durch ṚV<sup>1×</sup> 10.71.7c *upa-kakṣā-* 'bis zur Achselhöhle (*kakṣa-* AV<sup>1×</sup>) reichend' (PW +); ṚV<sup>1×</sup> 10.105.4b *upānas-ā-* 'auf dem Wagen (*ānas-* ṚV<sup>13×</sup> +) befindlich' (PW +) oder "Beiwagen (?)" (Geldner); ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 5.13.5a / PS 8.2.5a *upa-trṇya-* 'im Grase (*trṇa-* ṚV<sup>6×</sup> +) befindlich' (PW +); ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 8.10.19c [12.4a] / PS 16.134.2c *upa-māsya-* 'allmonatlich' (PW +) repräsentierten Typus des präpositionalen Rektionskompositums mit *upa-* im Vorderglied. Vgl. AiGr II 1, 313 § 119bδ 1)–3).

<sup>62</sup>Zur iterativen Bedeutung dieses mit ai. *sec/sic* urverwandten dt. Verbuns vgl. Friedrich Kluge & Elmar Seebold, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, 22. Auflage, 1989, 671 s.v. **sickern**: "Wohl mit lautlich nicht ganz durchsichtiger Intensivgemination zu *sehen* (s[iehe] d[ort]), also 'langsam und anhaltend tröpfeln'." Ferner: Elmar Seebold, Vergleichendes und etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen starken Verben, The Hague / Paris: Mouton, 1970, 389f. s.v. **SEIHW-A-** 'sehen', wo auch die übertragene Bedeutung 'austrocknen, abfließen (lassen)' mehrfach belegt ist.

<sup>63</sup>Da die metrische Struktur dieser unvollständigen Strophe sehr unregelmäßig, ja ganz undurchsichtig ist, kann auch deren Übersetzung nicht mehr als ein notdürftiger Versuch sein.

<sup>64</sup>*apriyād*] *abhipriyād* Or [[cf. PS 17.13.1c]], *a*{*pri*}*yād* K [[Bar.: *ap\*iyād*]] *āruroha*] K, *ārroha* Or *mukham*] |] K, *mukhaṃ*] JM, *mukhaṃ* {||} || Pa, *mukhaṃ* || V/122 *vāta iva*] Or, *vātīva* K *śīpālaṃ*] Pa V/122, *śī*{*la*}*pālaṃ* JM, *śīmālaṃ* K *lumpatu*] V/122 K, *laṃpatu* JM, *lumpatu* Pa ||] JM, | Pa V/122 K

<sup>65</sup>Zur Bedeutung von *priyā-* in dessen Negation *āpriya-* siehe PW 4.1160 s.v.: "wie φίλος bei HOMER [meint *priyā-*] auch *das, was einem eigen ist, woran man gewöhnt ist, woran man hängt*." Vgl. auch Meinrad Scheller, Vedisch *priyā-* und die Wortsippe *frei, freien, Freund*. Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Studie. (Ergänzungshefte zur Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, Nr. 16). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959.

<sup>66</sup>Mit der 'uneigenen=unfreundlichen Tat' (*kṛtām āpriyam*) ist wohl die feindselig gegen mich gerichtete zauberische Handlung eines Widersachers gemeint — sonst *kṛtyā-* f. 'Behexung' genannt — als deren unliebsame Wirkung die *abhīlī-* mein Gesicht befallen hat.

Zum Gebrauch des substantivierten Verbaladjektivs *kṛtā-* n. im Sinne von *kṛtyā-* f. siehe ŚS 5.14.9ab (PS 2.71.1ab) *kṛtavvyadhani vīdhya tām yās cakāra tām ij jahi* in der Übersetzung von Thomas Zehnder, Buch 2, 159: "Zauberdurchbohrerin, durchbohre den, welcher gezaubert hat, den triff" und vgl. Zehnders Anmerkung zur Stelle: "Vorderglied *kṛtā-*, hier 'magische Handlung' analog der sonstigen Verwendung von *kar* in dieser Strophe."

<sup>67</sup>Dasselbe Verbalkompositum *āpa-lup* in Verbindung mit der Sonne findet sich auch in der Strophe PS 8.15.12 *taṃ somapītho juṣate ... | yo brāhmaṇasyāstāṃ hrdaḥ sūrya iva vāpālupat tamaḥ* 'Der Somatrank findet an dem sein Gefallen, der einen [vom Feind] abgeschossenen [Pfeil] aus des Brahmanen Herz weggerissen hat wie die Sonne die Finsternis [wegreißt].' Zu dieser Stelle siehe Alexander Lubotsky, "PS 8.15. Offense against a Brahmin," oben S. 31.

<sup>68</sup>Vgl. ṚV 10.68.5ab *āpa jyōtiṣā tamo antāriṣād udnāḥ śīpālaṃ iva vāta ājat* "Mit Licht hat er die Finsternis aus dem Luftreich getrieben wie der Wind die Śīpālapflanze aus dem Wasser" (Geldner).

*ā mā suvarṇaṃ gachatu subhāgam astu me mukham* || 3 ||<sup>69</sup>

Weg soll mir die Abhīlī fliegen, wie ein vom Wind entführtes Gewölk.  
Zu mir soll kommen das Gold [der Sonne]. Schön soll sein mein Gesicht.

*yathā sūryasyopodaye hiraṇyaṃ pratirocate* |  
*evā me aśvinā mukhaṃ +suvarṇaṃ prati rocatām* || 4 ||<sup>70</sup>

Wie bei Aufgang<sup>71</sup> der Sonne sie golden [uns] entgegenleuchtet,  
So soll, ihr Aśvins, mein Gesicht golden [den Menschen] entgegenleuchten.<sup>72</sup>

*pra yad gāvo na bhūrṇayas tveṣā vayāṃsy akraman* |  
*ghnantu kṛṣṇām +apa tvacaṃ subhāgam astu me mukham* || 5 ||<sup>73</sup>

Sobald, wie aufgebrachte Rinder, die ungestümen Kräfte [des Zaubers]  
hervorgetreten sind, sollen sie die schwarze Haut wegschlagen.<sup>74</sup> Schön  
soll sein mein Gesicht.

Die beiden s-losen Nominative (*a*)*bhīlī* in PSO 20.62.9d und 63.3a sowie der Akkusativ *abhīlīm* in 20.62.10d bezeugen übereinstimmend, daß dieses Femininum

<sup>69</sup>apa me (')bhīlī] apa me bhīlī JM, apa me bhīlī Pa V/122, apu me bhīlī K patatv] JM V/122, patav Pa, paptatv K abhraṃ] Or, ātaṃ K +vātaḥṛtaṃ] vātaḥṛdaṃ Or, vātaghaṃ K yathā ] JM K, yathā || Pa V/122 ā] K, a Or suvarṇaṃ] K [[Bar.: °varṇaṃ]], suparṇaṃ Or gachatu] Or, <g·t·> K [[Bar.: g\*\*\*ta]] mukham ||] mukhaṃ || JM, {kha}mukhaṃ | Pa, mukhaṃ | V/122, mukhaṃ, K [[om. ]]

<sup>70</sup>omitted in K • sūryasyopodaye] Pa V/122, sūryasyopādaye JM |] sic JM Pa [!]] V/122 [!]] +suvarṇaṃ] suparṇaṃ JM, suparṇaṃ Pa V/122 rocatām ||] rotām || JM, rocatām || Pa [!]] V/122 [!]]

<sup>71</sup>Das Kompositum *ūpodaya-* ist außerhalb der PS noch an vier Saṃhitā-Stellen belegt. Diese sind: MS<sup>2</sup>× 4.2.3: 24.7 & 4.3.4: 43.11 *ūpodaye sūryasya* sowie KS<sup>1</sup>× 6.5: 54.5 & KpS<sup>1</sup>× 4.4: 49.3 *upodayaṃ sūryasya*.

<sup>72</sup>Dazu paßt es glänzend, daß Jungfer Apālā, nachdem Indra sie von ihrer Hautkrankheit geheilt hat, *sūrya-tvac-* 'sonnenhäutig' wird, denn das bedeutet ja: ihre Haut leuchtet golden wie die Sonne. Vgl. RV 8.91.7 (≅ ŚS 14.1.41) *khé ráthasya khé nasah khé yugāsya śatakrato | apālām indra trīṣ pūtvīy ākrṇoh sūrīyatvacam* "In dem Nabenloch des Streitwagens, in dem Nabenloch des Karrens, in des Jochs Loche hast du ratreicher Indra die Apālā dreimal gereinigt und ihr eine sonnengleiche Haut gegeben" (Geldner), "... having thrice purified Apālā, O Indra, thou didst make her sun-skinned" (Whitney).

<sup>73</sup>pra yad] Or, preda K na bhūrṇayas] na bhūrṇayas Or, nnabhūnayas K tveṣā vayāṃsy] Pa V/122, tvepā vayāṃ{ka}sy JM, tve{...}yāsy K [[Bar.: tve\*\*\*yāsy]] akraman |] JM V/122, a{kr·n} | Pa, akramīm, K [[om. ]] +apa] upa Or, iva K subhāgam astu] JM Pa K, {·gama·} V/122 mukham] K, mukhaṃ Or

<sup>74</sup>Diesen ersten drei Anuṣṭubh-Pādas korrespondiert die Gāyatrī RV 9.41.1 *prā yé gāvo ná bhūrṇayas tveṣā ayāso ākramuḥ | ghnāntaḥ kṛṣṇām āpa tvācam* "Die ungeduldig wie Rinder, furchtgebietend, unverdrossen hervorgekommen sind, die schwarze Haut vertreibend" (Geldner). Vgl. auch SV 1.491 & 2.242 *pra yad gāvo na* ... Als 3. Person Plural des *a*-Aorists ist *akraman* Ersatz für die entsprechende ältere Form des Wurzelaorists *ākramur* im RV (*ākramur* 2×, *akramur* 6×, *kramur* 1×). Ein zweiter AV-Beleg dieser neueren Form findet sich ŚS 4.3.1ab (≅ PS 2.8.1ab) *ūd itās tráyo akraman vīyāghrāḥ pūruṣo vīkaḥ* "Up from here have stridden three — tiger, man . . . , [and] wolf" (Whitney).

hier der *devī*-Flexion folgt. Daneben findet sich aber in 20.63.1b der Akkusativ *abhīlīyam* mit der für die *vrkī*-Flexion typischen Behandlung des *-ī-*. Sollte sich nun zeigen lassen, daß *abhī-lī-* als ein Wurzelkompositum aufzufassen ist, dann wäre damit zugleich auch der *vrkī*-Akkusativ *abhīlīyam* als die einzige ursprüngliche Kasusform dieses Nomens erwiesen.<sup>75</sup> Aber auch umgekehrt ließe sich sagen: Eben dieser aus der Reihe der belegten Formen tanzende Akkusativ *abhīlīyam* spricht für eine Analyse des neuen Wortes als Zusammensetzung aus der Präposition *abhī* und einer Verbalwurzel *lī*.<sup>76</sup>

Wenn ich nun *abhī-lī-* als Wurzelkompositum aufzufassen geneigt bin, so habe ich mich zunächst für eine von mehreren Wurzeln zu entscheiden, die formal in Frage kommen. Zwei semantische Gründe bestimmen mich dazu, meine Entscheidung zugunsten jener Wurzel *lay* / *lī* zu treffen, die 'sich schmiegen, heften; haften' bedeutet: Einerseits scheint es auf die Hautkrankheit, von der hier doch offenbar die Rede ist, vorzüglich zu passen, daß sie sich 'anschiegt' oder 'anheftet' und dem Gesicht des von ihr Betroffenen als ein Fleck und Makel (*māla*- n.) 'anhafte'. Andererseits wäre in einem Kompositum *\*abhī-lī-* die der Wurzel *lī* eigene Bedeutung durch die Präposition *abhī* nicht unangemessen verdeutlicht zu 'sich anschmiegen, anheften; anhaften'.<sup>77</sup>

Nun habe ich aber sogleich auch zwei Einwänden zu begegnen. Der eine ist dieser: Ein Verbalkompositum *abhī-lī* ist erst im Epischen und Klassischen belegt. Darauf antworte ich zunächst: Immerhin ist es dort schon belegt, und zwar z.B. einmal im Mahābhārata mit der finiten Verbform *abhī-līyanta*<sup>78</sup> in der Strophe MBh 6.67.9 (ed. Poona):

*bhīṣmam evābhīlīyanta saha sarvais tavātmajaiḥ |*  
*teṣām ārtāyanam abhūd bhīṣmaḥ sāṃtanavo raṇe ||*

<sup>75</sup>Der Vokativ *abhīli* in 62.10a kann zu beiden Flexionstypen gehören.

<sup>76</sup>Allein im RV finden sich die folgenden Akkusative von komponierten auf *-ī-* auslautenden Wurzelnomina: *suvādhīyām* (1×) von *-dhī-*; *gāthānīyām* (1×), *yajñānīyām* (1×) und *sadhanīyām* (1×) von *-nī-*; *abhiprīyam* (1×) und *brahmaprīyam* (2×) von *-prī-*; *pramīyam* (1×) von *-mī-*; *atharvīyām* (1×), *durāvīyām* (1×), *devāvīyām* (4×) und *pratīvīyām* (3×) von *-vī-*; *adhvaraśrīyam* (2×), *abhiśrīyam* (2×), *kṣatraśrīyam* (1×), *ghṛtaśrīyam* (1×), *janaśrīyam* (1×), *yajñaśrīyam* (1×), *suśrīyam* (2×) und *hariśrīyam* (2×) von *-śrī-*.

<sup>77</sup>Und da es sich bei einer Hautkrankheit nur um ein unliebsames Anschmiegen handeln kann, verdient auch die bekannte Tatsache Erwähnung, daß *abhī* gelegentlich eine unangenehme Wirkung der Verbalhandlung auf den durch sie Betroffenen ausdrückt, ja daß diese Präposition eine geradezu feindselige Konnotation haben kann, wie dies besonders auch im Falle von *abhī-car* 'bannen, behexen, verzaubern' (ŚS<sup>3</sup> 2.11.3a *abhī cara*, 5.30.2a & 10.1.18c *abhi-cerūr*) deutlich wird.

<sup>78</sup>Zum 'Injunktiv' im Epos vgl. Adolf Holtzmann, Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata, 1884, 20, in Ergänzung zu Whitney, Indische Grammatik, Leipzig, 1879, 214 f. § 587: "Beispiele von fehlendem Augmente des Imperfects sind ziemlich häufig, besonders im Compositum ..." und neuerdings Thomas Oberlies, A Grammar of Epic Sanskrit (= Indian Philology and South Asian Studies, Volume 5), Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003, 178–181 § 6.4.1: Augmentless imperfect, mit einer Liste einschlägiger Formen, in der unser *abhī-līyanta* allerdings keine Berücksichtigung gefunden hat.

[Die Pāṇḍavas] hefteten sich an Bhīṣma zusammen mit all deinen Söhnen [o Dhṛtarāṣṭra]. [Aber] Bhīṣma, Sohn des Śaṃtanu, ward ihnen (den Pāṇḍavas) zum Verhängnis in der Schlacht.

und zweimal bei Kālidāsa mit dem Verbaladjektiv *abhilīna-* in Raghuvamśa 3.8:

*dineṣu gacchatsu nitāntapīvaram tadīyam ānīlamukhaṃ stanadvayam |*  
*tiraś cakāra bhramarābhilīnayoh sujātayoh pañcakakośayoh śriyam ||*

Während die Tage [der Schwangerschaft von König Dilīpas Gattin Sudakṣiṇā] vergingen, übertraf deren kräftig schwellendes Brustepaar mit seinen dunkelbläulichen<sup>79</sup> Brustwarzen die Schönheit zweier wohlgeformter, [an den Spitzen] von Bienen bedrängter Lotosblütenknospen.<sup>80</sup>

sowie in Meghadūta 38ab (ed. Pathak = 39ab Vallabhadeva = 40ab Mallinātha):

*paścād uccairbhujataruvanaṃ maṇḍalenābhilīnaḥ*  
*sāṃdhyam tejah pratinavajapūṣparaktaṃ dadhānaḥ |*

Wenn du dann [, o Wolke], in Kreisform an den Wald der Bäume, der [zum Tanz] erhobenen Arme [des Śiva], geschmiegt, dir den Abenddämmerungsglanz, rot wie die frische Blüte des Roseneibisch,<sup>81</sup> angelegt hast, ...

Zu bedenken ist auch, daß wir mit dem offenbar späten 20. Buche der Paippalāda-Saṃhitā schon nahe an das jüngere Sanskrit heranreichen. Ferner weise ich darauf hin, daß ein Verbalkompositum der beiden bedeutungsnahen Präpositionen *prāti* und *ā* mit unserer Wurzel *lī* schon im Vedischen belegt

<sup>79</sup>Zu *ā-nīla-* 'dunkelbläulich' vgl. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik II 1, 1905, 237 § 95fγ: "ā [findet sich,] um Annäherung an die Bedeutung des Hinterglieds auszudrücken," und Paṭaṅjali unter Vārttika 4 zu Pāṇini 2.2.18, Mahābhāṣya I 416, 17–18 (ed. Kielhorn–Abhyankar): *āñ īṣadarthe ... ā-kaḍāraḥ [/] ā-piṅgalaḥ*. Weitere Beispiele solch 'approximativer' *ā*-Komposita in den Werken Kālidāsa's sind: Raghuvamśa 2.13b *ā-kampita-* '[vom Wind] zu leichtem Zittern erregte' (Blüten der Bäume), Śākuntala 7.25c *ā-kuṭīla-* 'sanft gekrümmte' (Wimpern), Raghuvamśa 5.42b *ā-nartita-* 'zu leisem Tanzen gebrachte' (Bäume), Raghuvamśa 16.51a *ā-piñjarā-* 'gelbrötliche' (Blütenrispe), Raghuvamśa 1.83a *ā-bhugna-* 'leicht gebogenes' (Zeichen weißer Haare auf Nandini's Stirn), Vikramorvaṣīya 4.5a (ed. Devadhar) = 4.15a (ed. Velankar) *ā-rakta-* 'rötliche' (Streifen von Blüten), Śākuntala 7.17a *ā-lakṣya-* 'gerade eben sichtbare' (knospengleiche Zähne grundlos lachender Kinder).

<sup>80</sup>Zur vermutlich älteren und von der hier zitierten stark abweichenden Version dieser Strophe siehe The Raghupañcikā of Vallabhadeva being the earliest commentary on the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa. Volume I. Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes by Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2003, S. 83, Str. 3.7, und die Anmerkung dazu, S. 311. In der Vallabhadeva-Fassung fehlt allerdings jede Spur von *abhilīna-*.

<sup>81</sup>Zu *japā* / *javā* 'Hibiscus rosa-sinensis' siehe Renate Syed, Die Flora Altindiens in Literatur und Kunst, Inaugural-Dissertation München, 1990 (= 1992), 285–287.

ist, und zwar gleich dreimal hintereinander in KB 15.5: 68.10–12 (ed. Lindner = 15.6.9,11,13 ed. Sarma) *pavamāne stūyamāne hotāraṃ mṛtyur pratyālīyata ...* ‘Während das Pavamāna[-Stotra] [von den SV-Priestern] gesungen wurde, heftete sich der Tod an den Hotar.’ Und ähnlich in den beiden darauf folgenden Parallelsätzen.

Schließlich wäre aber vor allem noch folgendes zu betonen: Daß zu einer Nominalbildung vom Typ des angenommenen Wurzelkompositums \**abhi-lī-* nicht immer synchron die entsprechende verbale Verbindung vorkommt, ist eine ziemlich allgemeine Tatsache. Aus dem vielleicht nur zufällig verzögerten Auftauchen des Syntagmas *abhī + lī* in einem späteren Text läßt sich also kaum ein gewichtiger Einwand gegen meine Erklärung machen. Die Sprache spricht nicht nur, sie verschweigt auch. Und aus dem Schweigen über eines ihrer Elemente kann kein Argument zugunsten von dessen Nichtexistenz herausgehört werden; selbst mit bis zum feinen Punkt höchster Hellhörigkeit gespitzten Ohren wäre dies nicht möglich.

Als Beispiel für jene allgemeine Tatsache sei hier nur an zwei ebenfalls mit unserer Präposition zusammengesetzte Wurzelkomposita erinnert: an *abhi-prī-* ‘erfreulich, angenehm’ (RV<sup>2×</sup> 1.162.3c & 9.31.3a), dem jedoch weder im RV noch in irgendeiner anderen Samhitā ein Syntagma *abhī + prī* zur Seite steht,<sup>82</sup> und an das gleichgebildete *abhi-śrīṣ-* ‘Klebe- oder Heftmittel’ (Oldenberg) in RV 8.1.12a *yá ṛtē cid abhiśrīṣaḥ* “[d]er auch ohne Verband” (Geldner), das im Vedischen noch kein finites *abhī śrīṣyati* neben sich zu haben scheint.<sup>83</sup> Vgl. Scarlata, Wurzelkomposita,<sup>84</sup> 336 bzw. 544 f. zu diesen beiden *abhi*-Bildungen und *passim* zu vielen anderen Beispielen vergleichbarer Art.

Der zweite und womöglich schwerer wiegende Einwand aber betrifft die Länge des Fugenvokals in dem von mir mit einiger Zuversicht als Wurzelkompositum erklärten *abhi-lī-*: Gewöhnlich tritt eine Dehnung des auslautenden Vokals der Präposition nur vor einer ursprünglich mit Laryngal anlautenden Wurzel ein. Nun scheint aber sicher, daß die *seṭ*-Wurzel ved. *layi* ← idg. \**leiH* (siehe <sup>1</sup>LIV 363 & <sup>2</sup>LIV 405)<sup>85</sup> zwar auf einen Laryngal ausging, nicht jedoch mit einem

<sup>82</sup>Auch das Verbaladjektiv *abhi-prīta-* ‘erfreut, befriedigt’ ist erst im Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa belegt: AB<sup>2×</sup> 8.24.4 & 7; vgl. noch dessen Negation *an-abhi-prīta-*, AB<sup>3×</sup> 2.12.2, 8.24.5 & 7, sowie das Nomen actionis PB 6.4.15 *abhi-prīti-* “the pleasing” (Caland).

<sup>83</sup>Michael Witzel, *Kaṭha Āraṇyaka*, Critical edition with a translation into German and an introduction. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004, 100, hat zwar in seiner Textausgabe von KaṭhĀ III 234–5 *abhiśrīṣyet* ergänzt in der Passage *yásya mahāvīró bhidyáte [yá ṛtē cid abhiśrī]ṣa iti karmanyāyā mrdā dṛḍhīkārāṇena vāsreṣava[tābhiśrīṣyet]*, aber diese suppleierte Verbalform ist ganz und gar ungewiß. Vgl. Leonid Kulikov, *The Vedic -ya-presents*, Proefschrift Leiden, 2001, 479 s.v. *śliṣ (śrīṣ)* mit Anm. 1487.

<sup>84</sup>Salvatore Scarlata, *Die Wurzelkomposita im Ṛg-Veda*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1999.

<sup>85</sup>LIV: *Lexikon der Indogermanischen Verben*. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstambildungen. Unter Leitung von Helmut Rix und der Mitarbeit vieler anderer bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel, Thomas Zehnder, Reiner Lipp, Brigitte Schirmer. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag,

solchen anlautete. Also ist eine Dehnung des Auslauts von *abhi-* in Komposition mit dieser Wurzel von vorneherein nicht zu erwarten.

Gewiß, theoretisch zu erwarten war sie nicht, aber ausgeschlossen braucht sie deswegen noch lange nicht zu sein. Denn neben vielen laryngalbedingten Dehnungen des Auslauts einer Präposition vor der mit ihr komponierten Wurzel gibt es auch eine stattliche Anzahl von Auslautdehnungen, die willkürlich erscheinen — und doch begründet sein können, nämlich durch andersartige, nicht strikt lautgesetzliche Vorgänge wie Analogie, metrischen Zwang, ‘Sprachmalerei’<sup>86</sup> und ähnliches.

Laryngalbedingt ist zum Beispiel das dreimalige *abhīvargá-* ‘Bereich’ (PW), ‘sphere’ (Whitney), ‘domain’ (Bloomfield) des AV (ŚS 3.5.2c [PS 3.13.2c]; ŚS 6.54.2c [PS 19.8.5c]; ŚS 11.2.4c [PS 16.104.4c]) zu ved. *varj* ← idg. *\*h<sub>2</sub>uerg* ‘(sich) drehen, (sich) wenden’ (<sup>1</sup>LIV 259 & <sup>2</sup>LIV 290 f.); vgl. *āvṛṇak* und *āvṛṇak* (RV je 2×) sowie *anūvṛj-* (ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 9.4.12b [PS 16.25.2b]).

Auch die Dehnung in dem zweimaligen *abhīvardha-* in PS 4.27.4b & c — im Gegensatz zu *abhivardha-* in PS 12.6.3a :: ŚS 1.29.4a *abhīvartá-*, siehe sogleich — darf als phonologisch berechtigt gelten, wenn man die von Krisch, Perfekta,<sup>87</sup> 24f. referierte Lehre Jochem Schindlers anzunehmen bereit ist, daß ved. *vardh* auf idg. *\*h<sub>1</sub>ueld<sup>h</sup>* zurückgeht.

Nicht laryngalbedingt hingegen ist das seit dem RV in den Saṃhitās gut belegte<sup>88</sup> Nomen agentis *abhīvartá-* ‘siegreich angreifend’ (PW), da die ursprüngliche Ausgangsform von ved. *vart* vermutlich ohne Laryngal als idg. *\*uert* ‘sich umdrehen’ (<sup>1</sup>LIV 632f. & <sup>2</sup>LIV 691f.) anzusetzen ist.<sup>89</sup> Vgl. auch *abhīṣáh-*

1998 (= <sup>1</sup>LIV). Dasselbe ... Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel und Helmut Rix. Wiesbaden ... 2001 (= <sup>2</sup>LIV).

<sup>86</sup>Zu dieser poetologisch relevanten Erscheinung vgl. Paul Thieme, ‘Sprachmalerei’. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 86, 1972, 64–81 = Kleine Schriften II. Herausgegeben von Renate Söhnen-Thieme. (Glasenapp-Stiftung, Band 5, II). Stuttgart: Karl Steiner, 1995, 994–1011, und Werner Knobl, The Nonce Formation: A more-than-momentary look at the Augenblicksbildung. The Vedas: Texts, Language & Ritual, Proceedings of the Third International Vedic Workshop, Leiden 2002. Edited by Arlo Griffiths & Jan E.M. Houben. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2004, 261–283.

<sup>87</sup>Thomas Krisch, Zur Genese und Funktion der altindischen Perfekta mit langem Reduplikationsvokal (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 87), Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität, 1996, 24.

<sup>88</sup>Die insgesamt 21 Saṃhitā-Belegstellen von *abhīvartá-* sind: RV<sup>2×</sup> 10.174.1a, 3d; ŚS<sup>3×</sup> 1.29.1a, 3d, 4a; PS<sup>2×</sup> 1.11.1a, 3d; VSM<sup>1×</sup> 14.23, VSK<sup>1×</sup> 15.7.1; MS<sup>1×</sup> 2.8.4: 109.4; KS<sup>4×</sup> 17.4: 248.2, 20.13: 33.10, 33.7<sup>2×</sup>: 33.7&8; KpS<sup>1×</sup> 26.3: <sup>1</sup>106.8 = <sup>2</sup>123.11; TS<sup>6×</sup> 4.3.8.1, 5.3.3.3<sup>2×</sup>, 7.5.1.6, 7.5.7.4<sup>2×</sup>.

<sup>89</sup>Vgl. auch die mit verschiedenen Präpositionen zusammengesetzten Verbaladjektiva der Wurzel *var-*: RV *ápāvṛta-* (1×), *ápīvṛta-* (4×), *abhīvṛta-* (8×), *pāvṛta-* (7× :: *pāriṛta-* 1×), *prāvṛta-* (2×). Beide idg. Wurzeln, auf die ved. *var* letztlich zurückgeht, *\*uel* ‘hüllen’ und *\*uer* ‘wehren’, werden gewöhnlich ohne Laryngal angesetzt. Vgl. jedoch Martin Kümmel, <sup>1</sup>LIV 615 s.v. 1. *\*uel* Anm. 2: ‘In ved. *var* sind wahrscheinlich mehrere Wurzeln zusammengefallen: außer 1. *\*uel* [‘einschließen, verhüllen’] wohl 1. *\*uer* ‘aufhalten, abwehren’ und wegen der Kompositionsdehnung (z.B. *pāri-vṛta-*) auch *\*Huer* ‘stecken’.’ Ebenso <sup>2</sup>LIV 674 s.v. Anm. 2, außer am Ende: ‘... auch (oder vor allem) *\*Huer* ‘einschließen, stecken, hineintun’.’ Zu vergleichen ist ferner

(TS<sup>4×</sup>) und *abhīśāh-* (RV<sup>1×</sup>, ŚS<sup>2×</sup>, PS<sup>3×</sup>, MS<sup>2×</sup>, KS<sup>1×</sup>) mit ved. *sah* ← idg. \**seǵh* ‘überwältigen’ (<sup>1</sup>LIV 467 f. & <sup>2</sup>LIV 515 f.).<sup>90</sup>

Ähnliches gilt von PS 4.27.4c *abhībhava-*, gegenüber ŚS 1.29.4a (vgl. auch PS 12.6.3a) *abhībhavā-* (ohne Dehnung), und von PS 4.27.4d *abhīṣeṇa-*, im Gegensatz zu RV 6.44.17c *abhiṣeṇā-* (mit kurzem *-i*). Auch auf das zweimalige *abhīmodamūd-* des AV (ŚS 11.7.26b / PS 16.84.8b und ŚS 11.8.24b / PS 16.87.4b) ‘fröhlich zujubelnd’ (PW), ‘they that enjoy enjoyments’ (Whitney) und das einmalige *abhīlāpalāp-* (ŚS 11.8.25b [PS 16.87.5b]) ‘klagewimmernd’ (PW), ‘they who utter ... addresses’ (Whitney) darf in diesem Zusammenhang hingewiesen werden.

Aus spätvedischer Zeit läßt sich ferner VādhAnv *abhīṣaṅga-* m. ‘Verfluchung’ (Willem Caland, AO IV, 1926, 8 = Kleine Schriften, 1990, 310 § 5: *teṣām u haiṣo bhīṣaṅga ivety āhur* ‘Von diesen Feuern droht ihm, so sagt man, sozusagen die Verfluchung’) zitieren, das in dieser Bedeutung vor Calands Erstausgabe nur aus Lexika bekannt war; vgl. Amarakośa 3.3.6a *ākrośanam abhīṣaṅgaḥ* ‘malédiction, imprécation’ (Loiseleur Deslongchamps).

Im Mahābhārata findet sich mehrmals das Kompositum *nirabhīmāna-* ‘frei von Hochmut’ oder ‘bewußtlos’ (PW) mit gedehntem *abhīmāna-* an Stelle des gewöhnlichen *abhimāna-*, zum Beispiel in MBh 14.19.3 *ātmavat sarvabhūteṣu yaś caren niyataḥ śuciḥ | amānī nirabhīmānaḥ sarvato mukta eva saḥ* — hier ist die Länge eindeutig metrisch bedingt.

Und um noch ein Beispiel aus der jüngeren Sprache anzuführen, weise ich hin auf *abhīśāpa-* m. ‘schwere Beschuldigung’ in Yājñavalkya-Smṛti 2.110c *trāyasvāsmād abhīśāpāt* ‘rette mich von dieser beschuldigung [o gift]’ (Stenzler); so spricht im Ordal der eines Schwerverbrechens Angeklagte beschwörend zu dem Gift, dem er schmeichelt mit der Behauptung, daß es Brahman Sohn (a: *brahmaṇaḥ putraḥ*) und ‘in wahrheit und recht beharrend’ sei (b: *satyadharme vyavasthitaḥ*); vollkommen so, als ob für ihn der Grundsatz gelte *in venēnō vēritās*.

Gerade eine Strophe wie PS 4.27.4 mit einem ganzen Nest von *abhī-* Bildungen, von denen zwei, nämlich *abhībhava-* und *abhīṣeṇa-*, keine Entsprechung in anderen vedischen Texten haben, macht es deutlich, daß die ohnehin allgemeine Tendenz zur lautgesetzlich unbegründeten Dehnung des Auslauts dieser Präposition in der Kompositionsfuge sich in der Paippalāda-Samhitā be-

Alexander Lubotsky, ‘The Vedic root *vr-* ‘to cover’ and its present.’ Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 2. bis 5. Oktober in Erlangen. Herausgegeben von Bernhard Forssman und Robert Plath. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2000, 315–325, insbes. 317 f. Lubotsky setzt eine einzige, ursprünglich mit Laryngal anlautende *aniṭ-* Wurzel ved. *var* ← idg. \**H<sub>u</sub>er* ‘to cover’ (→ ‘to stop’) an.

<sup>90</sup> Anders darüber Jochem Schindler, Die Sprache 25, 1979, 60a Anm. 4: ‘Diese Dehnung kann eigentlich nur aus schwachen Kasus der Form \**-V-zǵh-* → \**-Vh-* stammen (vgl. Ptc. *sāhvas-* < \**se-zǵh-uos-*).’ Zweifel an Schindlers Erklärung und Bedenken gegen sie äußert Scarlata, Wurzelkomposita, 612–13, ohne sich jedoch seinerseits für eine zwingende Alternative aussprechen zu können.

sonders stark ausgeprägt hatte:

*ni piṇḍhi sarvān dhūrvato abhīvardho yathāsasi |*  
*abhīvardham abhībhavam abhīṣeṇam mahāgaṇam |*  
*viśas tvā sarvā ā yant<sub>u</sub>v āpo divyāḥ payasvatīḥ ||*

Stoß all die verletzenden Gewalttäter nieder, auf daß du überlegen seist. Zu dir dem überlegenen, überwindenden, die [feindlichen] Heere überwältigenden [Kämpfer]<sup>91</sup> mit der großen Schar [von Mitstreitern] sollen alle Sippen und die schwellkräftigen himmlischen Wasser kommen.<sup>92</sup>

In so geartetem Umfeld erscheint ein gedehntes *abhīlī-* an Stelle eines phonologisch korrekteren *\*abhīlī-* nicht ganz unerwartet. Hätte es auch seiner vermuteten Etymologie gemäß ohne Dehnung sein müssen, so konnte es dennoch unter dem Einfluß der mehreren, zumal in der PS beliebten *abhī-*Komposita leicht die Länge von deren Fugenvokal übernehmen.

Auch ließe sich daran denken, daß die Dehnung emphatisch-expressiv sei, so daß wir *abhīlī-* im Sinne von 'heftig anhaftend' auffassen dürften. Die Bezeichnung einer anderen Krankheit, nämlich des Durchfalls, weist das gleiche lange *-ī-* vor einer nicht mit Laryngal anlautenden Wurzel auf. Ich meine *atīsāra-*,<sup>93</sup> das nicht nur in der späteren medizinischen Literatur geläufig ist,<sup>94</sup> sondern schon ĀpŚS 9.20.1 vorkommt: *yadi yūpaḥ suṣiraḥ syād atīsāreṇa yajamāno mriyeta* 'Wenn der Opferpfosten hohl wäre, würde der Opferherr an Durchfall sterben.' Auch Pāṇini, Aṣṭādhyāyī 5.2.129 *vāta-atīsārābhyām kuk ca* [128 *dvandva-upatāpa-garhyāt prānisthād inih*] gebraucht dieses Nomen, um der mit dem Suffix *-in-* und zusätzlich mit dem *āgama-* ('Augment') *-k-* gebildeten Ableitung *atīsārakīṇ-* als Bezeichnung des an Durchfall Leidenden Rechnung zu tragen.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>91</sup>Der dem Singular *abhīṣeṇam* in PS 4.27.4d entsprechende Plural *abhīṣeṇān* in RV 6.44.17c wird von Geldner als "die mit Heeresmacht angreifen" wiedergegeben. Vgl. dazu seine Anmerkung ad 17c: "deren Heere (so Sāy[āṇa]) oder Geschosse gegen (uns) gekommen sind". Diese Auffassung von *abhīṣeṇā-* als Bahuvrīhi hängt offenbar ganz von Sāyaṇas Erklärung ab: *asmān praty abhigatāḥ senā yeṣām tādrśān*. Nach meinem Verständnis handelt es sich bei *abhīṣeṇā-* / *abhīṣeṇa-* vielmehr um ein präpositionales Rektionskompositum. Zu *abhī-* als regierender Präposition in dieser Art von Zusammensetzung siehe AiGr II 1, 312 § 119bβ mit dem Beispiel RV 10.174.5b *abhī-rāṣṭra-* "Reiche bewältigend" (Grassmann = Wackernagel), "das Reich beherrschend" (Geldner), und Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar 511 § 1310a, mit den Beispielen RV 10.103.5c *abhī-vīra-* und *abhī-satvan-* "overcoming heroes" (Whitney), "jedem Helden über, jedem Krieger über" (Geldner).

<sup>92</sup>Die beiden Verse PS 4.27.4ef sind identisch mit PS 4.2.5cd, dem letzten Pāda (4f) aber entspricht ŚS 4.8.4d = 4.8.6b = 8.2.14f (: PS 16.4.4f) *āpo divyāḥ payasvatīḥ*.

<sup>93</sup>Mit ved. *sar* ← idg. 1. \**sel* 'losspringen' (<sup>1</sup>LIV 477 f. & <sup>2</sup>LIV 527 f.).

<sup>94</sup>Siehe zum Beispiel G. J. Meulenbeld, *The Mādhavanidāna and its Chief Commentary*, Chapters 1–10. Introduction, Translation and Notes, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974, 194 ff.: Diarrhoea (*atīsāra*).

<sup>95</sup>Dieses gedehnte 'Durchfall'-Derivat ist zwar bislang noch in keinem vedischen Text belegt und scheint zum erstenmal Suśruta-Saṃhitā, Uttaratantra (6.) 40.21d *atīsārakīṇam tyajet* vorzu-

Vgl. auch Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya zu A 3.3.17 (II.144.5 ed. Kielhorn–Abhyankar) *atīsāro vyādhiḥ*.

Mit derselben im Auslaut gedehnten Präposition *atī-* sind ferner bezeugt *atīkāśā-* m. ‘Durchblick; Öffnung’ in MS<sup>1×</sup> 1.2.2: 11.9–10 = KS<sup>1×</sup> 2.3: 9.18<sup>96</sup> = TS<sup>3×</sup> 1.2.2.2(h) *nākṣatrāṇām mātīkāśāt pāhi* ‘Schütze mich vor dem über[hellen] Glanz (?) der Gestirne’;<sup>97</sup> *atīrúc-* m. ‘a horse’s fetlock or knee’ (Monier-Williams) in MS<sup>1×</sup> 3.15.3: 178.10 (: *atīrúc-* VSM<sup>1×</sup> 25.3 = VSK<sup>1×</sup> 27.3.2) und *atīrokā-* m. ‘Öffnung’ in KS<sup>2×</sup> 22.13: 68.8–9, 23.1: 73.7; KpS<sup>1×</sup> 35.7: 212.14;<sup>98</sup> oder *atīrekā-* m. ‘Überrest’ in ŚB 4.5.10.8 *yādi rātrim atiricyétāhar úpeyur nēt tv evātīrekò ‘sti* ‘Wenn [vom Soma] über die Nacht[feier] hinaus ein Rest bleiben sollte, so mögen sie [mit diesem Rest] einen Tag[ritus] begehen. Einen [weiteren] Überrest aber gibt es nicht (= soll es nicht geben)’.

Bei all diesen *atī-*Komposita wäre dem langen *-ī-* allenfalls symbolische Ausdruckskraft eigen.<sup>99</sup> Denn von einem Laryngalanlaut kann bei keiner der beteiligten Wurzeln die Rede sein: weder bei ved. *kāś* ← idg. *\*k<sup>u</sup>ek̑*, noch bei ved. *roc* ← idg. *\*leuk̑*, noch auch bei ved. *rec* ← idg. *\*leik̑*.<sup>100</sup>

Einer gewissen Vollständigkeit halber — und meiner, ich gebe zu: etwas zwanghaften, Vorliebe für diese zuliebe — weise ich ferner auf einige vedische Komposita hin, die mit anderen auf *-i-* auslautenden Präpositionen (*ādhi-*, *āpi-*, *nī-*, *pāri-*, *prāti-*, *vī-*) zusammengesetzt sind, deren gedehntes *-ī-* nicht laryngalbedingt ist: *adhīvāsā-* m. ‘Obergewand’ (RV<sup>3×</sup>, VSM<sup>1×</sup> = VSK<sup>1×</sup>, MS<sup>2×</sup>, KS<sup>3×</sup>, TS<sup>1×</sup>);<sup>101</sup> *apījū-* ‘antreibend’ (RV<sup>1×</sup> 2.31.5b);<sup>102</sup> *nīkarṣiṇ-* ‘Rad schlagender [Pfau]’ (LŚS<sup>1×</sup> 8.12.6),<sup>103</sup> *nīkāśa-* m. ‘Anschein’ in den beiden Bahuvrīhis *dhūmrānīkāśās* (1×) und *babhrūnīkāśās* (2×) ‘[Opfertiere] von rauchgrauem —, von braunem Aussehen’ (VSM<sup>1×</sup> 24.18 = VSK<sup>1×</sup> 26.4.3),<sup>104</sup> *nīśāh-* ‘überwältigend’ (ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 5.20.11a),<sup>105</sup> *parīvāpā-* m. ‘geröstete Reiskörner’ (VSM<sup>2×</sup>

kommen, es muß jedoch in der zur Zeit Pāṇinis gesprochenen Sanskritsprache der Gebildeten schon verwendet worden sein, denn sonst hätte der Grammatiker, dem es ja vor allem um die Beschreibung dieser Sprache ging, sich wohl kaum mit seinem Sūtra A 5.2.129 eigens darauf bezogen.

<sup>96</sup>Die Parallelstelle KpS 1.15: 13.7 bietet stattdessen normalisiertes *atīkāśa-*.

<sup>97</sup>Gedehntes *atīkāśā-* auch in PS 4.40.3b *trayo ‘tīkāśās trīṇi śīrṣāṇi y eṣām* und zweimal an einer weiteren Stelle der TS, nämlich 6.1.1.1 & 4.

<sup>98</sup>Dagegen findet sich MS 3.6.1: 60.6–7 ungedehntes *atīrokā-*.

<sup>99</sup>Ich darf mir vielleicht die kleine Verlegenheit ersparen, hier näher auszuführen, wie zum Beispiel im Falle von *atīsāra-* ‘Durchfall’, diese Zerdehnung, die zugleich eine Verdünnung sein kann, als sprachmalerisch wirksam zu denken wäre.

<sup>100</sup>Zu diesen drei Wurzeln vergleiche <sup>1</sup>LIV 343 ff. & <sup>2</sup>LIV 383 ff., <sup>1</sup>LIV 365 f. & <sup>2</sup>LIV 406 ff., <sup>1</sup>LIV 376 f. & <sup>2</sup>LIV 418 f.

<sup>101</sup>Mit ved. *vas* ← idg. 1. *\*ues* (<sup>1</sup>LIV 633 f. & <sup>2</sup>LIV 692 f.).

<sup>102</sup>Mit ved. *jav* ← iir. *\*jauH* ← idg. (?) *\*ǵeuH* (<sup>1</sup>LIV 147 & <sup>2</sup>LIV 166).

<sup>103</sup>Mit ved. *karṣ* ← idg. *\*kels* (<sup>1</sup>LIV 347 f. & <sup>2</sup>LIV 388 f.).

<sup>104</sup>Zur Dehnung des *-ī-* vor *-kāśā-* vgl. oben *atīkāśā-* und unten *pratikāśā-* mit Anmerkungen.

<sup>105</sup>Zur Dehnung des *-ī-* vor *-śāh-* vgl. *abhīśāh-*, S. 63 mit Fußnote 90.

19.21,22 = VSK<sup>2</sup>× 21.2.10,11, PSK 20.12.10b),<sup>106</sup> *parīśāsá-* m. ‘Ausschnitt’ (ŚS<sup>1</sup>× 5.14.3a / PS 7.1.10a),<sup>107</sup> *pratīkāśá-* m. ‘[schreckliches] Aussehen; [drohender] Anblick’ (ŚS<sup>1</sup>× 9.8[13].6a / PS 16.74.6a,<sup>108</sup> 20.28.10c),<sup>109</sup> *pratībodhá-* ‘entgegenwachend’ (ŚS<sup>3</sup>× 8.1.13, 8.6.15, 19.35.3),<sup>110</sup> *vīvadhá-* m. ‘Schulterjoch, Tragholz’ (MS<sup>1</sup>× 2.8.7: 112.1, KS<sup>1</sup>× 17.6: 249.21–22, KpS<sup>1</sup>× 26.5: 125.18),<sup>111</sup> *vīvartá-* m. ‘der umkehrende / sich hin und her wendende [Himmel]’<sup>112</sup> (MS<sup>1</sup>× 2.8.4: 109.7, KS<sup>2</sup>× 17.4: 248.5 & 21.1: 37.16, KpS<sup>2</sup>× 26.3: 123.15 & 31.16: 191.4).<sup>113</sup>

Nun könnte allenfalls noch eingewendet werden, es sei zu erwarten, daß Krankheiten in Indien mit nichtarischen Namen benannt wurden — und daß speziell *abhīlī-* keinen indogermanischen Eindruck mache.<sup>114</sup> Es wird jedoch niemand behaupten wollen, daß die Mittel zur Benennung einer Krankheit, so sehr ‘indisch’ dieselbe uns auch anmuten möge, vor allem aus einheimischer Quelle fließen müssen. Jede einzelne gelungene indoarische Etymologie widerlegt eine solche, in ihrer abstrakten Allgemeinheit unhaltbare Behauptung. Kann zum Beispiel nach Hoffmanns überzeugender Erklärung<sup>115</sup> von *takmán-* m. ‘Fieber’ (ŚS<sup>n</sup>× +) — als durch Dissimilation aus *\*tapmán-* ‘Hitze’ entstanden — noch mit guten Gründen daran gezweifelt werden, daß dieses Nomen indoarischen Ursprungs sei? So darf ich vielleicht hoffen, daß auch meiner Herleitung von PS<sup>5</sup>× *abhīlī-* aus *\*abhīlī-* eine Überzeugungskraft zuerkannt werde, die nicht leicht zu entkräften sein mag.

<sup>106</sup>Mit ved. *vap* ← iir. *\*uap* ← idg. (?) *\*uep* (1LIV 625 & 2LIV 684).

<sup>107</sup>Mit ved. *śas* ← idg. *\*kes* (1LIV 293 & 2LIV 329).

<sup>108</sup>ŚS 9.8[13].6 *yásya bhīmāḥ pratīkāśá udvopáyati púruṣam | takmānaṃ viśvāsāraḍaṃ bahír nír man-trayāmahe* “Of whom the fearful aspect makes a man tremble — the *takmán* of every autumn we expel out [of thee] by incantation” (Whitney).

<sup>109</sup>Mit ved. *kāś* ← idg. *\*k<sup>h</sup>ek* (1LIV 343 ff. & 2LIV 383 ff.).

<sup>110</sup>Mit ved. *bodh* ← idg. *\*b<sup>h</sup>eud<sup>h</sup>* (1LIV 66 ff. & 2LIV 82 f.).

<sup>111</sup>Hingegen mit Kürze des *-i-* ist *vīvadhá-* belegt in VSM<sup>1</sup>× 15.5 = VSK<sup>1</sup>× 16.1.7 und TS<sup>1</sup>× 4.3.12.2. Auch wenn bisher noch unklar ist, zu welcher Wurzel *-vadhá-* gehört, so handelt es sich bei *vī-*/*vī-vadhá-* doch deutlich um ein Kompositum mit *vī-*. Zu verschiedenen etymologischen Möglichkeiten siehe M. Mayrhofer, KEWA III, 1976, 222 und EWAia II, 1996, 560, jeweils s.v. *vīvadhá-*. Sollte es sich eines Tages herausstellen, daß die gesuchte Wurzel mit Laryngal anlautete, so hätte *vīvadhá-* als ein weiteres Beispiel für nicht lautgesetzliche Dehnung des Auslauts der Präposition natürlich zu entfallen.

<sup>112</sup>Vgl. PW 6.1176 s.v. *vivartá*: “etwa *der sich drehende*, eine Bez[eichnung] des Himmels”. Griffith übersetzt *vivartá-* in VSM 14.23 mit “The Revolving One”, Keith *vivartá-* in TS 4.3.8.1 & 5.3.4.5 mit “the revolving”.

<sup>113</sup>Stattdessen mit kurzem *-i-* in VSM<sup>1</sup>× 14.23 = VSK<sup>1</sup>× 15.7.2 sowie TS<sup>2</sup>× 4.3.8.1 & 5.3.4.5 *vivartá-*. Zu ved. *vart* ← idg. *\*uert* ‘sich umdrehen’ (1LIV 632 f. & 2LIV 691 f.) vergleiche das oben (S. 62) über *abhīvartá-* Gesagte.

<sup>114</sup>Tatsächlich wurde mir nach meinem Vortrag in Halle von befreundeter linguistischer Seite ein derartiger Einwand gemacht.

<sup>115</sup>Karl Hoffmann, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 78, 1963, 89f. = Aufsätze zur Indo-iranistik, herausgegeben von Johanna Narten, Band 1. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1975, 153f.

Nach Abwehr der oben gemachten, vor allem Form und Charakter des Wurzelkompositums *abhīlī-* betreffenden Einwände und Bedenken bleibt mir nur noch hervorzuheben, daß durch die Analyse des Wortes als *abhī-lī-* eine Bedeutung gewonnen wird, die gut mit dem antonymen Sinn der anderen im Kontext von PSO 20.62.9a–63.5d verwendeten Verben zusammenpaßt. Denn wenn es 62.9cd heißt *evā me aśvinā mukhād abhīlīy apa śīyatām* ‘ebenso soll, ihr Aśvins, von meinem Gesicht die Abhīlī wegfallen’, oder wenn in Strophe 63.2 gesagt wird, die Sonne solle den Fleck wegreißen, der mein Gesicht bewachsen hat, *yan me ... āruroha malaṃ mukham | ... sūryas tad apa lumpatu*, oder wenn Vers 63.3a erneut davon spricht, daß die Abhīlī wegfliegen soll, *apa me ‘bhīlī patatu*, oder wenn schließlich in 63.5 von den Kräften des Zaubers gefordert wird, sie sollten die schwarze Haut wegschlagen, *ghnantu kṛṣṇām \*apa tvacam*, so lassen doch alle diese mit *apa* ‘weg’ kombinierten Verben es notwendig erscheinen, einen der ersehnten Fortbewegung vorausgehenden Zustand anzunehmen, in dem die von der Haut weggewünschte Krankheit als allzu hautnah und unliebsam ‘anhaftend’ zu denken ist.

Den Bedeutungsansatz ‘die Anhaftende’ scheint auch das auf unsere *abhīlī-* gemünzte Eigenschaftswort *upatvacā-* in PS 20.63.1a zu bestätigen, wenn wir dieses Nomen — in Übereinstimmung mit einer der beiden Bildungsweisen, die nach der Grammatik für es in Frage kommen<sup>116</sup> — so verstehen, wie es am besten zu einer Hautkrankheit paßt, nämlich als ein präpositionales Rektionskompositum im Sinne von ‘die der Haut An[haftende]’.<sup>117</sup>

Andererseits haben sich einige Eigenschaften der *abhīlī-*, von denen wir ebenfalls aus unserer Textstelle erfahren, nicht in einem sie bezeichnenden Namen niedergeschlagen. Denn abgesehen von dem etymologisch zu nennenden Faktum, daß sie der Haut fest anhaftet, werden wir auch damit bekannt gemacht, daß sie schwarz ist, indem sie die Haut schwarz macht, wie es Vers 63.5c (*kṛṣṇām ... tvacam*) andeutet; ferner, daß sie die Haut auszutrocknen droht, wie aus der Forderung in 62.10b: *tvacaṃ me mābhi mimlapaḥ* ‘laß mir die Haut nicht welken’<sup>118</sup> und aus dem sie in 63.1a beschreibenden ‘intensiven’ Adjektiv *sesicā-* ‘[die Flüssigkeit der Haut] sickernd ergießend’ deutlich wird; vor allem aber, daß sie durch Schwärze und Welkheit der Haut das Gesicht zu entstellen ge-

<sup>116</sup>Zur anderen Möglichkeit, es nämlich als ein Bahuvrīhi mit der dem Vorderglied zukommenden Betonung (*\*úpa-*) aufzufassen, siehe die folgende Anmerkung.

<sup>117</sup>Vgl. die oben in der Fußnote (Anm. 61) zu meiner Übersetzung von PSO 20.63.1 aufgezählten mit *\*upatvacā-* morphologisch vergleichbaren Beispiele. — Von der zweiten, rein theoretisch möglichen Auffassung des Kompositums als *pūrvapada prakṛtisvaratvena* betontes Bahuvrīhi *\*úpatvacā-* darf hier wohl abgesehen werden, da eine sich daraus ergebende Bedeutung (‘deren Haut an[haftet]’) unnötig hervorheben würde, daß die Krankheit selbst eine Haut habe. Ganz auszuschließen ist diese hypothetische Möglichkeit freilich nicht.

<sup>118</sup>Bemerkenswert ist, daß auch hier ein Verbum von nicht gerade positiver Bedeutung, nämlich *mlā* ‘welken’, sich mit jenem *abhi* verbindet, das eine unerwünschte Wirkung auf den durch die Verbalhandlung Betroffenen ausdrückt. Und dem Syntagma *tvācam abhi mlāpayati* ‘läßt die Haut welken (austrocknen)’ entspräche ziemlich genau die für *\*abhī-lī-* vorauszusetzende Fügung *tvācam abhi layate / abhi līyate* ‘schmiegt sich [auf lästige Weise] an die Haut’.

eignet ist und so in dem unter ihr Leidenden den Wunsch nach einer Schönheit wach werden läßt, die sich durch gold- und sonnenhaften Glanz<sup>119</sup> wie auch durch wind- und wassergleiche Frische<sup>120</sup> auszeichnet.

Den genannten Charakteristika entsprechend, hätte unsere Hautkrankheit auch *upatvacā-* (\**upatvacā-*/\**úpatvacā-*), *kr̥ṣṇā-* (*kr̥ṣṇā-*/*kr̥ṣṇā-*), \**mimlapā-* (?)<sup>121</sup> oder *sesicā-* (\**sesicā-*)<sup>122</sup> bezeichnet werden können. Wenn sie nun aber stattdessen tatsächlich *abhīlī-* genannt wurde, so mochte dies dem Umstand zu verdanken sein, daß ihre charakteristische Unart, der Haut fest anzuhafte, besonders hervorstach und als für sie typische Haupteigenschaft erschien. Offenbar war diese Auffälligkeit vor allen anderen Merkmalen dazu angetan, im ersten Namensgeber jenen 'wortzeugenden Eindruck' zu erwecken, der ihn sprachschöpferisch werden ließ und ihm einen neuen, die Krankheit genau treffenden — und dadurch womöglich magisch wirksam bekämpfenden — Ausdruck eingab.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>119</sup>Vgl. die Nennung von Gold und Sonne in den Versen PS 20.63.3cd *ā mā suvarṇaṃ gachatu subhāgam astu me mukham* 'Zu mir soll kommen das Gold [der Sonne], schön soll sein mein Gesicht' und in der darauf folgenden Strophe 63.4 *yathā sūryasyopodaye hiraṇyaṃ pratirocate | evā me aśvinā mukhaṃ +suvarṇaṃ prati rocatām* 'Wie bei Aufgang der Sonne sie golden [uns] entgegenleuchtet, so soll, ihr Aśvins, mein Gesicht golden [den Menschen] entgegenleuchten.'

<sup>120</sup>Vgl. die Erwähnung von Wind und Wasser in der Strophe PS 20.63.2 *yan me ... āruroha malaṃ mukham | apāṃ vāta +va śīpālaṃ sūryas tad apa lumpatu* 'Den [schwarzen] Fleck, der mir das Gesicht bewachen hat, soll die Sonne wegreißen, wie der Wind die Śīpāla[-Pflanze] der Gewässer [wegreißt]' und in den darauf folgenden Versen 63.3ab *apa me 'bhīlī patat +v abhraṃ +vātahr̥taṃ yathā* 'Weg soll mir die Abhīlī fliegen, wie ein vom Wind entführtes Gewölke.'

<sup>121</sup>Zwar scheint bisher kein Adjektiv bekannt geworden zu sein, das vom Stamm des reduplizierten Aorists aus gebildet wäre. Da es jedoch adjektivische Ableitungen von mehreren anderen reduplizierten Verbalstämmen gibt, ist ein Eigenschaftswort \**mimlapā-* im Sinne von 'welk machend' sehr wohl vorstellbar. Jedenfalls bräuchte ein sprachschöpferischer Sprecher des Vedischen sich nicht zu scheuen, wenn es ihm einfallen sollte, ein solches Wort erstmals zu bilden. Seine kreative Kraft würde sich dadurch als umso stärker erweisen, daß er mit erfinderischer Kühnheit eine Bildung wagt, die nicht schon produktiv ist.

<sup>122</sup>Als älteste Beispiele für Nomina agentis auf *-ā-*, die aus Intensivstämmen abgeleitet sind und deren Struktur mit der des Adjektivs *sesicā-* vergleichbar ist, dürfen die folgenden, sämtlich nur einmal belegten Bildungen gelten: RV<sup>1×</sup> 1.140.3a *vevijā-* 'zusammenzuckend, aufschreckend', ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 8.6.6b [PS 16.79.6b] *rerihā-* "much-licking" (Whitney), ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 7.38.1b [PS 20.31.7b] *abhi-rorudā-* '[mich] anheulend', ŚS<sup>1×</sup> 10.8.4d *ā-vi-cācala-* 'nicht hin und her schwankend', ŚBM<sup>1×</sup> 1.4.3.16 *momughā-* 'irrsinnig, geistesverwirrt'; vgl. AiGr II 2, 83 f. § 35aα. — Inzwischen sind aus der Paippalāda-Saṃhitā *abhi-pāpada-* in PS 6.14.4a *paryanyam abhipāpada-* und *roruha-* in PS 6.14.9b *vanakrośaṃ ca roruham* neu hinzugekommen; vgl. Arlo Griffiths, Proefschrift 2004, 172 f. & 178 f.

<sup>123</sup>Zur kreativen Tat der Namensgebung bemerkt Wilhelm Schulze, Etymologisches. Kleine Schriften, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933 [= <sup>2</sup>1966], 117 f. — nachdem er eine ganze Reihe von indogermanischen 'Schlamm'-Wörtern als substantivierte Farbadjektiva erklärt hat — sehr treffend und mit der seinem Stil eigenen geschliffenen Prägnanz: "In allen Farben schillert der Sumpf, auch für den Etymologen, der bis zu dem Akte der Namensschöpfung selbst vorzudringen und die wortzeugenden Eindrücke wieder lebendig zu machen versucht. Aber es ist das Schicksal der Wörter, daß die einst ihnen eingeprägte sinnfällige Deutlichkeit im Laufe der Zeiten verbleicht und erlischt; so wandelt sich auch hier die Buntheit der ursprünglichen

Einem Berufeneren als mir mögen sich die in der behandelten Textstelle teils nur angedeuteten, teils deutlich ausgesprochenen Symptome zu einem wie ein Vollmond rund-und-schön geschlossenen Krankheitsbild ergänzen. Ich selbst wäre auf reines Raten angewiesen.

Immerhin kann daran erinnert werden, daß es eine Krankheit gibt, die der *abhīlī-* in mehrfacher Hinsicht ähnelt. Diese andere Krankheit und ihre Symptome werden *apacīt-* (ŚS<sup>8×</sup>) genannt. Auch dieser Name stellt ein aus Wurzel und Präposition zusammengesetztes Kompositum dar. Auch mit ihm ist eine Hautkrankheit gemeint.<sup>124</sup> Auch von dieser wird erhofft, daß sie wegfliege (vgl. ŚS 6.83.1ab *āpacitaḥ prā patata suparṇó vasatér iva* ‘fliegt fort, ihr Apacits, wie ein Adler von seinem Nest’ und 3b *apacīt prā patiṣyati* ‘die Apacit wird fortfliegen’), daß die Sonne sie heile (vgl. ŚS 6.83.1c *sūryaḥ kṛṇótu bheṣajām* ‘Sūrya soll ein Heilmittel schaffen’). Und auch ihre Erscheinungsformen stehen, obwohl diese von anderer Farbe sein können,<sup>125</sup> zur Schwärze in besonders naher, ja geradezu verwandtschaftlicher Beziehung (vgl. ŚS 7.74[78].1ab *apacītām lohīnām kṛṣṇā mātéti śúsruma* ‘wir haben gehört, daß die Mutter der roten Apacits schwarz sei’). Zwar ist die *apacīt-* offenbar ein geschwüriger Hautausschlag, und es wird gesagt, welche verschiedenen Körperteile von ihren Symptomen bedroht sind,<sup>126</sup> doch scheint im AV nirgendwo davon die Rede zu sein, daß sie auch das Gesicht befallt, und zwar auf ähnlich heftig-krankhafte Weise, wie die *abhīlī-* sich an die gesunde Haut heftet.

Zu guter Letzt werden wir, durch all die oben zum Glänzen gebrachten Argumente einigermaßen erleuchtet, mit größerer Zuversicht als zuvor wenigstens soviel sagen dürfen: Die als *abhīlī-* [← \**abhīlī-*] bezeichnete Hautkrankheit hat ihren Namen höchstwahrscheinlich der Eigenschaft zu verdanken, daß sie dem Gesicht der von ihr Betroffenen ‘[fest] anhaftet’. Sollte ich das gewonnene Resultat im metrischen Schema einer halben Triṣṭubh kurz aber ganz aussprechen, so würde ich es wie folgt formulieren:

*múkhasya tvācam abhīlīyate yāt tasmād abhīlīr itiy ucyate sã*

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Anschauung leicht in das einförmige Schwarz ... In Urzeiten aber erglänzte dem Auge des Germanen auch das *mōr* so gut wie das *mari*.”

<sup>124</sup>Vgl. Zysk, Religious Medicine (wie oben, Fußnote 32), 82 ff.

<sup>125</sup>Siehe ŚS 6.83.2ab *én,y ekā śyén,y ekā kṛṣṇāikā rōhīṇī d,vé* ‘eine ist bunt, und eine ist weiß; eine ist schwarz, und zwei sind rot.’

<sup>126</sup>Nämlich der Hals (vgl. ŚS 6.25.1b / PS 19.5.4b *mānyā-*), der Nacken (vgl. ŚS 6.25.2b / PS 19.5.6b & ŚS 7.76[80].2a *grāivya-*), die Schulter (vgl. ŚS 6.25.3b / PS 19.5.5b *skāndhyā-*), die Flanke (vgl. ŚS 7.76[80].2b *upapakṣyā-*) und das *vijāman-* (vgl. ŚS 7.76[80].2c *vijāmani yā apacitaḥ* “the apacits that are on the perineum (? *vijāman*)” [Whitney]).



## On the meaning of the word *rāṣṭrá*: PS 10.4

Yasuhiro Tsuchiyama

The word *rāṣṭrá* is naturally very important for the understanding of the kingship of early Vedic India. Half a century ago, RAU discussed the meanings of *rāṣṭrá* in the Brāhmaṇa texts in a succinct but comprehensive way:

Das Wort *rāṣṭra* verdiente eine Spezialuntersuchung, wobei besonders die Bedeutungsübergänge zu klären wären. Ich finde es im Sinne von 1. Königsherrschaft, 2. Königreich = a. Gesamtheit der Untertanen und b. Land; dazu bezeichnet es — vor allem im plur. — vielleicht auch den bzw. die Regenten als Personen. (RAU 1957: 72 n. 2)

RAU arranged the meanings of *rāṣṭrá* from a logical viewpoint. “Königsherrschaft” and “Königreich”, the two major heads of the above list, are general meanings of this word. On the contrary, “Gesamtheit der Untertanen” and “Land” placed under the meaning “Königreich”, are concerned with realia, through which one would have a notion of “Königreich” in the Brāhmaṇa period. So when the meaning of this word is examined from a historical viewpoint, the necessity of which was stressed by RAU in his comment, it is of great importance to understand what *rāṣṭrá* indicates in the early Vedic period at the level of these realia.

As for the early Vedic texts, PS 10.4 provides us with some material, from which we may gain knowledge of the concrete meaning denoted by the word *rāṣṭrá*. As WITZEL pointed out, Book 10 of the PS is “a thematically compact collection of royal hymns” and is “quite extraordinary as the other books usually contain hymns on quite diverse topics” (1997b: 279). He has also drawn attention to the initiative of the Kuru dynasty in the compilation of the PS. In the light of this historical background, *rāṣṭrá*, as referred to in PS 10.4,<sup>1</sup> calls for some specific explanations. Summing up in advance, it indicates a king and chieftains submissive to him, who constitute a tribal alliance. As such, *rāṣṭrá* was established in a public meeting, namely the *sámiti*. By treating mainly of PS 10.4, but with additional reference to the RV and the ŚS,<sup>2</sup> this paper sets out to examine the actual process of establishing *rāṣṭrá*.

### King, kingdom and the directions (*pradíśah*)

In PS 10.4, there are some verses where *rāṣṭrá* indicates that a king is in question, or where it points to a king (*rājan*) implicitly. In the following verse, *rāṣṭrá*, to

<sup>1</sup>*rāṣṭra* is also repeatedly mentioned in Book 18 of PS, as pointed out by WITZEL.

<sup>2</sup>As for the translations of these two texts, I quote those of GELDNER and WHITNEY respectively.

which the directions (*pradīśaḥ*) in pāda c pay homage as representative of divine entities, seems to refer to the king himself:

PS 10.4.1

*idaṃ rāṣṭraṃ prathatāṃ gobhir aśvair idaṃ rāṣṭraṃ annenerayā rasena |  
asmai ṣaḍ urvīr upa saṃ namantu saptahotrā hata śatrūn sacittāḥ ||*

Let the kingdom here extend with cows and horses. [Let] the kingdom here [extend] with food, draught, and sap. Let the six wide ones (the directions) bow down to this [kingdom] here. Being of one mind, do slay the enemies with the *saptahotr-*formulas.

The idea of the directions (*pradīśaḥ*) as cosmic entities came into prominence especially in the AV,<sup>3</sup> and the object, which the directions pay homage to and bestow benefits on, is a person in some cases: ‘Let the four directions bow to me’ (*māhyaṃ namantāṃ pradīśās cātasrah*, ŚS 5.3.1c), and ‘Let the five directions yield milk to me’ (*duhrāṃ me pāñca pradīśaḥ*, ŚS 3.20.9a).

A king also is paid respect and becomes elected by the directions as seen in the following two verses:

ŚS 3.4.1cd (= PS 3.1.1cd)

*sārvās tvā rājan pradīśo hvayantūpasādyo namasyò bhavehá ||*

Let all the directions call thee, O king; become thou here one for waiting on, for homage.

ŚS 3.4.2ab (~ PS 3.1.2ab)

*tvām viśo vṛnatāṃ rājyāya tvām imāḥ pradīśaḥ pāñca devīḥ |*

Thee let the people choose unto kingship, thee these five divine directions.

Referring to the idea of quarters as seen in the above verses, GONDA pointed out that royal power is connected with the idea of spatial extent, which is of great importance in ancient Indian religion, and the king is expected to extend the boundaries of his realm (GONDA 1966: 100–101, 104). In the Rohita hymn, *róhita* (the sun, as the ‘ruddy one’), which is to bring the kingdom, is said to be discovered by the six directions; ‘Him (*róhita*), taken hold of by them (the Dawns), the six wide [spaces] discovered; seeing in advance the track, he hath brought hither the kingdom’ (*tābhīḥ sámṛabdham áno avindan ṣaḍ urvīr gātūṃ prapásyann ihá rāṣṭrám áhāḥ*, ŚS 13.1.4cd = PS 18.15.4cd).

If we admit that *rāṣṭrá* of PS 10.4.1c cited above is directly concerned with the king, *rāṣṭrá*, which is enriched with animals and food as revealed in the same verse (PS 10.4.1a), could be related to the king. That a king gets possession of animals and nourishment as his wealth is known from other verses concerning

<sup>3</sup>It is characteristic for the AV (and for Book 10 of the RV) that a spatial totality is expressed by the four / five / six directions. For example, four directions: RV 10.51.9, 10.58.4, ŚS 2.6.1, 2.10.3,4, 3.22.5, 5.3.1, five directions: ŚS 1.30.4, 3.20.9, 3.24.3, and six directions: ŚS 4.11.1, 4.20.2, 10.7.35.

royalty: ‘Portion thou this man in village, in horses, in kine; unportion that man who is his enemy’ (*énám bhaja grāme áśvesu gósu níṣ ṭám bhaja yó amítro asyá*, ŚS 4.22.2ab = PS 3.21.2ab) and ‘May this king be dear to Indra, dear to kine, herbs, cattle’ (*ayám rájā priyá índrasya bhūyāt priyó gávām oṣadhīnām paśūnām*, ŚS 4.22.4cd ~ PS 3.21.4cd: *utāpām* for *paśūnām*).<sup>4</sup>

### The kingdom and *balí*

#### PS 10.4.3

*idaṃ rāṣṭraṃ kratumad vīravaj jiṣṇūgram idaṃ rāṣṭraṃ gardnumac citraghoṣam |  
asmai rāṣṭrāya balim anye harantv ahaṃ devebhyo haviṣā vidheyam ||*

[Let] the kingdom here [be] possessed of power, rich in heroes, victorious, and strong. [Let] the kingdom here [be] full of shouts of joy and loud cries [of victory]. Let other [chieftains] pay tribute to the kingdom here. Would that I satisfy the gods with [my oblation].

It is reasonable to surmise that *rāṣṭrā*, to which tribute (*balí*) is brought as revealed in pāda c of the above verse, has a close connection with the king himself. The tribute is said to be collected for a king in the same book of PS, 10.2.6ab; ‘Let the tributes come together to you. Let the toll go forth to you’ (*tubhyaṃ sam yantu balayas tubhyaṃ śulkaḥ pra vīyatām*). A newly-consecrated king welcomes the tribute; ‘Und nun soll Indra die Clane dir allein tributpflichtig machen’ (*átho ta índraḥ kévalīr víso balihītas karat*, ṚV 10.173.6cd) and ‘Thou, formidable, shalt see arrive much tribute’ (*bahúm balīm práti paśyāsā ugrāḥ*, ŚS 3.4.3d = PS 3.1.3d). A king promises the chieftains to protect them in return for receiving tributes. Based on such an idea of reciprocity (GONDA 1966: 11–12), it can be safely said that *rāṣṭrā* of PS 10.4.3c refers to a king.

The fixed expression *rāṣṭrám bhū*, which is found especially in early Brāhmaṇa prose (e.g., *sá rāṣṭrám ábhavat*, MS 3.3.7:40.6–7), is interesting in this respect. HOFFMANN explained the expression “*rāṣṭrám werden*” in the sense of “*rāṣṭrám bekommen*”, taking *rāṣṭrám* as “*prädikativer Nominativ*” (1976: 557–9). Some Brāhmaṇa passages clearly speak of a sacrificer as becoming *rāṣṭrā*:

#### TS 3.4.8.1

*rāṣṭrākāmāya hotavyā. rāṣṭrám vai rāṣṭrabhīto. rāṣṭrēnaivásmāi rāṣṭrám áva rund-  
dhe. rāṣṭrám evá bhavati.*

(Commenting on the *rāṣṭrabhīto* mantras recited during the *agnicayana*:) They should be offered for one who desires the kingdom; the *Rāṣṭrabhīto*s are the

<sup>4</sup>It would not be adequate to assume that *rāṣṭrā* means the realm governed by a king. There are few indications of immovable property in the nomadic life of early Vedic India. It is only after the late Brāhmaṇa period that *rāṣṭrā* with the meaning ‘realm’ denotes this significant aspect of kingship.

kingdom; verily with the kingdom he wins the kingdom for him; he becomes the kingdom. (tr. KEITH)<sup>5</sup>

TS 5.2.1.4

*yám kāmáyeta rāṣṭrám syād iti, tám mánasā dhyāyed. rāṣṭrám evā bhavati.*

(Commenting on the mantra accompanied by the adhvaryu taking the *ukhya agni* during the *agnicayana*:) If he desire of a man, ‘May he be a ruler’ (TS 4.2.1h), he should think of him with his mind; verily he becomes a ruler.<sup>6</sup> (tr. KEITH)

These passages provide positive proof that *rāṣṭrá* is the power of kingship to be acquired by a sacrificer, and *rāṣṭrá* as such points to a person endowed with sovereignty.

There is no necessity to confine the king (*rājan*) to the chieftain of a single tribe. The situation surrounding a tribe would have been marked by fluctuating alliances and conflicts with other tribes in the *Realpolitik* of early Vedic India. The Pūru tribe was a conglomerate or coalition of tribes, to which the Bharata tribe belonged, while both tribes seem to have been subdivisions of the Āyu, one of the *pañcajana* (‘five peoples’) (WITZEL 1997a: 326–338). The same person could perform his *purohita*-ship under various kings and possibly mediate a tribal alliance between them (RAU 1957: 123). Thus, a tribe embraced (sub-)tribes, and a king (*rājan*) assumed the leadership of chieftains. In ŚS 3.5.7, the chieftains (*rājānah*) are, together with the other officials, subject to the sacrificer, namely, the king (*rājan*):<sup>7</sup>

ŚS 3.5.7

*yé rājāno rājakṛtaḥ sūtā grāmanyās ca yé |  
upastīn parṇa máhyaṃ tvám sárvaṇ kṛṇv abhíto jánān ||*

They that are kings, king-makers, that are charioteers and troop-leaders — subjects to me do thou, O *parṇá*, make all people round about.

The election of the king by the tribes is delineated in ŚS 4.22 (= PS 3.21): ‘Make thou this man sole chief of the clans’ (*imám viśám ekavṛśám kṛṇu tvám*, ŚS 4.22.1b

<sup>5</sup>ŚB 9.4.1.5 comments on the same mantra as follows: *mithunāni juhōti; mithunād vā ādhi prajātir. yo vāi prajāyate, sá rāṣṭrám bhavaty. āraṣṭram vai sá bhavati yo ná prajāyate* ‘He offers pairs (of oblations), for birth originates from a pair; and he alone is (ruler of) a kingdom who propagates offspring, but not he who does not propagate offspring’ (tr. EGGELING).

<sup>6</sup>KS gives the same comment: KS 19.11:13.14–16. The *Apratirathasūkta* recited during the *agnicayana* is commented on from the same viewpoint: KS 21.10:50.1–3, MS 3.3.7:40.6–8, as already indicated by HOFFMANN (1976: 557). The idea that a person ‘becomes the kingdom’ is found in other ritual contexts: e.g. by seeing the *catūrātra* ritual, Viśvāmitra, the king of the Jahnus, became the kingdom (PB 21.12.2), and the offspring of Aikādaśākṣi became the kingdom (AB 5.30.15).

<sup>7</sup>For the distinction of two types of relationship — the one between king and vassals on the one hand, and a king and his people on the other —, as encountered in ŚS 3.5.7, see SCHLERATH 1960: 125.

= PS 3.21.1b), 'Let this king be people-lord of people' (*ayám viśám viśpátir astu rájā*, ŚS 4.22.3b = PS 3.21.2b), and lastly, describing the power of Indra, '[I join to thee Indra] who shall make thee sole chief of people, also uppermost of kings descended from Manu' (*yás tvā kárad ekavṛṣám jánānām utá rájñām uttamám mānavānām*, ŚS 4.22.5cd = PS 3.21.5cd).

### Tribal alliance and the ritual for harmony

The representation of *rāṣṭrá* relies not only on the king of the tribe(s), but also on the tribal alliance which constituted a kingdom in early Vedic India. The chieftains are called upon to be united, as revealed in the following verse:

PS 10.4.6

*apām iva vegah pra śṛñīta śatrūn diśodiśo rabhamāṇāḥ sam eta |  
ekavratā vi dhanam bhajadhvam purohitena vo rāṣṭram prathayantu devāḥ ||*

Crush the enemies like a flood of water. From various quarters, taking hold of each other, do come together. Abiding by a single vow, share the property among yourselves. Let the gods extend your kingdom through the house priest.

The alliance of the chieftains is frequently stressed:

PS 10.4.5d

*athānandinaḥ sumanasah sam eta ||*

And do come together, full of delight and good-minded.

PS 10.4.7a

*samyag vo rāṣṭram saha vo manāṃsi*

[Let] your kingdom [be] united. [Let] your minds [be] together.

PS 10.4.8

*yathāpaḥ samudrāya samīcīr vahatha śriyam |  
evā rāṣṭrāya me devāḥ samyañco +vahata śriyam ||*

Just as you, O waters, being united, carry the glory to the ocean, so must you, being united, O gods, bring the glory to my kingdom.<sup>8</sup>

The word *rāṣṭrá* is replaced by *viś* ('people,' or rather 'tribe') in the verses of PS 10.2; 'Let the great tribes long for you' (*tvām vāñchantu viśo mahīḥ*, PS 10.2.6d) is restated in the next verse: 'Let the great kingdom long for you' (*vāñchatu tvā bṛhad rāṣṭram*, PS 10.2.7a). This suggests that the alliance of tribes is intended by the word *rāṣṭrá*.

One of the reasons why such an alliance is needed is to prepare for war. And the chieftains pay attention to the tribe's firm solidarity, as is evidenced in the following three verses of PS 10.4:

<sup>8</sup>I follow the emendation *vahata* (BHATTACHARYA *vahatha*; thus the Or. mss.; Kashmir reads *vahatu*) and the translation suggested to me by Arlo Griffiths.

PS 10.4.2b

*ime rājānaḥ samityānyān vadheyuh |*

The kings (chieftains) here, coming together, should slay the others (the enemies).

PS 10.4.12c

*idaṃ rāṣṭram hataśatru jiṣṇu ||*

[Let] the kingdom here [be] one in which enemies are slain, and [let it be] victorious.

PS 10.4.13

*sapatnasāham pramṛṇam idaṃ rāṣṭram dṛḍham ugram |  
sādhamitram abhimātiśāham sarvā jigāya pṛtanā abhiṣṭi ||*

[Let] the kingdom here [be] one overcoming rivals and destroying, firm and strong. [Let the kingdom here be] one slaying the enemy and conquering the foe. [The kingdom here] as a superior one has won all the battles.

PS 10.4 belongs to the category of hymns aimed at harmony (*sāmmanasyā*). There are several words characteristic of that ritual in the AV, namely, *sacittāḥ* (PS 10.4.1d), *sumanasah* (PS 10.4.5d), *ekavratāḥ* (PS 10.4.6c), *samyak* and *saha* (PS 10.4.7ab). The harmony ritual has the purpose of strengthening the sense of oneness in the community. PS 10.4 constitutes material with which the harmony ritual is administered in order to solidify the tribal alliance for victory in battle.

The sense of oneness does not mean that the members are related on an equal footing with each other, but it is intended that they are subject to one individual, namely, the sacrificer of the harmony ritual.<sup>9</sup> So, for example, the harmony ritual for a family aims to make its members obey the householder (*grhāpati*) as known from ŚS 3.30.2: ‘Be the son submissive to the father, like-minded with the mother; let the wife to the husband speak words full of honey, wealful’ (*ānuvratāḥ pitūḥ putrō mātrā bhavantu sāmmanāḥ | jāyā pātye mādhumatīm vācam vadatu śantivām ~ PS 5.19.2*, ed. LUBOTSKY \**savratāḥ* for *sāmmanāḥ*). In the same way, the tribal alliance in PS 10.4 is intended to render the chieftains submissive to a king.

This suggests that the AV priest could have been engaged in the politics of kingship. As we know, the tribal alliance occupied a dominant position in controlling the politics of ancient India.<sup>10</sup> It is not difficult to assume that the demand for rituals securing the alliance of tribes increased during this period. Several Vedic schools undertook to satisfy the demands for the ritual of forming a tribal alliance, or the ritual of a sacrificer assuming leadership of a tribe. This endeavor can be inferred from the harmony hymns and rituals, such as

<sup>9</sup>As to this harmony ritual which leaves the sacrificer in the position of superior, see BLOOMFIELD (1899: 72–3).

<sup>10</sup>Regarding the tribe alliance as the dominant element in early Vedic history, see RAU (1957: 18–19), and WITZEL (1997a: 326–338, 1997b: 263).

RV 10.191, Khila 5.1, and some *kāmyeṣṭis* prescribed in the ritual texts belonging to the YV (CALAND 1908: vi–xii) which appeared prominently after the late R̥gvedic period. On the other hand, it can easily be surmised that the AV priests attempted to meet the demand for a ritual of tribal alliance by expanding their textual material for harmony rituals. As for the background behind the AV priests' connections with kingship, various reasons can be supposed; their personal abilities, their motives for rising in the rank of the 'orthodox' ritualists, or even their original position as house priests at a court. However, apart from such subjective or incidental reasons, objective or historical conditions can be assumed, one of which was the increased demand for harmony ritual.

### The assembly (*sāmiti*)

The function of the *sāmiti* has already been investigated in detail by ZIMMER (1879: 174–7) and RAU (1957: 82). In the *sāmiti*, the chieftains came together<sup>11</sup> and discussed public affairs such as the distribution of the spoils of war.<sup>12</sup> Although the participants contended for gaining the initiative in the assembly,<sup>13</sup> it was expected that in the end the assembly would reach an agreement.<sup>14</sup>

From the following verse, we can infer that the *sāmiti* was a meeting in which the chieftains anticipated being allied with each other:

PS 10.4.10cd

*satyaṃ vadantaḥ sāmitiṃ caranto mitraṃ gṛhṇānā janaso<sup>15</sup> yantu sakhyam ||*  
Speaking the truth, being engaged in the meeting, and grabbing hold of an ally, let them (the kings) enter into alliance with the people.

The formation of tribal alliance involved the selection of a leader. In the following verse, a king is asked to secure a firm initiative in the *sāmiti*:

<sup>11</sup>'Wie ein echter König in die Versammlungen wandelnd' (*rājā nā satyāḥ sāmitīr iyānāḥ*, RV 9.92.6b), 'Wie die Könige in der Ratsversammlung (sich versammelt haben)' (*rājānaḥ sāmitāv iva*, RV 10.97.6b).

<sup>12</sup>'Wenn, o Agni, diese (göttliche) Versammlung stattfinden wird, ... so sollst du da für uns einen gütereichen Anteil ausbitten' (*yād agna eṣā sāmitir bhāvāti ... bhāgāṃ no ātra vāsumantaṃ vītāt*, RV 10.11.8).

<sup>13</sup>'Eure Beratung nehme ich für mich in Anspruch' (*ā vo 'hāṃ sāmitiṃ dade*, RV 10.166.4d).

<sup>14</sup>'Einig der Rat, einig die Versammlung, einig sei ihr Sinn, zusammenstimmend ihr Denken' (*samānó māntraḥ sāmitiḥ samānī samānām mānaḥ sahā cittām eṣām*, RV 10.191.3ab).

<sup>15</sup>*janaso*: the Kashmir ms. seems to have preserved the correct reading, rather than *jaraso* found in the Orissa mss., although BHATTACHARYA adopts the latter reading. The reading of the Orissa mss. makes the pāda impossible to understand. A combination of *sakhyā* with the genitive of a god's name is prevalent: e.g., *indrasya sakhyām* (RV 3.60.3a, 9.86.20d, 10.62.1b), *devānām ... sakhyām* (RV 4.33.2c). Taking the reference to *sāmiti* in the preceding pāda into account, the reading of the Kashmir ms., *janaso sakhyam*, fits in this context. For spelling peculiarities of the Orissa mss. (*n* → *r*), see LUBOTSKY 2002: 10, 55.

## ŚS 6.88.3

*dhruvó 'cyutaḥ prá mṛṇṭhi sátrūn chatrūyató 'dharān pādayasva |  
sárvā díśaḥ sámmanasaḥ sadhrícīr dhruvāya te sámītiḥ kalpātām ihá ||*

Fixed, unmoved, do thou slaughter the foes; make them that play the foe fall below [thee]; [be] all the quarters like-minded, concordant; let the gathering here suit thee [who art] fixed.

The two preceding verses of this hymn are variants of the fourth and fifth verse of RV 10.173, which is known as the installation hymn. ŚS 6.88.3 just quoted, which was newly added as the last verse of this hymn in place of the sixth verse of RV 10.173, shows a characteristic of the AV in that the direction is one of the entities which admit a kingship as already pointed out above when discussing PS 10.4.1. The word *dhruvā* implies the firmness of the kingdom (*rāṣṭrá*) (SCHLERATH 1960: 126, GONDA 1966: 90), which is also observed in the other verses concerning royalty: e.g., 'Fixed [is] this king of the people' (*dhruvó rájā viśám ayám*, ŚS 6.88.1d = PS 19.6.9d) and 'Fixed for thee let both Indra and Agni maintain royalty fixed' (*dhruvám ta índraś cágniś ca rāṣṭráṃ dhārayatām dhruvám*, ŚS 6.88.2cd = PS 19.6.8cd).

In a royal verse of one of the Rohita hymns, the *sámīti* gives a king the opportunity to ascend the throne:

## ŚS 13.1.13cd (~ PS 18.16.3cd)

*róhitaṃ devā yanti sumanasyámānāḥ sá mā róhaiḥ sāmītyái rohayatu ||*

To the ruddy one go the gods with favoring mind; let him cause me to ascend (the throne) with ascensions of meeting.

The exact meaning of *róha-* *sāmītyá-* is not certain, but this phrase seems to have a connection with the recognition of kingship in the *sámīti*. The verb *ruh-*, which in popular etymology is associated with *róhita* in this hymn, indicates manifestation of kingship (SCHLERATH 1960: 101). *ruh-* is used in the prescription for the royal consecration (*rājasūya*) in the sense of mounting the throne (*āsandī*),<sup>16</sup> which constitutes the climax of such a ritual. So *ruh-* means the ascending to his status of king in a ritual sense. This verse may mean that a sacrificer is made to ascend the throne by the approval of the assembly.

Although the generalized meanings of *rāṣṭrá*, namely 'kingship' and 'kingdom', are relevant for understanding most of the passages containing this word, what it relates to at the level of concrete matters varies according to the course of history and the change of power structure. In late Vedic times, colonization spread to the East, and the Āryan tribes settled there, subsisting primarily on

<sup>16</sup>Cf. HEESTERMAN 1957: 141–2. E.g., *āsandīm ārohan, ārūḍha* (MānŚS 9.1.4.9) and *tām (= āsandīm) ārohan* (ĀpŚS 18.15.6) in *rājasūya*. In the coronation of the AV: 'He seats [the king] upon a bull's skin on a couch' (*talpārśabhaṃ carmārohayati*, KauśS 17.3: *laghvabhiṣeka*) and 'He seats [the king] upon a tiger skin on the bigger couch' (*varṣiyasi vaiyāghraṃ carmārohayati*, KauśS 17.13: *mahābhiṣeka*).

agriculture. With such a change of lifestyle and the increase of production, a different form of kingship emerged, one that consisted of a solid organization of a governed people and a territory. "Gesamtheit der Untertanen" and "Land", which RAU gave as concrete meanings of *rāṣṭrā*, are reflections of the changes which had occurred by this period. By contrast, in early Vedic times a king who is a sovereign over the chieftains, and the tribal alliance, which is the unity of chieftains subjected to a king, are the meanings most closely related to the notion of *rāṣṭrā*, as evidenced in PS 10.4.\*

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**The *Nīlarudropaniṣad* and the *Paippalādasamhitā***  
**A Critical Edition with Translation of the *Upaniṣad***  
**and Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpikā*\***

Timothy Lubin

Introduction

The *Nīlarudropaniṣad* (NU) is a hymn praising Rudra, a divinity associated in the Veda with the thunderstorm and regarded as both causing and curing illness. He is a figure of awe who receives apotropaic and propitiatory offerings in the Vedic cult.<sup>1</sup> His eventual rise to a position of greater importance begins with his being identified with the fire altar in the Agnicayana ritual, a doctrine developed particularly in the Yajurveda.<sup>2</sup> The *Śatarudriya*, a Yajurveda litany to Rudra (MS 2.9.2, KS 17.11, TS 4.5.1, VS 16.1–14), is recited during that rite; the NU constitutes its Atharvan equivalent (and, in its first two *khaṇḍas*, a partial parallel).

The hymn consists of twenty-six stanzas culled from the *Paippalādasamhitā* (PS), in many manuscripts grouped into three sections (*khaṇḍas*). These extracts include a continuous run of seventeen stanzas, viz., the third and fourth hymns of PS book fourteen, followed by a group of three stanzas from book nineteen, and (as the final *khaṇḍa*) six individual stanzas (including four from the twentieth book). The *khaṇḍa* divisions are reflected in the commentary of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa (between ca. 1500 and 1700), who includes the NU as the sixteenth in the collection of fifty-two Upaniṣads of the Atharvaveda.<sup>3</sup> The arrangement of the PS stanzas in the NU *khaṇḍas* is as follows:

- Khaṇḍa* 1 = PS 14.3.1–9;  
*Khaṇḍa* 2 = PS 14.3.10–14.4.7 and 19.22.1–3;  
*Khaṇḍa* 3 = PS 8.7.9, 19.5.8, 20.55.10, 20.60.7, 20.62.6, 20.62.7  
(the final stanza found only in Orissa manuscripts of the PS).

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<sup>1</sup>On Rudra in the Veda, see ARBMAN 1922.

<sup>2</sup>On this, see OBERLIES 1988.

<sup>3</sup>On Nārāyaṇa and his date, see GODE 1938.

NU manuscripts generally number either the *khaṇḍas* only or the individual stanzas (sequentially, without taking account of the *khaṇḍa* divisions). To reflect both systems, the stanza numbers used here include the *khaṇḍa* number followed by the sequential stanza number (1–26), so that *khaṇḍa* 2 begins with stanza 10, and *khaṇḍa* 3 begins with stanza 21. The manuscripts' divisions of the last four stanzas are spurious (as shall be explained, p. 116) and have been revised to reflect the sense as well as the stanza divisions of the corresponding PS stanzas. For the present purposes, the name NU will be used to designate this particular collection of the stanzas *per se*, as distinct from their form and distribution in the PS.

### Name and Subject

The name *Nīlarudra* applied to this group of stanzas derives from the repeated use of compounds beginning with the adjective *nīla* ('blue'), two of which are epithets applied to Rudra. Thus the word *nīlagrīva* ('blue-necked') occurs in the first two stanzas of the first *khaṇḍa* (1.1 and 1.2), and in the opening stanza of both the second and third *khaṇḍas* (2.10 and 3.21). The epithet *nīlaśikhāṇḍa* ('blue-crested') occurs in the second stanza of the second *khaṇḍa* and all the last four stanzas of the third. The inclusion of 3.22 seems to have been based mainly on the occurrence there of the obscure term *nīlāgalasālā* 'the one with the bluish ineffectual poison (?)' (or *nīlākalaśālā* [PS]). The compound *nīlarudra* itself does not occur. The six stanzas of *khaṇḍa* 3 seem to have been added simply because the term *nīla* occurs in each of them.

The first seventeen stanzas, corresponding to PS 14.3 and 14.4, are the core of the Upaniṣad, and are probably the earliest referent of the title *Nīlarudra*.<sup>4</sup> The division between the first two *khaṇḍas* does not correspond to the division between the two Paippalāda hymns, but it is more natural and elegant insofar as NU 1.1a and 2.10a are parallel in structure, differing only in the tense (and person) of the verb: *āpaśyam* versus *ādṛṣan*. These verbs evoke a vision of Rudra's self-manifestation in the lightning-flash: the first is a personal testimonial of the poet; the second invokes as witnesses all those others who have beheld this epiphany. Together, they capture the moment in which Rudra descends from heaven to stand upon the earth, glowing red, and with a blue neck or crest, attributes that probably allude to the flashing bolt of lightning itself.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, Rudra is associated with the mountain, the place on earth nearest to heaven and often indistinguishable from the approaching storm clouds.

If the lightning in the sky is Rudra's form, it is simultaneously his weapon:

<sup>4</sup>This sequence is nearly the part shared in common by the NU and a '*Nīlarudrasūkta*' included in a ritualistic ms. of the Paippalāda school found in Orissa; see below (p. 86).

<sup>5</sup>Later accounts in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas attribute Śiva's blue neck to his having swallowed the poison produced during the churning of the milk ocean: e.g., MBh 1.18.42; AgniP 3.8cd–9ab.

the lightning-bolts that strike at man and beast are the arrows that he shoots from his bow. In a tone of awe and reverence, the poet seeks to ward off Rudra's harmful fury (*manyú*) and anger (*bhāma*) (1.4), urging him to approach with his bow unstrung, putting away his arrows (2.12–14). This is his 'benign form' (*śivā tanūh*, 1.7–8), which is (in euphemistic terms) not merely harmless but positively beneficial. He is summoned to bring medicines, and especially to heal whoever has been struck by an affliction called *vātikārā*.<sup>6</sup>

The last three stanzas of *khaṇḍa* 2 and all of *khaṇḍa* 3 are of quite a different cast. 2.18–20 is a *tr̥ca* addressed to the Sarpas, supernatural serpent spirits said to dwell in various realms: on the ground, in the air, and in the sky (18), in the rays of the sun and in the water (19), and in trees and in holes (20). Those in the earthly locations surely include actual snakes, although some invisible snake-deities may also be envisioned. In the Yajurveda, this group of stanzas is recited over the place where a lotus leaf, a gold plate, and a golden figure of a man have been placed over the hoofprint of a horse in a rite called *rukṃādyupadhāna*, near the start of the Agnicayana procedures. In the *gṛhya* sphere, the ĀpMP 2.17.5–7 allots them for recitation with an *ājyāhuti*.

Given the theme of the NU, the serpents in the atmosphere (*antārikṣe*) might perhaps be identified with the lightning, an idea supported by the reference in 2.20 to the arrows (*iṣu*) of the Yātudhānas ('sorcerers'), a class of beings associated with the Sarpas. This, then, provides a point of contact between these stanzas and those that precede: the Yātudhānas (and, perhaps, the Sarpas of the atmosphere) shoot arrows; their inclusion in the NU suggests that the redactor may have considered them to be, like the Maruts, under the command of Rudra or a manifestation of his dangerous power.

The final *khaṇḍa* gathers together a diverse group of stanzas without parallels outside the Atharvaveda. The first of these (3.21), although it actually is addressed to a medicinal plant, may continue to refer to snakes: *svajās* (vipers? pythons?) of different colors.<sup>7</sup> One of these is a 'blue-necked' (*nīlagrīva*) viper. The next stanza, corresponding to PS 19.5.8, continues to name colors, though the identity of the bearers of these colors is not clear.

The NU closes with four stanzas drawn from the end of PS 20. Again, the presence of the epithet *nīlaśikhaṇḍa* may have sufficed to justify their inclusion here. They include: an invocation to Śarva Nīlaśikhaṇḍa, the Blue-Crested Bowman, that he might have mercy on one whom he has afflicted with disease (3.23, which is obscure and perhaps corrupt); an appeal for his aid in defeating a rival (3.24); and a pair of stanzas revering him as *sabhāprāpādin* 'he who is on his way, or who habitually goes, to the assembly', drawn by a pair of yellow mules (3.25–26).

<sup>6</sup>See the discussion of this term on pp. 90–92, below.

<sup>7</sup>Nārāyaṇa reads the word *svajānām* as *svajanān*, taking it as an accusative plural of the stem *svajana*, while only one manuscript (Z) gives the original reading *svajānām* (see the note on this stanza below, p. 114).

The *Nīlarudra* and the *Paippalādasamhitā*

The NU's special position in the development of the Atharvavedic canon is illustrated in a set of three stanzas appended at the end of some codices of the fifty-two Upaniṣads from western India:

*pañcadaśopaniṣado bhavanti śaunakīyānām |*  
*muṇḍakādīs<sup>8</sup> tv alātāntā vijñeyā brahmavedasya || 1 ||*  
*saptatrimśat tathānyās ca paippalādiprabhedataḥ |*  
*evam pañcāśaddvyadhikā brahmavedasya nānyataḥ || 2 ||*  
*nīlarudraprabhṛtaya āśramāntāḥ prakīrtitāḥ |*  
*etāḥ sarvāḥ pṛthagvākya jīvabrahmaikyabodhikāḥ || 3 ||*

1. Fifteen Upaniṣads of the Brahmaveda belong to the Śaunakīyas: they are recognized as beginning with the *Muṇḍaka* and ending with the *Alāta[śānti]*.
2. And the thirty-seven others [are classed] according to the division of the Paippalādins; thus [there are] fifty-two [Upaniṣads] of the Brahmaveda, and not otherwise.
3. All these, from the *Nīlarudra* to the *Āśrama*, [though] containing separate statements, are known to disclose the oneness of the soul and Brahman.<sup>9</sup>

This collection was most likely made by a Śaunakīya, since the fifteen 'śaunakīya' Upaniṣads are given precedence. These are precisely the fifteen enumerated in AVPariś 49.4.10, viz. the *Muṇḍakā*, *Praśnakā*, *Brahmavidyā*, *Kṣurikā*, *Cūlikā*, *Atharvaśiras*, *Atharvaśikhā*, *Garbhopaniṣad*, *Mahopaniṣad*, *Brahmopaniṣad*, *Prāṇāgnihotra*, *Māṇḍūkya*, *Vaitathya*, *Advaita*, and *Alātaśānti*. The rest of the Upaniṣads in the collection are classed as Paippalādin, perhaps solely on account of their following the NU, an authentic extract from the PS, in the sequence. The pivotal position of the NU — it almost always is the sixteenth in the collections of fifty-two, and thus the first of the 'paippalādin' Upaniṣads<sup>10</sup> — may have come about because of the Upaniṣads added later it was the one with the best Paippalāda credentials.

As an Atharvan eulogy of Rudra, the NU is one of the loci cited to show that Śiva is extolled as God in the Veda. The first two *khaṇḍas*, excepting the first three stanzas and the last three, closely parallel fourteen stanzas from the

<sup>8</sup>*em.*; the manuscripts (e.g., ISTU, and BORI 1/A1883–84, p. 83) show the singular form *muṇḍakādīs*.

<sup>9</sup>It is not clear to me why the first fifteen are not included as teaching the same basic doctrine.

<sup>10</sup>An exception is the list of 28 Upaniṣads in AVPariś 49.4.4 (which is an extension of the shorter one at 49.4.10): here, the NU is wedged between seven 'Yoga Upaniṣads' and seven 'Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣads', all of which are inserted after the *Māṇḍūkya*, with the *Advaita* and *Alātaśānti* omitted at the end.

first part of the *Śatarudriya* in the Yajurveda,<sup>11</sup> and the NU is often treated as the Atharvan equivalent of that hymn. The *Agnipurāṇa*, for instance, in laying out the rites for consecrating a Śiva-*liṅga*, prescribes that adherents of the four Vedas, one on each side of the fire, should make *śānti* recitations consisting of groups of mantras from their respective collections. While the ‘*Rudra*’ (i.e., the *Śatarudriya*) and the *Puruṣasūkta* are mentioned for the Yajurveda, the Atharvavedin should recite the ‘*Nīlarudra*’, the ‘*Sūkṣmāsūkṣma*’, and the ‘*Atharvaśīrṣa*’.<sup>12</sup>

We also find a ‘*Nīlarudra*’ listed in the *Liṅgapurāṇa* among the mantras to be recited during the bathing of the *liṅga* (LP 1.27); this ‘*Nīlarudra*’ is mentioned along with a variety of mantra texts, as well as an ‘*Atharvaśīras*’ (whether the Upaniṣad of that name or another text is unclear).<sup>13</sup> The application of these Vedic texts for use in *liṅga* cult reflects a desire to ground Śaiva worship in the tradition of Vedic recitation-based piety. Indeed, these Vedic texts are described as ‘mantras by means of which a man, having bathed the *liṅga* even just once [while reciting them], may be liberated’.<sup>14</sup>

It must be noted that many other references to the *Nīlarudra* understand it to be a hymn (*sūkta*), rather than an Upaniṣad, of the Atharvaveda. This is confirmed by the fact that, besides the rather numerous manuscripts of the ‘*Nīlarudropaniṣad*’, four Devanāgarī copies of a ‘*Nīlarudrasūkta*’ are included in collections described as “Atharvaveda Sūktas” belonging to the National Archives, Kathmandu, and filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP).<sup>15</sup> The most striking feature of these collections, in which the *sūktas* are identified individually by name, is that they contain hymns of the Śaunaka recension exclusively, with the sole exception of the ‘*Nīlarudrasūkta*’, which is identical with our Upaniṣad and is thus composed entirely of stanzas drawn from the PS.<sup>16</sup> These *Nīlarudrasūkta* manuscripts are treated here as

<sup>11</sup>These parallels and the variants therein are noted after each edited stanza in the edition, below.

<sup>12</sup>*japeyur jāpinaḥ saṅkhyam mantram anye tu saṅhitām | paṭheyur brāhmaṇāḥ śāntim svośākhā-vedapāragāḥ || śrīsūktaṃ pāvamānīs ca maitrakam ca vṛśākapim | ṛgvedī sarvadigbhāge sarvām etat samuccaret || devavratam tu bhāruṇḍam jyēṣṭhasāma rathantaram | puruṣam gītim etāni sāmavedī tu dakṣiṇe || rudram puruṣasūktaṃ ca ślokādhyāyam viśesataḥ | brāhmaṇam ca yajurvedī paścimāyām samuccaret || nīlarudram tathātharvī sūkṣmāsūkṣmam tathaiṣa ca | uttare ‘tharvasīrṣam ca tatparas tu samuddharet || (AgP 96.37–41).*

<sup>13</sup>*saṅpūjya śivasūktena tryambakena śubhena ca | japtvā tvaritarudram ca śivasamkalpam eva ca || nīlarudram ca śakteyas tathā rudram ca śobhanam | vāmīyam pavamānam ca pañcabrahma tathaiṣa ca || hotāram liṅgasūktaṃ ca atharvaśira eva ca | aṣṭāṅgam arghyam rudrāya dattvābhyarcya yathāvidhi || (LP 1.27.76–78; cf. 1.27.41, 164.77, 2.24.27).*

<sup>14</sup>*mantrāṇi . . . yair liṅgam sakṛd apy evaṃ snāpya mucyeta mānavah | (LP 1.27.39c–40b).*

<sup>15</sup>In this article and edition, the abbreviation ‘NU’ is intended to indicate both the text here edited, and the manuscripts used to constitute the text, including those of the *Nīlarudrasūkta* from Nepal.

<sup>16</sup>The text of this ‘*Nīlarudrasūkta*’ shares several distinctive features with that of the NU transmitted in the Śāradā manuscripts (X and Y, see p. 97).

testimony for the NU.

Whether as an Upaniṣad or as a *sūkta*, the NU has come down to us almost exclusively in Devanāgarī manuscripts. Two Śāradā manuscripts were also available to me, as well as one Telugu palm leaf, the sole example (known to me) of a manuscript in a south Indian script. Given the fact that it contains Paippalāda stanzas (including one attested only in the Orissa manuscripts of the PS), it is noteworthy that the NU is not included in Atharvaveda Upaniṣad collections from Orissa, and that no Orissa manuscripts containing the NU version of the text are known.

However, a '*Nīlarudrasūkta*' is not entirely absent from Paippalāda ritual compendia.<sup>17</sup> The one example known to me from Orissa occurs in a collection of hymns, circulated in the Paippalāda communities, that is similar in form and function to the Devanāgarī collections from Nepal. Such collections were likely compiled to serve as treasuries of mantras used frequently in ritual practice.<sup>18</sup> However the '*Nīlarudrasūkta*' included in this collection<sup>19</sup> it is not the same as our NU. Rather, it contains PS 14.3.3–4 (no doubt the original kernel), preceded by PS 2.16.4 and 8.7.9 (which latter occurs also in the NU as 3.21). NU 2.18–20 and 3.22–26 are not found in this version, and this Orissa '*Nīlarudrasūkta*' shows none of the small variations from the PS text that are distinctive of the NU. Since all the *Nīlarudra* stanzas (in all versions) are present in the *saṃhitā* of the Atharvaveda as it was known in Orissa, there was no reason to transmit them separately as an Upaniṣad.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup>The Orissa manuscript connected with the *Āṅgirasakalpa*, that has been listed with siglum Ni in §2D of Arlo Griffiths' contribution to this volume, and whose transcription has been made available to me by Griffiths, prescribes the recitation of a '*Nīlarudra*' (*atharvaśira-śikhādi-nīlarudram japati*, ff. 21r1–2). These three works are mentioned together also in f. 6r2: *adyahetyā evaṃ pūrvoktavaidhinā atharvaśiraśikhārudrasūkta(+ nīlasūkta)m adhyāpakatvena tvām ahaṃ vṛṇe*. The ambiguous name *nīlasūkta* has been added interlinearly after *rudrasūkta*. In light of the other passage, it seems possible that the *Nīlarudrasūkta* was meant, perhaps even that the writer meant simply to add *nīla* to the name *rudrasūkta* (although the name '*Rudrasūkta*' is known from other sources as well, including the four collections of Atharvan *sūktas* from Nepal used in this edition). These and similar passages will be discussed in my edition of the *Atharvaśiras*, to appear in the Groningen Oriental Studies.

<sup>18</sup>The hymns are frequently preceded by a statement of their ritual application (*vinīyoga*). For the *Nīlarudra*, this ms. states: *sāntikarmaṇi ekādaśarudrādhyāye vinīyogaḥ* (f. 37r1). The hymn is referred to in this codex either as the *Nīlarudragāṇa* (f. 37r1) or simply as the *Nīlarudra* (thrice in f. 35r1–3, and at the end of the hymn, f. 38r2).

<sup>19</sup>This is a small ms. containing various ritual texts, among which a *Grahaśānti*, found in the collection of the late Vaidyanātha Paṇḍā and his son Mr̥tyuñjaya Paṇḍā (village Sankhāmari, Orissa), and photographed by Arlo Griffiths in June 2005. See his paper in this volume, §2E.

<sup>20</sup>This explanation of the absence of the NU in Upaniṣad collections from Orissa was suggested by Arlo Griffiths.

## Date and Provenance

While the stanzas themselves are of course as ancient as the PS itself, the existence of more than one version of the *Nīlarudrasūkta*, with differing configurations of stanzas, and the fact that one of these was adopted as an Upaniṣad by Śaunakas, raises the question of where and when they took shape. In 1985, WITZEL proposed that the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> c. Kashmir Śāradā manuscript (K) of the PS descended ultimately from a Devanāgarī source (\*D) produced in western India (ca. 1250); meanwhile, all the Orissa manuscripts would go back to a manuscript in proto-Bengali script (ca. 1400). The archetype of both of those, he postulated, was a lost manuscript (\*G) from Gujarat in late Gupta script, tentatively dated to 800 CE.<sup>21</sup>

If this picture of the transmission of the PS is correct, the NU, which includes a stanza (3.26 = PS 20.62.7) found only in the Orissa manuscripts, may have taken its current form in western India prior to the loss of the stanza in the transmission that produced K; otherwise, it might have originated in Bengal or Orissa after the split of the Paippalāda communities. Secondly, the NU must have taken shape as an independent text in a situation in which both Śaunakas and Paippalādas were present, so that there would have been occasion for it to be accepted as an Atharvan hymnal by Śaunaka Brahmins. These circumstances suggest that it came into existence in western India, where Śaunakas and Paippalādas were both present,<sup>22</sup> and where in any case the greatest concentration of NU manuscripts is found.

One circumstance that adds further support for a provenance in western India is that many manuscripts, even some coming from other regions (e.g., Z), preserve an important marker of having earlier been transmitted there: the conjunct akṣara *tnyo* of the already corrupt form *ātnyor* (for *ārtnyor*) in 2.13b has been written *jño*, an error that would only be expected in a region (viz., Maharashtra) where the conjunct letter *jña* is pronounced [dnyā], which closely resembles [tnya].<sup>23</sup>

After the Paippalāda Atharvavedins shifted out of the region, the Atharvan affiliation continued to be recognized, but since the stanzas were lacking in the *Śaunakasamhitā*, the *Nīlarudrasūkta* was transmitted independently (as in the Nepali collections: see DE).<sup>24</sup> It was ultimately 'recatalogued' by the Śaunakas in western India as an Upaniṣad rather than as a *sūkta*, and thus it found its way into their *Parīṣiṣṭa* (49.4.4) as an 'Upaniṣad of the Brahmaveda'. It is also possible that devotees of Rudra-Śiva who were Atharvavedins — especially in Gujarat,

<sup>21</sup>GRIFFITHS (2002: 40–44) discusses WITZEL's model.

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Annette Schmiedchen's contribution to this volume.

<sup>23</sup>See CHATTERJI 1960: 78.

<sup>24</sup>It is quite possible that these 'Nepali' mss. actually belong to the group of (mostly Taittiriya) mss. from the Konkan or Karnataka from around 1730, when King Jagajjaya Malla brought the Bhaṭṭas of Paśupatināth to Nepal (WITZEL 2000: 285, 293).

where the Pāśupata sect and the Atharvaveda were both strong — adopted the *Nīlarudrasūkta* for cultic use, which could have favored its promotion to the status of an Upaniṣad.<sup>25</sup>

The date when the NU first circulated as an Upaniṣad can also perhaps be defined in broad terms. The mention of the NU as the twentieth Upaniṣad in the longer and later of the lists in *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 49, and its absence in the shorter, might be taken to imply that the NU (along with the Yoga and Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣads mentioned there) entered the Śaunaka canon of the Atharvaveda literature as an Upaniṣad during the interval between the making of these lists, i.e., the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>26</sup> The *Nīlarudra* likewise is included in the group of fifty-two Atharvan Upaniṣads commented upon by Nārāyaṇa, but it never appears in the collections of 108 Upaniṣads, which were compiled in South India.<sup>27</sup>

Śrīkumāra, the author of the *Tātparyadīpikā* on the *Tattvaparakāśa*, cites a ‘*Nīlarudra*’ alongside other Upaniṣads including the *Atharvośiras*, to show that Śiva’s *advitīyatva* is taught in Vedic sources as well as Śaiva ones (ad TaPra 1). However, the words that he quotes (*sarvo rudras tasmai rudrāya namo ’stu*) belong rather to a Yajurvedic source (TĀ 10.16 = MNU 291–292).<sup>28</sup> Further on (ad TaPra 5) he mentions a ‘*Nīlarudrasūkta*’ alongside the *Śatarudriya* and other *sūktas* in a list of Vedic texts that broach subjects explained in the Śaiva scriptures: *evam śatarudriya-nīlarudrasūkta-śvetāśvatareśāvāsyātharvośirastac-chikhā-raudrasūktāraṇādiṣv* (sic) *āgama-pratipādyamānānām arthānām sadbhāvo draṣṭavya iti*.

But even if we treat the latter as testimony for our text, it does not help us much in dating it. Nothing is known about Śrīkumāra except what is said about him in a colophon: that he had offered a soma sacrifice and that he was a ‘Śiva-bhakta’. However, GENGNAGEL has noticed that he quotes long passages from the *Īśānagurudevapaddhati*, and judges him to be “ein relativ später Vertreter eines von Smārta-Einflüssen geprägten Śivaismus”. The *Tattvaparakāśa* itself is a post-Saiddhāntika work unknown to the Kashmiris, and so post-10<sup>th</sup> c. at least.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Recent scholarship increasingly points to evidence that the Pāśupata religion was rooted early in its history in Gujarat; see BAKKER 2000; BISSCHOP & GRIFFITHS 2003. It seems that at least a segment of these Pāśupatas were Atharvavedins. On the other hand, there is no explicit evidence for Pāśupata use of the *Nīlarudra*.

<sup>26</sup>BOUY (1994: 65–67) proposes the 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> c. for the shorter list (AVPariś 49.4.10) because Rāmānuja knows several of the works in it. He deems the longer list (49.4.4) of “twenty-eight Upaniṣads of the Brahmaveda” to belong to the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> c. (“probably” posterior to Rāmānuja, but certainly no later than Śaṅkarānanda, who commented on many of the works mentioned only in this list, although not on the *Nīlarudra*).

<sup>27</sup>The single manuscript in a southern script (Z in Telugu characters) is most likely a transcript descended from a Nāyaka-era Devanāgarī exemplar.

<sup>28</sup>TĀ 10 is known also as the *Yājñīkī Upaniṣad*. The commentator Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra names this brief section the ‘*Tvaritarudrānuvāka*’.

<sup>29</sup>See GENGNAGEL’s remarks (1996: 18–21) on the date of Bhojadeva, the compiler of the

To summarize, the expansion of PS 14.3–4 with other PS stanzas to constitute different versions of a *Nīlarudrasūkta* likely took place in western India at some time before the 13<sup>th</sup> c., and probably even before the 10<sup>th</sup> c., since the *Nīlarudrasūkta* was already well established as a distinct Vedic text in the LP. We can also tentatively conclude that one of these versions attained its status as an Atharvan Upaniṣad (presumably in its current form as the NU) sometime during the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c. However this gets us no closer to discovering at which time before then a *Nīlarudrasūkta* — one with this particular assortment of stanzas (or the somewhat different set transmitted in Orissa with more fidelity to the text of the PS) — came to be compiled and circulated independently of the PS. We can only suppose that its form was still not set when Paippalādins were still present in western India.

#### Relevance for Establishing the Text of the *PaippalādasamĤitā*

Aside from its historical significance as an extension of Atharvavedic mantras into post-Vedic Śaivism and Smārta eclecticism, the NU also provides valuable testimony for the text of the corresponding stanzas of the PS.<sup>30</sup> LOPEZ, in his 2000 edition of PS 13–14, took account of the NU's readings, but without any reference to manuscripts, and relying on a mechanical reprint (in SHASTRI 1970) of the inferior Adyar edition (KUNHAN RAJA 1933).

The NU manuscripts would seem to be important (a) because they are relatively numerous (as compared to extant Paippalāda manuscripts), (b) because they largely derive directly from western India and thus from a region that was important in the development of the Atharvaveda tradition but that is not directly represented in the body of known PS manuscripts, and (c) because three of the manuscripts of the Upaniṣad as well as four manuscripts identifying the same text as the *Nīlarudrasūkta* give an accented text. The last of these factors turns out not to be very significant, since the accenting in the manuscripts (especially those from Nepal) appears quite faulty and at certain points (e.g., 3.23a) shows signs of having been added to a previously unaccented transmission, rather than representing a continuous tradition.

On the other hand, in the annotations to the text I find occasion to note a number of cases in which the NU readings do throw light on uncertain readings in the text of the SamĤitā. These cases include 1.1b, 1.2ab, 1.5ac, 1.6d, 1.8d, 2.10a, 2.13b, 2.15c, 2.16bd, 2.17a, 2.20b. It should also be recalled that the NU manuscript tradition offers the only support external to the Orissa sources for PS 20.62.7, which is not found in the Kashmir manuscript of the PS.

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#### *Tattvapraakāṣa.*

<sup>30</sup>PS 14.3–4 has now twice been edited with the use of Orissa manuscripts, but neither edition can be regarded as fully satisfactory. While BHATTACHARYA 1997 offers us a first edition of books 1–15 using Orissa manuscripts, GRIFFITHS (2002: 40–51, 2004: xiv–xvi) has called attention to methodological inconsistencies in that edition. LOPEZ 2000 is quite unreliable as well (cf. my notes to the edition below, and GRIFFITHS 2004: xvii).

A Note on *vātīkārā*

The second half of 1.3 ( $\approx$  PS 14.3.3) has remained obscure, partly because of a change in the wording in the NU, and partly because of uncertainty about the meaning of *vātīkārā*. The replacement of the PS reading *kṣepam* by [*']kṣemam* in the NU tradition, a case of a more common word replacing a less common one, has only complicated matters.<sup>31</sup> By connecting *vātīkārā* ingeniously with the root *van* 'win', Nārāyaṇa is able to take this word as an epithet for Rudra meaning 'he who brings about acquisition (*vāti* = *prāpti*, *yoga*)'. This then complements the idea that he has removed *akṣema* 'the absence of security', and in so doing ensures the ideal of *yoga-kṣema* 'getting and keeping'.<sup>32</sup>

The older meaning of this stanza was quite different, although the clue to recovering it likewise depends on the relationship between the same two words. The verb *kṣip* in the Veda sometimes has the sense of 'strike or hit (with a weapon)' (e.g. RV 1.182.1–3); accordingly *kṣiptām*: 'a wound caused by shooting or throwing' (ŚS 6.109.3), *kṣipañú*: (masc.) 'an archer' or (neut.) 'a missile weapon' (RV 4.58.6) and the later word *kṣipaka*: 'an archer' (MONIER-WILLIAMS, *s.v.*). PS 15.16.6, in which the collocation *vātīkāreṇa ... kṣiptasya* occurs (see below), comes in a series of stanzas referring to puncture injuries. Hence, also in our context we can understand *kṣépa* as 'wound caused by a projectile'.

Although some authorities have been content to identify *vātīkārā* (= *vātīkṛta* [ŚS 6.44.3, 6.109.3]) simply as 'a particular disease' (e.g., BÖHTLINGK & ROTH, *s.v.*), it occurs always in connection with puncture wounds, esp. *kṣiptá* (see ŚS 6.109.1). In his note on ŚS 6.44.3, WHITNEY observes that "*vātīkṛta*, like *vātīkārā*, is too doubtful to render; its derivation from *vāta* 'wind' is extremely unsatisfactory ...". Nevertheless, ZYSK (1993) considers *vātīkārā* a sort of gastric complaint, perhaps prefiguring the later *tri-doṣa* humoral theory.<sup>33</sup> It is healed by *viṣāṇā*<sup>34</sup> (or *viṣāṇakā*),<sup>35</sup> a plant (= *pippalī/arundhatī?*),<sup>36</sup> and by *jālāśá*, a liquid remedy consisting of rainwater conceived of as 'Rudra's urine' (ŚS 6.44.3; cf. 6.57.1–2) or maybe of actual urine.<sup>37</sup> In ŚS 6.109 ZYSK sees the ailment as involving a discharge of blood (*āsrāvā*, ŚS 6.44.2) in addition to *vātīkṛta* (p. 213).

<sup>31</sup>The distinctive reading of the NU tradition, *kṣemam*, had been established in the tradition at least by Nārāyaṇa's time (if he did not introduce it himself). He reads it as '*kṣemam*, i.e., *akṣemam*: 'He has utterly removed your lack of security. By this is meant [Rudra's] agency in safe-guarding [what one possesses]' (*taṅvākṣemam anīnaśad anena kṣemakāritvam uktam*).

<sup>32</sup>See p. 129, below.

<sup>33</sup>He suggests that *vātīkṛta* "may be a symptom manifested by a victim of a wound" and "a form of dyspepsia" (ZYSK 1985: 212–213, cf. p. 32 n. 9); ŚS 9.8.20.

<sup>34</sup>PS 19.31.12cd: *prthivyāṃ niṣṭhitam asi viṣāṇā nāma vātīkṛtabheṣajī* (as quoted in ZYSK 1985: 211).

<sup>35</sup>ŚS 6.44.2.

<sup>36</sup>On the pepper plant *pippalī* in its role as a remedy for *vātīkṛta* and *kṣiptá*, see ŚS 6.109.3.

<sup>37</sup>BLOOMFIELD (1891: 425–429), relying on KauśS 31.11–15 and the commentaries thereon.

LOPEZ (2000: 352) cites PS 15.16.6 as showing a connection between this disease and shooting, but he mistranslates: “And with the *vātikara*-disease (*sic*) of thrown (arrows) and the dangerous poison of evil (?) . . .”. In fact, this stanza is third in a sequence in which the first *pāda* of each stanza contains an instrumental and a genitive, and the other three *pādas* are a refrain: ‘. . . and of the ill which is the ill-poisonous [arrow]: o Arundhatī, you are the poison-spoiler of its/his poison’ (. . . -*aghasyāghaviṣā ca yā | arundhati tvam tasyāsi viṣasya viṣadūṣaṇī*).<sup>38</sup> If we consider the parallel construction of the first *pāda* of each stanza in 15.16.4–6, the meaning is clearer:

*digdhena ca vidhasya-aghasyāghaviṣā ca yā |*  
*arundhati tvam tasyāsi viṣasya viṣadūṣaṇī ||*  
*āheyena ca daṣṭasya-[aghasyāghaviṣā ca yā |*  
*arundhati tvam tasyāsi viṣasya viṣadūṣaṇī] ||*  
*vātikāreṇa ca kṣiptasya-[aghasyāghaviṣā ca yā |*  
*arundhati tvam tasyāsi viṣasya viṣadūṣaṇī] ||*

Of one pierced with a poisoned arrow, and of the ill which is the ill-poisonous [arrow]: O Arundhatī, you are the poison-spoiler of its/his poison. And of one bitten by snake[-venom] . . . And of one struck by *vātikārá* . . . (*digdhena ca vidhasya-* . . . *āheyena ca daṣṭasya-* . . . *vātikāreṇa ca kṣiptasya-*).<sup>39</sup>

In the first two cases, the afflicted is struck by something sharp which introduces a poison with the capacity to stun, paralyze, and render him unconscious. The third instance should be similar.

There is another factor to consider, too. In these three stanzas, the word in the instrumental case designates the proximate cause of the malady. But in what looks like a secondary extension of the pattern, several stanzas (PS 15.16.7–15.17.3) follow which repeat 15.16.6 verbatim, changing only the first word, *vātikāreṇa*, to Bhavena, Śarveṇa, Rudreṇa, Paśupatinā, Ugreṇa ca Devena, Mahādevena, Īśānena, respectively. These of course are all names of Rudra (though treated as distinct deities in some contexts). Stanza 6, then, marks a transition: whereas the instrumentals in the preceding stanzas designate the instrument of the injury, those in the following stanzas name a personal divine agent. How is it that this transition came about?

Considering the nature of the injury and its effects, the word’s seeming connection with wind, and the fact that it was considered an apt epithet for Rudra, I propose that *vātikārá* may mean ‘lightning-bolt’ or ‘lightning-strike’ (from its association with wind and storm, the concomitants of Rudra’s approach). Being struck by lightning might well be considered analogous to an attack with a

<sup>38</sup>GRIFFITHS’ translation (2004–05: @@).

<sup>39</sup>It is also possible to see here genitives of the neuter nouns *viddhām* (‘puncture wound’), *daṣṭām* (‘bite wound’), and *kṣiptām* (‘shooting wound’), but these are more awkwardly construed with the preceding instrumentals; hence my preference to interpret them as masculine terms referring to the injured party.

sharp weapon. Rudra's arrows are the standard poetic metaphor for lightning in the hymns. What we call the electrical current acts like a poison, leaving the victim paralyzed or unconscious. The dual meaning — 'lightning-strike' and '[God of the] Lightning-Strike' — would permit the semantic shift from 'shot or struck down by something' to 'shot or struck down by someone'. In NU 1.3, *vātikārā*, the lightning-strike or its effects, are banished by an appeal to Rudra, *Vātikārā* personified.

On the other hand, this explanation of the term is by no means the only plausible one, and it is worth noting two other possibilities: that *vātikārā* is either (a) a condition (such as infection) associated with a wound caused by an arrow or bite; or, in accordance with traditional interpretations, (b) an outbreak of unopen sores, boils, or pustules described metaphorically as Rudra's 'arrow with a single shaft and a hundred points' (*iṣum ékatejanāṃ śatásalyām*, ŚS 6.57.1cd).<sup>40</sup> In either case, infection or sores, the flow (*āsrāvā*) mentioned in ŚS 6.44.2 might be of pus rather than of blood.

#### Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpikā*

Nārāyaṇa commented upon a corpus of fifty-two Atharvan Upaniṣads. His *Dīpikā* on the NU comes down to us in two forms, a shorter one and a longer one. The first (recorded in one manuscript, H, and the Bibliotheca Indica edition, Ed<sub>1</sub>) restricts itself mainly to decomposing sandhi in potentially ambiguous cases, glossing terms (often citing a definition from the *Viśvaparakāśa*), and justifying grammatical forms by reference to Pāṇinian rules. This commentary is often, but not always, correct in its explanations, and it must be admitted that it is not much help in establishing the text. It is interesting, though, to see how the author resolves some of the problems posed by corrupt and otherwise obscure passages, especially in the last *khaṇḍa*, where he proposes an emendation of the second pāda of 3.22.

Moreover, the *Dīpikā* is a good illustration of the reception and theological assimilation of a Vedic hymn in Smārta Hinduism. In the older stratum of the text, this concern is less prominent, but Nārāyaṇa manages to discern in 1.3cd a reference to Śiva's beneficent role in conferring *yoga* and *kṣema* upon his devotees. Similarly, in his view, 3.24 celebrates Rudra as a hero in removing doubts about what is right or wrong, so that men can know which actions will lead to desirable fruits. He interprets 2.10 as demonstrating that *bhakti* confers (thanks to divine grace) a vision of Rudra inaccessible even to yogis (see note 81 below). The adjective *kalmāṣapuccha* in 3.21 he sees as alluding to 'the Lord of Kedāra in the form of Mahiṣa' (another instance of Śiva being identified with a figure whom elsewhere he subdues).

<sup>40</sup>This is the understanding of Sāyaṇa (*mukharahitavaraṇabhaiṣajyārthaṃ* 'for the healing of wounds without opening'), and of Keśava ad KauśS 31.11 (*akṣatavaraṇabhaiṣajyam* 'a remedy for intact sores').

The interpolated passages in the expanded version (preserved in the other manuscripts and the Ānandāśrama edition, Ed<sub>2</sub>) reveal a much more vigorous effort to elucidate the religious significance of the hymn, making numerous connections between the Vedic revelation and the Purāṇic mythology. Thus, a short *itihāsa*, inserted ad 1.1, takes the word *avarohantaṃ* to refer to Rudra's descent as avatar in the form of Kumāra(s), Brahman's mind-born offspring, during the creation of the world. Based on the reading *jalāsabheṣajīh*, this anonymous redactor also offers an alternative explanation of 1.3: Śiva again took avatar form to swallow the poison produced by the 'herbs thrown into the water' during the churning of the ocean. An interpolation ad 3.21 sees the mention of Hari beside Nīlagrīva as a reference to 'the oneness of Hari and Hara', and the two mules of 3.26 are explained as the parallel forms in which Viṣṇu and Śiva preside over two particular earthly realms. In this manner, warrant is found in a piece of *śruti* for a number of later ideas.

### The Manuscripts

This edition of the text is based on twenty-six manuscripts, five of them accented. All but three (XYZ) are written in the Devanāgarī script, and are on Indian paper unless otherwise noted. The **accented** manuscripts are:

**A:** Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, no. 4138. The NU is on ff. 18r–20v, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads.

**B:** Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, no. 4139. The NU is on ff. 54v–56r, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads.

**C:** Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, no. 1/1907–15. The NU is on ff. 37v–39r, thirteenth in an incomplete collection of Atharvan Upaniṣads. The manuscript shows some *pr̥ṣṭhamātrās*.

**D:** National Archives, Kathmandu (NAK), no. 5.1567 = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) A 588/16, labeled "Atharvasūktam" on the NAK label, and "Atharvavedasamḥitā" in the NGMPP catalog CD. The *Nīlarudrasūkta* is on ff. 4v–6r, third in a collection of 'hymns of the *Atharvaveda*'. The codex of 12 folios contains: the Atharvasūkta (ŚS 6.1–10) (listed by the NGMPP as the Dvārapālasūkta), Āṅgirasasūkta (ŚS 19.21–23), Nīlarudrasūkta, Aparājītāsūkta (ŚS 6.67–72), [Rodhasasūkta] ŚS 6.40 (not so named in the text), Śāntisūkta (ŚS 19.9–12), Rudrasūkta (ŚS 3.26–27), Audumbarasūkta (ŚS 19.31). The independent *svarita* is marked by the use of a horizontal bar below the *svarita* syllable as well as below the syllable that precedes. The accentuation of the text is very faulty at points, but in general it agrees closely with that of E.

**E:** National Archives, Kathmandu, no. 4.2226 = NGMPP A 588/17, labeled "Atharvasūktam" on the NAK label, and "Atharvavedasamḥitā" in the NGMPP catalog CD; the *Nīlarudrasūkta* is on ff. 7r–10r, third in a collection of 'hymns of the *Atharvaveda*'. The codex of 83 folios contains: the Atharvasūkta, Āṅgirasasūkta, Nīlarudrasūkta, ŚS 11.2 (wrongly labelled 'Nīlarudrasūktam',

which is cancelled), Devīsūkta (ŚS 4.30), Aparājitāsūkta, Madhusūkta (ŚS 1.34), Rodhasasūkta, Śāntisūkta, Puruṣasūkta (ŚS 19.6), Rudrasūkta, Saurasūkta (ŚS 17.1; see also below), Pauṣṭikasūkta (ŚS 19.31), Śakunasūkta (ŚS 7.64–70 [inc.]); with new folio numbering: Sūryasūkta (ŚS 17.1), Somasūkta (ŚS 6.128), Bhau-  
masūkta (ŚS 4.31), Yudhasūkta (ŚS 7.81 [86]), Bṛhaspatisūkta (ŚS 7.8 [9]), Śukrasūkta (ŚS 17.1.20), Śanisūkta (ŚS 11.6[4].1–3), Rāhusūkta (one stanza, not traced in the ŚS or PS), Ketusūkta (ŚS 7.11.1–7.12.2), the Adhidevatāḥ (Sūryādhidevo Rudraḥ, ŚS 1.19; Somādhideva Umā, ŚS 1.5; Bhaumādhidevaḥ Skandhaḥ, ŚS 4.31.2; Budhādhidevo Viṣṇuḥ, ŚS 7.24[25].1–7.26[27].2; Bṛhaspatyadhideo Brahmā, ŚS 4.1; Śukrādhideva Indraḥ, ŚS 6.98; Śanyadhideo Yamaḥ, ŚS 6.93; Rāhvadhidevaḥ Kālaḥ, ŚS 13.2.39–40; Ketvadhideva Indraḥ, ŚS 13.2.31–34), the Pratyadhidevatāḥ (Sūryapratyadhideo 'gniḥ, ŚS 4.23.1–3; Somapratyadhideva Āpaḥ, ŚS 1.6; Bhaumapratyadhidevaḥ Bhūḥ, ŚS 12.1.1; Budhapratyadhideo Viṣṇuḥ, ŚS 7.24[25].1–7.26[27].2; Bṛhaspatipratyadhideva Indraḥ, ŚS 2.5.1; Śukrapratyadhideva Indrāṇī, ŚS 1.27.4; Śanipratyadhidevaḥ Prajāpatiḥ, ŚS 7.80[85].3–4; Rāhupratyadhidevaḥ Sarpaḥ, ŚS 2.24; Ketupratyadhideo Brahmā, ŚS 4.1), the Pañcalokapālāḥ (Vināyakaḥ, ŚS 1.18; Durgā, ŚS 7.63[65]; Vāyuḥ, ŚS 4.25; Ākāśaḥ, ŚS 10.2.28cd–33; Aśvinau, ŚS 5.26.12), the Daśadikpālāḥ (Indraḥ, ŚS 6.98; Agniḥ, ŚS 4.23.1–3a, 11.4.3b–26; Yamaḥ, ŚS 6.93; Nirṛtiḥ, ŚS 6.84; Varuṇaḥ, ŚS 18.4.69; Vāyuḥ, ŚS 4.25; Kuberaḥ, ŚS 6.128; Īśānaḥ, ŚS 1.19; Anantaḥ, ŚS 2.24; Brahmā, ŚS 4.1), and the Aṣṭavāsavaḥ (Ādityaḥ [stanzas omitted], Ekādaśarudraḥ, ŚS 2.27.6; Nakṣatraḥ, 4.27; Brahmā, 4.1; Viṣṇuḥ, ŚS 7.24[25].1–7.26[27].2; Rudraḥ, 1.19; Arkaḥ, 17.1; Bṛhaspatiḥ, 6.125). The readings generally match those of **D**, including the idiosyncrasies of the accentuation. Yet there are some real differences, as in 1.8d.<sup>41</sup>

The **unaccented** manuscripts are:

**F**: Oriental Institute, Baroda, acc. no. 7332. The NU is on ff. 37r–38r, sixteenth in a collection of 49 Atharvan Upaniṣads. Stanzas are numbered consecutively, with no division into *khaṇḍas*. The colophon (ff. 115v–116r) records a date of *saṃvat* 1670 Āśvina bright 15 Friday (i.e., Sunday, 29 September 1613 CE?).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup>Two other Nepalese manuscripts exist, but could not be collated for this edition. They are:

NAK 4.1405 = NGMPP A 588/18, labeled “Atharvasūktam” on the NAK label, and “Atharvavedasaṃhitā” in the NGMPP catalog CD. 44 unnumbered folios. The codex contains some rules for the performance of the *upanayana* and the *haritālikāvṛata* (1r–23r), followed by a group of unaccented Atharvan hymns written in a different hand (according to the NGMPP CD, they are the Atharvaṇasūkta, Āṅgirasasūkta, Nīlarudrasūkta, Aparājitāsūkta, Audumbara-sūkta, Adalambukamekasūkta (?), and Rudrasūkta). Unfortunately, the photographs of the hymns supplied by the NGMPP were mostly illegible.

NGMPP E 1601/16, “Atharvavedasaṃhitā”. According to the NGMPP CD, the codex contains: Āṅgirasasūkta, Nīlarudrasūkta, Aparājitāsūkta, Madhusūkta, Rudrasūkta. Photographs of this manuscript were not made available to me.

<sup>42</sup>Here and below, my attempts to convert the dates were made with the use of Michio Yano’s “Pancanga” program (<<http://www.kyoto-su.ac.jp/~yanom/pancanga/>>). In several cases, I was not able to find a matching weekday, so all conversions are to be taken *cum grano salis* —

Place of origin: *adya śrīpattanamadhye nāgarajñātīyapaṃcolī* [effaced run of perhaps 18 akṣaras follows] *madamkānajīsutavilla (?) jīyena liṣāvitam || lekhaḥapāṭa\*\*-liṣādikajayosu ||*. Orthography: doubles dental and retroflex stops after *r*; inconsistently uses *prṣṭhamātrās*, probably retained from the exemplar; *v*, *b*, and *c* often indistinguishable; *ch* for *cch*, including that resulting from external sandhi of *t + ś*.

**G:** Oriental Institute, Baroda, acc. no. 5888(m). The NU is on ff. 49v–51r, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads. The post-colophon (f. 210v) reads: *saṃvat 1697 varṣe mārḡaśīrṣaśuddhapratipadā budhadine* [14 November 1640 CE] *likhitam idaṃ pustakaṃ*. This manuscript preserves many apparently old and authentic readings, despite the fact that it seems to have been written by someone ignorant of Sanskrit: although the hand is clear, *n* and *t* are very frequently confused; likewise, *c* and *v*, preconsonantal *r* and *anusvāra*, *th* and *py* — errors which have not been reported. Stanzas are not numbered, and are not always marked off by single or double *daṇḍas*, which often crop up in the middle of a line.

**H:** Oriental Institute, Baroda, acc. no. 11529. Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpikā* is on ff. 69v–27v, thirteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads dated *saṃvat 1784* (1727 CE). The *mūla* text of the NU is written in the margins around the commentary as an afterthought, but seemingly by the same hand, beginning on f. 70r. **H** and **M** descend from a common ancestor. The stanzas are numbered 1–27, omitting the number 21; *khaṇḍa* divisions are noted *secunda manu*. *kṣa* is sometimes written for *kr*. Though it shows many patent mistakes, this manuscript provides valuable testimony especially for the *Dīpikā* in that it omits several passages also omitted in the Bibliotheca Indica edition, and it also preserves some correct readings not found in other sources. It has been corrected to agree with readings found in the Śāradā transmission, especially as it is preserved in **X**.

**I:** Oriental Institute, Baroda, acc. no. 4856. The NU is on ff. 52r–53v, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads dated *saṃvat 1842*. The codex concludes with some stanzas classifying the Upaniṣads by *śākhā*: *paṃcadaśopaniṣado bhavaṃti śaunakīyānāṃ muṃḍakādis tv alātāṃtāṃ vijñeyā brahmavedasya 1 saptatrimśas tathānyāś ca paiṣpalyādīprabhedaṭḥ evaṃ paṃcāśadhy adhikā brahmavedasya nānyataḥ 2 nīlarudraprabhṛtayo āśramāṃtāḥ prakīrtitāḥ | etāḥ sarvāḥ pṛthagvākya jīvabrahmaikabodhikāḥ 3.*<sup>43</sup> The post-colophon reads (f. 165v): *saṃvat 1842 jeṣṭhavadī navamī 9 bhaumavāsare* (Tuesday [i.e., Wednesday?], 1 June 1785 CE).

**J:** Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, no. 4816. The NU is on ff. 54v–56r, also numbered 1v–3r, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads.

**K:** Bhāratīya Itihāsa Saṃśodhaka Maṇḍala, no. 7/66 ८. Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpi-*

the precise size of the necessary grain I am not competent to estimate.

<sup>43</sup>According to the BORI catalog (vol. 1, part 3, pp. 103–104), these stanzas are also found at the end of BORI no. 134/1880–81, which unfortunately was inaccessible to me. See my discussion of the stanzas on p. 84–84, with n. 8.

*kā* of the NU, with the *mūla* stanzas, is on ff. 1r–3v, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Upaniṣads, separately foliated. In the *mūla*, hemistichs are marked off with double *daṇḍas*, but only the *khaṇḍas* are numbered.

**L:** Ānandāśrama, no. 58/944. The NU is on ff. 57r–58v, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads. Orthography: doubles *v* after *r*.

**M:** Ānandāśrama, no. 252/4019. The NU is on ff. 44r–45v, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads. The stanzas are numbered 1–27, omitting the number 21, without noting *khaṇḍa* divisions. Cf. **H**.

**N:** Ānandāśrama, no. 304/5048. The NU is on ff. 58r–60r, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads. Hemistichs are marked off with *daṇḍas*; only the *khaṇḍas* are numbered. There is one *prṣṭhamātrā* in the first word of 1.9e. Two independent *svaritas* are marked with the numeral 3.

**O:** Ānandāśrama, no. 97/1235(-). European paper bearing the watermark “Lumsden & Son 1853”. Nārāyaṇa’s *Dīpikā*, with the *mūla* stanzas, is on ff. 1r–2v, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Upaniṣads, separately foliated. Hemistichs are marked off with *daṇḍas*; only the *khaṇḍas* are numbered.

**P:** Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, no. 133/1880–81. The NU on ff. 50r–51v (60r–61v in renumbering), seventeenth in a collection of 59 Atharvan Upaniṣads. The post-colophon reads (quoting from the catalog, vol. 1, part 3, p. 124): *saṃvat 1757 varaṣe galitaposamāghavada 10 budhe śrī amadābādarājanagaramadhye laṣitaṃ śrīnārāyaṇajīnī kriyāvāṃchanī ... rade rāmakalyāṇajī nāgarapaṭaṇī navāba śrī śujāyatapāna nī cākarīvīra bhajāmanī vākānavīsīnī ji ... mataṭalītavāre navarāhūtā avakāśapāmīlaṣyū chete 123 śājānasana 1112 hijarī māpu ... 44 ... alamaḡīrī* (written in the auspicious royal city of Ahmadabad, Wednesday [i.e., Thursday?], 3 February 1701 CE, by Nārāyaṇajī Kriyāvāṃcha, ... Nawab Rāmakalyāṇa-Jī Nāgarapaṭa, Śrī-Śujāyatapāna, Cākarīvīra Bhajāma, Vākānavīsī, ... in the year 123 in the era of Shāh Jahān, AH 1112, ... the year 44 in the era of Alamḡīr). The NU is introduced with: *śrībrahmavedāya namaḥ*. Hemistichs are marked off with *daṇḍas*; only the *khaṇḍas* are numbered. Orthography: shows one instance of a Gujarati *k* in 2.11d.

**Q:** Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, no. 31(1)/A1881–82. Nārāyaṇa’s *Dīpikā*, with the stanzas, on ff. 1r–3r, first in a collection of 8 Upaniṣads (comprising the *Brahmabindu*, *Dhyānabindu*, *Yogaśikhā*, *Haṃsa*, *Nādabindu*, *Amṛtabindu*, *Tejobindu*, and *Yogatattva Upaniṣads*), separately foliated.

**R:** Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, no. 29/1884–86. The NU is on f. 14r–v, fifteenth in an incomplete collection of 17 Upaniṣads. Orthography: occasionally writes *ṣ* for *kh* (e.g., *nilaśiṣaṇḍāya* in last stanza); one *prṣṭhamātrā* occurs in the last syllable of 1.9e.

**S:** Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, no. 1/A1883–84. The NU is on ff. 27v–28v, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads. The codex concludes with the stanzas classifying the Upaniṣads by *śākhā*.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup>The following BORI manuscripts, all in collections of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads, were ex-

**T:** Adyar Library, no. PM 484 = 9 F 130. The NU is on ff. 54r–55v, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads. The text shows two sets of corrections: cancellations using yellow paste and some overwriting, seemingly performed by the original writer and usually improving the text; and other changes in lighter black ink and in another hand which almost always corrupt the text, and which have not been recorded in the critical apparatus. The codex concludes with the stanzas classifying the Upaniṣads by *śākhā*.

**U:** Adyar Library, no. PM 486 = 9 G 52. The NU is on ff. 28v–29v, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads. The postcolophon (f. 94v) gives the date: *saṃvat* ||18 || 74 || *kārttikaśuklanavamyām* | 9 || *caṃdravāsare* (Monday [i.e. Tuesday?], 18 November 1817 CE). The codex concludes with the stanzas classifying the Upaniṣads by *śākhā*.

**V:** Adyar Library, no. PM 513 = 11 D 54. The NU in two folios. Wrongly identified by SCHRADER as “*Nīlagrīvopaniṣat*”.<sup>45</sup>

**W:** National Archives, Kathmandu, ms. 2.181 (filmed on NGMPP reel no. A 896/3): *Caturvedabrahmasiddhānte catuṣpaṃcāśadupaniṣadaḥ*. The NU is no. 13, ff. 26r–26v, in the 82-folio codex. Devanāgarī script; not dated. Contains many patent errors in the copying (mostly not reported), including confusion of *ta* and *na*, *sa* and *śa*; there is one likely case of vestigial *pr̥ṣṭhamātrā* in 2.3d (f. 26r, l. 10). Probably copied from an original showing the inverted *bha* resembling *ta*, since in a few corrupt passages *ta* is written for *bha*. Divided into *khaṇḍas*.

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amined but not included in the collation: 2/1891–95 (ff. 52r–53v), 10/1882–83 (ff. 29v–30v), 27/1895–98 (ff. 29r–30v), 42/1892–95 (ff. 43v–44v), 134/1880–81 (ff. 50r–51v [renumbered in Arabic numbers as ff. 60r–61v]), 233/1882–83 (ff. 236r–239r), and 328/1883–84 (ff. 48r–49v).

<sup>45</sup>The following Adyar Library manuscripts were examined but not included in the collation:

PM 169 = 9 B 166. The NU is on the last leaf (f. 51r–v). Damaged and illegible in many places.

PM 485 = 9 F 99. The NU is on ff. 39v–40v of a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads copied in 1751 in Gujarat. The postcolophon (f. 116r) gives the date *saṃvat* 1807 [= 1751 CE]: *ity atharvaṇīyopaniṣadaḥ samāptāḥ* || *cha* || *saṃpūrṇaṃ samāpta* || *saṃvat* 1807 *varṣe mārgaśīrṣamāse sap-tamyām ravivāsare* || *nāgarajñātiyam etāsām ajṣujacatrabhujena likhyate* || || *śrīkr̥ṣṇārpaṇam astuḥ* || *śrīkachadeṣe māḍavōvaṃdaraneviṣe* || || *śubhaṃ bhavatuḥ* || || *kalyāṇam astuḥ* ||. This manuscript is very carelessly written, with a very high number of errors; since it does not, on the other hand, help in doubtful passages, its readings have not been included.

The Library seems at one point to have possessed three other manuscripts of the NU that are no longer traceable. They are listed here by the numbers used in SCHRADER 1908, followed by the numbers used in *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library, by the Pandits of the Library*, part I (1926), an alphabetical title index. A number according to the new system used by the library is lacking for all three.

9 B 171. SCHRADER describes a collection of Atharvan Upaniṣads on paper in Śāradā script, written c. 1700. This manuscript does not appear in the new list. The 1926 catalog does not have a listing for this manuscript under the heading *Nīlarudropaniṣad*. The library itself lists it as “not found”.

34 J 6 = 77446. SCHRADER does not list this manuscript. The 1926 catalog identifies it as *Nīlarudropaniṣad*, but the number is now attached to a copy of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

34 J 31 = 77471. SCHRADER does not list this manuscript. The 1926 catalog identifies it as *Nīlarudropaniṣad* with Nārāyaṇa’s *Dīpikā*, but the number is now attached to an *Āpastambaśrautaprayoga*.

**X:** Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Janert Collection, running no. 49. Bound paper manuscript in **Śāradā script**. The NU is on ff. 46v–47v, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads. Shows affinities with **H** as corrected by another hand.

**Y:** Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Janert Collection, running no. 50. Paper manuscript in **Śāradā script**. The NU is on ff. 6v–8v, sixteenth in a collection of 52 Atharvan Upaniṣads.

**Z:** Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. Palmbibl. I 10 (VOHD II, 4 no. 1168). Palm-leaf in **Telugu script**. The NU is on ff. 130v–131r (33v–34r, as renumbered in Arabic numbers), forty-fourth in a collection of 45 works, mostly Upaniṣads. The akṣaras *pa* and *va* seem in many cases to be indistinguishable: e.g. 1.3d, *py etu* (as all other NU mss. read) or *vy etu* (the PS reading).

The *Dīpikā* is represented in manuscripts **H**, **K**, **O**, and **Q**, described above, as well as in:

**Dī<sub>1</sub>:** Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala, no. 4163. Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpikā* is on ff. 195r–197v. This manuscript and the next, **Dī<sub>2</sub>**, must derive from a common archetype, since they share several obvious scribal errors (not included in the apparatus): e.g., *pratyāṣṇāt | pratiṣṇām* ad 1.2, *prakāśayastv iti* ad 1.8, and *piṃgalāḥ* ad 1.9, as well as the unique use of the archaic graph **इ** for *ī* in the word *īmahe* ad 1.9.

**Dī<sub>2</sub>:** Ānandāśrama, no. 288/4612 **रं**. In eight numbered folios.<sup>46</sup>

The accented manuscripts **ABC** broadly agree in their readings, which deviate more widely from those of the PS than those of some of the unaccented manuscripts (e.g., **FJ**). One gets the impression that the accentuation was added at some point to an unaccented text, rather than that it records a continuously preserved oral tradition. For instance, in 3.23 and 3.24, *sārva*, correctly accented, is recorded instead of the older reading *śarvā* (which, however, is written correctly in 3.25). If the accentuation had been orally preserved, one might have expected *sarva* with *śarva*'s accent.<sup>47</sup> The accentuation of the *Nīlarudrasūkta* manuscripts (**DE**) is very faulty in general.

<sup>46</sup>One further copy of the *Dīpikā* was consulted: Ānandāśrama, no. 985/11920. Eighteenth in a collection of Atharvan Upaniṣads with Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpikā* written on modern lined note paper, with the initials of the Ānandāśramagrānthālaya **आ.श.श.** printed on the upper left margin, and the word **नंबर** on the right. These are the final hand-written copy sheets used in printing the 1895 edition. The stanzas (written in red) alternate with blocks of commentary. Numerous corrections have been made to the text. This manuscript has not been used in constituting the text because it appears quite contaminated, and is replete with canceled readings that cannot be read. In any case, in its corrected form, it gives exactly the text of the edition.

<sup>47</sup>But for a possible case of original accentuation continuously preserved in the manuscripts, see the annotation to 1.3a.

## Editorial Policy

The edition presented here is of the *Nīlarudra* litany as recorded in all manuscripts recording the text as '*Nīlarudropaniṣad*' and in the Nepal manuscripts calling it the '*Nīlarudrasūkta*', as distinct from the parallel stanzas in the PS. That is to say, the aim is to determine as far as possible the form of the archetype \*N from which all the manuscripts used here are assumed ultimately to be derived.

As a consequence, there are a few instances in which the adopted reading diverges from what appears to be the correct text of the PS. I have chosen to preserve deviations from the older form of stanzas (whether accidental or intentional) to the extent that they belonged to \*N and were found meaningful by the commentator. In such cases, discussion of the NU's divergence from the PS stanzas on which it was based is reserved for the notes. At the same time, it is undeniable that the PS provides an invaluable frame of reference both for editing and for interpreting the text, and it allows us to set in relief some of the ways in which later Śaiva tradition made sense of the Rudra of the Veda.

Unfortunately, the manuscripts do not represent a closed tradition. Contamination is evident in cases where manuscripts have been corrected to show variant readings attested in other manuscripts (many cases are noted in the apparatus). That said, on occasion it seems possible to formulate a 'stemma variantium'<sup>48</sup> in the case of a particularly distinctive shared reading that is unlikely to be attributable to (1) a common pronunciation or scribal error, such as incorrect vowel length, presence or absence of *visarga* or *anusvāra*, or confusion of similar characters or forms; or (2) a deliberate change to the text, whether 'correction' to an 'easier' reading<sup>49</sup> or to one found in a well-known parallel. After screening out likely coincidences and solecisms of this sort — admittedly, a rather subjective process — the following tentative groupings emerge. An important variation at 1.6c exhibits a major branching:

\*Ψ = *sarvam ij* CFGH<sup>ac</sup>IKLMOPQTUVWZ

\*Ω = three subgroups:

*sarvam idam* DE

*sarva ij* ABJNR

*sarva imej* SXY (and *secunda manu* in a \*Ψ ms., H<sup>pc</sup>)

In the three manuscripts derived from an exemplar reading *sarva imej*, we find that an inserted word [*']gnau* in 1.2a, when miscopied, leads progressively to further corruption ending in utter nonsense:

<sup>48</sup>See WEST 1973: 52–53.

<sup>49</sup>E.g., the doubling of the first *n* in the Vedic form *aneśann* (2.15c) as if it somehow contained the compound *anna-īśa-*.

*ugro* [ʼ]gnau **X** → *ugro gro* **S** → *grogrogro* **Y**

The \***Ψ** group splits along the following variation in 1.5d:

*hiṃsīt* **FH<sup>ac</sup>LMOPQTUW**  
*hiṃsīḥ* **CGIKVZ**

Within the former of these groups, **O** and **Q** share the reading *śaravyān* in 1.7c. Within the latter, **I** and **K** stand apart in sharing a couple of features: *asya śeṣavaḥ* for *asyeṣavaḥ* in 2.15c, and the omission of *tava* in 1.7c.<sup>50</sup>

I hasten to add that the distribution of several other significant variations in the text cannot be reconciled with these groupings: e.g., *asman* **JQRSUZ** : *asmin* (or *yasmin*) elsewhere (2.16d); and *divo* **ABCFJPW** : *divi* elsewhere (except **T**) (2.19a). These may represent scribal corrections or, because the differences are so small, some of the incorrect readings may result from independent errors.

Only manuscripts have been used to constitute the text of both the stanzas and the commentary, although four earlier editions have been consulted: those of RĀMAMAYA TARKARATNA (1872), JIBANANDA VIDYASAGARA (1891), ĀPAṬE (1895), and KUNHAN RAJA (1933). The second of these was found simply to reproduce the text of the first, agreeing even in such details as punctuation, and it was therefore left out of further consideration. The text of the fourth is incomplete, erroneous, and full of readings adopted tacitly and uncritically from the commentary or from Yajurvedic parallels; its text of the *Dīpikā* closely follows that of RĀMAMAYA TARKARATNA.<sup>51</sup>

For the stanzas, it has not been deemed necessary to record the readings of any of the printed editions. In the case of the *Dīpikā*, however, all instances in which the editions of 1872 (**Ed**<sub>1</sub>) and 1895 (**Ed**<sub>2</sub>) diverge from the text as accepted here (on the basis of the six manuscripts available to me) are recorded in the lower register of the apparatus. The sources of Nārāyaṇa's quotations from other works are identified in the upper register.

The following conventions are employed in the critical apparatus:

Sigla are shown in bold type. A sigma (**Σ**) stands for all manuscripts of the unaccented text of the *mūla* (i.e., all except **A**, **B**, **C**, **D**, and **E**). The lemma and

<sup>50</sup>The major branching \***Ψ**-\***Ω** is generally supported by a variation at 2.10a, with \***Ψ** reading *adr̥śyaṃ* and \***Ω** (more nearly correctly) reading *adr̥śam*; at 2.10c, more than half of the \***Ψ** manuscripts have preserved the original *adr̥śann* (with **U** anticipating this form also in 2.10a). The three \***Ω** manuscripts (**ABR**) break ranks by reading *adr̥śyaṃ* in both places (likewise **J** in pāda c). Some others of the \***Ψ** group join the entire \***Ω** group in preserving the original *adr̥śann* there. However, given the closeness of the forms, the widespread confusion evident from the oddities of orthography here, and the possibility of contamination, these forms have not been deemed a secure basis for use in a stemma.

<sup>51</sup>In his edition of PS 13–14, LOPEZ cites a mechanical reprint of this edition, included in SHASTRI 1970.

lemma sign ( ] ) are followed first by the sigla of those manuscripts giving the adopted reading. In the case of an accented word, accented sources as well as other manuscripts showing the same form without accent will be listed as supporting the reading in the lemma, unless the unaccented form is found also as a variant in an accented manuscript. Variant readings follow, separated by semicolons. Variants in accentuation have been reported, even if they are clearly spurious, so that the reader may form an accurate idea of the fidelity of the accented texts, and also to illustrate the close agreement of the Nepalese sources.

Occasionally, a manuscript will be shown as giving a reading that was clearly intended by the writer but which was miswritten. In such cases, the exact reading found in the manuscript is given in parentheses after the siglum.

A raised dot ( · ) stands in place of an illegible akṣara (or part thereof).

A square cup (⊔) represents a space left blank by the writer to indicate a missing or illegible akṣara in the manuscript that he was recopying.

A pair of question marks ( ? ? ) encloses akṣaras (or portions thereof) whose reading is uncertain.

Parentheses with a plus sign ( + ) enclose akṣaras (or parts thereof) inserted marginally or interlinearly, whether by the same or a different hand.

Curly braces ( { } ) enclose cancelled akṣaras (or parts thereof).

An arrow ( → ) indicates a correction; alternatively, where both forms are elsewhere attested, the readings before and after correction may be entered separately, with superscript *ac* added to the siglum to indicate the reading *ante correctionem* and superscript *pc* to indicate the reading *post correctionem*.

Under 'Parallels', an identical parallel (if one exists) is listed first, preceded by an equal sign (=); all other parallels (or groups of identical parallels) cited are variants of the NU stanza. The variations are mentioned in the annotations.

## Text and Translation of the *Nīlarudra* Stanzas

### 1.1 ≈ PS 14.3.1

om

ápaśyaṃ tvāvaróhantaṃ divítaḥ pṛthivím aváḥ |  
ápaśyam ásyantaṃ rudráṃ nīlagrīvaṃ śikhaṇḍīnam ||

I saw you descending from the sky, down to earth; I saw Rudra shooting [his arrows], blue-necked, crested.

om] ABCGHIJKLMNOPSTWXYZ; hari om E; om. DFWOQRUV pṛthivím aváḥ] GHZ; pṛthivím áva B<sup>ac</sup>CDEJ<sup>ac</sup>L<sup>pc</sup>OQRTUVW; pṛthivím íva AB<sup>pc</sup>; pṛthivímayaḥ SXY; pṛthivímataḥ M; pṛthivímima IL<sup>ac</sup>; pṛthivímama FJ<sup>pc</sup>KP; pṛthivítava N ásyantaṃ] CFGHJLNO PQR S(aśyaṃtaṃ → paśyaṃtaṃ)T<sup>ac</sup>(→ asṛtaṃ)UVWZ; asyaṃtaṃ AB;

asya taṃ IKM; ápáśyantam DEY; muñcantam X rudráṃ] ABDE; rudram CΣ śikhaṇḍīnam] ABCΣ; śíkhaṇḍīnam D; śíkhaṇḍīnam E

**b.** BHATTACHARYA prints *iva*; LOPEZ hesitantly accepts *ava*. The NU manuscripts provide support for both these readings (and others), but Nārāyaṇa's reading is probably the best (cf. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 8.2.70: *amna ūdas 'va ity ubhayathā chandasi*). The accented manuscripts read *áva*; *aváḥ* is accented however on the ultimate.

The form *divítaḥ* is *hapax legomenon*; PS 14.3.1b reads *divataḥ*, a more natural form.

### 1.2 = PS 14.3.2

divá ugró 'vārukṣat práty aṣṭhād bhūmyām ádhi |  
jánāsaḥ páśyatemám nīlagrīvaṃ vilohitám ||

From the sky the mighty one has descended; he has taken his stand upon the earth. O people, look at him: the blue-necked, the red one.

divá] ABDEΣ; díva C ugró] ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRTUVWZ; ugro gnau X; ugro gro S; grogrogro Y 'vārukṣat] ABDEFGI(°kṣamṭat) JKLMNOP QRSTUVWXYZ; vārukṣatt C; vāruṅākyat H bhūmyām] AB; bhūmyām → ?bhūmyām? C; bhūmyām DEΣ ádhi] ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ; a-pi M jánāsaḥ] ACDEΣ(jānā?sya? → jānāsa T); janāsaḥ B páśyatemám] ACFIJKLMNOPQRTUVWZ; páśyatemám B; paśyatemám vái DE; paśyatemahaṃ HMSXY; paśyatepra G vilohitám] ACFGH<sup>pc</sup>IJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ; vilohítam B; vilohitam DE; sulohitam H<sup>ac</sup>M

**ab.** The Orissa PS manuscripts show second-person verb forms, and LOPEZ accepts these as correct. The Kashmir manuscript has *vārukṣat* and the corrupt form *uṣṭamad* (for *aṣṭhād*?). The NU manuscripts are unequivocal in giving third-person forms, and these are more natural in the context of the second hemistich, which refers to Rudra as 'him' rather than 'you'. Hence the NU supports (and corrects) the Kashmir manuscript on this point.

### 1.3 ≈ PS 14.3.3

eṣá ety avīrahā rudró jalāṣabheṣajī |  
ví te 'kṣemam anīnaśad vātīkāró 'py etu te ||

Here he comes, not striking men, Rudra whose medicine is urine. He has removed your insecurity; let your *vātīkārā* also go.

ety] Σ; éty ABCDE jalāṣabheṣajī] G; jalāṣayā bheṣajī Z; jalāṣabheṣajīḥ ABCF H<sup>pc</sup>IJKLNO PQRS(→ °jāḥ)TUVW(°ṣījāḥ)XY; jalāṣabheṣajīḥ DE; jalāṣabheṣajāḥ H<sup>ac</sup>M

vī te] ACD(pī) E(pī)FGIJKL(cite)NO PQRSTUWZ; vī té → vi té B; vitte HSV; citte X; datte M kṣémam] DEΣ (kṣem Z); kṣemám ABC

a. The accented manuscripts' *éty* should not be accented; if the preverb *á* is understood to be present, it should by sandhi rather produce *áiti*, which is in fact the reading of the PS. Might this unanimity suggest that the original accent has in this case been faithfully preserved, despite the change of vowel?

b. Although the usual form of Rudra's epithet is *jālāṣabheṣaja* (RV 1.43.4b, 8.29.5; ŚS 2.27.6a; PS 2.16.4a, 5.22.9c), most manuscripts here read *jālāṣabheṣajīḥ*. Even if this could be accepted as a rare masculine form (cf. MACDONELL 1910: § 375B), the accent on the ultimate prevents us from reading it as a *bahuvrīhi* and requires that we accept *jālāṣabheṣajī*, based on the stem *jālāṣabheṣajīn-*, which is the form shown by G and printed by BHATTACHARYA (1997) and LOPEZ (2000). For the meaning of *jālāṣá* (*jālāṣá* in ŚS 6.57.2), see EMENEAU 1988: 195, who defends the etymology and definition proposed originally by BLOOMFIELD 1891: 425–429.

cd. On *vātīkārā* and [']*kṣéma*, see the remarks in the introduction (pp. 90–92). All the manuscripts record *kṣemam*, and this reading probably was present in \*N. Reluctantly, in spite of the poor sense it yields, I have refrained from emending to *kṣépam* because this reading has been accepted by tradition as authentic and (thanks to some exegetical gymnastics) meaningful: by Nārāyaṇa's interpretation this line means: 'He has removed your lack of security [reading '*kṣema*']; Likewise, let him come who causes you to acquire'. The unanimous reading [']*py etu* is possibly original (with the implied sense of preverb *vī* carried forward from pāda c), but it may well have arisen as a misreading for the PS's *vy etu* (in which case the error can be compared with the reading *pīte* in pāda c in D and E). The PS reading of this line means: 'He has caused your wound to disappear; let your *vātīkārā* go away'.

1.4 = PS 14.3.4

nāmas te bhava bhāmāya nāmas te bhava manyāve |  
nāmas te astu bāhūbhyām utó ta iṣave nāmaḥ ||

Homage, O Bhava, to your anger! Homage, O Bhava, to your wrath! Homage be to your arms, and to your arrow, homage!

bhāmāya] ABCDEFIJKNOPRUVW; bhāsāya Q; bhīmāya GT; bhāvāya HLMX; bhavāya S; . . . Y iṣave] ABCΣ; iṣavé DE

Parallels: MS 2.9.2:120.16–17 = TS 4.5.1.1(a); KS 17.11:254.1–2; VS 16.1.

a. All the Yajurveda versions omit this pāda.

bcd. KS reads: *nāmas te rudra manyāve bāhūbhyām utá te nāmaḥ | utó ta iṣave nāmaḥ ||*; VS inverts the latter two pādas. MS and TS have the VS order, plus the

insertion of *nāmas te astu dhānvane* as pāda c.

### 1.5 ≈ PS 14.3.5

yām iṣum giriśanta háste bíbharṣy ástave |  
śivám giritra tám kṛṇu má himsīt púruṣān máma ||

The arrow, O Mountain-Dweller, that you carry in your hand to shoot — make that benign, O Mountain-Protector. Let it not harm my men.

W omits pādas ab.

giriśanta] ABIGKMOQTVZ; giriśanta E; giriśamtaṃ C; giriśamtaṃ DFHJLNPR(giriśamtaṃ)U; giriśante XY bíbharṣy] AB; bíbharṣy CDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRTUVXYZ giritra tám] ABCDFGHJLMNOPQRTVW(giriṃna tā)Z; giritra tám E; giritra tam Y; giriritām IKX; giritra tān U kṛṇu] ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRS<sup>pc</sup>U V(kṛṇa)WYZ; kuru S<sup>ac</sup>TX himsīt] ABDE(hím<sup>o</sup>)FHJLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ; himsīḥ CG(rhisīḥ)I(himsī(+ḥ))KVZ

Parallels: MS 2.9.2:121.1–2; KS 17.11:5–6 = TS 4.5.1.1–2(d) = VS 16.3 = ŚvU 3.6.

a. There is no PS manuscript support for *iṣum*. BHATTACHARYA hesitantly prints *iṣam*; LOPEZ emends to *\*iṣum* on the basis of a NU edition. The NU manuscripts unanimously support *iṣum*.

c. *giritra*, which is read by Nārāyaṇa and glossed *girirakṣaka*, is a vocative found elsewhere. Though it might possibly have originated as a misreading of *giriśa*, it appears to belong to the archetype of the NU. *giritra* is found in parallels in the KS, TS, VS, and ŚvU, with only the MS showing *giriśa*. Despite noting the parallel texts, LOPEZ (2000: 269, 319) combines this word with the following *tām* and emends, on the basis of a single corrupt reading from an Orissa manuscript (Mā<sub>1c</sub>: *giriśrtaṃ* [perhaps misreported; should be *giriśrtām*?]), to *giriśritām*: ‘make that mountain-leaning (arrow) friendly’. However the compound *giriśrita* is not attested elsewhere, and does not make sense describing an arrow.

It is perhaps noteworthy that the NU and the PS read *kṛṇu* instead of the ‘younger’ form *kuru*,<sup>52</sup> which is found in all of the Yajurveda versions.

d. Although the PS and all Yajurveda parallels read *himsīḥ*, I have accepted *himsīt* here for two reasons. First, *himsīt* represents a shift of subject (with the new subject not explicitly stated): it is thus the *lectio difficilior*. Secondly, according to my tentative stemma, those manuscripts which read *himsīḥ* (CGIKVZ) descend from a version that may have been influenced in this place by the reading of the widely known *Śatarudriya*. The Yajurveda versions have *púruṣam jāgat* instead of *púruṣān máma*.

<sup>52</sup>Only three NU manuscripts show *kuru*.

## 1.6 ≈ PS 14.3.6

śivēna vācasā tvā giriśāchā vadāmasi |  
yāthā naḥ sārvaṃ ij jāgad ayakṣmāṃ sumānā āsat ||

With a benign word we invite you, O Mountain-Dweller, so that the whole world shall be disease-free, and [Rudra] favorable to us.

giriśāchā] ABCDFHIJKLMNOPQRSUV(girichā)WXYZ; giriśāchā E; giriśamṇaṃ G vadāmasi] ABDEFHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ(vā°)Z; vadāmasi C; hastesmi G sārvaṃ ij] CFGH<sup>pc</sup>IKLMOPQTUVWZ; sārvaṃ idāṃ DE; sārva ij AB; sarva ij JNR; sarva imej H<sup>pc</sup>SX (ime)Y jāgad] ABCΣ; jagād DE ayakṣmāṃ] ACGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ; ayakṣmaṃ DE; ayakṣmyāṃ B; ayakṣmyāṃ F sumānā] AB; sūmanā C; sumanā DEΣ āsat] ABC; asat DEΣ

Parallels: MS 2.9.2:121.3–4; KS 17.11:254.7–8 = TS 4.5.1.2(e) = VS 16.4.

cd. As with the previous stanza, the MS here stands apart from its peers: *yāthā naḥ sārvaḥ ij jānaḥ saṃgamé sumānā āsat* ‘so that every person shall be well-disposed toward us when we meet’. All other parallels agree with the NU/PS here. It is interesting to note that those manuscripts giving the hybrid reading *sārva ij jāgad* appear to reflect a familiarity with a version of this pāda that has the MS’s wording, but without the MS’s distinctive vowel sandhi (*a* → *ā* before an accented word-initial vowel).

The manuscripts uniformly give the masculine form *sumānā*[*h*] (which could refer to Rudra) in place of the PS neuter form *sumāno*, which can be understood as attribute to *jāgat*. *yakṣma*, though denoting a wasting illness such as tuberculosis in particular, probably means disease in general in this form compounded with alpha privative, *ayakṣmāṃ*. One comes away with the impression that the MS has the most natural construction, with the other Yajurveda versions introducing changes that make the line clumsy, a clumsiness that the PS removes by completing the transition from masculine to neuter subject. On this basis, the difficult reading *sumānā* may be more original in the PS than the reading *sumano* actually attested in its mss.

## 1.7 = PS 14.3.7

yā ta iṣuḥ śivātamā śivāṃ babhūva te dhānuḥ |  
śivā śaravyā yā tāva tāyā no mṛḍa jīvāse ||

That arrow of yours is most benign; your bow has become benign. Benign is that shot of yours. Show us kindness with it, for the sake of life.

iṣuḥ] ABC; iṣuḥ DEΣ babhūva] ABCΣ; babhūvá DE śaravyā] ABCDEF(śaravyā1)GHIJ(śaravyā1 → śaravyā3)KLMN(śaravyā3) PRSTUVW(śaravyā)XYZ; śaravyān OQ yā] BCDE; yā AΣ tāva] DE; tava ABCFGHJLMOPQRSTUVWXYZ; tayā N; om. IK

Parallels: = KS 17.11:255.7–8; TS 4.5.1.1(b).

c. Four otherwise unaccented manuscripts insert the numeral 1 or 3 to mark the independent *svarita* in the word *śaravyā*: F(1, the only such instance in this ms.) J(1 → 3) N(3) T(3, cancelled).

d. TS reads: *táyā no rudra mṛḍaya*.

1.8 = PS 14.3.8

yá te rudra śivá tanúr ághorápāpakāśinī |  
táyā nas tanvā śamṭamayā gírísantābhí cākaśa ||

That benign form of yours, O Rudra, which is not frightful, not evil-looking — with that most benevolent form, O Mountain-Dweller, look at us.

ághorápāpakāśinī] ABCΣ; ághorápāpakāśinī DE gírísantābhí] J(°tātābhi)OQRT UV; gírísantābhí E; gírísamtvābhí ABFGHIKLMNPSWXYZ; gírísamtvābhí CD cākaśa] *em.*; cākaśat ABCDEF(vā°)GHIJ(vā°)KLM<sup>pc</sup>NOPQRS(°ś{īhi}t)UV(°śīat)WXY; cākaśavat Z; cākaś?īhi? M<sup>ac</sup>; cākaśam → cākaśim T

Parallels: MS 2.9.2:120.18–19; KS 17.11:254.3–4; TS 4.5.1.1(c); VS 16.2; ŚvU 3.5.

c. Four otherwise unaccented manuscripts insert the numeral 1 or 3 to mark the independent *svarita* in the word *tanvā*: J(1 → 3) N(1 → 3) R(3) T(3, cancelled).

d. The last word of the stanza, a form of the intensive stem *cākaś*, is problematic. The almost unanimously attested NU reading, *cākaśat*, may be the widely attested participial form; if it were interpreted as a third-person singular subjunctive, it might have arisen from mistaking the nominative string in pādas ab as the subject, to yield a syntactically disjunct sentence: ‘That benign form of yours, O Rudra, which is not frightful, not evil-looking — with that most benevolent form — O Mountain-Dweller, it (your benign form) shall shine upon us’. Alternatively, Nārāyaṇa explains: ‘[It is] the prayer, “He shall manifest [that form] exceedingly” (*atīśayena prakāśayato iti prārthanā*)’. LOPEZ emends to *cākaśaḥ*, a second-person form, stating: “Though not attested, the manuscripts converge on this form with little variation” (p. 214). Given that the Kashmir manuscript reads *cākaśā* and the Orissa manuscripts he used all read *cākaśa*, this convergence remains elusive, although it is true that *visarga* is easily lost. However, BHATTACHARYA prints *cākaśa*, which can be understood as an imperative form based on a thematized stem *cākaśa-*. The Yajurveda-based variant *cākaśīhi*, a proper intensive imperative, seems to confirm this choice. \*N may well have read *cākaśat*; this form may have been introduced by a scribe who did not recognize the nonce form *cākaśa* and presumed that a final letter had been omitted. On this basis, the emended form is accepted here. The hypermetric form *cākaśīhi* found in all Yajurveda versions might even have been introduced as a normalization, giving a more common form while preserving the sense.

## 1.9 = PS 14.3.9

asáu yás tāmro aruṇá utá babhrúr vilohitáh |  
yé cemé abhító rudrá dikṣú śritáh sahasraśó  
'vaiṣāṃ hēḍa īmahe || 1 ||

That coppery one, the ruddy, the brown, and the red one, and these Rudras all about, lying in [all] directions by the thousands — we appease their wrath.

asáu] ABCΣ; ásau DE tāmro] ABC; tāmro DEΣ aruṇá] ABCΣ; áruṇá DE utá] ABDEΣ(uta uta X); úta C vilohitáh] ABCFGHJLMNOPQRTUVWXYZ; vilohitáh DE; vilohitaṃ IK cemé] ABC; ceme DEΣ abhító rudrá] ABCDEF GHIJKLMNOPQRS<sup>pc</sup>TUVWXYZ; abhito rudro HNS<sup>ac</sup>X; rudrá abhito Y dikṣú] B(dikṣúḥ)CDE; dikṣu AΣ(cikṣu X) śritáh] ABCDEFGHIKMOPTUVWXYZ; śrtáh JLNR; śrutáh QS(sru<sup>o</sup>) sahasraśó] BC; sahasraśo A; sahasraśo DEΣ(sahasro Z) 'vaiṣāṃ hēḍa] ABCΣ(· · · ḍa Z); vaiṣāṃ hēḍa DE(? svarita mark omitted) īmahe] ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRTUVWZ; īmahe HS(<sup>o</sup>ye → <sup>o</sup>he); inmahe Y; inmahe X

Parallels: MS 2.9.2:121.8–10 = KS 17.11:254.11–12; TS 4.5.1.2–3(g); VS 16.6.

**bc.** Variants in the *Śatarudriya*: *utá babhrúḥ sumañgálaḥ* (KS, MS, TS); *yé cemāñ* (TS), *yé cainañ* (VS).

## 2.10 = PS 14.3.10

ádrṣan tvāvaróhantaṃ nīlagrīvaṃ vilohitám |  
utá tvā gopá adṣann utá tvodahāryàḥ |  
utó tvā vísvā bhūtāni tásmai drṣṭāya te námaḥ ||

They have seen you descending, blue-necked, red: both the herdsmen have seen you, and the women fetching water [have seen] you, and all beings [have seen] you: Homage to you who are seen!

**H** inserts pādas cd interlinearly; **D** and **E** duplicate 9ab (**E** omitting the word *aruṇá*) at the head of this stanza, and insert the stanza number 10 after 2.10ab.

ádrṣan] *em.*; ádrṣaṃ DEJNSUXY(<sup>o</sup>sāṃ); ádrṣyaṃ ABCFHJKLMOPQRTVWZ; oṃ adṣyaṃ G tvā<sup>o</sup>] ABCΣ; u tvā E; śu tvā D nīlagrīvaṃ] ABCΣ; nīlagrīvaṃ DE vilohitám] ACΣ; vilohitám B; vilohitám DE utá tvā] ABCDΣ; upá tvā E adṣann] CGHIJKM NSTUXYZ; adṣāṃn DE; adṣyann BFLOPQRVW; ádrṣyann A utá tvo<sup>o</sup>] ABFGHIJKL NOPQRSTUWXYZ; uta tvò<sup>o</sup> C; úta tvo<sup>o</sup> DE; adṣann u<sup>o</sup> M <sup>o</sup>dahāryàḥ] ABCΣ; <sup>o</sup>dāhāryàḥ DE utó tvā] ABCFGHIJKLNOPQRTUWXYZ; uta tvo X; utá tvā DEHM drṣṭāya] ABCFGHIJKLMNORUVWZ; draṣṭāya DEST

Parallels: MS 2.9.2:121.11–13 = KS 17.11:254.13–15; TS 4.5.1.3(h); VS 16.7.

**a.** *ádrṣaṃ* could hardly be a first-person singular aorist form, and BHATTACHARYA therefore prints *adrṣaṃ*; LOPEZ emends to *adarṣaṃ* (with *guṇa*). The variant *adrṣyaṃ*, which is also Nārāyaṇa's reading, likely results from perseveration from the parallel form *apaśyaṃ* in 1.1a, a pāda which is otherwise identical.

The same may be true of the *om* added here in **G** (though this may simply be meant to indicate the start of a new chapter).

I have preferred the smallest emendation necessary to give a good form, reading *m̐* as *n*, and reading *adr̥śan*, a third-person plural aorist form. This has the virtue of agreeing with the same form in pāda c, and with all the other plural subjects in the stanza. Moreover, in Devanāgarī manuscripts, *anusvāra* before dentals is almost as a norm treated as an acceptable equivalent of *n*. It is a distinctive feature of the Paippalāda tradition that word-final *n + t* frequently does not result in *m̐st* as required by Pāṇinian sandhi.<sup>53</sup> This reading must also be restored in PS 14.3.10.

**bcdef.** A parallel for the rest of this stanza is found in the *Śatarudriya*: *asāu yò 'vasārp̐ti nīlagr̥īvo vīlohitah̐ | utāinaṃ gopā adr̥śann utāinam [TS, VS: ādr̥śann] udahāryāh̐ | utāinaṃ viśvā bhūtāni sā dr̥ṣṭó mṛdayāti nah̐ ||* (the VS omitting pāda e). The redactor of the NU/PS version has deliberately changed the first pāda of the stanza to recall the opening words of the Atharvan hymn.

## 2.11 = PS 14.4.1

nāmo 'stu nīlāsikhaṇḍāya sahasrākṣāya vājīne |  
ātho yé asya sátvānas tébhyo 'hām akaram̐ námaḥ ||

Homage be to the Blue-Crested One, the Thousand-Eyed, the impetuous. And I have done homage to those who are his warriors.

asya] ABCΣ; asyá DE sátvānas] BCFGH(satvā(+na)s)IJKLMNOOQRSTUVWXYZ;  
sátvānas A; sátvānamás DEP 'hām] ABC; ham DEΣ

Parallels: MS 2.9.2:121.14–15; KS 17.11:254.16–17; TS 4.5.1.3(i); VS 16.8.

**ab.** Variants for *nīlāsikhaṇḍāya*: *nīlakapardāya* (MS); *nīlagr̥īvāya* (KS, TS, VS).  
For *vājīne*: *mīdhūṣe* (MS, KS, TS, VS).

**d.** The *Śatarudriya* reads: *'hām̐ [MS: idām̐] tébhyo 'karam̐ námaḥ*.

## 2.12 = PS 14.4.2

nāmāṃsi ta āyudhāyānātātāya dhṛṣṇāve |  
ubhābhyām akaram̐ námo bāhúbhyām táva dhānvane ||

Homages to your bold weapon, which is unstrung! I have done homage to both (your) arms, to your bow.

<sup>53</sup>Even in other Vedic texts, the insertion of *s* is not consistently applied in this context; see AiGr I: §280 and WHITNEY 1905: cxxiv–cxxv; also 1862: 417 [rep. p. 87], cited by GRIFFITHS 2004: lvii.

námāṃsi ta] **ABCΣ**; námo si tá **DE** áyudhāyānātātāya] **ABCFGHIJKLMNOPQR**  
**STUVWXY**; áyudhāyānātātāya **DE**; āyudhānām tatāya **Z**; áyudhāyācatāya **N** dhṛṣ-  
 ṇāve] **ABCΣ**; dhṛṣṇave **DE** akaraṃ] **ACDEFGH<sup>pc</sup>IJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ**; aká ·  
 → akāraṃ **B**; uta te **H<sup>ac</sup>M**

Parallels: MS 2.9.2:121.16–17 = VS 16.14; KS 17.11:254.16–17; TS 4.5.1.4(o).

- a. Yajurveda variants: *nāmas ta* (MS, VS); *nāmas te astv* (TS).  
 c. For *akaraṃ* the Śatarudriya reads *utá te*.

## 2.13 = PS 14.4.3

prá muñca dhánvanas páry ubháyor ártnyor jyám |  
 yás ca te hásta iṣavaḥ párá tá bhagavo vapa ||

Unfasten the string from both ends of (your) bow, and lay aside, O Lord, the arrows that are in your hand.

G omits *tá bhagavo vapa* (and the entire following stanza, ending in *bhara*) through eye-skip.

prá muñca] **ABCFGHIJLMNOPQRTUVWXYZ**; pra muñcá **DE**; pramuñcya **K**  
 dhánvanas páry] **F**(dhanvanaspary → dhanvanas · )**JPT<sup>pc</sup>UV**; dhánvanasyúry **ABC**  
**T<sup>ac</sup>Z**; dhanvanasyurth **G**; dhanvanasyur **IKL<sup>pc</sup>OQW**; dhanvanasyam **NR**; dhánvanas  
 tvam **DEH<sup>ac</sup>MX****Y**; dhanvane(+na)sya?m? **S**; dhanvanos tayor **H<sup>pc</sup>**; dhanvanas · **L<sup>ac</sup>**  
 ubháyor ártnyor jyám] *em.*; ubhayor ártnyor jyām **FM<sup>pc</sup>**; ubhayor ártnyor ज्या **XY**; u-  
 bhayorārjñyor jyām **O**(ārjñār)**P**; ubháyo rájñor jyám **ABC**(úbhayo) **DEGH<sup>ac</sup>LZ**; ubha-  
 yo rájñor yām **JNRS**(urbhayo rajñer)**T**(rājño{r})**U** **V**(sajñoryā); ubhayo rájño jyām  
**IKW**; ubhayo rájño y(+ā)ḥ **Q**; ubhayo rá · or jyām **M<sup>ac</sup>**; ubhayo rájñ?eyām?rjyā  
**H<sup>pc</sup>** hásta] **ABCΣ**; hastá **DE** párá] **BDEΣ**; parā **AC** tá bhagavo vapa] **ABC**  
**FHIJKLMNOPQRSUV**(tā {iṣavo}bhaga vapa)**WXYZ**; tá bhágavo vápaḥ **DET**

Parallels: MS 2.9.2:121.18–19 = KS.17.11:254.18–19 = TS 4.5.1.3–4(k) = VS 16.9.

a. Several of the corrupt readings for *dhanvanas pary* arose through anticipation of the vowel *u* and confusion of *p* and *y* in conjunction with *s*: °स्पर्यु° > °स्पर्यु° or °स्युर्यु°. Several other manuscripts, including the *Nīlarudrasūkta* collections from Nepal, give the Yajurveda reading *tvám* in place of *pári*.

b. All PS manuscripts read *ārtnyor*,<sup>54</sup> which BHATTACHARYA hesitantly accepts. LOPEZ adopts *ārtniyor* on the strength of the NU. This (*ārtniyor*) is the reading of the Adyar edition (KUNHAN RAJA 1933), which it has adopted from the TS parallel; LOPEZ refers to a reprint of this (SHASTRI 1970). This correct, original form *ārtnyor* has left traces in the extant readings: **FM<sup>pc</sup>** show the correct consonantal conjunct *tny*, while **OP** preserve the immediately preceding *r*. Considered together, these readings may indeed point to an original conjunct *rtny*. Alternatively, the appearance of this *r* in **FM<sup>pc</sup>** may have been influenced by the following conjunct *rjy*.

<sup>54</sup>LOPEZ (2000: 237) mistakenly reports the Kashmir reading as *ālnyor*.

d. LOPEZ adopts the Orissa reading *vapaḥ* (a variant found also in the Nepalese *Nīlarudrasūktas* and in T), despite the poor sense it yields. However, BHATTACHARYA is right to accept the Kashmir text's *vapa*.

2.14 ≈ PS 14.4.4 (d = 3.10.5d)

avatátya dhānuḥ tvāṃ sāhasrākṣa śāteṣudhe |  
niśīrya śalyānāṃ mūkhā śivó naḥ śambhūr ā bhava ||

Having unstrung (your) bow, O Thousand-Eyed, O Hundred-Quivered, (and) having cut off the tips of (your) arrows, be benign and benevolent toward us.

G omits this stanza through eyeskip (see apparatus under 2.13). Almost every word of this stanza is incorrectly accented in D and E, which however are unanimous in every case.

avatátya] ABDEFHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ; ávatátya C sāhasrākṣa] BF; sahasrākṣa ACHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ(°kṣaṃ); sahasrākṣá DE śāteṣudhe] H<sup>pc</sup>IJKL<sup>pc</sup>MNOQ RTUVYZ; śāteṣudhe DE; śāteṣudhī H<sup>pc</sup>X; śāteṣu te ABCFH<sup>ac</sup> L<sup>ac</sup>PS(śato°)W niśīrya] FH (niśaryya → niśaryya)LO(niśīyaṃ)PQRVWXZ; niśīrya D E; viśīrya ABCIJKMNSTUY śambhūr ā] AFHIJKLMNOPQRTUVXYZ; śāmbhur ā CD(śam°)E(śam°); (+śaṃ)bhu{kṣya}r ā B; śambhuvā W bhava] ABCIJK L<sup>pc</sup>OPQRSTUVWXYZ; bhavat Z; bhara DEFL<sup>ac</sup>MNW; bhura → bhava H

Parallels: MS 2.9.2:122.1–2; KS 17.11:255.5–6; TS 4.5.1.4(l); VS 16.13.

b. Like several of the NU manuscripts (though not those in Śāradā script, X and Y), the Kashmir PS manuscript also reads *śāteṣute*.

c. In the *Śatarudriya* we find the variants *praśīrya* (MS), *mūkhaṃ* (KS, MS).

d. The PS reads *ā cara* instead of *ā bhava* (or *ā bhara*). The *Śatarudriya* has: *śivó naḥ sumānā bhava* [MS: *na edhi sumānā*]. The NU reading as it stands appears to be a conflation of the PS reading with that of the *Śatarudriya*.

2.15 = PS 14.4.5

vījyaṃ dhānuḥ śikhaṇḍīno vīśalyo bāṇavāṃ utá |  
āneśann asyēśavaḥ śivó asya niṣaṅgātīḥ ||

Stringless (is) the bow of the Crested One, and tipless (his) shaft; his arrows have disappeared; his quiver (is) benign.

śikhaṇḍīno vīśalyo bāṇavāṃ utá] ABCΣ; śikhaṇḍīno vīśalyó vāṇavān uta DE āneśann] ABCD(āneśaṃn) GLMOQRV(°śaṃn)Z(°śaṃn); aneśann FHJNPST<sup>pc</sup> (°śaṃn)U(°śaṃn); annen IK; anīśann XY; ānenāśānn E; anyeśaṃn W asyēśavaḥ] ABCDEFGHJLMNOPQRSTU VWXYZ; asya śeśavaḥ IK; aśeśava R śivó asya] ABCΣ; śivo ánya DE niṣaṅgātīḥ] ABΣ; niṣaṅgatīḥ C; ?vī?śaṅgatīḥ DE

Parallels: MS 2.9.2:122.3–4; KS 17.11:254.20–21; TS 4.5.1.4(m); VS 16.10.

- a. The *Śatarudriya* reads *kapardīnaḥ* instead of *śikhandīnaḥ*.
- b. *vīśalyo bāṇavān* could also mean ‘arrowless (his) quiver’, which is how Nārāyaṇa understands it; he also reads *astu* instead of *utā*.
- c. BHATTACHARYA and LOPEZ both print <sup>+</sup>*aneśann*. This reading is well-attested in the NU manuscripts. Note the exceptional divergence of **D** and **E** here. For *asyéśavaḥ*, MS and VS read *asya yā śava[h]*.
- d. The *Śatarudriya* has *ābhūr* (or *ābhūr* [TS, VS]) instead of *śivó*. For *niṣaṅgāti*, compare *niṣaṅgāthi* (MS, KS, TS) and *niṣaṅgadhi* ‘sheath’ (m.) (VS), and *niṣaṅgīn* ‘one with a sheath’ (ŚS).

## 2.16 = PS 14.4.6

pāri te dhānvano hetír asmán vṛṇaktu viśvátaḥ |  
átho yá iṣudhís távāré asmán ní dhehi tám ||

Let the missile of your bow avoid us on every side. And put this quiver of yours far away from us.

Y omits pādas bcd by eyeskip (from *hetir* in this stanza to the same word in the first pāda of the next stanza).

pāri te] ABCD(té)E(té)FGHIJLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ; parite)XYZ; parito K iṣudhís távāré] ABCΣ; iṣudhis tavāré DE asmán] JQRSUZ(asmavāre asman); asmín ACFGHIKLMNOP TVWX; ásmín DE; yásmín B

Parallels: = KS 17.11:255.1–2 = TS 4.5.1.4(p) = VS 16.12; MS 2.9.2:122.3–4.

b. BHATTACHARYA emends to *vṛṇaktu*, while LOPEZ adopts this reading from the NU edition he used. This form is unanimously supported by the NU manuscripts.

cd. Nārāyaṇa, reading *asmín*, takes *tám* to refer back to *hetír*; accepting this reading would require emending to *tām*. (Although *heti* is sometimes masculine in later Sanskrit, it is feminine in the Veda, as in the next stanza.) All manuscripts of the PS also support this reading as well. To make sense of this, *asmín* must be correlated with *yá iṣudhís táva*, yielding an awkward construction: ‘And put that [arrow] in this, [which is] your quiver, far away’. It is much preferable to accept the readings of NU manuscripts **JQRSUZ** (even though these may in some cases be corrections of the written tradition, whether based on oral tradition of the PS or contamination from the Yajurveda oral tradition). The MS, which also reads *asmín* in VON SCHROEDER’s edition, should likewise be corrected, in accord with Bühler’s manuscript cited therein. The error can be explained as a case either of the writer expecting a locative next to *ní dhehi*, or of anticipation of the *i* of *ní*.

## 2.17 = PS 14.4.7

yá te hetír mīdhuṣṭama háste babhúva te dhánuḥ |  
táyā tvám viśvátō asmán ayakṣmáya pári bhujā ||

(With) that missile of yours, O Most Bountiful One — your bow is in (your) hand! — with that, which is free of disease, embrace us on every side!

Y omits *yā te hetír* by eyeskip (see 2.16).

yá] ABDEGHIJKLNOQRSUVWXZ; yás CF(→ yāt)H<sup>ac</sup>MP; yo T mīdhuṣṭama] BD(mi°) HIJKMOPQTUVXYZ; mīduṣṭama FGLR; mīḍuṣṭama A(mi°)S; meduṣṭama CEN; □□ṣṭama W babhúva] ABC; babhūva DEΣ viśvátō] ACDEΣ(°tor S); viśvato B ayakṣmáya] CΣ; áyakṣmáya ABDE(double accent resulting from the loss in transmission of a vertical stroke over the first akṣara?)

Parallels: MS 2.9.2:122.7–8; KS 17.11:254.22–23; TS 4.5.1.4(n) = VS 16.11.

a. The NU manuscripts provide ample testimony for the form *mīdhuṣṭama*, which is not transmitted in the PS tradition (Orissa mss.: *mituṣṭama*; Kashmir ms.: *madhuṣṭhama*). Since LOPEZ records the NU reading as *mīdhuṣṭāma* (two misprints?), it is not clear whether he emends to *mīdhuṣṭama* or adopts it from the NU. BHATTACHARYA prints *mīdhuṣṭama*.

b. MS has *śívāṃ babhúva*; cf. 1.7b above.

cd. *táyā ... ayakṣmáya*, i.e., ‘with that [missile] which confers freedom from disease’. The *Śatarudriya* reads *táyāsmán viśvátas tvám* in pāda c (and KS has *ayakṣména* in d).

## 2.18 = PS 19.22.1

námo ’stu sarpébhyo yé ké ca pṛthivím ánu |  
yé antárikṣe yé diví tébhyaḥ sarpébhyo námaḥ ||

Homage be to the serpents, whichever ones [move] along the ground, those in the midspace, [and] those in the sky: to those serpents, homage!

G omits pāda d (and pāda a of 2.19) due to eyeskip.

yé diví] ABCFGHIJKMNOQRSTUVWXYZ; diví D(dívi)E; ye devi LPY

Parallels: = MS 2.7.15:97.1–2 = TS 4.2.8.3(g) = VS 13.6 = ĀpMP 2.17.5 = ṚVKh 2.14.10; KS 16.15:238.12–13.

b. KS reads *pṛthivyām ádhi*. See my introduction (p. 83) on stanzas 2.18–20.

## 2.19 = PS 19.22.2

yé cāmí rocané divó yé ca sūryasya raśmíṣu |  
yéṣām apsú sádas kṛtām tébhyaḥ sarpébhyo námaḥ ||

And those in the bright vault of the sky, and those in the rays of the sun, those whose seat is made in the water: to those serpents, homage!

G omits pāda a (along with pāda d of 2.18) due to eyeskip; T inserts this stanza marginally.

cāmī] D(cāmī)E(cāmī)FHIJKL<sup>ac</sup>(→ ṣāmī)MNOPQRSUWXY; vāmī ABCT(<sup>o</sup>mi)VZ rocané] BCDEFHIJKLMNOSTUVWZ; rócane A; rocano Y; rocate X divó] ABCFJPW; diví DEHIJKLMNOQRSUVXYZ; sma T

Parallels: MS 2.7.15:97.5–6; KS 16.15:238.16–17; TS 4.2.8.3(h) = ĀpMP 2.17.6 = ṚVKh 2.14.9<sub>2</sub>; VS 13.8.

- a. MS reads: *yé amī*; KS: *yé vādó*; TS, ṚVKh: *yè 'dó*; VS: *yé vāmī*.
- b. MS, KS, TS, ṚVKh read: *yé vā sūryasya*.
- c. MS, KS read: *yé apsú sādāṃsi cakriré* (phonetic differences aside).

## 2.20 ≈ PS 19.22.3

yá iṣavo yātudhānānām yé vā vānaspātīnām |  
yé vāvateṣu śerate tébhyaḥ sarpébhyo nāmaḥ || 2 ||

To those that are the arrows of the sorcerers, or to those of the trees, or to those which lie in holes in the ground, to those serpents, homage!

yá] ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOSTUVW; ya XYZ yātudhānānām] BCDEΣ; yātu-  
dhānānām A yé vā] ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOSTUVWZ; ye Y; yo vā X yé  
vāvateṣu] ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOSTUVWYZ; yo vāvavateṣu X

Parallels: MS 2.7.15:97.3–4; KS 16.15:238.14–15; TS 4.2.8.3(i) = VS 13.7 = ĀpMP 2.17.7.

- a. MS begins with *yá*; KS reads: *yéṣu vā yātudhānā*.
- b. MS: *yā vānaspātīnām*; KS, TS, VS: *yé vā vānaspātīṃr ānu*. All manuscripts of the PS show the same reading as Y, but Arlo Griffiths' provisional edition of this stanza emends to include *vā*. The NU evidence provides almost unanimous support for this emendation to PS 19.22.3b.
- c. Although it appears to belong to the archetype of the NU, the reading *ye vāvateṣu* instead of *yé [a]vateṣu* (PS, MS, KS) may be a borrowing from the TS (= VS, ĀpMP), which moreover offers the closest parallel to this group of stanzas, and is alone in having them in the same order as in the PS and the NU.

## 3.21 = PS 8.7.9

yáḥ svajānām nīlagrīvo yáḥ svajānām hárir utá |  
kalmāṣapucham oṣadhe jambháyāsy arundhati ||

The blue-necked of the vipers, and the green one of the vipers, [and] the spotted-tailed, O plant, you shall devour [them], O Arundhati.

(a) svajānām] Z; svajānām ABC(svajānān)DFI(svajanā(+ṃ))KNPRSTUXY; svajānān EGHM OQVW(stva°); svajanānām JL (b) svajānām] Z; svajānām AB CDEFGJ(°nām)NO(°nām) PQ(°naṃ)RST(°nām)U(°nām)VW(stva°)XY; svajanān HIKM; svajanānām L hárir utá] ABC(hírir)G(ahārir)IKLZ; harīr uta FJNOPQRTUVW; hárirutaḥ DE; harer uta SXY; hari{.}taṃ M; harita → harer uta H kalmāṣapucham] BDEFHIJKLMNOPQRSTUW(°putsam) XYZ; kalmāṣapuchām AC; kalpāṣapuchan G oṣadhe] BCFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ Y; oṣadhe ADE; oṣadhī Z jambháyāsy arundhati] *em.*; jambháyāscaruṃdhati ABCFG(°rudhati)H(°ruṃdhati)IJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ(°rudhati)YZ; jambháyāscarundhati D(jambhyáyā°) E; jambhayasvāsuruṃdhati M; jabhayāradhati R

**ab.** Only a single manuscript (Z) retains the correct form *svajānām*, instead of *svajānām* or other attested readings. In both instances of the word, Nārāyaṇa understands it as a masculine plural (*svajanān*), glossing with *bhaktān prati*, ‘towards (his) devotees’. The original sense is clarified by a comparison with TS 5.5.10.1, which contains a sequence of expiatory mantras directed to the gods that govern, and serpent powers that protect, the cardinal points, and that protect the piled Agni: *samīcī nāmāsi prācī dīk | tāsyaś te ’gnīr ādhipatir asitō rakṣitā | yás cādhipatir yás ca goptā tābhyāṃ nāmas tāu no mṛdayatām | té yāṃ dviṣmō yás ca no dvēṣti tāṃ vāṃ jámbhe dadhāmi* | ‘You are the eastern direction, Aligned by name; your governing lord [is] Agni, the black snake [is your] protector. Homage to them both, the governing lord and the protector! Let them two show us kindness! I place him whom we hate and who hates us in your jaws’. In the succeeding series of *vikṛtis*, the word *asitā* (black snake) is changed to the names of various other snakes, *pṛdāku* (Russell’s viper),<sup>55</sup> *svajā* (python?), *tīraścīrāji* (banded krait), *śvitrá* (white snake?), *kalmāṣagrīva* (spotted-necked snake) (correlated with governing lords [*ādhipati*] Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Br̥haspati, and Yama, respectively). This passage seems to be an adaptation of ŚS 3.27, which has better readings.<sup>56</sup>

The KauśS 14.25 refers to two stanzas (*ṛcau*) which it calls *digyukte*; Dārila identifies these as the first stanzas of ŚS 3.26 and 3.27. These hymns are together given the title ‘Rudragaṇa’ in AVParīś 32.16;<sup>57</sup> in 32.17 they are also included in the ‘Raudragaṇa’, a larger grouping.

<sup>55</sup>For the specific identifications noted here, see LUBOTSKY 2004. I have retained the translation ‘viper’ for *svajā* because a harmful snake seems to be meant.

<sup>56</sup>For instance, plural *dadhmaḥ* in the ŚS agrees better with the preceding first-person plurals than TS *dadāmi*. The pronoun *té* in the TS phrasing of the formula ‘whom we hate and who hates us’ (occurring thus also in numerous places in the MS and KS) is dismissed by KEITH (1914: 342) as “hardly more than an anacoluthon”. But I take this as a case of ‘*sa-figé*’, despite its not conforming to the older, Ṛgvedic pattern of occurring mainly with imperative or subjunctive verb forms, or as predicate of a first person subject in a copular phrase, a constraint that was greatly relaxed in later Vedic prose (see JAMISON 1992, esp. pp. 235–237). In other words, *té* here anticipates and ‘doubles’ the unexpressed *vayām*, perhaps for deictic or emphatic effect.

<sup>57</sup>This also explains why they are transmitted together under the name ‘Rudrasūkta’ in the Nepalese manuscripts D and E.

If the similarities noted here were not enough to show a close connection between the Rudraḡaṇa (ŚS 3.26–27) and the NU, there is also the fact that they are both prescribed by AVParīś 19b.3.5 for use in the performance of the Brahma-yāga: *hutoābhyātānamantrāṃś ca tato rudraḡaṇena ca | nīlarudraiś caruṃ vidvān vidhinā śrapayed budhaḡ.* The name Rudra does not appear in this hymn; its title must therefore derive from association with a rite for Agni in his fierce guise as Rudra, as we find it used in the Agnicayana liturgy of the Yajurveda.

The affinity between these mantras and NU 3.21 can be seen even in the similarity of wording: *svajā* mentioned alongside *kalmāṣapuccha* here, alongside *kalmāṣagrīva* in TS; *jambhāyāsi* here, *jāmbhe [dadhāmi]* in TS — despite the nearly opposite implication.

d. Nārāyaṇa’s reading of pāda d as *jambhayāśv arundhati* represents an intermediate stage in the corruption of the underlying form जम्भयास्य° > जम्भयास्व° > जम्भयाश्च° > जम्भयाश्च°. Most manuscripts have the last reading, while one (M) has seemingly retained two versions of the ambiguous akṣara: जम्भयस्वाशु°. It is likely that the archetype had the correct reading.

### 3.22 ≈ PS 19.5.8

*babhrús ca babhrúkarnaś ca nīlāgalasālā śivāḡ paśya |*

The brown and the brown-eared, the one (f.) with the bluish ineffectual poison, the benign (m.): Look!

G omits this stanza and half of the next, beginning with the second akṣara of 3.22, up to and including the first syllable of 3.23c. G actually reads: ॥ बरूपाक्षेण वभ्रुणा. Hence, the scribe’s eye skipped from *| ba* to *vi*, an eyeskip encouraged perhaps by the fact that in both positions, the word *babhru* occurs shortly afterwards.

*babhrúkarnaś*] ABCDEFHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ; *babhruvarṇaś* XZ nīlāgalasālā] T<sup>ac</sup>; nīlāgalasālāḡ AFIJKL(°śā°)NPR(°sāḡ)U; nīlāgalasālāḡ B; (+nī)lāgalasālāḡ C; nīlāgalamālā(+ḡ) H; nīlāgalāmālāḡ DE; nīlāgalamālāḡ S(→ °sālāḡ)Y; nīlāgalajamālāḡ X; nīlāgalasīlāḡ OQ; nīlāgalagalyalāḡ Z; nīlāgalag?r?ālāḡ W; nīlāgrīvaṃ śālā T<sup>pc</sup>; nīl{ā}agrīvaś ca yaḡ M; nīlasālā V śivāḡ] ABC; śivāḡ DEFHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ paśya] ABCDEFHIJKLMNOPQRS UVWXYZ; paśyā X; pa · sya → yasya T; paśyēta DE

PS 19.5.8:

†*babhrús ca babhrukarnaś ca nīlākalaśālāśavaḡpaśya*† |<sup>58</sup>

Cf. ŚS 6.16.3cd–4:

*babhrús ca babhrukarnaś cāpehi nīr āla ||*

*alāsālāsi pūrvā silāñjālāsy úttarā | nīlāgalasālā ||*

<sup>58</sup>The Orissa PS readings for pāda b are: *nīlākalaśālā | śavaḡpaśya || Pa Ji4; nīlākalaśālā | {tau}śavaśaśya || V/122; nīlākalaśālāḡ | śavaḡ paśya || JM*. The Kashmir ms. reads: *nīlākalaśāśavaśpaścā*.

**ab.** Partially parallel is ŚŚ 6.16.3cd–4: “3cd. Both the brown and the brown-eared one: go away, O poisonless one [reading, with the commentator, *nirāla*]. 4. You have an innocuous poison before; you have a mineral-salve [poison?] after; [you have?] a bluish ineffective poison [...?]”. ŚŚ 6.16.4 mentions also *alasālā* and *silāñjālā*, which confirms that the *visarga* often read at the end of *nīlāgalasālā* is spurious and that the accent is probably correct.<sup>59</sup> The *visarga* added to this word probably anticipates the *visarga* of the following word, *śivaḥ* (or *śavaḥ*, according to the PS).

The variant readings for *nīlāgalasālā* in several of the manuscripts reflect Nārāyaṇa’s reading (OQ) or the emendation proposed by him (M) (see the translation of the commentary on this stanza below, p. 132). Reading *m* for *s* — easy enough in Devanāgarī; easier still in Śāradā — has given rise to the readings of the Kashmiri and Nepalese manuscripts XYDE (W is corrupt here) and H; hence, the reading of the 1872 Bibliotheca Indica edition (followed by the 1891 edition): *nīlagalamālaḥ*.

The hypermetric word *paśya* is a source of some uncertainty. The manuscripts of the NU deal with this word by setting it off with a *daṇḍa* or space on both sides (H<sup>pc</sup> JL), by including it with the preceding hemistich (ABCDEFKNPRSUY), by including it with the following hemistich (H<sup>ac</sup> IMOQ T<sup>pc</sup>X), or by making no division at all (T<sup>ac</sup> WZ). The three Orissa manuscripts used by Arlo Griffiths to edit this stanza insert a *daṇḍa* after *nīlākalaśālā*.

Many manuscripts (and earlier editions) treat the first hemistich of the next stanza as the continuation of this stanza, thus throwing off the numbering. The sense of the stanzas requires that they be divided as in the PS, so I have corrected the numbering accordingly.

3.23 = PS 20.55.10

śārveṇa nīlāśikhaṇḍena bhavéna marútāṃ pitrá |  
vīrūpākṣeṇa babhrúnā vācaṃ vadiṣyáto hatám ||

By blue-crested Śārva, by Bhava, by the father of the Maruts, by the brown one, whose eyes are distorted, [the thought] of him who is about to raise his voice is struck down.

G omits pādas ab and the first akṣara of pāda c (see apparatus under 3.22).

śārveṇa] *em.*; śārveṇa H<sup>ac</sup>MZ; śārveṇa ABCFH<sup>pc</sup>IJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ; sarvéṇa DE bhavéna] ABCFHJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ; bhávēna DE pitrá] *em.*; pitá ABCΣ<sup>-G</sup> vīrūpākṣeṇa] *em.*; vīrūpākṣeṇa ABCΣ; virūpākṣeṇa D(? वि-रूप-क्षेण)E babhrúnā] ABCD EFGIJKLMNOPQTUVWXYZ; babhruṇāṃ LX; babhrūṇāṃ HSM vadiṣyáto] vadiṣyato ABFG HIJKMNOPQR(<sup>o</sup>taḥ)STUVWXYZ; vādiṣyató DE;

<sup>59</sup>On the interpretation of the words in this stanza, see HOFFMANN 1956: 9–13 = 1975–76: 390–94; also MAYRHOFER 1992: 126; 1996: 51, 640.

vadiṣyété → vadiṣyeto C; vidiṣyato Z; vyādiṣyato L hatám] *em.*; hatáḥ ABC; hataḥ DEFGHIJ KMN<sup>pc</sup> OPQRSTUVWXYZ; hitaḥ LN<sup>ac</sup>; *om.* R

a. Assuming that the reading *śarveṇa* is correct, the accentuation of this word in ABC seems not to preserve the ancient pattern: the accent on the antepenult of the first word is correct for *śarveṇa* but not for *śarvéṇa*, the PS reading found also in two of the NU manuscripts. (It is also possible that the accent *śarveṇa* may anticipate the correct form *śárva* at the beginning of 3.24.) Also wrong is the double accenting of *virūpākṣeṇa*.

b. The reading *pitā* in the manuscripts, obviously an error for PS *pitṛā*, cannot be construed, and the NU tradition, as exemplified in Nārāyaṇa's explanation of it,<sup>60</sup> is to treat it as if it did indeed read *pitṛā*.

d. In PS 20.55.9–10 this stanza is paired with another:

*yad veda rājā varuṇo veda devo brhaspatiḥ |*  
*indro yad vṛtrahā veda tat satyaṃ cittamohaṇam ||*  
*śarveṇa nīlaśikhaṇḍena bhavena marutāṃ pitṛā |*  
*virūpākṣeṇa babhruṇā vācaṃ vadiṣyato +hatam ||*

The emendation of *hatáḥ* (found in all PS and NU manuscripts) to *hatám*, understanding the subject to be *cittam* from the prior stanza, was suggested to me by Alexander Lubotsky.

Nārāyaṇa, who reads *hataḥ*, attempts to make sense of the stanza as follows: “The construction is: Now, you who are ‘struck down’ (*hataḥ*) by the Lord (who is) ‘the father of him who will raise his voice’ = Brahman, the begetter of the soul alone, ‘look’ at him [i.e., the Lord]” (*atha vācaṃ vadiṣyataḥ pitā dehamātrasya janako brahmā yena īṣvareṇa hataḥ taṃ tvam paśyety anvayaḥ*). This explanation assumes, of course, the integral connection of the preceding word *paśya*, which, as noted above, was not part of the earlier context of this stanza.

3.24 ≈ PS 20.60.7

*śárva nīlaśikhaṇḍa víra kármaṇīkarmaṇi |*  
*imám asya práśaṃ jahi yénedám vibhájāmahe ||*

O Śarva the Blue-Crested, O hero in deed after deed, strike down that petition (? *prás*) of him with whom we share in this.

Y omits most of this stanza and half of the next due to eyeskip (from *nīlaśikha*<sup>o</sup> in pāda a to the same in 3.25c).

śárva] *em.*; sárva ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ; sarvarāja → sa(+va)rparāja L; śrva W nīlaśikhaṇḍa] ABCFIJKNOPQUVW; nīlaśikhaṇḍena DEGHMSXZ; nīlaśi R víra] D(víra)E; víra ABCFGHIJKLMNOPQRSUVWXZ

<sup>60</sup>See pp. 127, 132.

kármaṇīkarmaṇi] CDEFGHIJKLMN O(karmaṇi)PQRST(°ṇi{karmaṇi})UVWXZ;  
 kármaṇīkármaṇi AB imám] CDEFGHIJKL MNOPQRSTUVWXYZ(i(+mā)m)WXZ; yá  
 imám A; (+ya) imám B asya práśaṃ] ABCFGHIJKL MNOPQRSUVWXZ ásyā  
 práśaṃ DE; asyā práśi → asya práśe T vibhajāmahe] *em.*; vibhajāmahe DE; vi-  
 bhajāmahe GHIJKLMOPQRSTUVWXYZ(vibhra°)Z; vibhajāmahai ABCN; vibhajāmahai  
 → vibhājāmahe F; vibhajāmahi R

PS 20.60.7:

*śarva nīlaśikhaṇḍa vīra karmaṇīkarmaṇi |  
 imám asya práśaṃ jahi yenedaṃ vivadāmahe ||*

Cf. ŚS 2.27.6 (pāda cd is the refrain of 2.27.1–5 as well):

*rúdra jálāśabheṣaja nīlaśikhaṇḍa kármakṛt |  
 práśaṃ prátipráśo jahy arasán kṛṇv ośadhe ||*

a. Like 1.5, the stanza opens with a catalectic *pāda* containing a vocative invocation of the god. The unaccented *pāda*-initial *vīra* found in the manuscripts is incorrect, as is the double accenting of *kármaṇīkármaṇi* in **AB**. However, the vocative *śarva*, not found in this form in any of the manuscripts, would in fact be accented on the first syllable at the beginning of the *pāda*, so that the accent would also be appropriate for *śarva* (the form actually appearing in the manuscripts).

d. The PS reading *vivadāmahe* (yielding the sense ‘with whom we quarrel over this’) is much better than *vibhājāmahe*. Nevertheless, the latter reading seems to have belonged to the NU from the beginning of its circulation as an independent text.

3.25 = PS 20.62.6

námo bhavāya námaḥ śarvāya námaḥ kumāraśátráve |  
 námo nīlaśikhaṇḍāya námaḥ sabhāprápāline ||

Homage to Bhava, homage to Śarva, homage to Kumāra’s foe, homage to the Blue-crested, homage to him who goes to the assembly!

Y omits *pādas* ab and the first word of c due to eyeskip (see 3.24, above).

námaḥ śarvāya] ABCD(śarvāya)E(śarvāya)FHIJKMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ; namaḥ sarvāya  
 L; sarvāya G; *om.* W kumāraśátráve] AB(°śátráve)JLOQTUV; kumāraśátrave C;  
 kumārāya śátrave FGHIKMNP RSWXZ; kumārāya śámbhave DE sabhāprápāline]  
 ABΣ(┘bhā°W); sabhāprápāline C; sabhāprápāline DE

a. The scansion of the overlong first *pāda* could be rectified by omitting the second *námaḥ*. However, the PS version of this stanza includes it as well.

b. The epithet Kumāraśátrú, evidently applied to Rudra, has, not surprisingly, worried later audiences familiar with the Purāṇic mythology which makes Kumāra (alias Skanda) Śiva’s son rather than his rival.<sup>61</sup> It was probably

<sup>61</sup>One early example of this is the passage in the *Mahābhārata* (7.57.49–59) in which Arjuna

this doubt which inspired Nārāyaṇa to read two datives, *kumārāya śatrave*, in place of the compound *kumāraśatrave*.

This leaves the question of what the epithet refers to. The name Kumāra does occur in the Vedic literature. For example, MS 2.9.1:119.11 reads: *tāt kumārāya vidmahe kārṭtikeyāya dhīmahi | tāt naḥ skandāḥ pracodāyāt* (cf. TĀ 10.1.6 = MNU 75). This comes in a series of variants of the formula *tāt pūruṣāya vidmahe mahādevāya dhīmahi | tāt no rudrāḥ pracodāyāt*,<sup>62</sup> which in turn is a loose adaptation to Rudra-veneration of the famous Sāvitrī mantra (RV 3.62.10). The impression that this stanza is a later interpolated extension of the pattern is reinforced by its absence in the corresponding passage KS 17.11:253.20–21.<sup>63</sup> In both Samḥitās, the *Śatarudriya* immediately follows.

What was the relation of Rudra and Skanda in the earliest references to them? Skanda's early character was that of a demon that attacked children with illness. Acknowledging that Rudra's own character was ambivalent in the same way, we may still suppose that one might, while invoking him for his healing powers, address him as the defeater of another being seen as a threat. Skanda's subordination to Śiva in later mythology can be seen as consonant with his defeat by the latter, as implied in the epithet *kumāraśatru*. No Vedic narrative concerning such a defeat is known to me, but GRIFFITHS (2006, esp. n. 6) has identified in Tumburu a perhaps similar instance of a deity hostile to Rudra in the *Atharvaveda* who becomes associated with him in later Śaiva texts.<sup>64</sup> Rudra

prays for the Pāsupata weapon. Several of the names of Mahādeva in the first part of this invocation seem to have been drawn from the NU:

*namo bhavāya śarvāya rudrāya varadāya ca |*  
*paśūnām pataye nityam ugrāya ca kapardine || 7.57.49*  
*mahādevāya bhīmāya tryambakāya ca sambhave |*  
*īśānāya bhagaghñāya namo 'stv andhakaghātine || 7.57.50*  
*kumāragurave nityam nilagrīvāya vedhase |*  
*vilohitāya dhūmrāya vyādhāyanaparājite || 7.57.51*  
*nityam nīlaśikhandāya śūline divyacaḥṣuṣe | 7.57.52ab*

The change of the NU's *kumāraśatrave* to *kumāragurave* looks like a deliberate 'repair' performed on the older source text.

<sup>62</sup>The syntax of this stanza is awkward, due to the insertion of datives and the verb *vidmahe* into a sentence that was not intended to accommodate them. The first two words, construed as a compound, were taken over as Tatpuruṣa, the fourth of the Pañcabrahma-Mantras, names of aspects of Rudra-Śiva (TĀ 10.17–21 = MNU 277–286) which become important in the later development of the Śaiva religion.

<sup>63</sup>The *Kāthaka* includes only the first mantra in the series (to Rudra Mahādeva); VON SCHROEDER (in his note 8 on this stanza) deems it "verdächtig", on account of its omission in one manuscript and other irregularities in other manuscripts.

<sup>64</sup>The word *śiśumāra* or *śiṃśumāra* denotes the Gangetic dolphin or the crocodile. Its etymology is disputed; the alternate form *śiṃśumāra* seems to suggest that it is a loanword rather than a compound containing the word *śisu* (see MAYRHOFER 1996: 641–642). At the end of TĀ 2.19, Śiśumāra, identified with a constellation, and named 'supreme lord of ghosts' (*bhūtānām adhipatir asi*), and 'best of ghosts' (*bhūtānām śreṣṭho 'si*), is invoked also as Śiśukumāra (or even

as healer might then be invoked as the opponent of this child-killer. So far, no other evidence is known to confirm or disprove this speculation. On the other hand, we might simply understand *kumāraśatrú* to mean ‘enemy of children’, alluding to Rudra’s reputation of bringing disease.

3.26 = PS 20.62.7 [found only in Orissa manuscripts of the PS]

yāsya hārī aśvatarāu gardabhāv abhītaḥsarau |  
tāsmāi nīlaśikhaṇḍāya nāmaḥ sabhāprāpādine ||  
nāmaḥ sabhāprāpādina īti || 3 ||

To him who has two yellow mules, two donkeys running on either side, to that Blue-Crested one, homage to him who goes to the assembly!

aśvatarāu] ABΣ(āśva° SXY); aśvatarau DE; aśvatáro C gardabhāv] BCDEΣ;  
gārdabhāv A abhītaḥsarau] *em.*; abhitaḥsarau FG(abhivataḥsarau)O(abhitassarau);  
abhītaskarau BC DEJNQRSTUV(ani°)WX(itaskarau)YZ; abhītaḥskarau AHIKP;  
abhitaḥsvarau M; abhitararau L tāsmāi] ABCΣ; || om tāsmāi DE

**ab.** The ‘two yellow mules, two donkeys running on either side’ may refer to the moon and sun, which are closely associated with Bhava and Śarva in the PS hymn in which this stanza occurs (cf. PS 20.62.5: *naktaṃ harī mṛgayete divā suparnarohitau | bhavāya ca śarvāya cobhābhyām akaraṃ namaḥ ||* ‘By night, the two yellow [mules] pursue [their course?], by day, the two red ones that are birds. To both Bhava and Śarva I have paid homage’). It might even be that the sun and moon are identified with, or at least correlated with Bhava and Śarva.

**cd.** The mules convey Nīlaśikhaṇḍa to the assembly, perhaps the one where the *prāś* (3.24) is contested.<sup>65</sup> Could this be a reference to a cultic observance?

## The *Dīpikā* of Nārāyaṇa: Edited Text and Translation

In the text of the commentary, words cited from the stanzas appear in **boldface**; quotations from other works appear in *italics*, and their sources are identified. The text of the stanzas as read by Nārāyaṇa is included for the convenience of the reader. Readings that differ from those accepted in the edition of the stanzas themselves appear in **bold italics**.

Since the use of punctuation is highly variable in the manuscripts, I have punctuated the text according to its sense. The most frequent, and perhaps even most consistent, form of ‘punctuation’ in the manuscripts is the practice

Śīsumārukumāra, according to a variant reading). Whether this is the result of a scribal error or a deliberate word-play, it might point to a notion of Kumāra as ‘killer of children’, seemingly the literal meaning of *śīsumāra*.

<sup>65</sup>This was suggested to me by Arlo Griffiths.

of writing words in *pausa* form (as if sentence-final) — even in mid-sentence — for clarity. At times (e.g., ad 1.9), the *Dīpikā* acts virtually as a *padapāṭha*. Except cases of the latter type, I have been reluctant to clutter the text with *daṇḍas*, but I also felt it would misrepresent the text to apply sandhi even in places where the sandhi-less reading seems to have been a deliberate measure to ensure clarity. In this edition, I have made use of a comma to serve as a half-*daṇḍa*, that is, both to mark a break within a sentence and (in a few cases) to indicate a place where, for reasons of clarity, the scribes avoided applying external sandhi. On the whole, however, normal sandhi has been applied.

Much of the *Dīpikā* consists of simple glosses: a word from the text is cited (usually in the same form as it has in the *mūla*), followed by a synonym or paraphrase with the same inflection. Sometimes these are strung together to recreate the syntax of the original in double form. To make a readable translation, I have inserted an equal sign (=) between the paired elements of these glosses.

There are a number of passages, ranging in length from a single word to a few lines, that I suspect of being additions to an earlier, shorter state of the text. These are lacking in **H** (and in **Ed**<sub>1</sub>), but found in the group of Pune manuscripts (and in **Ed**<sub>2</sub>). Rather than relegate them to the notes, I have included them in the text and translation, where they are identifiable by the use of a smaller typeface. **H** and **Ed**<sub>1</sub> show other corruptions of their own, however, and are not to be deferred to as giving superior readings overall. Both editions seem to have silently incorporated a number of conjectural emendations, besides the simple errors that are found in them.<sup>66</sup>

In the translation, words quoted from the stanzas — whether the English equivalent or the original Sanskrit (if translating it would duplicate the translation of Nārāyaṇa's gloss, or if the very form of the word is at issue) — are enclosed in double quotation marks. The glosses follow an equal sign, and are enclosed within single quotation marks, as are quotations from other works (which are duly identified).

### Text

*apaśyaṃ tvāvarohantaṃ divitaḥ pṛthivīm avah |*  
*apaśyaṃ asyantam rudraṃ nīlagrīvaṃ śikhaṇḍīnam || 1.1*

śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ ||

nīlarudropaniṣadi ṣoḍaśyāṃ khaṇḍakatrayam |

1

<sup>66</sup>Evidence of such emendation is to be found in the galley-sheets for the Ānandāśrama edition (see note 46 above), in which an editor has made a number of substantial changes unconnected with the variants recorded at the bottom of the page.

1 śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ] **KOQ**; śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ śrīkṛṣṇāya namaḥ **DI**<sub>2</sub>; śrīkṛṣṇāya namaḥ **DI**<sub>1</sub>; om **Ed**<sub>1</sub>; om. **HED**<sub>2</sub>

- 3 śrutirūpeṇa taṃ devaṃ stauty **apaśyam** iti kramāt ||  
 4 asparśayogam uktvā tatsaṃpradāyappravartakaṃ paramagurum yoga-  
 5 siddhipradaṃ nīlarudraṃ stauti || **apaśyam** iti | **divito** divaḥ **pr̥thivīm** bhūmim  
 6 **avaḥ** avastād **avarohantaṃ** tvām aham **apaśyam** iti mantradraṣṭur vacaḥ |  
 7 **asyantaṃ** asu kṣepaṇe kṣipantaṃ duṣṭān | anenāvatāraprayojanam uktam | ayam  
 8 brahmaṇaḥ putraḥ sanakādiṣu sṛṣṭim akurvatsu brahmaṇaḥ krodhād utpannaḥ kumāro ruroda  
 9 tenāśvāsya rudra iti nāma dattaṃ tata ekādaśa sthānāny ekādaśa nāmāny ekādaśa patnīs ca  
 10 dadau | tatsṛṣṭānām rudrāṇām asaṃkhyātataṃ dṛṣṭvā taṃ bhayāt tamase nyayojoyat | sa bhuvi  
 11 tapaś cacāretītiḥāsaḥ | **śikhaṇḍinaṃ** śikhaṇḍo *barhacūdayor* iti viśvaḥ | tayor anya-  
 tarad asyāstīti śikhaṇḍī taṃ |

*diva ugro 'vāruḥsat praty aṣṭhād bhūmyām adhi |  
 janāsaḥ paśyateṃaṃ nīlagrīvaṃ vilohitam || 1.2*

- 13 **divaḥ** sakāśād **ugro** rudraḥ | **avāruḥsad** avatīrṇavān | **pratyāṣṭhāt** prati-  
 14 ṣṭhām sthitiṃ kṛtavān | **bhūmyām adhi** | *adhir īśvara* ity adhiḥ karma-  
 15 vacanīyaḥ | yasmād adhikaṃ yasya ceśvaravacanam iti saptamī | bhūmer īśvara  
 ity arthaḥ | **janāsaḥ** | *ājjaserasuk saṃbodhane ceti* prathamā |

*eṣa ety avīrahā rudro jalāsabheṣajīḥ |  
 vi te 'kṣemam anīnaśad vātīkāro 'py etu te || 1.3*

- 17 **ety** āgacchati | na vīrahā, **avīrahā** saumyaḥ | yad vā, avīrāni pāpāni hantya  
 18 **avīrahā** | **etyāgatya** vīrān daityān hantīti vā | jale āsaḥ kṣepo yāsām tā **jalāsās** ca  
 19 tā **bheṣajyaś** ca tā etīty anvayaḥ | jalakṣiptānām ośadhīnām amaṅgalanāśaka-  
 tvam rudrasaṃnidhānād eva | yad vā samudramathanāvasare samudre kṣiptānām oṣa-

11 *śikhaṇḍo barhacūdayor*] śikhaṇḍo barhacūdayoḥ *Viśva-Prakāśa* ḍāntavarga 28 14 *adhir īśvara*] *adhir īśvare Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.97 16 *ājjaserasuk*] *ājjaserasuk Aṣṭādhyāyī* 7.1.50 16 *saṃbodhane ceti*] *saṃbodhane ca Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.3.47

3 devaṃ] **HODI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>Σ</sub>**; deva **KQ** 4 asparśayogam] **KOQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>Σ</sub>**; asparśayogam **H**  
 4–5 yogasiddhipradaṃ] **HKOEd<sub>Σ</sub>**; yogasiddhiṃ pradaṃ **QDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>** 6 avastād] **ΣEd<sub>2</sub>**; adhas-  
 tāt **Ed<sub>1</sub>** 6 tvām] **ΣEd<sub>2</sub>**; 'tvā' tvām **Ed<sub>1</sub>** 7 asu kṣepaṇe kṣipantaṃ] **KOQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>Σ</sub>**; asu  
 kṣeyantaṃ **H** 7–11 anenāvatāraprayojanam uktam | ayam brahmaṇaḥ putraḥ sanakādiṣu  
 sṛṣṭim akurvatsu brahmaṇaḥ krodhād utpannaḥ kumāro ruroda tenāśvāsya rudra iti nāma  
 dattaṃ tata ekādaśa sthānāny ekādaśa nāmāny ekādaśa patnīs ca dadau | tatsṛṣṭānām rudrā-  
 ṇām asaṃkhyātataṃ dṛṣṭvā taṃ bhayāt tamase nyayojoyat | sa bhuvi tapaś cacāretītiḥāsaḥ] *om.*  
**HEd<sub>1</sub>** 8 ruroda] **K(rudroda)ODI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>**; ruda **Q** 9 tenāśvāsya] **OQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>**; tenāsya  
**K** 10 tamase] **KOQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>**; tapase **Ed<sub>2</sub>** 12 asyāstīti] **KOEd<sub>Σ</sub>**; asyāsti **HDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>**; asyāstī  
**Q** 13 **divaḥ** sakāśād] **ΣEd<sub>Σ</sub>**; *em.* diva ākāśād? 15 iti] **KOEd<sub>2</sub>**; iti svāt **HQ(? itit)DI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>**; iti  
 tatra **Ed<sub>1</sub>** 16 *saṃbodhane ceti*] **HOQEd<sub>Σ</sub>**; *saṃnodhane ceti* **KDI<sub>2</sub>(sano°)DI<sub>1</sub>** 17 hantya] **ΣEd<sub>2</sub>**;  
 hantīty **Ed<sub>1</sub>** 18 **etyāgatya** vīrān daityān hantīti vā] **KOQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>**; *om.* **HEd<sub>1</sub>** 18 **jalāsās**] **ΣEd<sub>2</sub>**;  
 jalāsāḥ, tāś **Ed<sub>1</sub>** 19 **bheṣajyaś**] **OEd<sub>2</sub>**; bheṣajās **HEd<sub>1</sub>**; bhaiṣajyaś **Q**; bhovajyaś **DI<sub>1</sub>**  
**DI<sub>2</sub>**; bobhajyaś **K** 19–20 amaṅgalanāśakatvam] **KOQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>**; akṣemanirṇodakatvam **H**;  
 akṣema-nirṇejakatvam (v.l. °nirṇodakatvam) **Ed<sub>1</sub>** 20–21 vā samudramathanāvasare samudre  
 kṣiptānām ośadhīnām udbhūtaṃ viṣaṃ pātum avatīrṇatvād evam uktam] **KOQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>**;  
*om.* **HEd<sub>1</sub>**

dhīnām udbhūtaṃ viṣaṃ pātum avatīrṇatvād evam uktam | **te** tava lokasyā**kṣemaṃ vy** 21  
**anīnaśat** | anena kṣemakāritvam uktam | alabdhalābho yogas tatkāritvam apy 21  
 āha **vātīkāra** iti | vātīḥ prāptīḥ | aprāptaṃ prāptaṃ karotīti vātīkāraḥ | so '**pi te** 23  
 tavāpūrvalābhakaro 'py **etv** āgacchatu yogakṣemakaro 'bhiṣekajale saṃnihito  
 bhavatv ity arthaḥ | mantraliṅgād abhiṣeke viniyogaḥ | 25

*namas te bhava bhāmāya namas te bhava manyave |  
 namas te astu bāhubhyām uto ta iṣave namaḥ || 1.4*

**bhāmaḥ** krodho **manyus** tatpūrvāvasthā | **utāpi** | **u ta iṣave** bāṇarūpāya |

*yām iṣuṃ giriśantaṃ haste bibharsy astave |  
 śivāṃ giritra tāṃ kṛṇu mā himsīt puruṣān mama || 1.5*

**astave** | *asu kṣeṣaṇe* | tavenpratyayas tumarthe | astuṃ kṣeptum ity arthaḥ | 27  
 kaṃ kṣeptum? **giriśantaṃ** śyati śyan gireḥ śyan giriśyan | saṃbandhasāmā- 27  
 nye ṣaṣṭhyā samāsaḥ | taṃ giriśantaṃ | chāndaso yalopaḥ | yad vā *kaṃśaṃbhyām* 29  
*babhayustitutayasah* | śam asyāsti śaṃtaḥ | girito śaṃtaḥ sukhī parvatotpannatvād iṣoḥ | **he**  
**giritra** girirakṣaka | **tāṃ śivāṃ** kalyāṇīm kuru | 31

*śivena vacasā tvā giriśāchā vadāmasi |  
 yathā naḥ sarvaṃ ij jagad ayakṣmaṃ sumanā asat || 1.6*

**acchā vadāmasi** | accha nirmalaṃ vadāmaḥ | acchaśabdasya *nipātasyeti*  
 dīrghaḥ | *idanto masi* | **id** anarthako nipātaś ca | **ayakṣmaṃ** nīrogam | **suma-** 33  
**nāḥ** sumanaskam | **asad** bhavet | *liṅarthe leṭ* | tip | *itaś ca lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu* |  
*leṭo 'dādāv* ity aṭ | 35

27 *asu kṣeṣaṇe*] *asu kṣeṣaṇe Dhātupāṭha* 4.100 29–30 *kaṃśaṃbhyām babhayustitutayasah*] *kaṃ-*  
*śaṃbhyām babhayustitutayasah Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.2.138 32 *nipātasyeti*] *nipātasya ca Aṣṭādhyāyī*  
 6.3.136 33 *idanto masi*] *idanto masi Aṣṭādhyāyī* 7.1.46 34 *liṅarthe leṭ*] *liṅarthe leṭ Aṣṭādhyāyī*  
 3.4.7 34 *itaś ca lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu*] *itaś ca lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.4.97 35 *leṭo*  
*'dādāv*] *leṭo 'dādāv Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.4.94

21–23 tava lokasyā**kṣemaṃ vy anīnaśat** | anena kṣemakāritvam uktam | alabdhalābho yogas  
 tatkāritvam apy āha **vātīkāra** iti | vātīḥ prāptīḥ | aprāptaṃ prāptaṃ karotīti vātīkāraḥ | so  
 '**pi te**] *om. Dī<sub>2</sub>(eyeskip)* 21 tava lokasyā**kṣemaṃ**] *KOQDī<sub>1</sub>Ed<sub>Σ</sub>*; tavākṣemaṃ **H** 21 **vy**]  
*ΣEd<sub>2</sub>*; *om. Ed<sub>1</sub>* 22–23 apy āha] *Ed<sub>Σ</sub>*; athāha *HKOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>* 24 'py] *KOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>*; *om.*  
**HEd<sub>1</sub>** 26 **bhāmaḥ**] *HODī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>Σ</sub>*; bhāsaḥ **KQ** 26 **utāpi** | **u ta iṣave**] *KOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>*; uta  
 || u te iṣave **HEd<sub>1</sub>** ('utaḥ'); utāpi | uteṣave **Ed<sub>2</sub>** 29 ṣaṣṭhyā samāsaḥ] *ΣEd<sub>2</sub>*; ṣaṣṭhīsamāsaḥ  
**Ed<sub>1</sub>** 29 yalopaḥ] **Ed<sub>1</sub>**; palopaḥ **H**(paloyah)**KQ**; paloṣaḥ **O**; yevalopaḥ **Dī<sub>2</sub>**; paṃvalopaḥ  
**Dī<sub>1</sub>**; yamalopaḥ **Ed<sub>2</sub>** 29–30 yad vā *kaṃśaṃbhyām babhayustitutayasah* | śam asyāsti śaṃtaḥ |  
 girito śaṃtaḥ sukhī parvatotpannatvād iṣoḥ] *om. HEd<sub>1</sub>* 30 *babhayustitutayasah*] *OQEd<sub>2</sub>*;  
 vabhayustirutayasah **Dī<sub>1</sub>**; babhayustirupasaḥ **K**; vabhūyustrirutayasah **Dī<sub>2</sub>** 30 śam asyāsti]  
*OQEd<sub>2</sub>*; samasyāsti **KDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>** 30 girito] *KOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>*; giriṇā **Ed<sub>2</sub>** 31 **giritra**] **H**(giretra)**OQ**  
**Dī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>Σ</sub>**; *om. K* 31 kuru] *ΣEd<sub>2</sub>*; 'kṛṇu' kuru **Ed<sub>1</sub>** 32 accha nirmalaṃ] *KOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>Σ</sub>*;  
 anirmalaṃ **H** 32 *nipātasyeti*] *ΣEd<sub>1</sub>*; nipātasya ca **Ed<sub>2</sub>** 33 **id** anarthako] **HDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>**;  
 idam arthako **KOQEd<sub>1</sub>** (v.l. idam anarthako) 33 nipātaś ca] **HEd<sub>1</sub>**; nipātaḥ **KOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>**  
 34 bhavet] **HOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>Σ</sub>**; *om. K* 34 *leṭ*] **ODī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>Σ</sub>**; liṭ **HQ**; laṭ **K** 35 *leṭo 'dādāv*] **Ed<sub>2</sub>**;  
 leṭo ḍāṭāv **KO**; leṭopraḍyāv **H**; le{ḍa}ṭoṭān **Dī<sub>1</sub>**; leḍaṭoṭān **Dī<sub>2</sub>**; leḍaḍaṭoṭāv **Q**; leṭo 'ḍādāv **Ed<sub>1</sub>**  
 35 aṭ] **HKQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>Σ</sub>**; ac **O**

*yā ta iṣuḥ śivatamā śivaṃ babhūva te dhanuḥ |  
śivā śaravyā yā tava tayā no mṛḍa jīvase || 1.7*

37 **śaravyā** śarasamdhātrī jyā | śaro dadhyagrabāṇayor iti viśvaḥ | śaram arhati |  
yat | *ava śarasya cety avādeśaḥ* | śaruvṛttād vā siddham | *śarur āyudhakopayoḥ |  
ugavādibhyo yat* | **jīvase** jīvitum **mṛḍa** modaya | yad vā he **mṛḍa tayā** tanvā no  
39 'smān **jīvase** jīvayasi |

*yā te rudra śivā tanūr aghorāpāpakāśinī |  
tayā nas tanvā śamtamayā girīśamtābhi cākaśat || 1.8*

41 **śamtamayā** atīsayena śam śamtamā **tayā** | **abhicākaśat** | kaśer yaṅlugantāl  
leṭ | tip | aṭ | atīsayena prakāśayatv iti prārthanā |

*asau yas tāmro aruṇa uta babhrur vilohitaḥ |  
ye ceme abhito rudrā dikṣu śritāḥ sahasraśo  
'vaisāṃ heḍa īmahe || 1.9*

**babhruḥ** piṅgalaḥ | **vā** | **eṣām** | **ha** | **īde** stutaye | **īmahe** kāmayāmahe || 1 ||

*adrśyaṃ tvāvarohantaṃ nīlagrīvaṃ vilohitam |  
uta tvā gopā adrśann uta tvodahāryaḥ |  
uto tvā viśvā bhūtāni tasmai dr̥ṣṭāya te namaḥ || 2.10*

43 viṣṇupakṣe ābhīrāḥ | **gopā** gopālāḥ | **adrśann** apaśyan | **udahāryaḥ**  
pānīyahāriṇyaḥ | **viśvā** viśvāni **bhūtāni** adrśan | yoginām apy **adrśyaṃ tvām**  
45 kṛpayāvīrbhavantaṃ ādityavat prakāśamānaṃ pāmarā api dadrśur ity arthaḥ |

*namo 'stu nīlaśikhaṇḍāya sahasrākṣāya vājine |  
atho ye asya satvānas tebhyo 'ham akaraṃ namaḥ || 2.11*

**vājine** 'nnavate bānarūpāya vā | sīdanti **satvāno** gaṇāḥ |

36 *śaro dadhyagrabāṇayor*] śaro dadhyagrabāṇayoḥ *Viśva-Prakāśa* rāntavarga 8 37 *ava śarasya cety*] Source not identified. 37 *śarur āyudhakopayoḥ*] Source not identified; cf. śaruḥ puṃsy āyudhe kope *Auṇādikapadārṇava* of Perubhaṭṭa 1.120 38 *ugavādibhyo yat*] *ugavādibhyo yat Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.1.2

36 śarasamdhātrī] **KOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>**; śarasamdhādhī **H**; śarasandhāyinī **Ed<sub>1</sub>** 37 *ava śarasya cety*] **Σ**; 'ava śarasya' ity **Ed<sub>1</sub>**; av śarasya cety **Ed<sub>2</sub>** 37 śaruvṛttād] **Σ**; yad vā śaruḥvṛttād (v.l. śaruvṛttad) vā **Ed<sub>1</sub>**; śaruśabdād **Ed<sub>2</sub>** 37 *śarur āyudhakopayoḥ*] **ΣEd<sub>2</sub>**; 'śarur āyudhakopayoḥ' iti viśvaḥ **Ed<sub>1</sub>** 38 *jīvase*] **KOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>**; *om.* **HEd<sub>1</sub>** 40 yaṅlugantāl] **Ed<sub>Σ</sub>**; yaṅluṅamtāl **O**; yaṅluḍamtāl **QDī<sub>1</sub>**; yaṅṅamtāl **Dī<sub>2</sub>**; yaṅlutāl **K**; yadvuḍamḍātāl **H** 41 leṭ] **KOQEd<sub>2</sub>**; loṭ **HDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>1</sub>** 41 tip] **HKODī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>**; atip **QEd<sub>1</sub>** 42 || 1 ||] **HEd<sub>Σ</sub>**; || **KOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>** 43 viṣṇupakṣe ābhīrāḥ] **K**(°pahe abhī°)**OQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>**; *om.* **HEd<sub>1</sub>** 43 *adrśann*] **HOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>Σ</sub>**; *om.* **K** 44 *bhūtāni*] **HOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>Σ</sub>**; *om.* **K** 44 *adrśan*] **HEd<sub>Σ</sub>**; *adrśyan* **KOQDī<sub>1</sub>Dī<sub>2</sub>** 46 'nnavate] **ΣEd<sub>2</sub>**; netravate **Ed<sub>1</sub>** 46 *satvāno*] **ΣEd<sub>1</sub>**; *sattvāno* **Ed<sub>2</sub>**

*namāṃsi ta āyudhāyānātātāya dhṛṣṇave |*  
*ubhābhyaṃ akaraṃ namo bāhubhyaṃ tava dhanvane || 2.12*

**namāṃsi** namaskārāḥ | nātātāyānātātāya | **dhṛṣṇave** pragalbhāya | 47  
**bāhubhyaṃ** kṛtvā **dhanvane** namo 'karavam ity arthaḥ |

*pra muñca dhanvanas pary ubhayo rājñor jyām |*  
*yās ca te hasta iṣavaḥ parā tā bhagavo vapa || 2.13*

**ubhayor** aripratyaribhūtayo **rājñor dhanvano jyām paripramuñca**, 49  
anātātāṃ kuru | rājñor vиграhe lokānāṃ kleśo bhavati | tatas taṃ śamayeti  
bhāvaḥ | he **bhagavaḥ** | **yās te hasta iṣavo** bāṇās **tāḥ parāvapa** parāṅmukhān 51  
muñca | tvam api kopaṃ lokeṣu mā kṛthā iti bhāvaḥ | indrarūpeṇa jagad  
rakṣeti prārthayate | 53

*avatatya dhanus tvam sahasrākṣa śateśudhe |*  
*niśīrya śalyānāṃ mukhā śivo naḥ sambhur ā bhava || 2.14*

**avatatyeti** adhijyaṃ kṛtvā | **sahasrākṣa** śakrarūpa | śatam iṣudhayas tūṇā 55  
yajñarūpā yasya tat sambodhanam | **niśīrya** tīkṣṇīkṛtya **mukhā** mukhāni **no**  
'smān **śivaḥ** kalyāṇarūpaḥ **sambhuḥ** sukhahetuḥ sann **ābhava** dhārāya poṣaya 57  
vā |

*vijyaṃ dhanuḥ śikhaṇḍino viśalyo bāṇavāṃ astu |*  
*aneśann asyeṣavaḥ śivo asya niṣaṅgatih || 2.15*

**bāṇavāṃs** tūṇīraḥ | **viśalyo** 'stu bhallarāhito bhavatu vairiṣu hateṣu tatpra- 59  
yojanābhāvāt | **aneśann** adṛśyā abhūvan | *naśimanyor ality etvam* iti vārttikena  
*luṇi puṣādy aṇy etvam* | **niṣaṅgatir** niṣaṅgaḥ |

*pari te dhanvano hetir asmān vṛṇaktu viśvataḥ |*  
*atho ya iṣudhis tavāre asmin ni dhehi tam || 2.16*

59 *naśimanyor ality etvam*] Source not identified. 60 *luṇi puṣādy aṇy etvam*] Cf. puṣādīdyudā-  
dyḍitaḥ parasmaipadeṣu *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.55

48 'karavam] HKD<sub>1</sub>D<sub>1</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>; kara|nn Q; karann O 49 aripratyaribhūtayo] HD<sub>1</sub>D<sub>1</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>;  
api pratyaribhūtayo KOQ 49 dhanvano] ΣEd<sub>1</sub>; dhanvanor Ed<sub>2</sub> 49 paripramuñca] HOQ  
D<sub>1</sub>D<sub>1</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>; parimuñca K; 'pramuñca' Ed<sub>1</sub> 53 prārthayate] KOQEd<sub>2</sub>; prārthyate D<sub>1</sub>D<sub>1</sub>;  
prārthate H 54 adhijyaṃ] ΣEd<sub>2</sub>; dhanus tvam adhijya (v.l. svadhijyaṃ) Ed<sub>1</sub> 56 ābhava]  
KOQD<sub>1</sub>D<sub>1</sub>; ābhara HEd<sub>2</sub> 57 vā] HEd<sub>1</sub>; om. KOQD<sub>1</sub>D<sub>1</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>(eyeskip) 58 bhallarāhito]  
em.; bhallāhito H; bhaktarāhito KOQD<sub>1</sub>D<sub>1</sub>; śalyarāhito Ed<sub>2</sub>; tomararāhito (v.l. matvararāhito)  
Ed<sub>1</sub> 59 abhūvan] HEd<sub>2</sub>; abruvan KOQD<sub>1</sub>D<sub>1</sub> 59 *naśimanyor ality etvam*] HOQ(alitdy  
etvam)D<sub>1</sub>D<sub>1</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>; naśimanyor alighetvam K; naśiṣamumo valikhyetvam (?) Ed<sub>1</sub> 60 *puṣādy*  
*aṇy*] KOQD<sub>1</sub>D<sub>1</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>; om. H(eyeskip)

61 **viśvataḥ** sarvataḥ | **asmān parivr̥ṅaktu** parivr̥tya rakṣatu | **are** sambodhane |  
**atho** paścād rakṣaṇānantaram yas **taveśudhir** **asminn** iṣudhau **taṃ hetim**  
63 **bānaṃ nidhehi** sthāpaya |

*yā te hetir mīdhuṣṭama haste babhūva te dhanuḥ |  
tayā tvam viśvato asmān ayakṣmayā pari bhujā || 2.17*

he **mīdhuṣṭama** mīdhvaṣṭamety (!) arthaḥ secakatama | **ayakṣmayā** sajjayā  
65 **tayā** hetyā **paribhujā** paripālaya |

*namo 'stu sarpebhyo ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu |  
ye antarikṣe ye divi tebhyaḥ sarpebhyo namaḥ || 2.18*

*ye cāmī rocane divo ye ca sūryasya raśmiṣu |  
yeṣām apsu sadas kṛtaṃ tebhyaḥ sarpebhyo namaḥ || 2.19*

*yā iṣavo yātudhānānāṃ ye vā vanaspatīnām |  
ye vāvateṣu śerate tebhyaḥ sarpebhyo namaḥ || 2.20*

**sadas kṛtaṃ** gr̥haṃ kṛtaṃ | **yātudhānānām** rakṣasām **vanaspatīnām**  
67 **ceśavaḥ** sarpāḥ | te hi janān daśanti | **avateṣu** garteṣu || 2 ||

*yaḥ svajanāṃ nīlagrīvo yaḥ svajanāṃ harir uta |  
kalmāṣapucham ośadhe jambhayāśv arundhati || 3.21*

kedārādhiśaṃ mahiṣarūpaṃ stauti | **ya** iti yaḥ śivaḥ **svajanān** bhaktān  
69 prati **nīlagrīvaḥ** | yaś ca **svajanān** bhaktān prati **harir** haritavarṇo bhakta-  
vātsalyena bhavati | mahiṣasya hi tādr̥g rūpaṃ sambhavati | yad vā **nīlagrīvo**  
71 rudraḥ, **harir** viṣṇuś ca, bhavati | anena hariharayor ekarūpatoktā | he **ośadhe arundha-**  
**ti** rodharahite | **taṃ kalmāṣapucham** kṛṣṇapāṇḍurapucham | **āśu** śīghraṃ |  
73 **jambhaya** svavīryeṇa vīryavantam kuru | ośadhīnām paśubhyo balapradatvāt |  
*kalmāṣo rākṣase kṛṣṇe kalmāṣaḥ kṛṣṇapāṇḍura* iti viśvaḥ | kedāreśvarasya mahiṣa-  
75 rūpatvāt pucchavattā sambhavati |

74 *kalmāṣo rākṣase kṛṣṇe kalmāṣaḥ kṛṣṇapāṇḍura*] kalmāṣo rākṣase kṛṣṇe kalmāṣaḥ kṛṣṇapāṇḍure  
*Viśva-Prakāśa* śāntavarga 19 (p. 313) in UTVALA VENKATARAṄGĀCĀRYULU 1930; RATNA  
GOPĀLA BHATTA 1911, śāntavarga 18 (p. 172): kalmāṣo rākṣase kṛṣṇe kalmāṣam kṛṣṇapāṇḍure

61 parivr̥tya rakṣatu]  $\Sigma Ed_2$ ; parirakṣatu  $Ed_1$  62 iṣudhau]  $\Sigma Ed_2$ ; *om.*  $Ed_1$   
64 mīdhvaṣṭamety]  $H(mīdraṣṭa^\circ)O(mīdvaṣṭa^\circ)QD_1D_2$ ; mīdhuṣṭamety  $K$ ; mīdhavattamety  
 $Ed_2$ ; *om.*  $Ed_1$  64 secakatama]  $HEd_2$ ; sevakatama  $KOQD_1D_2$ ; sevakatamaṃ  $Ed_1$   
64 **ayakṣmayā** sajjayā]  $\Sigma Ed_2$ ; 'apakṣmayā' asajjayā  $Ed_1$  66 **sadas kṛtaṃ**]  $HEd_2$ ;  
sadasakṛtaṃ  $OQ$ ; sadavastutaṃ  $D_1D_2$ ; sadasadvastutaṃ  $K$  66 gr̥haṃ kṛtaṃ]  $\Sigma Ed_2$ ;  
gr̥haṃ  $Ed_1$  67 sarpāḥ]  $HD_1D_2Ed_2$ ; sarpatir  $K(sapatir)OQ$  67 te hi]  $Ed_2$ ; te hi te  $H$ ;  
ter hi te  $D_1D_2$ ; hi te  $KOQ$  67 || 2 ||]  $OD_1Ed_2$ ; || 2 || cha ||  $Q$ ; || cha ||  $K$ ; *om.*  $HD_2$   
68 kedārādhiśaṃ]  $OEd_1$ ; kedārādhiśa  $KQD_1D_2Ed_2$ ; kedārādhiśe  $H$  68 mahiṣarūpaṃ]  
 $HD_1D_2Ed_1$ ; mahiṣasvarūpaṃ  $KOQEd_2$  69–70 bhaktavātsalyena]  $HEd_1$ ; bhaktavātsalo na  
 $KOQD_1D_2Ed_2$  70–71 yad vā **nīlagrīvo** rudraḥ, **harir** viṣṇuś ca, bhavati | anena hariharayor  
ekarūpatoktā]  $OQEd_2$ ; ekarūpabhoktā  $KD_1D_2$ ; *om.*  $HEd_1$  71 he]  $KOQD_1D_2Ed_2$ ; hi  
 $H$  73 **jambhaya**]  $HEd_2$ ; bhajaya  $KOQD_1D_2$  73 kuru]  $HEd_1$ ; kuruṣe  $KOQD_1D_2Ed_2$   
73 ośadhīnām]  $\Sigma Ed_1$ ; auśadhīnām  $Ed_2$

*babhrus ca babhrukarnaś ca nīlāgalaśīlā śivaḥ | paśya | 3.22*  
*śarveṇa nīlaśikhaṇḍena bhavena marutāṃ pitā |*  
*virūpākṣeṇa babhrunā vācam vadiṣyato hataḥ || 3.23*

**babhruḥ** kvacid avayave piṅgalavarṇaḥ | **babhrukarnaḥ** piṅgala-  
 varṇakarnaḥ | **nīlāgalaśīlā śiva** ity atra nīlagrīvaś ca yaḥ śiva iti pāṭho 77  
 yuktaḥ | **piteti** tr̥tīyārthe prathamā pitrety arthaḥ | atha **vācam vadiṣyataḥ pitā**  
 dehimātrasya janako brahmā yeneśvareṇa **hataś** taṃ tvam **paśyety** anvayaḥ | 79

*śarva nīlaśikhaṇḍa vīra karmaṇīkarmaṇi |*  
*imām asya prāśaṃ jahi yenedaṃ vibhajāmahe || 3.24*

he **vīra karmaṇīkarmaṇi** vihitaniṣiddharūpe | **imām asya** janasya **prāśaṃ** |  
 pṛcchatīti prāḥ | tāṃ prāśaṃ pṛcchikāṃ vācam **jahi** | vedavihitaniṣiddhakarma- 81  
 viṣayaṃ saṃśayaṃ nirākurv ity arthaḥ | **yena** karmaṇā | **idaṃ** jagat | **vibhajā-**  
**mahe** karmabhūmibhogabhūmirūpeṇa vibhaktaṃ kurmahe | 83

*namo bhavāya namaḥ śarvāya namaḥ kumārāya śatrave |*  
*namo nīlaśikhaṇḍāya namaḥ sabhāprapādye || 3.25*  
*yasya harī aśvatarau gardabhāv abhitaḥsarau |*  
*tasmai nīlaśikhaṇḍāya namaḥ sabhāprapādye || 3.26*  
*namaḥ sabhāprapādye ||*

**kumārāya** kālānabhibhūtāya skandarūpāya vā | **śatrave** saṃhartre | **sabhā-**  
**prapādye** sabhāṃ prapadyate tacchīlaḥ sabhāprapādye tasmai sabhyāyety 85  
 arthaḥ | **aśvatarau** | īśadūnam aśvatvaṃ yayos tāv aśvatarau gardabhād  
 aśvāyāṃ jātau | dvisarau | abhitaḥ sarata iti **abhitaḥsarau gardabhau** vartete | 87  
 yathā puruṣottamakṣetrasya nīlamādhavo 'dhiṣṭhātā, evaṃ kedārakṣetrasya nīlarudraḥ |  
 dviruktiḥ samāptyarthā | 89

nārāyaṇena racitā śrutimātropajīvinā |  
 aspaṣṭapadavākyānāṃ nīlarudrasya dīpikā || 91

76 **babhrukarnaḥ**] OD<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>; babhruḥ karnaḥ KQ; om. HEd<sub>1</sub> 76–77 piṅgalavarṇakarnaḥ]  
 Ed<sub>2</sub>; piṅgalavarṇaḥ karnaḥ KOQ; aṃtaḥpiṅgalavarṇavarṇaḥ HD<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>; atah piṅgalavarṇa-  
 karnaḥ Ed<sub>1</sub> 77 **nīlāgalaśīlā śiva**] KOQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>(śīva); nīlāgalasyalāśyālā śiva H; nīlāgalaśīlāḥ  
 śiva Ed<sub>2</sub>; nīlā gale mālā yasya saḥ, śiva; Ed<sub>1</sub>; cf. mūla: nīl{ā}galamālā(+ḥ) śivaḥ H;  
 nīlāgalamālāḥ śivaḥ D 79 dehimātrasya] ΣEd<sub>2</sub>; dehamātrasya Ed<sub>1</sub> 80 he] KOQDI<sub>1</sub>  
 DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>; hi H 80 **karmaṇīkarmaṇi**] HD<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>; karmaṇi KOQ 80 vihitaniṣiddharūpe]  
 ΣEd<sub>2</sub>; vihitapraṭiṣiddharūpe Ed<sub>1</sub> 81 pṛcchikāṃ] Ed<sub>1</sub>; prachikāṃ HKQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>  
 81–82 vedavihitaniṣiddhakarmaviṣayaṃ] ΣEd<sub>2</sub>; vedavihitapraṭiṣiddhakarmaviṣayaṃ Ed<sub>1</sub>  
 83 vibhaktaṃ] HD<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>; °āvibhaktaṃ KOQ 84 skandarūpāya vā] KOQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>;  
 om. HEd<sub>1</sub> 87 dvisarau] HKQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>1</sub>; abhitaḥsarau OEd<sub>2</sub> 87 abhitaḥ sarata iti]  
 KOQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>; om. H 88 yathā puruṣottamakṣetrasya nīlamādhavo 'dhiṣṭhātā, evaṃ  
 kedārakṣetrasya nīlarudraḥ] KOQDI<sub>1</sub>DI<sub>2</sub>Ed<sub>2</sub>; om. HEd<sub>1</sub>

## Translation

## ELUCIDATION OF THE NĪLARUDROPANIṢAD

Homage to Gaṇeśa! [There are] three sections in the *Nīlarudropaniṣad*, the sixteenth [of the Upaniṣads of the Atharvaveda]. It praises that god [viz., Nīlarudra] with [a hymn] that has the form of Revelation (*śruti*, i.e., mantra): “I saw...” and so forth.

1.1. Having spoken of yoga without sense-contact (*asparśayoga*),<sup>67</sup> [this Upaniṣad] praises Nīlarudra, instigator of the tradition of that [yoga], the supreme teacher, the giver of the powers (*siddhi*) of yoga. [Beginning from] the word “I saw” (*apaśyam*): “*diviṭaḥ*” = ‘from the sky’, “*pṛthivīm*” = ‘to earth’, “*avaḥ*” = ‘downwards’, “I saw” you “descending” — these are the words of the seer of the mantra. “*asyantam*” is the verb *as* in the sense of ‘striking’ = striking the wicked. By this, it refers to [God’s] practice of descending [into worldly form]. Having come about as the son of Brahman, because of Brahman’s anger when Sanaka and the other [mind-born sons of Brahman] were not performing the Emission [of the universe], this youth (Kumāra) howled (*ruroda*). Comforting [him], he [i.e., Brahman] gave [the youth] the name Rudra. After that, he gave him eleven places, eleven names, and eleven wives. Having seen that the Rudras emitted from him were innumerable, out of fear he consigned him to darkness. He performed Tapas on the earth. Thus runs a legend.<sup>68</sup> *Śikhaṇḍinam*: the *Viśva* says (ViPra dāntavarga 28): ‘*śikhaṇḍa* means “(peacock-)feather” or “tuft of hair [left after tonsure]”’. This [god] has one or the other of those; hence, [*śikhaṇḍinam* =] ‘him [who is] crested’.

1.2. From the presence “of the sky” (*diviṭaḥ*),<sup>69</sup> “the fierce one” (*ugraḥ*) = ‘Rudra’ “*avāruṣat*” = ‘descended’,<sup>70</sup> “*pratyasṭhāt*” = ‘established [himself]’ “upon the earth” (*bhūmyām adhi*). According to [the rule] [The term *karmapravacanīya* (cf. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.83) denotes the particle] *adhi* when it means “master” (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.4.97), *ādhi* is a *karmapravacanīya* [i.e., a preverb governing a noun, used without a verb]. The locative case [used with it] expresses ‘higher than

<sup>67</sup>Nārāyaṇa alludes here to the yoga mentioned in v. 39 of the *Advaitaprakaraṇa* of the *Gauḍapādakārikā* (GK), the four chapters of which (together with the *Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad*) are included as the four Upaniṣads immediately preceding the *Nīlarudra* in the collection. The relevant line (GK 3.39ab) is: *asparśayogo vai nāma durdarśaḥ sarvayogibhiḥ*.

<sup>68</sup>The short ‘*itihāsa*’ interpolated here recalls the Purāṇic account (e.g., LP 1.20.82–94; cf. 1.5.13–33) of the ascetical youths (*kumāras*) born from the thought of Brahman as he contemplated the void before creation. The explicit identification here of Nīlarudra with Kumāra is also seen in Nārāyaṇa’s reading *kumārāya śatrave* in 3.25b (instead of *kumārasatrave*), which he understands as two separate epithets of the deity.

<sup>69</sup>The tentatively proposed emended reading *diva ākāśāt* would be translated: “*diviṭaḥ*” = ‘from the sky’. The only attested reading, *diviṭaḥ sakāśāt* is inelegant, not least because, although it includes the form *diviṭaḥ* from the *mūla*, it must be construed in the gloss as a genitive while the gloss itself prescribes an ablative sense for the word in the stanza. In Devanāgarī initial *ā* might in some hands be confused with *sa* (or *sā*).

<sup>70</sup>The gloss *avatīrṇavān* could also be understood as meaning that he took earthly form as an avatar.

which' and 'master over which'. The meaning is: '[as] master of the earth'. [As regards] "*janāsaḥ*": the nominative case [follows the rules that] '[in the Veda (*chandās*)] the augment *-as* (*asuk*) is added after the nominative plural suffix (*jas*) after a stem ending in *-a*' (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 7.1.50) [and that the nominative form is used] 'also in the vocative sense' (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.3.[46–]47).

1.3. [Rudra] "*eti*" = 'comes', 'not striking down heroes' = "*a-vīrahā*" = 'kind'; or if [we read] *avīra-hā*, [it means that] he strikes down unmanly deeds (*avīrāṇi*) = sins. Or [it could be construed *etya vīrahā*]: "*etya*" = 'having come', he strikes down heroes (*vīrān*) = 'demons'. Those [remedies] in which [there is] "casting" (*āsa*) = 'throwing' (*kṣepa*) [of herbs] into water (*jala*) are *jalāsās* and *bheṣajīs*. He goes to those: this is the connection.<sup>71</sup> Herbs (*oṣadhi*) thrown into water have the capacity to destroy inauspiciousness, just because they become near to Rudra.<sup>72</sup> Or else it says: because he descended (*avatīrṇa*, i.e., as an avatar) to drink the poison that had arisen from the plants cast into the ocean at the time of the churning of the ocean. "He has utterly removed your ("*te*" = '*tava*') world's lack of security (*akṣema*)". By this is meant [Rudra's] agency in 'safeguarding' (*kṣema*) [what one possesses]. The obtaining of what has not been obtained is 'getting' (*yoga*). His (i.e., Rudra's) agency in that is also mentioned by the word *vātīkārah*.<sup>73</sup> *vāti* is 'acquisition'. *vātīkāra* means: he causes what is unobtained to be obtained. Let him "also" come ("*etu*" = '*āgacchatu*'), i.e., also him who brings about your new acquisitions. This means: Let him who causes us 'to get' and 'to keep' become near in the water of Abhiṣeka. On account of this trait of the mantra, its ritual application (*viniyoga*) is in an Abhiṣeka.

1.4. "*bhāma*" = 'anger'; "*manyu*" (rage) is the state prior to that. [Homage to these,] "and (*u*) also ("*uta*" = '*api*') to your arrow (*ta iṣave*)" = 'to that which has the form of a shaft'.

1.5. "*astave*" (to hurl) is the verb *as* in the sense of 'throwing'; the [dative infinitive] suffix *°tave* has the sense of [the accusative infinitive suffix] *°tum*: [hence,] *astum* means 'to throw'. To throw what? [To throw the] "*giriśantam*". [The second member of this compound contains the present participle belonging to the verb] *śyati* (he sharpens);<sup>74</sup> [hence,] *śyan*, [i.e.,] *giriśyan* = 'sharpening (*śyan*) of the mountain (*gireḥ*)'. It is a genitive compound expressing general-

<sup>71</sup>Nārāyaṇa reads *jalāsa-bheṣajīḥ* as an accusative plural feminine *dvandva* compound naming two types of remedy: *jalāsā*, made by putting herbs into water, and *bheṣajī*, a well-known word for remedy, taken here to be the same sort of preparation.

<sup>72</sup>That is, because Rudra is present in the waters of the Abhiṣeka rite (see below)?

<sup>73</sup>This refers to the ancient pair of ideals, *yoga-kṣema* (or *kṣema-yoga*), usually translated 'getting and keeping' or 'exertion and rest'. These glosses reflect differing understandings of the words. *yoga* is either 'yoking' — standing by synecdoche for such activities as plowing, military campaign (in a chariot), or trade (with a cart or wagon) — or, more abstractly, 'conjunction' in the sense of acquisition. *kṣema* means 'rest, ease' or 'security'. See OERTEL 1926: 226–227 for a discussion of the phrase's usage in the Vedic literature; cf. also OBERLIES 1998: 333–362, who sees this compound as crystallizing the entire Vedic cycle by which lineages were established.

<sup>74</sup>*Dhātupāṭha* 26.36 specifies that the verbal root *śo-* can be conjugated thus, in the fourth *gaṇa*.

ity of relation (*sambandha-sāmānya*). That “mountain-sharpening (*giriśantam*)”.<sup>75</sup> The omission of the syllable *ya* [from the expected form *giriśyantam*] is Vedic usage (cf. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.1.58). Or [it follows the rule] that ‘*kam* and *śam* take [the suffixes] *°ba*, *°bha*, *°yu*, *°ti*, *°tu*, *°ta*, and *°ya*’ (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.2.138; cf. *Siddhāntakaumudī* 1944). He has happiness; [he is] auspicious (*śamtaḥ*), [i.e.] ‘auspicious because of the mountain’ (*giritāḥ śamtaḥ*), happy, because of the arrow’s origin on the mountain. O “*giritra*” = ‘mountain-protector’. Make “that” (*tām*) [arrow] “benign” (*śivām*) = ‘auspicious’.

1.6. “We invite” (*acchā vadāmasi*) = ‘we speak clearly (*accha*)<sup>76</sup> = stainlessly’. The long vowel of the word *accha* follows the rule that [there is lengthening] ‘also of a particle’ (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 6.3.136). [The Vedic first person plural suffix] *°masi* ends in *i* (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 7.1.46), and the word “*it*” is a particle without meaning. “*ayakṣmam*” = ‘disease-free’; “*sumanāḥ*” = ‘having good thoughts’. “*Asat*” = ‘(he) should be’: ‘the subjunctive is used with the optative meaning’ (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.4.7). [The verb form ends with] the personal ending *tip* (i.e., *°ti*); ‘the short *i* is omitted in personal endings of the active voice [of the subjunctive]’ (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.4.97); the insertion of the vowel *a* before the suffix is explained by the rule ‘[the ending] of the subjunctive form is augmented with *°a°* or *°ā°*’ (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.4.94).

1.7. “*śaravyā*” = ‘the bowstring that puts the arrow together [with its target?]’. According to the *Viśva* (ViPra rāntavarga 8), ‘*śara* means “the top of the cream” and “arrow”’. [The *śaravyā*] merits an arrow (*śara*): [hence, the insertion of the taddhita affix] *°ya* (*yat*) [with this meaning] (cf. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.1.63–65). ‘And *śara* [takes the suffix] *°ava* [in place of *°a*]’ according to [the principle of] substitution by *ava*.<sup>77</sup> Or else [*śaravyā*] is derived from a transformation of the word *śaru*. ‘*śaru* means “weapon” and “anger”’.<sup>78</sup> [The taddhita affix] *yat* is introduced after [nominal stems ending in] the phoneme-class *u* and [the class of nominal stems] beginning with *go* [to mean ‘suitable for that’ (*tasmai hitam*, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.1.5)]’ (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.1.2). [The last pāda says:] “Treat [us] kindly” (*mṛḍa*) = ‘gladden [us]’ (*modaya*) “for living” (*jīvase*) = ‘to live’ (*jīvitum*). Or else: “With that” (*tayā*) form, O “Merciful One” (*mṛḍa*), “*jīvase*” = ‘you make us (“*naḥ*” = ‘*asmān*’) live’ (*jīvayasi*).

1.8. “*śamtamayā*” = ‘by that [form] which is exceedingly auspicious, most auspicious’. “*abhicākaśat*”: From the intensive stem of the verb *kaś*, a subjunctive (*let*)<sup>79</sup> form [is made, with] the personal ending *tip* augmented with *aṭ* [hence:

<sup>75</sup>It is not clear how Nārāyaṇa construes this compound in the stanza; if it is meant to describe the arrow, the gender is wrong.

<sup>76</sup>Nārāyaṇa treats *accha* as a particle, even though he gives it the meaning of the homonymous adjective, i.e., ‘not darkened’. Hence, I have translated it (and its gloss) adverbially.

<sup>77</sup>I have not been able to identify the source of this rule. It is invoked here, in conjunction with the affixing of *yat*, to produce the form *śaravyā* from *śara*; a alternative derivation from *śaru* is also considered.

<sup>78</sup>This appears to be a quotation, but it has not been traced.

<sup>79</sup>**HD**<sub>1</sub>**DI**<sub>2</sub> read here *loṭ* ‘imperative’. This would be consonant with reading *cākaśīhi* (**M**<sup>ac</sup> TS 4.5.1.1.c) or indeed the emended form *cākaśa*. However, the *mūla* written marginally around the

*cākaś-a-t*]. It expresses the prayer ‘let it shine forth fully’.

1.9. “*babhru*” = ‘brown’. [The separate words here are:] “*vā*”, “*eṣām*”, “*ha*”, “*īde*” = ‘for praise’; “*īmahe*” = ‘we desire’.<sup>80</sup>

2.10. The Ābhīras (herdsmen) among the partisans of Viṣṇu = “*gopā*” = ‘cowherds’, “*adr̥śan*” = ‘(they) saw’, “*udahāryaḥ*” = ‘water-bearing women’, “*viśvā*” = ‘all’ (*viśvāni*) “beings” (*bhūtāni*) saw. The meaning of this is: Even the lowliest have seen “you, who are invisible” (*adr̥śyaṃ tvām*) even to yogis, when you make yourself manifest out of grace, shining forth like the sun.<sup>81</sup>

2.11. “To the impetuous one” (*vājine*) = ‘to him who possesses food’ or ‘to him who is like an arrow’. [His] “warriors” (*satvānaḥ*) = ‘hosts’ sit down (*sīdanti*).<sup>82</sup>

2.12. Having made “acts of homage” (*namāṃsi*) = ‘expressions of homage’ [to your weapon] which is ‘not strung’ = “unstrung” (*anātatāya*) [but] “bold” (*dhr̥ṣṇave*) = ‘willful’, [and] “to your arms” (*bāhubhyām*). The meaning is: I made homage to [your] “bow” (*dhanvane*).

2.13. “Unfasten the string of the bow of both kings” (*ubhayor ... rājñoh*) = ‘those who have become foe and counterfoe [to each other]’, [i.e.] unstretch [the string]. When kings clash, the people suffer. Therefore, quell that [dispute]: this is the sentiment. O “Lord” (*bhagavaḥ*)! “Lay those aside” (*tāḥ parāvapa*) = ‘release them in another direction’, “the arrows” (*iṣavaḥ*) = ‘the shafts’ “which are in your hand” (*yās te haste*). May you too not get angry at the people: this is the sentiment. Protect the world by means of [your] Indra-form: this is what he prays for.

2.14. “Having unstrung” (*avatatya*) means ‘having strung up [the bow]’ (!). “O Thousand-Eyed” (*sahasrākṣa*) = ‘O [you] who have the form of Indra’! This is a vocative address (*saṃbodhana*) of him who has a hundred arrow-holders = quivers in the form of sacrifices. “Having cut” (*niśtrya*) = ‘having sharp-

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*Dīpikā* in H has *cākaśat*, and all manuscripts of the *Dīpikā* cite the word under discussion in this form.

<sup>80</sup>Nārāyaṇa’s *padapāṭha* shows that he has misunderstood the last pāda: only the word *eṣām* is recognized. The verb is *ava ... īmahe* ‘we appease’; *heḍas* ‘wrath’ is the object.

<sup>81</sup>The words *adr̥śyaṃ tvām* (“you who are invisible”) are cited from pāda a, showing that Nārāyaṇa had before him (or perhaps introduced) the corrupt form *adr̥śyaṃ* (discussed in the annotations to the text of the stanza). The Bibliotheca Indica edition (Ed<sub>1</sub>, pp. 275–276) prints the correct form *adr̥śan* in pāda a, perhaps under the impression that one of the two occurrences of the word *adr̥śan* in the commentary indicated that this was Nārāyaṇa’s reading of the first word of the stanza. However, the context shows that the first *adr̥śan* in the commentary goes with the subject *gopāḥ* and is cited from pāda b, while the second is supplied for the other plural subjects *udahāryaḥ* and *viśvā bhūtāni*, whereas the wording of the first pāda is elucidated in the last sentence, which gives the purport of the stanza as a whole: that Rudra, who remains imperceptible even to those with the supernatural *siddhis* obtained from the practice of yoga, manifests himself out of grace to his devotees, however humble they may be. This is a typical statement of the superiority of bhakti to the path of asceticism.

<sup>82</sup>The word *satvānaḥ* is explained here by making it the subject of the ostensibly cognate verb *sīdanti*, from the verbal root *sad*.

ened' the "mukhā" = 'tips' (*mukhāni*), [being] "benign" (*śivaḥ*) = 'taking an auspicious form', "benevolent" (*śambhuḥ*) = 'being the cause of happiness', "become present toward us" (*no . . . ābhava*) = 'support us' or 'make us prosper'.

2.15. "Let his arrow-holder" (*bāṇavān*) = 'quiver' "be arrowless" (*viśalyo 'stu*) = 'let it become devoid of arrows' because, when the enemies have been killed, it has no use. "[Your arrows] have disappeared" (*aneśan*) = 'they have ceased to be seen'. According to a Vārttika,<sup>83</sup> [The root vowel] is substituted by *e* [also] in tenses other than the reduplicated perfect forms of the verbs *naś* and *man'*. 'In the case of the *a*-aorist of verbs of the class beginning with *puṣ*,<sup>84</sup> [the root vowel becomes] *e* with the aorist endings'.<sup>85</sup> "Niṣaṅgatiḥ" = 'quiver' (*niṣaṅgaḥ*).

2.16. "On every side" (*viśvataḥ*) = 'on all sides' "let [your missile] avoid us" = 'let [it] enclose and protect us'. "O" (*are*) signifies the vocative.<sup>86</sup> "Then" (*atho*) = 'afterward, after protecting (us)', "put" (*nidhehi*) = 'place' "that missile" (*taṃ hetim*) = 'arrow' "in this" (*asmin*) quiver, which is "your quiver" (*taveṣudhiḥ*).

2.17. O "Most Bountiful One" (*mīdhustaṃ*), which means: 'bountiful-est', 'who rains down most [blessings]!' With diseaselessness, with armor, [i.e.] "with that" (*tayā*) missile, "embrace us" (*paribhuja*) = 'protect us round about'.

2.18–20. [Whose] "seat is made" (*sadas kṛtam*) = [whose] 'home is made'. "The arrows" "of the sorcerers" = 'of the demons' and "of the trees" (*vanaspatīnām*) are 'serpents' (*sarpāḥ*), for they bite people. "In holes in the ground" (*avaṭeṣu*) = 'in hollows'.

3.21. [The sage] praises the Lord of Kedāra in the form of a buffalo (*Mahiṣa*). "He who" (*yaḥ*) = 'Śiva who' appears (?) with affection as "the Blue-Necked" before "his people" (*svajanān*) = 'devotees', and as "Hari" = 'the Green-Colored' before "his people" (*svajanān*) = 'devotees'. For *Mahiṣa* takes such a form. Or else, "Nīlagrīva" is Rudra and "Hari" is Viṣṇu. In this way the oneness in form of Hari and Hara is expressed. O "plant Arundhati" = 'O [plant] devoid of obstruction'. "Quickly" (*āśu*) = 'speedily' "devour" (*jambhaya*) = 'empower with [your] own power' that "speckled-tailed" (*kalmāṣapuccham*) = 'black-and-white-tailed' [buffalo], on account of the capacity of plants to give strength to cattle. According to the *Viśva* (ViPra śāntavarga 19): '*kalmāṣaḥ* means "demonic" [or] "black"; *kalmāṣaḥ* means "black and white"'.<sup>87</sup> Because the Lord of Kedāra has the form of a buffalo, he comes to have a tail.

3.22–23. "Brown" (*babhruḥ*) = 'having the color reddish-brown on some part of the body'. "Brown-eared" (*babhrukarnaḥ*) = 'having reddish-brown-colored ears'. The proper reading of the words "*nīlāgalaśīlā śivaḥ*" in this stanza is: 'And Nīlagrīva, who is Śiva' (*nīlagrīvaś ca yaḥ śivaḥ*).<sup>88</sup> The form "*pitā*" is a nominative

<sup>83</sup>Not traced.

<sup>84</sup>See *Dhātupāṭha* 4.73–137; *naś* is listed at 4.85: *naśā ādarśane*.

<sup>85</sup>I have not been able to identify the source or sources of these rules.

<sup>86</sup>Nārāyaṇa does not recognize here the vedic adverb *ārē* 'afar, to a distant place'.

<sup>87</sup>RATNA GOPĀLA BHATTA (1911: 172) reads the neuter form *kalmāṣam* here, which makes better sense.

<sup>88</sup>Nārāyaṇa proposes here to emend the text, which he does not find satisfactory (*yukta*) as it

used in the sense of an instrumental; the meaning is ‘by the father’ (*pitṛā*). The construction is: Now, you who are “struck down” (*hataḥ*) by the Lord (who is) “the father of him who will raise his voice” = ‘Brahman’, the begetter of the soul alone, “look” at him [i.e., the Lord].<sup>89</sup>

3.24. O “hero in deed upon deed”, whether [that deed be] ordained or forbidden! [Strike down] “this question (*prāśam*) of this” man; “*prāś*” means ‘he asks’. “Strike down” (*jahi*) that “question” = ‘words of query’. That means: Remove doubt about what acts are ordained and what acts are forbidden by the Veda. “By means of which” act “we have a share in” (*vibhajāmahe*) “this” (*idam*) world — [that is], we create our share [in the world] in the form of realms of action and realms of enjoying [the fruits of that action].

3.25–26. “To Kumāra (the Youth)”, = ‘to him who is not overcome by time’, or ‘to Skanda’; “to Śatru (the Foe)”, who contracts [the universe at the end of the eon]. “To him who goes to the council-hall”: the council-goer goes to the council, having the habit of doing so; this means ‘to him who belongs to the council’. “Two mules”: mules, which are slightly deficient in horse-nature, are begotten by a donkey on a mare. “Running on either side”: “the (two) donkeys” are moving on either side, meaning, they run on two sides [of the council-goer]. Just as the Nīlamādhava (Blue Viṣṇu) presides over Puruṣottama-Kṣetra (‘Domain of the Highest of Men’ = Puri in Orissa), so Nīlarudra (Blue Rudra) presides over Kedāra-Kṣetra (the Kedāra domain in the Himālaya). The repetition [of the last pāda] signifies completion.

[This] *Dīpikā* (‘elucidation’) of unclear words and sentences in the *Nīlarudra* was composed by Nārāyaṇa, who lives on the Veda alone.

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stands.

<sup>89</sup>This convoluted paraphrase has the defect of requiring the form *pitā* to be construed simultaneously as an instrumental and as a nominative. The subject of the imperative verb *paśya* is identified with the referent of the corrupt form *hataḥ*, which we have emended to *hatam* (above, p. 117).

## Abbreviations and Editions of Sanskrit Works

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| AgP     | <i>Agnipurāṇa</i> ; MITRA 1870–79.  |
| AiGr    | WACKERNAGEL & DEBRUNNER 1957.   |
| ĀpMP    | <i>Āpastambīyamantrapāṭha</i> ; SRĪNIVĀSĀCHĀRYA 1902.   |
| Aṣṭ     | <i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i> ; KATRE 1987.   |
| AVParīś | <i>Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa</i> ; BOLLING & NEGELEIN 1909–10.   |
| DhāPā   | <i>Dhātupāṭha</i> ; KATRE 1987.   |
| GK      | <i>Gaudapāḍakārikā</i> ; ĀPAṬE 1921.  |
| KauŚS   | <i>Kauśikasūtra</i> ; BLOOMFIELD 1890.  |
| KS      | <i>Kaṭhasaṃhitā</i> ; VON SCHROEDER 1900–10.  |
| LP      | <i>Līṅgapurāṇa</i> ; GAṄGĀVIṢṆU 1924.   |
| MBh     | <i>Mahābhārata</i> ; SUKTHANKAR, ET AL. 1927–59.  |
| MNU     | <i>Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad</i> ; VARENNE 1960; cf. TĀ 10.   |
| MS      | <i>Maitrāyaṇīsaṃhitā</i> ; VON SCHROEDER 1881–86.   |
| NU      | <i>Nīlarudropaniṣad</i> ; editions:<br>Bibliotheca Indica ( <b>Ed</b> <sub>1</sub> ): RĀMAMAYA TARKARATNA 1872: 272–280;<br>JIBANANDA VIDYASAGARA 1891: 206–213;<br>Ānandāśrama ( <b>Ed</b> <sub>2</sub> ): ĀPAṬE 1895: 275–279;<br>Ādyar Library: KUNHAN RAJA 1933: 296–302. |
| PS      | <i>Paippalādasamhitā</i> ; editions cited:<br>PS 1–15: BHATTACHARYA 1997; PS 6–7: GRIFFITHS 2004;<br>PS 13–14: LOPEZ 2000; PS 19–20: provisional edition of Arlo Griffiths.   |
| RV      | <i>R̥gvedasamhitā</i> ; AUFRECHT 1877.  |
| RVKh    | <i>R̥gvedakhilāni</i> ; SCHEFTELOWITZ 1906.   |
| ŚS      | <i>Śaunakasamhitā</i> ; ROTH & WHITNEY 1924.  |
| ŚvU     | <i>Śvetāśvataropaniṣad</i> ; OBERLIES 1996.   |
| TaPra   | <i>Tattvapraṅkāśadīpikā</i> ; DVIVEDĪ 1988: 1–114.  |
| TĀ      | <i>Taittirīyāranyaka</i> ; with Sāyaṇa's cty.: PHAḌAKE 1897–98; with Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra's cty.: MAHADEVA SASTRI & RANGACARYA 1985.   |
| TS      | <i>Taittirīyasaṃhitā</i> ; WEBER 1871–72.   |
| VāP     | <i>Vāyupurāṇa</i> ; ĀPAṬE 1905.   |
| ViPra   | <i>Viśvaprakāśa</i> ; UTVALA VEṅKAṬARAṄGĀCĀRYULU 1931;<br>RATNA GOPĀLA BHATTA 1911.   |
| VS      | <i>Vājasaneyisaṃhitā</i> (Mādhyam̐dina); WEBER 1852.  |

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# The Ancillary Literature of the Paippalāda School

## A Preliminary Survey with an Edition of the *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad*\*

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 Brāhmaṇa (the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa* [GB]), two Sūtras (the *Kauśikasūtra* [KauśS], the *Vaitānasūtra* [VaitS], with its supplement of Atharvan *Prāyaścittas* [AVPrāy]), two *Prātiśākhya*s, 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

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\*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>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>2</sup>See BAHULKAR (forthc.).

<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 *Vikṛtipāṭha* literature, DESHPANDE 1997 and 2002 respectively.

<sup>4</sup>Concerning the two exceptions, viz. the two *Paddhatis* published by Umākānta PAṆḌĀ 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 *Brāhmaṇa* 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-Saṃhitā 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 (§5), after I have presented an edition of a relevant text, the *Carāṇavyūhopaniṣad* (§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

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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 acronyms 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 (§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<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub> (§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. Upaniṣads (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>5</sup>See Bh. PANDA 2003: 346f. for a warmly nationalistic account.

<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>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 Nirmaḷā.

*B. Karmaṇāṅgikā (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.

1. Dh/903. Photographs of a seemingly old, worn, and incomplete ms. covering only the third section (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 Veṅudhara Paṇḍā 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 Upādhyāya of the village Kurumṇaini. 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 Upādhyāya of the village Nirmaḷā.

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<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 *śrīdharaviracitāyāṃ vivāhādīkarmaṇāṅgikāyāṃ cyutavratipunarupanayanavidhiḥ* (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 *pūrvābhāṣaḥ* to PAṆḌĀ [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 PAṆḌĀ's *Paddhati* published in 2000. The text seems to consist of (at least) three distinct parts, that are referred to by the Paippalādins as *Vratapustaka*, *Vivāhapustaka* and *Durbalakṛtya[pustaka]* respectively.<sup>9</sup>

1. Go. Photographs of a ms. of the *Vratapustaka* kept by Raghunātha Miśra of the village Goruāḷa.
2. Gu<sub>1</sub>. Photographs of a ms. of the *Vivāhapustaka* kept by Kṛṣṇacandra Upādhyāya of the village Guhiāpāḷa.
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 devatāṅka nāma* [p. 208], *pāṇipādārghyavidhi* [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 Venūdhara and the late Vidyādhara Paṇḍā, village Guhiāpāḷa.
4. Ku<sub>1</sub>. A fine ms. of the *Vratapustaka*, nicely written and in good condition (dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> *anika* of a king Rāmacandradeva), received from the

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

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

*prabhāte vāñchitaṃ puṣpaṃ, madhyāhne phalaḥvāñchitaṃ |*  
*sāyāhne devanāmam tu, rātrau tu nadīnāmakaṃ |*  
*praśnākṣaraṃ dvīgunitaṃ mātṛā caturguṇaṃ bhavet |*  
*tithivārasamāyukta ekikṛtyaṃ ca sthāpitaṃ |*  
*muninā kurute bhāgaṃ, śeṣaṃ kāryye niyojayet*  
*candrāgnau kaṣṭakāryyaṃ siddhiyugmaś ca vedake*  
*vāṇarasau śighrakāryyaṃ śunye ca kāryyanāśanaṃ*

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.

late Harihara Upādhyāya, village Kurumçaini. Attributions to *Karmasamuccaya* e.g. ff. 35r, 65v, 76v, 79r, 129r. Begins with *adhivāse śālāropanavidhi*, 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 Kukurājūjhā.
7. Publication *Paippalādavivāhādisaṃskārapaddhati* (PAṆḌĀ 2000).

#### D. *Āṅgirasakalpa* (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 Asimiḷā,<sup>11</sup> which served as the basis of the last item in this list.
2. Ku<sub>1</sub>. An old ms. received from the late Harihara Upādhyāya, village Kurumçaini, with very fine writing and illustrations of yantras at the back. Concerned with rituals involving Nṛsimha.
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 Nirmaḷā.
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>11</sup>The connection of this village with a transmission of the *Āṅgirasakalpa* 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>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<sub>1</sub>). 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 Paṇḍā of the village Saṅkhāmari, now kept by his son Mr̥tyuñjaya Paṇḍā. 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 *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati* (PAṆḌĀ [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 *Durbalakṛtyapaddhati* starts on f. 90r. Although it seems to be related to it in terms of genre, I have found no attribution to the *Kar-masamuccaya*.
2. Photographs of a *Grahaśānti* ms. from the collection of the late Vaidyanātha Paṇḍā of the village Saṅkhāmari, now kept by his son Mr̥tyuñjaya Paṇḍā.
3. Photographs of a ms. from the collection of (late) Vidyādhara Paṇḍā and his brother Veṇudhara Paṇḍā of the village Guhiāpāla, containing: *Abhicārikatantra*, *Gāyatrīkāvaca*, *Pratyāṅgirāmantra*, *Mr̥ttikaśaṅkaravidhi* (°*kāsaṅkara*°?), *Skandapurāṇe Śītalāstotra*, *Aśvatthapradakṣiṇavidhi*, *Agnisva-rūpakathana*, *Agnijvālākṣaṇa*, (*Ugra*)*tārāstotra*, *Svapnādhyāya*.
4. Publication *Atharvavedīya Nityakarmapaddhati* (in Oriya) compiled by Lalita Mohana BHATṬAŚARMĀ (Bhubanesvar, Khaṇḍagiri Pres 1993). Contents: *Sandhyāvidhi*, *Nūtana yajñopavīta dhāraṇa mantra*, *Bhojanavidhi*, *Tarpanavidhi*, *Vaiśvadevavidhi*, *Samkṣipta pañcopacāra pūjāvidhi*, *Śrī Vakratuṇḍa pūjāvidhi*, *Śrī Śiva pūjāmantra*, *Śrī Sūryya pūjāmantra*, *Śrī Lakṣmī pūjāmantra*, *Śrī Nṛsiṃha pūjāmantra*, *Śrī Gopāla pūjāmantra*, *Śrī Vanadurgā pūjāmantra*, *Śrī Lakṣmīnārayaṇa pūjāmantra*, *Ekoddiṣṭaśrāddhavidhi*, *Puṇyastotraṃ vā Somopaniṣad*, *Dīpadāna śrāddhavidhi*, *Aparapakṣa śrāddhavidhi*.

5. Publication *Ātharvaṇīya Pūjā Paddhati* (in Oriya) compiled by Veṇudhara PAṆḌĀ (Kendujhara, Manamohinī Priṇṭiṃ Pres 2004). Contents: *Ātharvaṇīya sandhyā prayoga, Madhyāhna sandhyāyām, Gāyatrī śāpoddhāra, Oṃ śrī śrī Satyanārāyaṇa pūjā, Arghya saṃskāra, Ghaṭa pūjā, Homa vidhi, Pūjā prakaraṇam, Āsana pramāṇa, Āsana śuddhi, Sāmānyarghya vidhi, Saṃkalpa vidhi, Śrī śrī Viśvakarmā pūjā, Rādhāṅka pūjā, Paītā mantra, Yajñopavīta pramāṇa, Sūryyaṅku prārthanā, Pañcāmṛta śodhana vidhi, Mitādi pūjā, Aṣṭalokapāla maṇḍale pūjajet, Brahmā maṇḍale, Pañcagavyaśodhana vidhi.*
6. A booklet, probably similar in contents to the preceding items, seems to have been published by Dāmodara PAṆḌĀ, of the former Pāṭhaśālā in Baiśiṅgā (WITZEL & GRIFFITHS 2002: 176), but I have not seen it yet.

### §3. Detailed Catalog of Upaniṣad 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 unknown 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 Guhiāpāḷa.  
 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 *śucipatra* 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: *khirodrakāṇḍa mantrakāṇḍa pṛthivīdohana*, 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: *je vedaśāstra samāpto  
 yam || || bhimasyāpi raṇe bhaṅgo mūner api matibhramam ya-  
 di suddham asuddham vā mama doṣaḥ na vidyateḥ || bhagnapr-  
 ṣṭhakatīgriṇa tulādrṣṭir adhomukham duḥkhena likṣitam grantha pu-  
 trapautravat pratipālayetaḥ || yathā ādrṣamṣ tathā lekhanamḥ le-  
 khako nāsti doṣaḥ || śakābdāḥ 1855 sna 1340 sāla kakadāmāsa va-  
 saṃmate di 27 ne śanivāra dina 6 cha ghaḍi samāyare yekāśata ..  
 viṃsam paṇiśata lekhā samāptamḥ || tailād rakṣam jalād rakṣamḥ  
 drakṣa māṃ ślaṣṇabandhanamḥ pāṃkṣūṃbhyo parahastena jēvam  
 vadanti pustakamḥ || kāsyapagotraśrīyadunāthadevaśarmaṇam idam  
 vedapustakapaṇiśat likhitam || (ornament) || || he sujñam janamāne  
 suna e paṇiśata lekhā helā puṇa || mo vaṃyasa 60 sāthīye jāna || mātrā-  
 visargajñāna nāhim puṇa || āji re kṛṣṇa saptami jāna || tahim re ha-  
 rijanma puṇa || nakṣatra asmīni aṭāi || rocahaṇi nakṣatra pāi nā. ||  
 pāñjire jāhā ukta thilā || āmbhamāne tāhā kaḥ bhalā || sādhumāne mo  
 doṣa na dhariba || mu aṭe niśce murkhajiba || murkhakuḷare yanma  
 mora || vidyā abhyāsa nāhi mora || je mate kalāim lekhanī || dosa  
 na dharibe sujñā jana || e tarapa baharāgorā || siṃhabhuim aṭe jīlā ||*

*maraganepaścisilā ho guhīyāpāla grāmare vāsa thāim || nāma mohara yadunātha || dayā karibe jagannātha || pitā mohara dā-dara || rakṣā karantu cakradhara || hasti caḷati pādena jihvāṭa ·· paṇḍitāḥ || (ornament) || rakṣā karibe {adhama} jagannātha mahāprabhu adhama śrīyadunātha paṇḍāṅku ghara sāḥ guhīyāpāla grāmyāvasthita || || śrī śubham astu sarvātraḥ || || (ornament) || śakābdā 1855 | 1340 | śrāvāṇa 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[n̄]kaḍāmāsa*), 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 Śrāvāṇa. 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  | Praśnopaniṣad  |
| 12v1–14v1 | Garbhopaniṣad  |
| 14v2–16v4 | Prāṇāgnihotropaniṣad                                       |
| 16v4–18r3 | Mahopaniṣad  |
| 18r3–20v1 | Brahmopaniṣad  |
| 20v1–21r4 | Brahmavidyopaniṣad   |
| 21r4–22v1 | Kṣurikopaniṣad   |
| 22v2–23v2 | Cūlikopaniṣad  |
| 23v2–24v3 | Anucūlikopaniṣad   |
| 24v3–29r2 | Atharvaśiropaniṣad   |
| 29r3–30r3 | Atharvaśikhopaniṣad  |
| 30r4–31r5 | Amṛtabindūpaniṣad  |
| 31r5–33v1 | Amṛtanādotpaniṣad  |
| 33v2–34r2 | Yogaśikhopaniṣad   |
| 34r2–34v5 | Nārāyaṇopaniṣad  |
| 34v5–35r4 | Śrutipratyagānandopaniṣad                                  |
| 35r5–36r2 | Ātharvaṇopaniṣad   |
| 36r2–46v3 | Ātharvaṇa Tāpanīya (in 5 upaniṣads) = Nṛṣimhapūrvatāpanīya |
| 46v4–57r3 | Nṛṣimhasyottaratāpanīya (in 9 khaṇḍas)                     |
| 57r3–59r4 | Viśvarūpākṣopaniṣad  |
| 59r4–60r4 | Gāyatriyupaniṣad   |
| 60r4–63v3 | Gāyatrīhṛdaya  |
| 63v3–64v5 | Haṃsopaniṣad (in two khaṇḍas?) <sup>14</sup>               |
| 64v5–66r3 | Paramahaṃsopaniṣad   |
| 66r3–67v1 | Āruṇyopaniṣad  |
| 67v1–68r5 | Kālāgnirudropaniṣad  |

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

<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.

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 68r5–68v5   | Mantrāḥ (= Vibhūtigrahaṇamantrāḥ of Ku <sub>1</sub> ?)                |
| 69r1–74r4   | Śrīrāmacandrasya Pūrvatāpanīya (in 5 upaniṣads)                       |
| 74r5–77v3   | Ātharvaṇarahasye Śrīrāmacandrasyottaratāpanī                          |
| 77v3–79v3   | Ātharvaṇe Śrīrāmacandropaniṣad  |
| 79v3–83r3   | Śrīkr̥ṣṇapūrvatāpanīya (in 5 sections)                                |
| 83r3–84r2   | Gāruḍopaniṣad   |
| 84r2–85r5   | Saubhāgyakāṇḍe Kālikopaniṣad  |
| 85v1–86v4   | Somotpattyupaniṣad <sup>15</sup>                                      |
| 86v4–87r4   | Piṇḍopaniṣad  |
| 87r4–88r1   | Ātmopaniṣad <sup>16</sup>   |
| 88r1–88v4   | Māṇḍukyopaniṣad   |
| 88v5–91r3   | Śrīkr̥ṣṇasya pūrvatāpanīye Kaivalyopaniṣad (?) <sup>17</sup>          |
| 91r4–98v4   | Kaivalyopaniṣad   |
| 98v4–116r4  | Atharvaṇi Puruṣasubodhinī / Pūrvatāpanī (in 6 prapāṭhakas)            |
| 116r4–126r5 | Atharvaṇi Puruṣasubodhinīyā Uttaraprapāṭhaka (in 6 prapāṭhakas)       |
| 126v1–131v5 | Nṛsimhatāpanīyoktabṛhan-Mahopaniṣad (in 12 numbered sections)         |
| 132r1–133r4 | Dhyānabindūpaniṣad  |
| 133r4–134r2 | Tejobindūpaniṣad  |
| 134r2–139v5 | Śrīkr̥ṣṇaśāntopaniṣad   |
| 139v5–143r3 | Tripurīprakaraṇa  |
| 143r3–174v2 | Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad (in 8 adhyāyas and 2 kāṇḍas)                      |
| 174v2–179r5 | Ānandavallī (in 2 adhyāyas)   |
| 179v1–183r1 | Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad  |
| 183r1–184v5 | Tāropaniṣad   |
| 184v5–186v2 | Ugratāropaniṣad   |
| 186v3–191v4 | Gaṇeśatāpanīya (in 3 upaniṣads)                                       |
| 191v4–199v2 | Śvetāśvataropaniṣad (in 6 adhyāyas)                                   |
| 199v2–201v3 | Hayagrīvasaṃhitāyāṃ Hayagrīvaikākṣaramantravidhānaṃ prathamō 'dhyāyaḥ |
| 201v3–202r5 | ... Hayagrīvayantravidhānaṃ nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ                     |
| 202r5–204r5 | Kenopaniṣad   |
| 204r5–207r4 | Kumārabodhinī (in 4 prapāṭhakas)                                      |
| 207r4–211r1 | Tattvabodhinī (12 <sup>th</sup> prapāṭhaka only?) <sup>18</sup>       |
| 211r1–213r5 | Yogabodhinī (in 2 prapāṭhakas)  |
| 213r5–215v1 | Jābālopaniṣad   |
| 215v1–216v3 | Atharvaṇi rahasye Gāyatrīvidyopaniṣad (?) <sup>19</sup>               |
| 216v3–217r2 | Atharvaṇi Śaunakīyaśākhāyā (!) Gāyatrīyantropaniṣad                   |
| 217r2–217v4 | Atharvaṇi rahasye Mahākālikopaniṣad                                   |
| 217v4–218v5 | Advaitopaniṣad  |
| 218v5–219v2 | Brahmajyotyupaniṣad   |
| 219v2–221r2 | Ātharvaṇarahasye Vajraśucaupaniṣad (?)                                |
| 221r2–221v4 | Virojākṣetropaniṣad (= Virajā°?)                                      |
| 221v4–222v1 | Kalisantaranopaniṣad  |
| 222v1–224r4 | Aṅgirasō Sūryatāpanīyopaniṣad   |
| 224r4–226r4 | Dakṣiṇāmukhopaniṣad   |

<sup>15</sup>The ms.: *ātharvaṇe somotpattih.*

<sup>16</sup>The ms.: *ātmanopaniṣat.*

<sup>17</sup>The ms.: *śrīkr̥ṣṇasya pūrvatāpanīkaivalyopaniṣat.*

<sup>18</sup>Note that this text seems to have three prapāṭhakas in Ku<sub>3</sub> and Ni.

<sup>19</sup>The ms.: *°vidyopaniṣat.*

Ku<sub>1</sub>

- Collection** Formerly in the possession of Harihara Upādhyāya, Kurum-caini. 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 × 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: *śrīṅṣiṃha 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 vajrasucaupaniṣat samāptā || agastyas ca pulastyas ca vaiśampāyanameva {·} ca | sumanto jayamunis caiva pañca ite vajravārṇā || 1 || śrī vīrakesāridevaṅka 7 caitrakṛṣṇasaptamī guruvāre ekacāliā 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> *aṅka* = 5<sup>th</sup> regnal year of a king Vīrakesārideva,<sup>20</sup> on the 7<sup>th</sup> *tithi* of the waning fortnight of Caitra. According to a genealogy 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>20</sup>On the calculation of regnal years from *aṅkas*, see GRIFFITHS 2003a: 338.

<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  | Praśnopaniṣad   |
| 11r1–12v4 | Garbhopaniṣad   |
| 12v4–14v4 | Prāṇāgnihotropāniṣad  |
| 14v4–16r1 | Mahopaniṣad   |
| 16r1–18r2 | Brahmopaniṣad   |
| 18r2–18v2 | Brahmavidyopaniṣad  |
| 18v3–19v3 | Kṣurikopaniṣad  |
| 19v3–20v2 | Cūlikopaniṣad   |
| 20v2–21v1 | Anucūlikopaniṣad  |
| 21v1–25r3 | Atharvaśiropaniṣad  |
| 25r3–26r2 | Atharvaśikhopaniṣad   |
| 26r3–27r2 | Amṛtabindūpaniṣad   |
| 27r2–29r1 | Amṛtanādotpaniṣad   |
| 29r1–29v1 | Yogaśikhopaniṣad  |
| 29v2–30r2 | Nārāyaṇopaniṣad   |
| 30r2–30v1 | Śrutipratyagānandopaniṣad                                     |
| 30v1–31r3 | Ātharvaṇopaniṣad  |
| 31r3–40r3 | Ātharvaṇa Tāpanīya (in 5 upaniṣads) = Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya    |
| 40r3–49v4 | Nṛsiṃhasyottaratāpanīya (in 9 khaṇḍas)                        |
| 49v4–54r3 | Nṛsiṃhatāpanīyoktabṛhan-Mahopaniṣad (in 12 numbered sections) |
| 54r3–55r3 | Dhyānabindūpaniṣad  |
| 55r3–55v3 | Tejobindūpaniṣad  |
| 55v3–56v3 | Haṃsopaniṣad (in 2 khaṇḍas)                                   |
| 56v3–57v4 | Paramahaṃsopaniṣad  |
| 57v4–58v4 | Āruṇyopaniṣad   |
| 58v4–59v2 | Kālāgnirudropāniṣad   |
| 59v3–60r3 | Vibhūtigrahaṇamantrāḥ   |
| 60r3–61r1 | Gāruḍopaniṣad   |
| 61r1–62v2 | Saubhāgyakāṇḍe Kālikopaniṣad                                  |
| 62v2–63r3 | Somotpattyupaniṣad  |
| 63r3–63v2 | Piṇḍopaniṣad  |

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

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

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 63v2–64r3   | Ātmopaniṣad   |
| 64r3–64v4   | Māṇḍukyopaniṣad   |
| 65r1–66v1   | Kaivalyopaniṣad   |
| 66v1–71r1   | Śrīrāmacandrasya Pūrvatāpanīya (in 5 upaniṣads)                           |
| 71r1–74r1   | Ātharvaṇarahasye Śrīrāmacandrasyottaratāpanī                              |
| 74r1–75v2   | Ātharvaṇe Śrīrāmacandropaniṣad  |
| 75v2–78v2   | Śrīkrṣṇapūrvatāpanīya (in 5 sections)                                     |
| 78v2–83v4   | Śrīkrṣṇasyottaratāpanīya  |
| 83v4–88r4   | Kṛṣṇasya śāntopaniṣad   |
| 88v1–91r1   | Tripurīprakaraṇa  |
| 91r1–92v4   | Viśvarūpākṣopaniṣad   |
| 92v4–93v1   | Gātryopaniṣad   |
| 93v1–96v1   | Gāyatrihṛdaya   |
| 96v1–103r3  | Kāṭhavallī (in 2 adhyāyas, with further vallī subdivisions) <sup>23</sup> |
| 103r3–112r2 | Ātharvaṇīpuruṣasubodhinī (in 7 prapāṭhaka: contd. f. 124)                 |
| 112r3–116r3 | Gaṇeśatāpanīya (in 3 upaniṣads)   |
| 116r3–118r1 | Hayagrīvasaṃhitāyām HGEAV (see Gu <sub>2</sub> ) prathamā adhyāyaḥ        |
| 118r1–118v1 | ... hayagrīvayantravidhānaṃ nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ                         |
| 118v1–119v1 | Advaitopaniṣad  |
| 119v1–120r1 | Jyotyopaniṣad   |
| 120r1–121r3 | Ātharvaṇarahasye Vajrasūcaupaniṣad (?)                                    |
| 121v1–123r3 | Tāropaniṣad   |
| 123r3–124v1 | Ugratāropaniṣad   |
| 124v1–126v4 | Ātharvaṇī Puruṣasubodhinī (8 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> prapāṭhaka)  |
| 126v4–130r4 | Ātharvaṇī Puruṣasubodhinī 8 <sup>th</sup> prapāṭhaka (bis?)               |
| 130v1–130v6 | Piṇḍikāpratiṣṭhā  |
| 131r1–134r5 | Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad  |

Ku<sub>2</sub>

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| Collection | Formerly in the possession of Harihara Upādhyāya, Kurum-caini. Now deposited in the Kern Institute, Leiden.   |
| Physical   | The codex is in excellent condition. Its dimensions are ca. 34 × 4 cm on average; 5 (rarely 4) lines per side.  |
| Foliation  | The codex contains 10 + 110 (– 9) + 2 = 113 folios. There are 9 blank leaves at the head. The verso of the 10 <sup>th</sup> contains one (partial) line. Then follow 1½ leaves with a <i>Mantrarājajapavidhi</i> , four lines per side, by a different scribe than the one of the main part of the codex. This text ends on f. 1r. The main part of the codex starts on 1v, with <i>śrī viḡhṇarājāya namaḥ</i>   . 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. |
| Colophon   | I have found no colophons giving extra information to be reported here.   |

<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.

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

| Folios    | Contain   |
|-----------|---|
| 1v1–6v4   | Muṇḍakopaniṣad  |
| 6v4–12v4  | Praśnopaniṣad   |
| 12v4–14v5 | Garbhopaniṣad   |
| 14v5–17r1 | Prāṇāgnihotropiṣad  |
| 17r2–18r5 | Mahopaniṣad   |
| 18r5–20v3 | Brahmopaniṣad   |
| 20v3–21r5 | Brahmavidyopaniṣad  |
| 21r5–22v4 | Kṣurikopaniṣad  |
| 22v4–23v5 | Cūlikopaniṣad   |
| 23v5–24v5 | Anucūlikopaniṣad  |
| 24v5–29r2 | Atharvaśiropaniṣad  |
| 29r2–30r3 | Atharvaśikhopaniṣad   |
| 30r3–31r5 | Amṛtabindūpaniṣad   |
| 31r5–33r5 | Amṛtanādopaniṣad  |
| 33r5–33v5 | Yogaśikhopaniṣad  |
| 34r1–34v4 | Nārāyaṇopaniṣad   |
| 34v4–35r3 | Śrutipratyagānandopaniṣad   |
| 35r4–40r1 | Bṛhanmahopaniṣad (in 12 numbered sections)  |
| 40r1–47   | Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya (in 5 upaniṣads) <sup>24</sup>                                       |
| 57r1–62r5 | Nṛsimhasyottaratāpanīya (in 9 khaṇḍas) <sup>25</sup>                                      |
| 62r5–63r3 | Ātharvaṇopaniṣad  |
| 63r3–66v5 | Gopālatāpanī (in 5 numbered sections) <sup>26</sup>                                       |
| 66v5–73r3 | Śrīkṛṣṇasyottaratāpanīya  |
| 73r3–74r4 | Gāyatriyupaniṣad  |
| 74r4–77r5 | Tripuryupaniṣad <sup>27</sup>   |
| 77r5–79v3 | Viśvarūpākṣaparakaraṇopaniṣad <sup>28</sup>   |
| 79v3–80v3 | Kālāgnirudropaniṣad   |
| 80v3–81r5 | Mantrāḥ (= Vibhūtigrahaṇamantrāḥ?)  |
| 81r5–83r4 | Kaivalyopaniṣad   |
| 83r4–84v3 | Kālikopaniṣad   |
| 84v3–86v2 | Tāropaniṣad   |
| 86v2–88r3 | Ugratāropaniṣad   |
| 88r3–92r5 | Śrīrāmacandrasya pūrvatāpanīye ātharvaṇarahasye 1 <sup>st</sup> –5 <sup>th</sup> upaniṣad |
| 92r5–95v2 | Śrīrāmacandrasyottaratāpanīya   |
| 95v3–97r5 | Śrīrāmacandropaniṣad  |
| 97r5–98v1 | Haṃsopaniṣad (in 2 khaṇḍas)   |

<sup>24</sup>There is a gap of 9 folios in the ms. The 4<sup>th</sup> upaniṣad is incomplete, the 5<sup>th</sup> is entirely lost.

<sup>25</sup>Due to the gap in the ms., khaṇḍas 1–5 are lost, 6 is incomplete, while 7–9 are complete.

<sup>26</sup>BHATTACHARYYA (1968: 20) mentions Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's commentary on the *Gopālatāpanī 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 pippalādisākhāntaḥsthitayaṃ 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>27</sup>The ms.: *tripurī*.

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

|             |                                    |
|-------------|------------------------------------|
| 98v2–99v5   | Paramahamsopaniṣad                 |
| 99v5–103r2  | Gāyatrīhr̥daya                     |
| 103r3–110r2 | Rudrābhiṣeka <sup>29</sup>         |
| 110r3–110v5 | Siddhivināyakastotra <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 <i>Muṇḍakopaniṣad</i> , <i>Praśnopaniṣad</i> , <i>Garbhopaniṣad</i> and <i>Prāṇāgnihotropaniṣad</i> ; 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 <i>Pratiṣṭhās</i> ( <i>Prāsāda</i> °, <i>Dvāra</i> °, <i>Hṛdaya</i> °, <i>Dhvaja</i> °, <i>Pinḍikā</i> °), the <i>Puruṣasūkta</i> , and a <i>Madhuparkavidhāna</i> ; the third (C) consists of a single folio from another text ( <i>Śaktabījākṣaranirṇaya</i> , part of an <i>Ātharvaṇīyopaniṣadbhāṣya</i> attributed to Śaṅkara), 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 × 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: ... <i>ity āṅgirasakalpe sahaśrākṣaranṛhamantraḥ samāptaḥ   śrīnṛha rakṣā karibe adhama bhovanikaṅku ... bhimasyāpi ... vidyate    tailād ... pustakaṃ    ... samasta makundadeva mahārājāṅka 13 ṅka kumbha 25 nare āṭhagara tālukā bhitara muṭhā yemādeipurāsāsana{.}ra mahājana bhovanikare upādhyā ākula karena lekhitaṃm i{.}daṃ pustakaṃ  </i> . Evidently, the ms. originates from the Paippalāda village Jemādeipura.   |

<sup>29</sup>Including Śatarudriya/Rudrādhyāya.

<sup>30</sup>The ms.: *nṛsimhapurāṅāntargataśrīsiddhivināyakastotra*.

Date According to the colophon, the copying of the main part of this ms. was concluded in the 13<sup>th</sup> *aṅka* = 11<sup>th</sup> regnal year of a king Mukundadeva, on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the Nakṣatra Aquarius (*kumbha*). According to Professor Dash's genealogy of Gaṅgapatī incumbents mentioned under Ku<sub>1</sub> (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  | Praśnopaniṣad (also in A, see above)                          |
| 10r3–12r1 | Garbhopaniṣad (also in A, see above)                          |
| 12r2–14v2 | Prāṇāgnihotropaniṣad (also in A, see above)                   |
| 14v2–15v4 | Mahopaniṣad   |
| 15v4–17v3 | Brahmopaniṣad   |
| 17v3–18r3 | Brahmavidyopaniṣad  |
| 18r4–19r4 | Kṣurikopaniṣad  |
| 19r4–20r1 | Cūlikopaniṣad   |
| 20r2–20v1 | Anucūlikopaniṣad  |
| 20v2–23v6 | Atharvaśiropaniṣad  |
| 23v6–24v4 | Atharvaśikhopaniṣad   |
| 24v4–25v2 | Amṛtabindūpaniṣad   |
| 25v2–27r5 | Amṛtanādopaniṣad  |
| 27r6–27v5 | Yogaśikhopaniṣad  |
| 27v5–28r6 | Nārāyaṇopaniṣad   |
| 28v1–28v4 | Śrutipratyagānandopaniṣad                                     |
| 28v4–29r5 | Ātharvaṇopaniṣad  |
| 29r5–37v3 | Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya (in 5 upaniṣads)                         |
| 37v3–46r6 | Nṛsimhasyottaratāpanīya (in 9 khaṇḍas)                        |
| 46r6–50r3 | Nṛsimhatāpanīyokta-Bṛhanmahopaniṣad (in 12 numbered sections) |
| 50r4–50v5 | Atharvaṇopaniṣad (not the same text as on 28v4–29r5)          |
| 50v5–53r5 | Śrī-Kṛṣṇasya pūrvatāpanīya (in 5 numbered sections)           |
| 53r6–58r2 | Śrīkṛṣṇasyottaratāpanīya                                      |
| 58r2–62r2 | Kṛṣṇaśāntopaniṣad   |
| 62r2–68r2 | Kāthavallī (in 6 vallīs) <sup>31</sup>                        |
| 68r2–69v1 | Kenopaniṣad   |

<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       | Śvetāśvataropaniṣad (incomplete)  |
| 75r5–79r2       | Ānandavallī (in 2 adhyāyas)   |
| 79r2–79v1       | Brahmajyotyupaniṣad   |
| 79v1–80r1       | Ātmopaniṣad   |
| 80r1–80v2       | Māṇḍukyopaniṣad   |
| 80v2–80bisr5    | Advaitopaniṣad  |
| 80bisr5–80bisv5 | Jyotyupaniṣad   |
| 81r1–82v5       | Vajraśucyupaniṣad   |
| 83r1–84r6       | Kaivalyopaniṣad   |
| 84r6–85r3       | Haṃsopaniṣad (in two khaṇḍas)   |
| 85r3–86r2       | Paramahaṃsopaniṣad  |
| 86r2–87r1       | Āruṇyupaniṣad   |
| 87r1–88v6       | Tripuryupaniṣad   |
| 89r1–90r5       | Viśvarūpaprakaraṇa  |
| 90r6–91r1       | Kālāgnirudropaniṣad   |
| 91r1–92r4       | Kālikopaniṣad   |
| 92r4–93v1       | Tāropaniṣad   |
| 93v1–94v3       | Ugratāropaniṣad   |
| 94v3–95r4       | Gāruḍopaniṣad   |
| 95r5–96r5       | Somotpattyupaniṣad  |
| 96r5–96v3       | Pinḍopaniṣad  |
| 96v3–98r1       | Hayagrīvaikākṣaravidhānaṃ nāma prathamo 'dhyāyaḥ  |
| 98r1–98r6       | Hayagrīvayantravidhānaṃ nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ   |
| 98v1–99r4       | Dhyānabindūpaniṣad  |
| 99r4–99v4       | Tejobindūpaniṣad  |
| 99v4–103r4      | Śrīrāmacandrasya pūrvatāpanīye ātharvaṇarahasye 1 <sup>st</sup> –5 <sup>th</sup> upaniṣad |
| 103r4–105v6     | Śrīrāmacandrasyottaratāpanīya Ātharvaṇarahasya  |
| 105v6–107r3     | Ātharvaṇī Śrīrāmacandropaniṣad  |
| 107r3–109r5     | Gāyatrīhṛdaya   |
| 109r6–110r1     | Gāyatoryupaniṣad  |
| 110r2–113r3     | Gaṇeśatāpanīya (in 3 upaniṣads)   |
| 113r3–115r6     | Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad  |
| 115r6–?         | Puruṣasubodhinī (incomplete)  |
| 131r1–133r1     | Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad (repeated [!], incomplete)   |
| 133r2–136r4     | Tattvabodhinī (in 3 prapāṭhakas?)   |
| 136r4–158r1     | Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad (in 8 adhyāyas, incomplete)   |
| 158r1–160v3     | Āṅgirasakalpe Sahasrākṣaraṇṛ[siṃ]hamantra   |

## Ni

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| Collection | Maheśvara Miśra of the village Nirmalā.   |
| Photos     | Digital photographs are available with the author.  |
| Physical   | Condition fairly bad. Dimensions 41 × 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 compiled 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 kāṭhi bhāṅgi dāmatrae* | *ā{r}yju{bha}r va{ya}lam 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<sup>32</sup> 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 ña ca*<sup>34</sup> *cha ja śrī ña ṭa ṭha ḍa*. The four folios comprising the *Kumārabodhinī* bear respectively the akṣaras *ku mā ra bodhinyāṃ* 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 mādhava miśraṅka putra banamāliku* | *jāṇimā hebe sujñā*

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

<sup>33</sup>For the last number, the ms. in fact reads ‘998’.

<sup>34</sup>On the verso of *ña*.

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

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

| Folios    | Contain   |
|-----------|---|
| 1–5v3     | Muṇḍakopaniṣad  |
| 5v3–11r4  | Praśnopaniṣad   |
| 11r4–12v4 | Garbhopaniṣad   |
| 12v4–14r5 | Prāṇāgnihotropiṣad  |
| 14r5–15r4 | Mahopaniṣad   |
| 15r4–17r1 | Brahmopaniṣad   |
| 17r1–17v1 | Brahmavidyopaniṣad  |
| 17v1–18v1 | Kṣurikopaniṣad  |
| 18v1–19r4 | Cūlikopaniṣad   |
| 19r4–20r2 | Anucūlikopaniṣad  |
| 20r2–23r3 | Atharvaśiropaniṣad  |
| 23r4–24r1 | Atharvaśikhopaniṣad   |
| 24r1–24v3 | Amṛtabindūpaniṣad   |
| 24v4–26r2 | Amṛtanādropaniṣad   |
| 26r3–26v1 | Yogaśikhopaniṣad  |
| 26v1–27r2 | Nārāyaṇopaniṣad   |
| 27r2–27v1 | Śrutipratyagānandopaniṣad                                       |
| 27v1–28r1 | Ātharvaṇopaniṣad  |
| 28r2–36r1 | Ātharvaṇa(pūrva)tāpanīya (in 5 upaniṣads)                       |
| 36r2–43v1 | (Nṛsimhasyottaratāpanīya) <sup>35</sup> in 9 khaṇḍas            |
| 43v1–46v6 | Mahopaniṣad (in 12 numbered sections)                           |
| 47r1–48v1 | Viśvarūpākṣopaniṣad <sup>36</sup>                               |
| 48v1–50v3 | Tripuryupaniṣad <sup>37</sup>                                   |
| 50v3–51v2 | Hamsopaniṣad (in 2 khaṇḍas)                                     |
| 51v2–52r6 | Paramahamsopaniṣad  |
| 52r6–55r5 | Ātharvaṇe Gaṇeśatāpanīya (in 3 upaniṣads)                       |
| 55r5–56r1 | Saubhāgyakāṇḍe Kālikopaniṣad                                    |
| 56r2–56v1 | Kālāgnirudropaniṣad   |
| 56v1–56v5 | Vibhūtigrahaṇamantrāḥ   |
| 56v5–57v2 | Somotpattyupaniṣad  |
| 57v2–57v5 | Piṇḍopaniṣad  |
| 57v6–58r6 | Gāruḍopaniṣad   |
| 58v1–59r1 | Gāyatriyupaniṣad  |
| 59r1–60v6 | Gāyatrīhrdaya   |
| 61r1–61r4 | (struck out: end of Praśnopaniṣad)                              |
| 61r4–64v4 | Gopālatāpanī ([Śrīkṛṣṇapūrvatāpanīyaṃ], in 5 numbered sections) |
| 64v4–71v2 | Śrīkṛṣṇasyottaratāpanīya  |
| 71v2–73v1 | Atharvaṇi Tāropaniṣad   |
| 73v2–75r2 | Ugratāropaniṣad   |
| 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: *viśvōṣpā[+ kṣaparakaraṇa]kṣopaniṣat samāptaṃ*.

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

<sup>38</sup>The colophons give more fully: *śrīrāmacandrasya pūrvatāpanīye ātharvaṇasya rahasye*.

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 80v4–84v1   | Rāmacandrottaratāpanīya <sup>39</sup> (in 4 numbered sections) |
| 84v1–86r4   | Ātharvaṇe Śrīrāmacandropaniṣad                                 |
| 86r4–93v2   | Kaṭhavallī (in 2 adhyāyas, with further vallī subdivisions)    |
| 93v2–98v3   | Kṛṣṇasya Śāntopaniṣad  |
| 98v3–99v4   | Advaitopaniṣad   |
| 100r1–100r4 | Brahmajyotyupaniṣad <sup>40</sup>                              |
| 100r4–101v3 | Hayagrīvasaṃhitāyāṃ Hayagrīvaikākṣaravidhāna (in 2 adhyāyas)   |
| 101v3–102v2 | Āruṇyupaniṣad  |
| 102v2–103r1 | Ātmopaniṣad  |
| 103r1–103v1 | Māṇḍukopaniṣad   |
| 103v1–104v3 | Kaivalyopaniṣad  |
| 104v3–105r1 | Brahmajyotyupaniṣad <sup>41</sup>                              |
| 105r1–105r5 | Jyotyupaniṣad  |
| 105r6–106r5 | Ātharvaṇarahasye Vajraśucyupaniṣad                             |
| 106r5–109v2 | Ānandavallī (in 2 adhyāyas)                                    |
| 109v2–110r7 | Jābālopaniṣad  |
| 110r7–111r1 | Ātharvaṇarahasye Śaunakīśākhāyā (!) Gāyatrīyantropaniṣad       |
| 111r2–111r5 | Ātharvaṇīye Saubhāgyakāṇḍe Mahākālyupaniṣad                    |
| 111r5–111v2 | Īsopaniṣad   |
| 112r1–120r1 | Śvetāśvataropaniṣad (in 6 adhyāyas)                            |
| 120r1–123v1 | Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad   |
| 123v1–139v4 | Ātharvaṇīpuruṣasubodhinī (in 12 prapāṭhakas)                   |
| 140r1–165r6 | Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad (in 8 adhyāyas and 2 kāṇḍas) <sup>42</sup> |
| 166r1–166v4 | Dhyānabindūpaniṣad   |
| 166v5–167v5 | Tejobindūpaniṣad   |
| 168r1–169r3 | Ātharvaṇe rahasye Caitanyopaniṣad                              |
| 169r3–171r3 | Ātharvaṇakumārabodhinī (in 4 prapāṭhakas)                      |
| 172r1–173v5 | Ātharvaṇe Pippalādaśākhāyāṃ Vāsudevopaniṣad                    |
| 174r1–177v4 | Ātharvaṇe Tattvabodhini <sup>43</sup> (in 3 prapāṭhakas)       |

<sup>39</sup>The ms.: *ātharvaṇarahasye śrīrāmacandrasyottaratāpanī*.

<sup>40</sup>The ms.: *brahmajyotipaniṣat*.

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

<sup>42</sup>The colophon at the end of the text: *ity ātharvaṇarahasyeti mahānārāyaṇopaniṣadi paramasāyujyamuktisvāṛpanirpaṇaṃ nāmaṣṭamo dhyāyah | devadarśityākṣatharvaṇaśākhāyāṃ paramatve rahasyākhyātharvaṇamahānārāyaṇopaniṣadi paramamu[bha]ktimārgasvargasvāṛpa{.}nirpaṇaṃ nāma dvitīyottarakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ ||*. Note the association of this text with a non-Paippalāda-Śākhā (corr.: *devadarśityākhyātharvaṇa*<sup>o</sup>); cf. also the *Gāyatrīyantropaniṣad* in this ms. (110r7–111r5) and Gu<sub>2</sub> (216v3–217v2).

<sup>43</sup>The ms.: *ity ātharvaṇe tatvodhanyāṃ trītyaprapāṭhakaḥ*. The correct spelling of the title is found in mss. Gu<sub>2</sub> and Ku<sub>3</sub>.

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

##### *The Atharvavedic Caraṇavyūha*

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 Ṛgveda, 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 *Samhitāvidhi*, *Vaitānakalpa* (presumably = °*sūtra*), the *Nakṣatrakalpa*, *Śāntikalpa*, and *Āṅgirasakalpa*. The resources developed for the correct transmission of the *Samhitā*, 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 *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad*

<sup>44</sup>For the complete text, I use the edition by Pt. Anantarām DOGĀRĀ ŚĀSTRĪ.

<sup>45</sup>This *Caraṇavyūha* has drawn attention in relatively recent years because of the two Upaniṣad-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 Upaniṣads.

(CVU) as a second Atharvavedic recension of the *Caranavyūha*,<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<sub>A</sub>), 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 Guhiāpāḷa: the ms. Gu<sub>1</sub>, belonging to Veṇudhara 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>46</sup>See BISSCHOP & GRIFFITHS 2003: 317, n. 8. Since writing that footnote, where I referred to the *Caranavyūhopaniṣad* 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 Baiśiṅgā. 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 *ṣaḍ bheda*, which has led him to write *ṣaḍ 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 daṇḍas 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 *ḥ* and *|* in Gu<sub>1</sub> and Gu<sub>2</sub>); errors involving sibilants; variants involving doubling around *r* (*rṇṇ*, *rṭṭ*, *rddh* etc.) and *y* (*ddhy*); variants/errors involving the signs *ṛ* / *ṝ* / *ru* / *rū*; absence of avagrahas inserted into the edited text for the sake of clarity. Typically Oriya spellings with *!* and *ȳ* 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 strictly 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.
- {...} 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 → 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 → 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.
- Σ 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 *Caranavyūhopaniṣad*

|  |    |
|--|----|
| atha caranavyūhaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ    1.1                                       | 1  |
| tatra catvāro vedā bhavanti    ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo brahma-            |    |
| vedaḥ    1.2   | 3  |
| ṛgvedasya śāstraveda upavedaḥ   yajurvedasya dhanurveda upavedaḥ             |    |
| sāmavedasya gāndharvaveda upavedaḥ   atharvavedasyāyurveda upavedaḥ          | 5  |
| divyasāmpadaprāyaścittiyābhicārikāḥ    1.3                                   |    |
| ṛgvedasyātreyaḥ   gāyatrī chandaḥ   agnir devatā    yajurvedasya             | 7  |
| kāśyapagoṭraḥ   traīṣṭubhaṃ chandaḥ   vāyur devatā    sāmavedasya bhāradvā-  |    |
| jagoṭraḥ   jagatī chandaḥ   viṣṇur devatā    atharvavedasya vaikhāyanagoṭraḥ | 9  |
| ānuṣṭubhaṃ chandaḥ   brahmā devatā    1.4                                    |    |
| ṛgvedaḥ pītavarṇena padmapatrākṣaḥ suvyaktagrīvaḥ kuñcitateśmaśruḥ           | 11 |
| supratiṣṭhitajānujaṅghāpramāṇena   so 'pi viṣṭhitāḥ pañca    1.5             |    |
| ṛgvedasya sapta śākhā bhavanti    tad yathā   āśvalāyanā-śāṅkhāyanā-         | 13 |

1 caranavyūhaṃ] *em.*, °vyuham Ni<sup>pc</sup>, °vyūhavidhi Ku<sub>1</sub>, raṇavyuhavidhi Ku<sub>3</sub>, °vyuhavidhi Ni<sup>ac</sup>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, caranavyuhavidhiṃ Jā 2 tatra] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, tataḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 4 ṛgvedasya] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, ṛgvedasya Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 4 śāstraveda upavedaḥ] Ni, śāstravedo upa° Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, śāstravedopa° Jā 4 dhanurveda upavedaḥ] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>, dhanurvedo upavedaḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>, dhanurvedopavedaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, dhanurvedopa(veda·) Jā 5 sāmavedasya] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, sāmavedasya 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>, gāndharvavedaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 5 °vedasyāyurveda upa°] Ku<sub>1</sub>, °vedasya āyurvedo upa° Ku<sub>3</sub>, °vedasya āyurveda upa° NiGu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, °vedasyāyurvedopa° Jā 6 °cittiyābhi°] Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, °cittiyābhi° 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>, vāyur Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 8 devatā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, devatāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 8 sāmavedasya] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, śāma° Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, (·ve)dasya Jā 9 vaikhāyana°] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, vaikṣāyana° Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 11 ṛgvedaḥ] Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā, ṛgveda{sya}ḥ Ni, ṛgvedasya Ku<sub>1</sub>, ṛgveda Ku<sub>3</sub> 11 °śmaśruḥ] °śmaśru Ni, °śmaśruḥ Ku<sub>1</sub>, °śmaśru Ku<sub>3</sub>, °śmaśmṛḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, °śaśmṛ Gu<sub>2</sub>, °(s·) Jā 12 °jaṅghāpramāṇena] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, °jaghāpramāṇena Ku<sub>3</sub>, °yaghanāpramāṇenaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; almost the entire compound (except °māṇena) is lost in lacuna in Jā 12 'pi] *om.* NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, pi Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 12 viṣṭhitāḥ] Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, viṣṭhitamḥ Ni, niṣṭhitāḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>, viṣṭitamḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>

- 1 sādhyāyanā-śākalā-bākalā-audumbarā-māṇḍūkyāś ceti || 1.6 ||  
tāsām adhyayanam
- 3 ṛcām daśa sahasrāṇi ṛcām pañca śatāni ca |  
ṛcām aśītiḥ pādaś cety etat pāraṇam ucyate || 1.7 ||
- 5 tatra yajurvedasya caturviṃśatiḥ śākhā bhavanti || tad yathā |  
kaṇvā-madhyandinā-jābālā-śāpeyā-śvetā-śvetatarā-tāmrāyaṇīyā-paurṇarasā-  
7 āvaṭikā-paramāvaṭikā-aukṣyā-bodhā-śāṇḍikā-āhvarakā-carakā-mitrāyaṇīyā-  
hāritakarṇā-śālābalīyā-marcakathā-prācyakathā-kapiṣṭhalakathā-upavanā-  
9 tittiriyaś ceti || 2.1 ||  
tāsām adhyayanam
- 11 ṛcām dve sahasre śatam nyūne manṭre vājasaneyake |  
ślokena paramam khyātam brāhmaṇam caturguṇam || 2.2 ||
- 13 aṣṭadaśa sahasrāṇi bhavanti | tāny eva triguṇam adhītya kramapāro bha-  
vati | sapta sthāvarāś ceti || 2.3 ||
- 15 śākhās tisro bhavanti | pārāmsarvāpāraḥ samaśi pārakramajaṭam krama-  
pāraś ceti || 2.4 ||
- 17 ṣaḍ aṅgāny adhītya ṣaḍaṅgavid bhavati |

1 sādhyāyanā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, sādhyāyanāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, sādhyāyanāḥ Gu<sub>2</sub> 1 śākalā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, śākalā Ku<sub>3</sub>, śākalāyāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 1 bākalā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, bājalā Ku<sub>3</sub>, bākalāyāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 2 adhyayanam] NiKu<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, adhyāyanāḥ Ku<sub>1</sub>, adhyāyana Jā 3 ca] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, caḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 4 aśītiḥ] Ku<sub>1</sub>, aśībhiḥ Ni, aśītiḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>, aśībhi Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 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>; lost in lacuna Jā 4 pāraṇam] *em.*, pārāyaṇam NiKu<sub>1</sub>, parāyanyam Ku<sub>3</sub>, pārāyanyam Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, gaṇyaṇam Jā 6 kaṇvā] *em.*, kanvā NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, kānyāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 6 madhyandinā] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, ma{kṣya}dhyandinā Ni, mādhyandināḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 6 jābālā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, yābālā Ku<sub>3</sub>, śākalāḥ bākalāḥ kābālāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, śākalāyāḥ bākalāyāḥ kābālāḥ Gu<sub>2</sub> [[Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> inserted from RV] 6 tāmrāyaṇīyā] *em.*, tāmrākṣaṇīyā Ni, tāmrākṣaṇīyā Ku<sub>1</sub>, tāmrā | kṣaṇīyā Ku<sub>3</sub>, tāmrāḥyūṇīyāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, tāmrā | kṣaṇīyā Jā 7 aukṣyā] aukṣā NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, aukṣāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, aukṣyāḥ Gu<sub>2</sub> 7 bodhā] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, boddhā Ni, bodhāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, bo{.} Jā 7 śāṇḍikā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, sāṇḍikāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 7 āhvarakā] *em.*, āhurakā NiKu<sub>1</sub>, āharakā Ku<sub>3</sub>, āhvūrakāḥ 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>, carakāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 8 marcakathā] NiKu<sub>3</sub>, marcikathā Ku<sub>1</sub>, maricikathāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, marcika{ṭa}ṭhā 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, adhyāyana 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.*, vājasanītyeke NiKu<sub>3</sub>Jā, vājasanītyeke Ku<sub>1</sub>, vā{ja}śa[+ ta 2]nītyekāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, vā[line]śanītyekāḥ Gu<sub>2</sub> 12 khyātam] *em.*, khyāto Σ 12 caturguṇam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, caturguṇam Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, {c...} Jā 12 ||] *om.* NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lacuna Jā 13 aṣṭadaśa] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, aṣṭādaśa Gu<sub>1</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 13 sahasrāṇi] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, sahaṇi Ku<sub>3</sub>, sahaśrāṇi Gu<sub>1</sub>, sahaśrāṇi Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 13 tāny eva] *em.*, tāne NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, tāneva Ku<sub>3</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 13 triguṇam adhītya] *em.*, triguṇam adhītyā NiJā, tiguṇa(+ ma)dhītyā Ku<sub>1</sub>, triguṇam adhītyā Ku<sub>3</sub>, triguṇam adhyātma Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 14 sthāvarāś] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, sthāvaroś Jā 15 bhavanti] *em.*, bhavati Σ 15 pārāmsarvāpāraḥ] Ni, pārāmsarvāpāraḥ Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, pārāmsarvāpāra Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 15 samaśi] Ku<sub>1</sub>, sama{rśa}{→ *sec. m.* śi) Ni, samaṇi Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, samaśi Jā

|   |    |
|---|----|
| śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇaṃ niruktaṃ chando jyotiṣam                               | 1  |
| itihāsapurāṇaṃ ṣaḍ aṅgāni   bṛhatsarvānukramaṇīś ceti    2.5                  |    |
| atha yajurvedaḥ prāṃśuḥ pralambajaṭharaḥ sthūlagalakapālena   rakto var-      | 3  |
| ṇena   prādeśāḥ ṣaḍ dīrghatvena yajurvedasya etad rūpaṃ bhavati    2.6        |    |
| sāmavedasya śākhāsahasram āsit   anadhyāye 'dhiyamānāḥ sarve te śakre-        | 5  |
| ṇa vinihataḥ pralīnāḥ    3.1  |    |
| tatra ke cid avaśiṣṭāḥ pracaranti   tad yathā   rāṇāyanīyā-satyamugrā-kālayā- | 7  |
| mahākālayā-kaithimā-lāṅgalikāś ceti    3.2                                    |    |
| kaithimānām api ṣaḍ bheda bhavanti   tad yathā   rāṇāyanīyā-vātarāyaṇīyā-     | 9  |
| vainavṛthāḥ-prācīnā-tejasā-śaunakīyāś ceti    3.3                             |    |
| tāsām adhyayaṇaṃ  | 11 |
| aṣṭau sāmāsahasrāṇi sāmāni ca caturdaśa                                       |    |
| sohyāni sarahasyāni etat sāmagaṇaṃ smṛtam    3.4                              | 13 |
| atha sāmavedaḥ suvāsāḥ sugandhī tejasvī mṛduvaktā brahmaṇyaḥ pra-             |    |
| lambabāhuḥ susnigdhaḥcarmā kṛṣṇo varṇena kātaro vayanena    3.5               | 15 |

1 jyotiṣam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, yotiṣam Ku<sub>3</sub>, jyotisam Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 2 itihāsapurāṇaṃ] *em.*, itihāsapurāṇānāṃ Ni, itihā{śa}sapurāṇānāṃ Ku<sub>1</sub>, itihāsapurāṇaṃ Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>, itihāsapurāṇyaṃ Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 2 ṣaḍ aṅgāni] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, sāṅgāni Ku<sub>3</sub>, ṣaḍ aṅgāni Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 2 bṛhatsarvānukramaṇīś ceti] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, bṛhatsā{māni}rvānukramaṇīśceti || tha Ku<sub>3</sub>, bṛhatsarvānukramaṇīśāśr(sec. m. → śtr)eti Gu<sub>1</sub>, bṛhatsarvānukramaṇīśāstreti Gu<sub>2</sub> 3 yajurvedaḥ] Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, yajurvedasya NiKu<sub>1</sub>, jaryurvedaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 3 prāṃśuḥ] *em.*, prāṃśu NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, prāśu Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, prāṇu Gu<sub>1</sub> 3 pralambajaṭharaḥ] pralambajaṭhara NiKu<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, prāla{mya}mbajaṭhara Ku<sub>1</sub>, pralambijaṭhara Jā 3 sthūlagalakapālena] *em.*, sthūlagalakapālena NiJā, sthūlagalakapālena Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, sthūlagalakapālenaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 4 prādeśāḥ ṣaḍ] *em.*, prādeśā Σ 5 sāmavedasya] Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā, asya sāmavedasya Ku<sub>1</sub>Ni<sup>ac</sup>, atha sāmavedasya Ni<sup>pc</sup> 5-6 śakreṇa] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, śakreṇaṃ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, (<·)kreṇa Jā 6 vinihataḥ] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, vinihitāḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā 6 pralīnāḥ] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, patnīnāṃḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 7 cid] *em.*, cita NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, citta Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, cit Jā 7 rāṇāyanīyā] Jā, rā{·}ṇāyanīyā Ni, rāgāyanīyā Ku<sub>1</sub>, rāṇāyanīyā Ku<sub>3</sub>, rāṇāyanīyāḥ vā tarāyanīyāḥ 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>, kainyamānāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 9 kaithimānām] *em.*, kainyamānām Σ 9 bheda] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Jā, bhedo Gu<sub>2</sub> 9 rāṇāyanīyā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, rāṇāyanīyāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, {nārāyā}rāṇā{y...} Jā 9 vātarāyanīyā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, vitarāyanīyā Ku<sub>3</sub>, *om.* Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> [[see above]]; lost in lacuna Jā 10 vainavṛthāḥ] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, vainavṛthāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 10 tejasā] *em.*, tejaḥ NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, *om.* Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 12 aṣṭau] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, ṛcā aṣṭau Ku<sub>3</sub>, aṣṭo Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 12 sāmāsahasrāṇi] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, sahasrāṇi Ku<sub>3</sub>, sāmāsahasrāṇi Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 12 ca caturdaśa] Jā, caturdaśa(+ ḥ |) ca Ni, caturdaśa Ku<sub>1</sub>, caturdaśāḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 13 sohyāni] *em.*, saurjyeṇa NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, saujujeṇa Ku<sub>3</sub>, saurjyāṇa Jā 13 sarahasyāni etat] *em.*, māsahasrāṇy(→ kṣ)etataḥ Ni, {sā}māsahasrāṇyetataḥ Ku<sub>1</sub>, māsahasrāṇyetataḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>, samasahasrāṇyetataḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, mīśahasrāṇyetataḥ Jā 13 sāmagaṇaṃ smṛtam] *em.* [[after AVParīś]], sāmagaṇāḥ smṛtāḥ Σ 14 suvāsāḥ] Gu<sub>1</sub>, suvāsā NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, suvāśiḥ Gu<sub>2</sub>, suvāśi Jā 14 sugandhī] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, sugandhaḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>, sugandhiṃḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, sugandhiḥ Gu<sub>2</sub> 15 varṇena kātaro] varṇṇena kāta{r}(→ n)o Ni, varṇṇena | kā(→ jñā)taro Ku<sub>1</sub>, varṇṇena.jñātano Ku<sub>3</sub> [[note punctuation with full stop]], varṇṇe(na·ā)tano Gu<sub>1</sub>, varṇṇemṇamjñātano Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 15 vayanena] Ni<sup>ac</sup>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, varṇena Ni<sup>pc</sup>, na(→ va)yanena Ku<sub>1</sub>, vaṃyadena Ku<sub>3</sub>, (<·)yanena Jā

- 1     ṣaḍaratnimātrapramāṇavayanaḥ smṛtaḥ || anye ṛṣayo brahmā sāmāni tiṣṭha-  
nti samnidhau | sa bhagavān sāmavedo maheśvarabhaktaḥ || 3.6 ||
- 3     tatra brahmavedasya nava śākhā bhavanti || tad yathā | pippalādā-pradāntā-  
śaunakā-stodā-jājalā-jaladā-brahmavarti-devadarśi-caraṇavedās ceti || 4.1 ||
- 5     teṣām adhyayanam
- ṛcām dvādaśa sahasrāṇy aśītitriśatāni ca |
- 7     paryāyakam dve sahasre anyāṃś caivārcikān bahūn || 4.2 ||
- tadgrāmyāraṇyakāni dvādaśa ṣaṭ sahasrāṇi bhavanti || 4.3 ||
- 9     tatra gopathabrāhmaṇam śataprapāṭhakam āsīt || tasyāvaśiṣṭe dve brāhma-  
ṇe pūrvottare ceti || 4.5 ||
- 11    tatra ṣaḍ aṅgāni bhavanti || śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇam niruktam iti || 4.6 ||  
       tatra pañca kalpā bhavanti ||
- 13    nakṣatrakalpo vaitānakalpaḥ ṛṭṭiyah samhitāvidhiḥ |  
       caturtho 'ṅgirasām kalpaḥ śāntikalpaś ca pañcamah || 4.7 ||

1 ṣaḍaratnimātrapramāṇavayanaḥ] ṣaḍaratnimātrapramāṇavayana NiKu<sub>1</sub>, ṣaḍayarimātra-  
pramāṇavinaḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>, ṣaḍaratnimātrapramāṇavayana[sec. m. → ·](sec. m. + ḥ) Gu<sub>1</sub>, ṣaḍaratni-  
mātrapramāṇajayavaḥ Gu<sub>2</sub>, ṣaḍaratnimātrepramāṇavana Jā 1 anye ṛṣayo] Ku<sub>1</sub>, any{e}a(+  
ka) ṛṣayo Ni, anyava ṛṣayo Ku<sub>3</sub>, {·}samyak ṛṣayo Gu<sub>1</sub>, samyak ṛṣayo Gu<sub>2</sub>, anyakṛṣayo  
Jā 1 sāmāni] em., samāna NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, vamāmī Ku<sub>3</sub>, samāni Jā 1–2 tiṣṭhanti] Jā,  
tiṣṭhati NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>, tiṣṭhatih Gu<sub>2</sub> 2 sa] Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, sa(+ mi) Ni, samāna Ku<sub>1</sub>, samī  
Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā 2 maheśvarabhaktaḥ] Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, maheśvarabhaktaḥ(→ vatkraḥ) Ni, maheśvaravaktaḥ  
Ku<sub>3</sub>, maheśvaro bhaktaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 3 pradāntā] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, {prahāntā} Ni, pradāntāḥ  
Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, om. Jā 4 jājalā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, jājvalāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, jāja{·} Jā 4 jaladā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>,  
jala{kā}dā Ku<sub>3</sub>, jaladāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 4 brahmavarti] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, brah-  
mavartī Ni, brahmaṇvartīḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, brahmavartīḥ Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 4 devadarśi]  
devadarśi NiKu<sub>1</sub>, devadarśi Ku<sub>3</sub>, devadarśiḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, {·}rśī Jā 4 caraṇavedās] Ku<sub>1</sub>,  
[+ saubhagā] caraṇavedās Ni, saubhagā | caraṇavedās Ku<sub>3</sub>, [+ saubhagāḥ] caraṇavedās  
Gu<sub>1</sub>, saubhagāḥ caraṇavedās Gu<sub>2</sub>, [+ sauradā 2] caraṇavedās Jā 5 adhyayanam]  
NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, addhyayana Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 6 aśītitriśatāni] aśītitreśatāni Ni, aśī{tri}titriśatāni Ku<sub>1</sub>,  
aśītatrasatāni Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, aṃśītatrasatāni Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 7 paryāyakam] Ku<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, pāryāyakam  
NiJā, pīparyāyasīya Ku<sub>3</sub> 7 anyāṃś] Ku<sub>1</sub>, anvos NiJā, anneś Ku<sub>3</sub>, anvai(sec. m. →  
au)ś Gu<sub>1</sub>, anyaus Gu<sub>2</sub> 7 caivārcikān] em., cevārcikā Ni, caivārcikā Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, cenācilā Ku<sub>3</sub>,  
caivārcikā Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 8 tadgrāmyāraṇyakāni] em., tadgrāmyāraḥ NiKu<sub>1</sub>, tadgrāmyāraḥ  
Ku<sub>3</sub>, tadgrāmyāra{nya}kam Gu<sub>1</sub>, tadgrāmyāraḥ Gu<sub>2</sub>, tadgrāmyārikaḥ Jā 8 dvādaśa]  
NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā, dvedaśa Ku<sub>3</sub>, dvādaśa Gu<sub>1</sub> 8 ṣaṭ sahasrāṇi] ṣaṭsaha[+ srā]ṇi Ni,  
ṣaṭsahasrāṇi Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, śaṭsahasrāṇi Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 9 gopathabrāhmaṇam] °brāhmaṇe Ni<sup>ac</sup>,  
°brāhmaṇa Ni<sup>pc</sup>Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, gopathobrāhmaṇam Gu<sub>1</sub>, gopathobrāhmaṇam Gu<sub>2</sub>, go{p·} Jā  
9 śataprapāṭhakam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, śataprapāṭhak{e}am Ku<sub>3</sub>, [+ śata]prapāṭhakam Gu<sub>1</sub>; lost in la-  
cuna Jā 9 āsīt] Ni, āsīta Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, āsīta Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, {·}ta Jā 9 tasyāvaśiṣṭe] em., tasyāvastiṣṭhe  
NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā, tasyāvatiṣṭhe Ku<sub>3</sub> 9–10 brāhmaṇe] em., brāhmaṇo Σ 11 tatra ...  
bhavanti ||] Ni adds in *margin*: tatra ṣaḍ a{·}ny adhītya ṣaḍaṅgavid bhavati |. Cf. 2.5  
above. 12 kalpā] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, kalpā[sec. m. + ni] NiGu<sub>1</sub>, kalpāni Gu<sub>2</sub> 13 vaitānakalpaḥ]  
Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, vaitāyanakalpaḥ NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 13 ṛṭṭiyah] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, ṛṭṭiyakalpa Ku<sub>3</sub>, ṛṭṭīya Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>  
14 'ṅgirasām] Ku<sub>3</sub>, aṅgirasam Ni, '{·}'ṅgirasām Ku<sub>1</sub>, aṅgirasa Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā

tatra lakṣaṇagranthā bhavanti || caturādhyāyikā | prātiśākhyam | pañca- 1  
paṭalikā | bṛhatsarvānukramaṇīś ceti || 4.8 ||

tatra dvāsaptatiḥ pariśiṣṭāni bhavanti kauśikoktāni || kṛttikārohiṇī | rāṣṭra- 3  
saṃsargaḥ | rājyaprathamābhiṣekaḥ | purohitakarmāṇi | puṣyābhiṣekaḥ |  
piṣṭarātryāḥ kalpaḥ | ārātrikaḥ | ghr̥tāvekṣaṇam | tiladhenuḥ | bhūmidānam | 5  
tulāpuruṣam | ādityamaṇḍalaḥ | hiraṇyagarbhaḥ | hastirathaḥ | āsvarathaḥ |  
gosahasradānam | hastidīkṣā | vṛṣotsargaḥ | indrotsavaḥ | brahmayāgaḥ | vi- 7  
nāyakābhiṣekaḥ | araṇīlakṣaṇam | saṃbhāralakṣaṇam | yajñapātralakṣaṇam |  
vedilakṣaṇam | kuṇḍalakṣaṇam | samidhalakṣaṇam | sruvalakṣaṇam | ha- 9  
stalakṣaṇam | jvālālakṣaṇam | lakṣahomaḥ | kātyāyanavidhiḥ | koṭihomaḥ |  
gaṇamālā | ghr̥takambalaḥ | anulomakalpaḥ | āsurīkalpaḥ | ucchuṣmakal- 11  
paḥ | samuccayaprāyaścittāni | brahmakūrcavidhiḥ | taḍāgavidhiḥ | pāsu-  
patavratavidhiḥ | snānavidhiḥ | sandhyopāsanavidhiḥ | tarpaṇavidhiḥ | 13  
śrāddhavidhiḥ | agnihotravidhiḥ | uttamapaṭalaḥ | varṇapaṭalaḥ | ni-  
ghaṇṭuḥ | caraṇavyūhaḥ | candraprātipadikaḥ | grahayuddham | graha- 15

1 lakṣaṇagranthā ... caturādhyāyikā] lakṣaṇagranthā bhavanti || tatra lakṣagra caturādhyāyikā  
Ku<sub>1</sub> 1 lakṣaṇagranthā] *em.*, lakṣaṇagranthā NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, lakṣaṇagranthā[+ ni] Gu<sub>1</sub>,  
lakṣaṇagranthāni Gu<sub>2</sub> 1 caturādhyāyikā] *em.*, caturādhyāyikā NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, catu{rthā}rādhyāyikā  
Ku<sub>3</sub>, caturādhyāyikāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 1 prātiśākhyam] *em.*, prātiśākhyam Ni, prātimākhyam Ku<sub>1</sub>,  
prātiśākham Ku<sub>3</sub>, prātiśākhyamḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, prātiśākhyam Jā 2 bṛhatsarvānukramaṇīś] Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā,  
°sarvā'nukramaṇīś Ni [[two vowel signs: i and ī], bṛhasarvānukramaṇīś Ku<sub>3</sub>, °kramaṇś  
Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 3 tatra] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā, tata Ku<sub>3</sub> 3 dvāsaptatiḥ] *em.*, dvyāsapta{tri} Ni,  
dvāsaptatri Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, dvādisapta Ku<sub>3</sub>, vyāsapta Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 3 pariśiṣṭāni] Jā, pariśiṣṭā NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>,  
pariśiṣṭā Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 3 kauśikoktāni] *em.*, kauśikoktaḥ NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, kauśikoktasa Ku<sub>3</sub>, kauśikokta  
om̄ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 3–4 rāṣṭrasaṃsargaḥ] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, rāṣṭrasaṃsargaḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>; lost in lacuna  
Jā 4 rājyaprathamābhiṣekaḥ] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, rājyapramābhiṣekaḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>, rājyā° Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, {.....}ka  
Jā 5 piṣṭarātryāḥ] *em.*, śiṣyārātryā Ni, piṣyārātryā Ku<sub>1</sub>, śiṣyārātryā Ku<sub>3</sub>, śiṣyārātryāḥ  
Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, śiṣyārātryā Jā 5 kalpaḥ] 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>, gośahaśradānaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, gosaha{s...} Jā 7 hastidīkṣā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, hastidīkṣā  
Ku<sub>3</sub>, hastidīkṣāḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 7 indrotsavaḥ] NiKu<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, indrochavaḥ  
Ku<sub>1</sub>, {..}tsavaḥ Jā 8 araṇīlakṣaṇam] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, araṇīlakṣaṇam Ni, araṇīlakṣaṇamḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>,  
araṇīlakṣaṇaḥ Gu<sub>2</sub> 9 samidhalakṣaṇam] Ku<sub>1</sub>, sami[+ dha 1]lakṣaṇam Ni, samilakṣaṇam  
Ku<sub>3</sub>, *om.* Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā 9 sruvalakṣaṇam] sruvalakṣaṇam NiKu<sub>1</sub>, śrīvatsalakṣaṇam Ku<sub>3</sub>,  
*om.* Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā 9–10 hastalakṣaṇam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, hastilakṣaṇam Ku<sub>3</sub>, hastalakṣaṇamḥ  
Gu<sub>1</sub>, hastalakṣaṇaḥ Gu<sub>2</sub> 10 koṭihomaḥ] Jā, koṭihomaḥ NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, koṭahomaḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>  
11 ghr̥takambalaḥ | anulomakalpaḥ] *em.*, ghr̥tānuhomakalpaḥ Ni, ghr̥tānulomakalpaḥ  
Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, ghr̥tanu'⟨·u...⟩ Jā 11 āsurīkalpaḥ] Ku<sub>3</sub>, āsurīkalpaḥ NiKu<sub>1</sub>, āsurīkalpaḥ  
Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 11–12 ucchuṣmakalpaḥ] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, ucchuṣma° Ni, uchūṣmaṃkalpaḥ  
Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 12 brahmakūrcavidhiḥ] Ku<sub>1</sub>, brahmakūrcavidhiḥ Ni,  
brahmakūryavidhiḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, brahmakūryavidhiḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 12–13 pāsupatavratavidhiḥ] Jā,  
°vidhi Ni, {sadyopāsanavidhiḥ |} pāsupatavratavidhiḥ Ku<sub>1</sub>, *om.* Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 13 snānavidhiḥ]  
Jā, *om.* NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 14–15 nirghaṇṭuḥ | caraṇavyūhaḥ] *em.*, nirghaṇṭācara(sec. m. →  
la)vruhaḥ Ni, {·}nirghaṇṭācaravruhaḥ Ku<sub>1</sub>, nirghaṇṭātaravṛha Ku<sub>3</sub>, nirghaṇṭācaravṛhaḥ  
Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā 15 candraprātipadikaḥ] candraprīt{i}apadikaḥ Ni, candraprātipadikaḥ  
Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, candrapātipadipaḥ 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]] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, grahayuddhaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 169.15–170.1 grahasaṃgrahaḥ]  
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 | kūrma vibhāgaḥ |  
 maṇḍalāni | digdāhalakṣaṇaṃ | ulkālakṣaṇaṃ | vidyullakṣaṇaṃ | nir-  
 3 ghātalakṣaṇaṃ | pariveśalakṣaṇaṃ | nakṣatragrahotpātalakṣaṇaṃ | indra-  
 cāpalakṣaṇaṃ | sadyovr̥ṣṭilakṣaṇaṃ | bhūmikampalakṣaṇaṃ | gośāntiḥ |  
 5 adbhūtalakṣaṇaṃ | svapnādhyāyaḥ | atharvahṛdayaṃ | bhārakī-gārgya-  
 bārhaspatyośanādbhūtāni | mahādbhūtāni || 4.9 ||
- 7 tatrāṣṭādaśopaniṣado bhavanti || muṇḍaka | praśna | garbhopaniṣat | prā-  
 ṇāgnihotra | mahopaniṣat | brahmopaniṣat | brahmavidyopaniṣat | kṣurika |  
 9 cūlika | anucūlika | atharvaśira | atharvaśikha | amṛtabindu | amṛtanāda |  
 yogaśikhā | nārayaṇo | śrutipratyagānando | nṛsimha | maho | brahmavedo |  
 11 atharvaṇo | paramātmā | tatravāśāntīś ceti || 4.10 ||
- tatra brahmavede 'ṣṭādaśa vratāni carīṣyan || sāvitṛivratam | vedavratam |  
 13 nīlavratam | nīlotpalavratam | mṛgāruvratam | rohitavratam | viśāsahivratam |  
 yamavratam | śāntivratam | kalpavratam | ṛṣivratam | śirovratam | maila-  
 15 vratam | śikhāvratam | anujavratam | dadhivratam | aṅgirovratam | pāsūpata-  
 vratam caret || 4.11 ||

1 rāhucāraḥ] Ni<sup>ac</sup>Ku<sub>3</sub>, rāhusaṃcāraḥ Ni<sup>pc</sup>, rāhucāra Ku<sub>1</sub>, rāhucāraḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, ⟨·⟩hucāraḥ Jā 1–2 kūrma vibhāgaḥ | maṇḍalāni] *em.*, °vibhāgo maṇḍāni NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, kūrma vibhāgo maṇḍāni Ku<sub>3</sub>, kūrma vibhāgo maṇḍāniḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 2 digdāhalakṣaṇaṃ] Ku<sub>3</sub>, digbāha° NiJā, digāha° Ku<sub>1</sub>, digbāhalakṣaṇaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 2 vidyullakṣaṇaṃ] *em.*, vidyulakṣaṇaṃ NiKu<sub>3</sub>Jā, {·}vidyulakṣaṇaṃ Ku<sub>1</sub>, vidyulakṣaṇaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 3–4 indracāpalakṣaṇaṃ] Ku<sub>3</sub>, cāndro(→ indra)palakṣaṇaṃ Ni, [+ cāndropalakṣaṇaṃ] Ku<sub>1</sub>, *om.* Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā 4 bhūmikampalakṣaṇaṃ] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, °kampaṃlakṣaṇaṃ Ni, °kampaṃlakṣaṇaṃḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, °kampalakṣaṇaṃḥ Gu<sub>2</sub>, bhūmika⟨mpa...⟩ Jā 4–5 gośāntiḥ | adbhūtalakṣaṇaṃ] *em.*, gośāntiradbhūta° NiKu<sub>1</sub>, gośāntiradbhūta° Ku<sub>3</sub>, gośāntiradbhūtalakṣaṇaṃḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 5–6 bhārakī-gārgya-bārhaspatyośanādbhūtāni | mahādbhūtāni] *em.*, bhārakī | gārgyaḥ | bārhaspatyāśanādbhūtāni {sumahābhūtāni} Ni, bhārakī | gārgyaḥ | bārhaspatyāśanādbhūtāni | mahābhūtāni Ku<sub>1</sub>, bhārakīgārgyaḥ | bārhaspatyāśanādbhūtāni | mahābhūtāni Ku<sub>3</sub>, bhārantīḥ grā(*sec. m.* + r)gyaḥ bārhasvatyāḥ sanābhūtāniḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, bhārantīḥ gārgyaḥ bārhasvatyāḥ sanābhūtāniḥ Gu<sub>2</sub>, bhārakī | gārgyaḥ | bārhaspatyāśanādbhūtāni | mahābhūtāni Jā 7 muṇḍaka] Ku<sub>3</sub>, ma(*sec. m.* → u)ṇḍakaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, muṇḍakaḥ NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>Jā 8 brahmopaniṣat | brahmavidyopaniṣat] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, bramavidyopaniṣat Ku<sub>3</sub>, brahmaṃvidyopaniṣataḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, {·}brahma{pani}vidyopaniṣataḥ Gu<sub>2</sub>, brahmavidyopaniṣat Jā 8 kṣurika] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, kṣurikaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, kṣuri⟨·⟩ Jā 9 cūlika] Ku<sub>1</sub>, cūlika NiKu<sub>3</sub>, cūlikaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, cūlikaḥ Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 9 anucūlika] Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, anucūlika Ni, anucūlikaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, *om.* Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 9 atharvaśira] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, °śiraḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, ⟨...⟩ra Jā 10 nṛsimha] Ku<sub>1</sub>, naraśiham Ni, naraśimha Ku<sub>3</sub>, nṛsimhaḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, naraśimha Jā 10 brahmavedo] NiGu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, brahma{vidyo}vedyo Ku<sub>1</sub>, brahmavedoḥ Gu<sub>2</sub> 11 tatravāśāntīś ceti] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, tatravam śyāntime(*sec. m.* → śce)tiḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, tatravam śyāntīścetiḥ Gu<sub>2</sub> 12 carīṣyan] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, carīṣmaṃ Gu<sub>1</sub>, carīṣmaran Gu<sub>2</sub> 12 vedavratam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, *om.* Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, veda⟨·⟩ Jā 13 nīlavratam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, nīlavrantam Gu<sub>1</sub>, nīlavrantam Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 13 nīlotpalavratam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, nīlotpaṃvratamḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, nīlotpaṃvratamḥ Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 13 mṛgāruvratam] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, mṛgārvratamḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, mṛgārvratamḥ Gu<sub>2</sub>, ⟨·⟩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>, nāmavratamḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, ⟨nāma⟩vratam Jā 14–15 mailavratam] *em.*, maiṣāvratam NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, saiṣāvratamḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 15 anujavratam] Ku<sub>3</sub>, anu[+ ḍu]havratam Ni, anujadvratam 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 vrantamḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>

- kr̥chraṃ | atikr̥chraṃ | taptakr̥chraṃ | sām̐tapanam̐ | māṇḍūkīyaṃ | tulā- 1  
puruṣaṃ | mahāsām̐tapanam̐ ceti || 4.12 ||
- yo vai brahmavedeṣūpanītaḥ sarvavedeṣūpanītaḥ || 5.1 || 3  
yo vai brahmavedeṣv anupanītaḥ sarvavedeṣv anupanītaḥ || 5.2 ||  
anyavede dvijottamaḥ | brahmavedam adhītukāmaḥ | sa punarupa- 5  
neyo || 5.3 ||
- devāś ca ṛṣayaś ca || ko asmākam̐ 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 ṛcoktaṃ || 11
- brahmajyeṣṭhā saṃbhṛtā vīryāṇi brahmāgre jyeṣṭhaṃ divam ā tatāna |  
bhūtānām̐ brahma prathamota jajñe tenārhati 13  
brahmaṇā spardhituṃ kaḥ || 5.8 ||
- atharvavede caturṇām̐ vedānām̐ sāṅgopāṅgānām̐ savākovākyānām̐ itihāsa- 15  
purāṇānām̐ || 5.9 ||
- atha brahmavedaḥ | kapilo varṇaḥ | tīkṣṇaḥ | caṇḍaḥ | kām̐arūpī | viśvā- 17  
tmā | jitendriyaḥ | sa bhagavān brahmaveda iti || caturmukho dvīpakṣo ati-

1 sām̐tapanam̐] *em.*, sānt{i}apanam̐ Ni, sāntipanam̐ Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, śyāntipanam̐ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, sānta{...}  
Jā 1 māṇḍūkīyaṃ] Gu<sub>2</sub>, maṇḍukīyaṃ NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, māṇḍukīyaṃ Gu<sub>1</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā  
1–2 tulāpuruṣaṃ] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, tulāpuruṣaṃ Gu<sub>1</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 2 mahāsām̐tapanam̐]  
*em.*, mahāsāntapanam̐ NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, mahāsāntipanam̐ Ku<sub>3</sub>, mahāsā{panam̐}(sec. m. svāpanam̐)  
Gu<sub>1</sub>, mahāsvāpanam̐ Gu<sub>2</sub> 3 brahmavedeṣūpanītaḥ] *em.*, °vedeṣupaniṣat NiKu<sub>1</sub>,  
°vedeṣupaniṣata Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>, °vedeṣupaniṣataḥ Gu<sub>2</sub>, °vedeṣupaniṣata Jā 3 sarvavedeṣūpanītaḥ]  
*em.*, °vedeṣupaniṣat NiKu<sub>3</sub>, °ve[+ de]ṣupaniṣat Ku<sub>1</sub>, °vedeṣupaniṣataḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, *om.* Gu<sub>2</sub>,  
°vedeṣupaniṣata Jā 4 yo vai ... sarvavedeṣv anupanītaḥ] *om.* Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 4 anupanītaḥ]  
*em.*, anupanīt Ni, anupanīta Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, *om.* Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 4 anupanītaḥ] *em.*, anupanīt NiKu<sub>1</sub>,  
apanīta Ku<sub>3</sub>, anupanīta Jā, *om.* Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 5 dvijottamaḥ] *em.*, dvijottamāḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>,  
dviyottamāḥ NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā 5 brahmavedam adhītukāmaḥ] *em.*, brahmavedemadhītukāmaḥ  
NiKu<sub>1</sub>, brahmavedemadhītukāmaḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, brahmavedama{dhī...} Jā 5–6 punar-  
upaneyo] *em.*, punarṣayo NiGu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, punarṣatyō Ku<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 8 brahmā]  
*em.*, brahma NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, brahmaṃ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 9 atharvā] *em.*, atharva Σ 9 atharvā  
ācāryaḥ] *em.*, atharva ācāryaḥ NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, atharvācāryaḥ Jā 12 brahmajyeṣṭhā]  
NiKu<sub>3</sub>, brahmajyeṣṭhā Ku<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>1</sub>, brahmaṃjyeṣṭhā Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 12 saṃbhṛtā] NiKu<sub>1</sub>,  
saṃbhṛtaṃ Ku<sub>3</sub>, saṃbhṛta Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 12 vīryāṇi] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, dvīryāṇiḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>,  
vīryāṇiḥ Gu<sub>2</sub>, {...}ryāṇi Jā 13 jajñe] jajñe NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, jajñeṃ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 14 spardhituṃ]  
Ni, sparddhatuṃ Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, sparddham̐ntu Ku<sub>3</sub>, syārd̐d̐ha(sec. m. → spardd̐hi)tu Gu<sub>1</sub>, spardd̐hitu  
Gu<sub>2</sub> 15 caturṇām̐] caturṇā NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, caturvarṇṇām̐ Gu<sub>1</sub>, catuvarṇṇām̐ Gu<sub>2</sub>, catirṇṇām̐  
Jā 15 vedānām̐] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā, devānām̐ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub> 15 savākovākyānām̐] *em.*, sarvāko(+  
nu)vākānām̐ Ni, sarvākonuvākānām̐ Ku<sub>1</sub>, sarvākonuvādvā-nām̐ Ku<sub>3</sub>, sarvākonuvākānī  
Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, sarvākovākyānām̐ Jā 17 atha] *em.*, atharva Σ 17 varṇaḥ] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, varṇṇam̐  
Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 17 tīkṣṇaḥ | caṇḍaḥ] NiKu<sub>1</sub>, tīkṣṇataḥ || caṇḍaḥ Ku<sub>3</sub>, tīkṣṇacaṇḍam̐  
Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 17 kām̐arūpī] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>, kām̐arpiḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, {...}rpi Jā 17–  
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 ativantaprājñah | kṣudratvāyukrūrah vaikhāyanagotraḥ | brahmā de-  
 vatā || 5.10–11 ||
- 3 ya ekaikasmin vedānām nāmagotrāpramāṇam ca kīrtayet | sa sarva-  
 pāpaviśuddho bhavati | mṛtaś ca brahmalokaṃ sa gachati brahmalokaṃ sa  
 5 gachatīti ||
- iti caraṇavyūhapaniṣat samāptā || 5.12 ||

#### §4.2. Text Critical Commentary on the *Caraṇavyūhapaniṣad*

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 caraṇavyūham vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*. But since all mss. in fact do contain the reading °*vidhiṃ*, it seems rather likely that CVU<sub>A</sub> 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 *Karmaṇājikā* and the *Āṅgirasakalpa*).

1.3. 49.1.3 reads *tatra ṛgvedasyārthaśāstram upavedaḥ | ... āyurvedopavedaḥ | abhicārakārthaśāstram ity ucyate* ||. **śāstraveda upavedaḥ**: CVU<sub>A</sub> had already become corrupt. Restore *arthaśāstram upavedaḥ* with 49.1.3, or perhaps *śāstravedaḥ*? **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 atharvavihitāni karmāṇi kuryāt sa tasya pratyāṅgiro bhūtvā hastyaśvarathapadātikaṃ prakṛtimukhebhyo . . .* Could it be that the last phrase of this paragraph, if correctly preserved in CVU, associates the ṚV with *divya*, the YV with *sāmpada*, the SV with *prāyaścittīya*, and the AV — unsurprisingly — with *abhicārika*, i.e. with rites of those four types?

1 ativantaprājñah] NiKu<sub>1</sub>Jā, ativataprājñah Ku<sub>3</sub>, ativantadharmā ativantaprājñamḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>, ativantadharmā ativantaprājñah Gu<sub>2</sub> 1 kṣudratvāyukrūrah] kṣudratvāyukrūrah Ni [[two vowels u and ū marked]], kṣudratvāyukūrah Ku<sub>1</sub>Jā, kṣudratvākṛrah Ku<sub>3</sub>, kṣudratv[*sec. m.* + ·]kṛrah Gu<sub>1</sub>, kṣudratvāyukṛrah 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>, sarvapāpoviśuddho Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 4 mṛtaś ca] *em.*, mṛtam sa NiKu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, mṛtasa Ku<sub>3</sub>, mṛtaṣam Gu<sub>1</sub>; lost in lacuna Jā 6 caraṇavyūhapaniṣat samāptā] caraṇavyūhapaniṣat samāptā Ni, caravyūha upaṣat samāptā Ku<sub>1</sub>, caraṇavyūhapaniṣat samāptā Ku<sub>3</sub>, caraṇavyūhapaniṣatsamāptamḥ Gu<sub>1</sub>Gu<sub>2</sub>, caraṇavyūha [+ u]paniṣat samāptā Jā

1.4. **vaikhāyanagotraḥ:** Cf. 49.1.4 *brahmavedo vaiṭāyanasagotro*, where BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN (p. 339), however, report AETU *vaikhā*<sup>o</sup>. 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 *suviḥktagrīvaḥ* (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 *°jānujaṅghaḥ | pramāṇena sa vitastayaḥ pañca* has preserved the correct text here. YV-CV (p. 47, l. 7): *pramāṇam tāvat tiṣṭhan vitastīḥ pañca*.

1.6. In this list and subsequent lists of Śākhā names, NiKu<sub>1</sub>Ku<sub>3</sub>Jā 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 Śākhā-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 *hvarakāḥ* 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<sub>A</sub> 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: *teṣāṃ adhyayanam | dve sahasre śate nyūne vede vājasane-  
yake | sakalaṃ parisamkhyātaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ tu caturguṇam ||*. Our version ruins the meter by inserting *ṛcām* (probably under the influence of 1.7 and 4.2 — the same error, but less widely spread, at 3.4, in ms. Ku<sub>3</sub>), and omitting *tu*. Note a similar omission in all mss. but one in the verse at 3.4 (*ca caturdaśa* → *caturdaśa*). The CVU reading *ślokena* could also be combined with a more incisive emendation after AVPariś: *parisamkhyātaṃ*. Emending the reading *khyāto* found in all CVU mss. anyhow seems unavoidable.

2.3. 49.2.3 reads *aṣṭādaśa śatāni bhavanti | tāny eva ... | saptasu vīrās 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: *teṣāṃ adhyayanam | aṣṭāśataṃ yajuḥsahasrāṇy adhītya śākhāpāro bhavati | tāny eva  
dviḡguṇāny adhītya padapāro bhavati | ... triḡguṇāny adhītya kramapāro ... | ṣaḍ  
aṅgāny adhītya ...*

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

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

*kalpo vyākaraṇaṃ niruktaṃ chando jyotiṣaṃ itihāsapurāṇaṃ vākovākyam idāvatsaraḥ parivatsaraḥ saṃvatsaro daśamaṃ śītoṣṇe ekādaśadvādaśe.* Although I have no evidence yet that this Kalpa was ever transmitted as such in Orissa, there are frequent references to a *nakṣatrakalpoka 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. **br̥hatsarvānukramaṇīś:** 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 ... prādeśāḥ ṣaḍ dīrghatvena yajurvedasyaitad ...* (YV-CV, p. 47 l. 9: *prādeśamātraḥ ṣaḍ dīrghatvena*). I have made the slight emendation of *prāmśu* (thus, disregarding trivial variants, all the CVU mss.) to *prāmśuḥ*; 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 *prādeśā 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 *prādeśāḥ ṣaḍ dīrgha°*.

3.1. BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN print *vinihatāḥ | [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 *kātarāḥ 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 *ṣaḍaratniḥ pramāṇena ca smṛtaḥ | stuvanty ṛṣayo brahmā sāmāni tiṣṭhati ...* It seems likely that AVPariś has here stayed close to the correct text for the first sentence, while *°vayanaḥ* 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*] *ṣaḍaratnimātraḥ pramāṇena ca yaḥ smṛtaḥ | anye ṛṣayo brahmā ca sāmni tiṣṭhanti saṃnidhau ||*. 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 AVPariś reads *bhedā* for CVU *śākhā*, 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 Carañavedas (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 trīśatāni . . . paryāyikaṃ*. The number of *ṛcs* quoted, viz. 12380, exceeds that of both extant Atharvavedic Saṃhitās 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 LANMAN 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 *etadgrāmyāranyakāni ṣaṭ sahasrāṇi 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 *grāmyāranyakāni* seems to belong rather to the Sāmavedic domain, which might mean that the original Atharvavedic *Carāṇavyūha* had already suffered an intrusion here.

\*4.4. No corresponding paragraph is found in CVU for 49.4.4, which lists 28 Upaniṣads 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 pūrvoam uttaram ceti*. This is the basis for my emendation *tasyāvaśiṣṭe*. We might also consider emending *pūrvottare iti*, to avoid the inelegant combination of dual dvandva with *ca*.

4.6. 49.4.6 reads *tatra ṣaḍ aṅgāny adhītya ṣaḍaṅgavid bhavati ṣaḍ aṅgāni bhavanti, śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇam niruktaṃ chando jyotiṣam iti*. Our version of the Aṅga 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 *ṣaḍ aṅgāny adhītya ṣaḍaṅgavid 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 *dantyoṣṭhavidhi* 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 *bṛhatsarvānukramaṇī*

*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 °*kramaṇīś*, supported by all CVU mss., has probably entered the text from the Śākhā-lists.

4.9. **tulāpuruṣam**: Note the neuter (AVPariś °*puruṣaḥ*). **hastidīkṣā** | **vṛṣot-sargaḥ**: In comparison with AVPariś, note the omission of *Aśvadīkṣā* between these two Pariśiṣṭas in our text. **vināyakābhiṣekaḥ**: No Pariśiṣṭa 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: *saṃviśasva varaḡhaṇṭāpsaraḡstave yatra subhujo hi nirmītāḡ | saṃviṣṭo me dhehi dīrḡham āyuh praḡjāḡ paśūḡś 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 *Ṣaṇmukhakaḡpa*, 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*: *vināyakasenābhiṣekaḡ*. In AVPariś, the order of the *araṇī*° and *saṃbhāralakṣaṇas* is different, which gives the sequence: *brahmayāḡaḡ | skandayāḡaḡ | saṃbhāralakṣaṇam | araṇīlakṣaṇam* |. **lakṣahomaḡ**: This corresponds to AVPariś 30 (*Laghulakṣahoma*); the following item in our list, called **kātyāyanavidhi**, corresponds to AVPariś 30b (*Brḡhallakṣahoma*). Note at the beginning of that Pariśiṣṭa: *atha kāṇkāyano bhagavantam atharvāṇam papraccha* (30b.1.1). The editors record no variant for *kāṇkāyano*, but the connection with the name of the Pariśiṣṭa in CVU seems evident. **ghṛtakambalaḡ** | **anulomakalpaḡ**: Thus restored by emendation on the basis of AVPariś. **taḡāḡavidhiḡ**: This is called *paithīnasitadāḡavidhiḡ* in 49.4.9 (cf. §6 on the name Paithīnasi). **snānavidhiḡ**: With support from only one ms. (Jā) — the other mss. omit it entirely — CVU lists this Pariśiṣṭa before, rather than after *Sandhyopāsanavidhi* (as in AVPariś). **nakṣatragrahotpātalakṣaṇam** | **indracāpalakṣaṇam** | **sadyovṛṣṭīlakṣaṇam** | **bhūmikampalakṣaṇam**: In AVPariś, note the different places occupied by *Bhūmikampalakṣaṇa* and *Utpātalakṣaṇa*, for which latter our text seems to substitute *Indracāpalakṣaṇa*. The order there is: *bhūmikampalakṣaṇam | nakṣatragrahotpātalakṣaṇam | utpātalakṣaṇam | sadyovṛṣṭīlakṣaṇam* |. Is it possible that our text preserves a trace of the correct order, in view of the mismatches between the titles and contents of Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭas 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 Pariśiṣṭas.

<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 *Indracāpalakṣaṇa*: 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 *Parīṣiṣṭas* 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 *br̥hatsarvānukramaṇī ceti* that we find in AVParīś, 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 Upaniṣad-names, a form in *o[paniṣat]* for others, while still others are given fully with the element *°upaniṣat*. I have not tried to impose any regularity in this regard.

Instead of the list of 15 Upaniṣads that AVParīś 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 *nṛṣiṃha-maho-brahmavedo* (where *maho* might be a spurious element). The CVU contains no direct trace of the list of 28 Upaniṣads that the AVParīś 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 AVParīś, on the one hand, and the CVU list of ‘18’/23, on the other, but there are considerable differences too. **tatra-tvaśāntīś ceti**: This incomprehensible conclusion seems to correspond in some way to the conclusion of AVParīś 49.4.10: *vaitathyam | advaitam | alātaśāntīś ceti*.

4.11. Note the fact that all mss. except Jā insert the *Śikhāvratā* between *Yamavratā* and *Śāntivratā*. 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 *śikhivratā*. **anujavratam | dadhivratam**: AVParīś here reads *marudvratam | adhvivratam*. 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 AVParīś. **mailavratam**: I have hesitantly made this emendation, relying for the name of the *vratā* 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 AVParīś, 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: *kṛcchram | taptakṛcchram | atikṛcchram |*

<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.

*sarvākṛcchram | maundabhāyah | tulāpuruṣaḥ | sām̐tapanam | mahāsām̐tapanam ceti.*

5.2. 49.5.2 reads *yo vai brahmavedeṣv anupanītaḥ sa sarvavedeṣv anupanītaḥ ||*. 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: *devās ca ṛṣayaś ca brahmāṇam ūcuḥ || ko no [smo] jyeṣṭhaḥ | ka upanētā | 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 'tharvopanētātharvācāryo '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 ṛcoktam | brahmajyeṣṭheti etayā |*, perhaps because the mantra had already been quoted in full at 46.9.21 = ŚS 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 tasyārhaṃ brahmavedaś caturṇām ...* (which seems somewhat more comprehensible than our *atharvavede caturṇām ...*), 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 varṇena tīkṣṇaḥ pra- caṇḍaḥ kāmarūpī viśvātmā jitendriyaḥ | sa tasmin bhagavati duroārajoālah | 10 | kṣudrakarmā sa ca bhagavān brahmavedaś caturmukho dvīpakṣo dānto dharmī balavān prājñāḥ kṛtotthāpanīyaḥ krūraḥ ṣadrātrāṇi vimṛṣī [ṣadrātrāṇi ṣaḍ] vaiṭāyano 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. 47 l. 17 reads *vaitānasagotraṃ*).

5.12. 49.5.12 reads *ya ekaikasmin vedānām nāmavarnagotrārūpapramāṇam ca kīrtayed yo vidvān jātismaro bhavati mṛtaḥ sa brahmalokaṃ gacchati ||*. 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 *Caranavyūhopaniṣad* Evidence

The main purpose of the Atharvavedic *Caranavyūha* seems to be to give an overview of the Atharvavedic canon, and to this end it comprises a catalog of Atharvavedic ancillary texts. Neither of the two known versions of this *Caranavyūha* 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> *Parīṣiṣṭa* in BOLLING & VON NEGELEIN's edition, based on mss. transmitted by Śaunakīya Atharvavedins. The availability of the version styled *Caranavyūhopaniṣad* 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 AVParīś 49 alike, mention is made of several texts, among which the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*, the *Vedāṅgas*, 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 *Parīṣiṣṭas*; 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-Parīś 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 *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*

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 Paippalādins 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,<sup>49</sup> where a positively identifiable quotation is made from the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*: it is GB 1.2.6, referred to as *pūrvabrāhmaṇe*. 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 *gopathabrāhmaṇe*, that are not found in that text as we know it, but of which most can be identified in the collection of Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas,<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 AVParīś introduction: “Hemādri in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* has also drawn extensively upon the Pariśiṣṭas, calling them either by their proper title or *Ātharvaṇa Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*.”<sup>52</sup>

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

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

<sup>50</sup>Ni 18v5–19r1, Ku 20v4, Gu<sub>1</sub> 23v4–5: *ke cit pūjanāt prāg darbhakoṣṭhīm triḥparyukṣaṇaṃ cecchanti || tathā ca gopathabrāhmaṇe || tasmād devoatāḥ sarvakarmasv ādito antar udayaneṣu* (em., °yameṣu Ni Ku, °pameṣu 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: *gopathabrāhmaṇe || gopuchāgrākṛtir daṇḍo hastamātra-pramāṇataḥ | ardhāṅguṣṭhapramāṇena nimnaṃ śirasi khānayed iti* (cf. AVParīś 27.2.4–5: *gopucchāgrākṛtir daṇḍo maṇḍalāgra[m] śiro viduḥ | aṅguṣṭhāgrapramāṇena nimnaṃ śirasi khānayet || etal lakṣaṇam uddiṣṭaṃ sruvasya phalabhedataḥ | gopathena yathāśāstram uddhṛtaṃ śruticodanāt | sruveṇa kurute karma hastenāpi tathā śṛṇu ||*); Ni 26r2, Ku 28v3, Gu<sub>1</sub> 31r2–3: *atha śruvagrahaṇalakṣaṇaṃ || gopathe || hīyate yajamāno vai śruvasya mūladarśanāt | putrair iṣṭaphalaiḥ pūrtaiḥ śrutir eṣā purātānī || tasmāt saṃgopayen mūlaṃ homakāle śruvasya ca* (unidentified); Ni 26v3–4, Ku 29v1–2, Gu<sub>1</sub> 31v5–32r1: *gopathabrāhmaṇe | adhunvan* (em., *dhunvan* mss.) *vāpi juhuyāc chruveṇāspḥuṭitāhutih* (em., *chruveṇo* mss.) *| dhunvan hinasti putrāṃś ca rākṣasāṃ sphuṭitāhutih || nānyat kiṃcid abhidhyāye ṛjuhadāpatatāhutih† | tad daivatam abhidhyāye āhutir yasya dīyate || śruve pūrṇe japen mantram uttānaḥ śāntike karaḥ | śāntike pauṣṭike caiva varjayet tu kanīnikām iti* (cf. AVParīś 27.1.4–5, 27.2.1); Ni 32v1–2, Ku 36v1–2, Gu<sub>1</sub> 37v1–2: *tathā ca gopathabrāhmaṇe || kriyāprasāmsā brāhmaṇaṃ haviḥsaṃskārakam yajuḥ || stutipradānaṃ mantrō vai vidhānaṃ kalpa ucyata iti* (unidentified); Ni 85r3, Ku 95r4, Gu<sub>1</sub> 98v5–99r1: *gopathabrāhmaṇe yadā juhōti hastenetyādivākyaḥ pañcabhir aṅgulibhir annaṃ hutvā* (cf. AVParīś 28.1.1: *om yadā juhōti hastena dakṣiṇenetareṇa vā | tadā vakṣye vidhiṃ 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.

<sup>51</sup>Cf. the reference to AVParīś 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 *Ṛgvedabhāṣyānukramaṇī* (8.1), without specification of the edition used. In 1955 he had referred to “the *Anukramaṇī* portion of the *Ṛgarthadīpikā*,

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 Veṅkaṭa Mādhava's statement, is inclined to take the *Prapañcahrdaya* evidence seriously, and to connect it with the following statement by Śaṅkara in his *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (3.3.25): *asty ātharvaṇīkānām upaniṣadārambhe mantrasamāmnāyaḥ "sarvaṃ pravīdhyā hrdayaṃ pravīdhyā dhamanīḥ pravṛjya śīro abhipravṛjya tridhā vipṛktaḥ" ityādiḥ*. WITZEL convincingly demonstrates (pp. 144ff.) that the passage from which this statement is taken lists texts that Śaṅkara 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 pratika, 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 *Paippalāda-brāhmaṇa* of (Veṅkaṭa Mādhava and) the *Prapañcahrdaya*.<sup>55</sup>

There is some evidence that Śaṅkara, when using the term *ātharvaṇīka*, 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 dāśakitavādibhōvaṃ brahmaṇa āmananty ātharvaṇīkā 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-

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8, 1". 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 *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* by KUNHAN RAJA (1932), where verses viii.i.10–12 read (p. 74):

*atha ye brāhmaṇārthānāṃ vivektāraḥ kṛtaśramāḥ |*  
*śabdarītiṃ vijānanti te sarvaṃ kathayanty api || 10*  
*tāṇḍake śāṅghyāyanake śramaḥ śatapathe 'pi ca |*  
*kauṣṭhake kāṅhake ca syād asyeha sa paṇḍitaḥ || 11*  
*aitareyakam asmākam paippalādam atharvaṇām |*  
*trīṅyan tittiriproktaṅ jānan vṛddha 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 *prabhañjaṅ chatrūn prati yāhy agne kṛtyākṛtaṃ duṣkṛtaṃ hrdaye vidhya marmaṇi* ||. 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 Śaṅkara's work, points out to me that *ātharvaṇīka* is used elsewhere in the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* only to denote the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, a fact which tends to corroborate the hypothesis that Śaṅkara 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 AVParīś 49.4.4 reduces the force of this last argument.

tween the lost source of the mantra(s) *sarvaṃ pravīdhya* . . . 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 *mantrasam-āmnāya* 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 *Prapañcahr̥daya*, 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 *Paippalāda*° with the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*. Since this information is found only in the *Prapañcahr̥daya* — 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 *Prapañcahr̥daya* statement.<sup>59</sup>

## §5.2. The Six Āngas

Except the so-called *Kautsaovyaniruktanighaṇṭu* (AVPariś 48) and an *Atharvaveda-jyotiṣa* 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>57</sup>Cf. the *Nyāyamañjarī* evidence presented in Kei Kataoka’s contribution to this volume, and §5.6 below.

<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>59</sup>Kei Kataoka has pointed out to me that the Mīmāṃsaka author Bhaṭṭa Someśvara, author of the *Nyāyasudhā*, a commentary on the *Tantravārttika*, refers to the Atharvaveda. Ed. MUKUNDA SHASTRI, p. 148, l. 2–3: *kṛitarājakabhojyānnatvasmṛtimūlasya tu tasmād dīkṣitasya vijñātasya kṛitarājakasya bhojyaṃ bhavātīy atharvavede paṭhyamānasya . . .* This passage must be a (rather imprecise) reference to the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa* (1.3.19:89.8–11): *tasyājātasya vijñātasya kṛitasomasya bhojanīyaṃ bhavātīy āhuh sa dīkṣāṇām prātar jāyate somaṃ kṛṇanti tasya jātasya vijñātasya kṛitasomasya bhojanīyaṃ bhavātīy āhuh*. 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.

<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

the AV-CV that the Atharvaveda had its own Āngas, 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 *Caranavyūha* 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 *Nakṣatralpa*. There is a text transmitted under this name that stands at the head of the Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas in the mss. of that collection; in the list of Pariśiṣṭas that we find in both versions of the AV-CV, it is called *Kṛttikārohiṇī* after its initial words. BAHULKAR (1984) concludes from this and other facts that the *Nakṣatralpa* which is AVParīś 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 *nakṣatralpokta tantra* — *tantra* here in the sense of ritual sequence: cf. the Atharvavedic technical terminology of *pūrva*<sup>o</sup> and *uttaratantra* (CALAND 1900: VI f.), of which the *nakṣatralpokta 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 *Nakṣatralpa*. One may speculate that if any textual basis for it exists in extant literature, it may rather be in one of the other known Pariśiṣṭas, or a similar work, and that the Orissan usage may be a mistake resulting from the placement of the *Nakṣatralpa*, that would have taken up a large portion of the beginning of most Pariśiṣṭa-codices.<sup>62</sup>

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

<sup>61</sup>The mss. of the *Karmapañjikā* contain a description. Ni 39v3–40v4, Ku 45r4–46v2, Gu<sub>1</sub> 45v4–47r4: *tatra nakṣatralpoktaṃ tantraṃ nigadyate || avyasaś cety uktvā | ... etā pūrvatantram iti || tataḥ kartā yajamānaṃ sprṣṭvā ayaṃ no 'gnir iti dvābhyāṃ mahedhmānaṃ sakṛd dhutvā | pūrvavaṇ māhāvyaḥrṭyādibhir hutvā | tataḥ pradhānahomaḥ | athottaratantram ucyate ... yasmāt kośād ity ātmano hṛdayābhinmantraṇaṃ kuryāt | yatrayatra nakṣatralpoktaṃ tantraṃ iti bravīti tatratatraitat karma kuryād iti || ... nakṣatralpoktaṃ tantraṃ samāptaṃ*. 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>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 *Nakṣatralpa* in his *Bhāṣya* on ŚS: "The Chambers Codex of the Pariśiṣṭas is an edition in three volumes, containing respectively AVPar. i—the true *Nakṣatralpa*, AVPar. ii–xxxvi and AVPar. xxxvii–

(2) The *Vaitānakalpa*. BHATTACHARYYA (1955: 8; 1968: 24) quotes the *Prapañcahr̥daya* 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 *Samhitāvidhi*. 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 *Karmaṇājīkā*, two of which refer specifically to expiations deriving from the *Samhitāvidhi*. (1) Ni 41v2, Ku 46v2, Gu<sub>1</sub> 48r4: end of the *saṃhitāvidhikalpokataprāyaścittavidhi*; (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 *Āṅgirasakalpa*, 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.

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lxix. 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 *Parīṣṭas* are so limited and also his ignorance of the *Nakṣatralpa*. He was however familiar with the tradition of the five *kalpas*, and as the second chapter of the *Śāntikalpa* began with an elaborate *nakṣatrayāga*, he identified this portion of the text with the *Nakṣatralpa* of which he had no knowledge except the name".

<sup>63</sup>Ed. MĪMĀṂSAK 1987, p. 23 (Trivandrum ed. p. 33).

<sup>64</sup>Cf. the misattribution of a phrase known from AVParīś 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>65</sup>Cf. Sanderson's contribution to this volume, p. 203 n. 22.

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

<sup>67</sup>*athāpi ślokau bhavataḥ | ājyabhāgāntaṃ prāktantram ūrdhvaṃ sviṣṭakṛtā saha | havīmṣi 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.

<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).

## §5.4. The Lakṣaṇagranthas

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> *Pañcapāṭalikā*, *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 Pariśiṣṭas

I have found several cases of a reference to a Pariśiṣṭa in the *Karmapañjikā*, but none can be connected with any text known as part of AVPariś. No collection of Pariśiṣṭas 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 *Caraṇavyūha*, that we have seen figuring in Upaniṣad mss. As part of *Āṅgirasakalpa* mss., but also in quotations in the *Karmasamuccaya* and the *Karmapañjikā*, I have noticed that texts called *Vedilakṣaṇa*, *Samidhalakṣaṇa*, *Jvālālakṣaṇa*, *Agnivārṇalakṣaṇa* are found quoted in the Paippalāda ritual manuals, and that these show some clear correspondences with the texts known respectively as AVPariś 24.1, 26, 29 and 24.2. See further n. 50 above for quotations from AVPariś 27 (*Sruvalakṣaṇa*) and 28 (*Hastalakṣaṇa*), attributed to the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*, and n. 39 (end) in Alexis Sanderson's contribution to this volume for a quotation from AVPariś 37 (*Samuccayaprāyaścittas*), attributed to the *Vaitānakalpa*. Some of the *Āṅgirasakalpa* mss., including the ms. As that was used for PAṆḌĀ [2003], contain an *Āsurīdīpikā* (attributed to a Bhūdhara) besides the actual verses of the *Āsurīkalpa* also known as AVPariś 35.<sup>70</sup> 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 Pariśiṣṭa texts might yield some more, and that a comparison with the

<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>70</sup>See PAṆḌĀ [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 *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, 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 Upaniṣadic 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 *Caranavyūha*, 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 *sakalapāṭha*, 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 Paippalādins 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 *Caranavyūha*

<sup>71</sup>See below, p. 187, on the Paippalāda affiliation of Paiṭhīnasi.

<sup>72</sup>This suggestion has been made, in a slightly different form, already by RENO (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 ṛcs (CVU 4.2; AVParīś 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 Ṛṣi-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 *Caranavyūhopaniṣad*

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 Paithīnasi, of Ślokas attributed to him, and of a *Paribhāṣā*, also composed in Ślokas, that may or may not have been authored by this Paithīnasi.<sup>75</sup> A proper weighing of the evidence and attempt to

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

<sup>74</sup>The CV clearly does not aim to cover secondary (non-canonical) ancillary texts, like *Paddhatī* and *Prayogas*. Hence, the AVParīś 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>75</sup>On Paithīnasi, see RENO (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 *paiṭhīnāsī* and a *paribhāṣā* are traceable through the index in the edition of the *Kauśikapaddhati*. Some material on Paiṭhīnāsī 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 *Paiṭhīnāsīsmṛti*" is announced). See also p. 323 in the contribution to this volume by Kei Kataoka.

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**Atharvavedins in Tantric Territory**  
**The *Āngirasakalpa* Texts of the Oriya Paippalādins and their**  
**Connection with the Trika and the Kālīkula**

With critical editions of the *Parājapavidhi*, the *Parāmantravidhi*,  
and the \**Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa*

Alexis Sanderson

Introduction: The Rise of Āgamic Ritual

The early medieval period, from the fifth century onwards, saw the Śaivism of the Mantramārga rise to pre-eminence as the principal beneficiary of patronage throughout the Indian subcontinent and in much of Southeast Asia. Among the religious specialists whom we would expect to have been adversely affected by this development were those brahmins, Atharvavedins or adherents of other Vedas versed in the rituals of the Atharvaveda, who had long been appointed to office as the personal priests of rulers (*rājapurohitaḥ*), performing their consecration ceremonies (*rājyābhiṣekaḥ* and *puṣyābhiṣekaḥ*) and a wide range of rituals, regular and occasional, for the protection of the kingdom and the thwarting of its enemies.<sup>1</sup>

It is not possible to establish from the evidence known to me how far this office was overshadowed or diminished by the rise of Śaivism in particular kingdoms and periods. But encroachment by Śaiva officiants into ritual territory long reserved to it is clear from the literature that sets out the rituals that they should or may perform when occasion arises. The Śaivas prescribed their own form of royal consecration ceremony, to be performed by their officiants for a king who had received Śaiva initiation; they offered a full range of apotropaic, protective, and hostile rituals, both Saiddhāntika and Śākta Śaiva, for which kings were the natural patrons; and they had in the *Netratantra* detailed instructions for a class of officiants whose practice shadowed or took over most of the functions in which the brahmanical *rājapurohitaḥ* operated, including the performance on the king's behalf of his daily and periodic worship.

The *Netratantra*, I have argued, is a Kashmirian work, and there is no evidence that it was followed widely outside Kashmir itself. It is possible, therefore, that it had little or no impact on the practice of courts in other regions.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, while the practice of giving Śaiva initiation to kings is well and widely documented from the seventh century onwards, that of following this

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<sup>1</sup>On the question of the Veda of the king's personal priest see nn. 28 and 29 on p. 204 below.

<sup>2</sup>On the function, provenance, date, and influence of the *Netratantra* see SANDERSON 2005b.

ceremony with a Śaiva adaptation of the brahmanical royal consecration is evidenced only in prescriptive sources, namely in the tenth-century *Naimittikakarmānusamdhāna* of Brahmaśambhu (the earliest surviving Paddhati of the Śaiva Mantramārga) and the Kashmirian *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati*, a work originally composed by Manodadatta in the fourteenth century but in its present form much expanded by later additions of uncertain date, of which that pertaining to the post-initiatory royal consecration is one.<sup>3</sup> However, the abundance of instruction in the Śaiva literature in the performance of rituals of propitiation to bring about results (*siddhiḥ*), hostile and other, for the benefit of kings and the state, the emergence among the Vaiṣṇavas during these same centuries of an extensive Āgamic literature, in the form of the Pañcarātra scriptures, which offered a repertoire of rituals very similar in style, range, and function to those of the Śaiva Mantramārga, and the pervasive evidence of a decline during this period in the sponsoring of Vedic ritual and a corresponding increase in the patronage of the new religions encourage us to look within the literature of the Atharvavedins themselves for evidence of adaptation to these changes.

### The Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas

There can have been no realistic hope of reversing the drift of centuries away from Vedic ritual.<sup>4</sup> We may surmise, therefore, that the Atharvavedins' only viable strategy was to respond to the altered expectations of their royal clients by adding Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava rituals to their repertoire, composing or appropriating texts that prescribe them and adding these to the corpus of their sacred literature.<sup>5</sup>

Evidence of the co-opting and embedding of Śaiva practice by the Atharvavedins is already present in the collection of ancillary tracts known as *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas*. For they include an adaptation of the Pāśupata observance (*Pariśiṣṭa* 40: *Pāśupataavrata*), and the *Ucchuṣmakalpa* (*Pariśiṣṭa* 36), which details fire sacrifices for supernatural ends that invoke Ucchuṣmarudra and the Ucchuṣmarudras with Mantras of a Śaiva character.<sup>6</sup> But there the phenomenon is marginal and the Śaivism involved is either pre-Mantramārgic, as

<sup>3</sup>For textual and epigraphical evidence of the giving of Śaiva initiation to kings and on the textual evidence of Śaiva royal consecration see SANDERSON forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup>The futility of the Vaidikas' hope for a renaissance of their tradition that would enable them to prevail over the Śaivas and Pañcarātrika Vaiṣṇavas supported by the court is deftly portrayed by the Kashmirian philosopher Jayantabhaṭṭa around the end of the ninth century in the prelude to the fourth act of his play *Āgamadambara* ('Much Ado About Religion').

<sup>5</sup>Compare the incorporation of prescriptions of Saiddhāntika, Dakṣiṇa, and Śākta rituals in the *Uttarabhāga* of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* discussed in SANDERSON 2005b, p. 235, n. 10.

<sup>6</sup>See BISSCHOP and GRIFFITHS 2003 for an introduction to and an edition and annotated translation of *Pariśiṣṭa* 40 on the *pāśupataavrata*. Rightly judging as exaggerated the view of WEBER (1858, p. 339) that the whole collection is permeated by sectarian devotion to Rudra, they

in the case of the Pāśupata observance, or probably so, as in the case of the Ucchuṣmarudra rites. Ucchuṣma, ‘Desiccating [Fire]’, was well-established in the early Buddhist Mantranaya as a wrathful subduer of demons,<sup>7</sup> and, more specifically, as the deity invoked to remove the impurity of left-overs (*ucchiṣṭam*) and human waste by devouring them.<sup>8</sup> In the Śaiva Mantramārga the as-

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list the *Ucchuṣmakalpa* and the text on the *koṭihomaḥ* (*Parīśiṣṭa* 31) as the only other documents in the collection that bear on the cult of Rudra-Śiva (p. 317). I have omitted the latter since its Śaiva character is limited to the frame-story of the revelation of this ritual. The ritual itself has no specifically Raudra or Śaiva characteristics.

<sup>7</sup>We see Ucchuṣma in this role in the Buddhist *Mahābalasūtra*, where he is identical with the wrathful, four-armed, fat-bellied (*lambodara*) deity Mahābala. This text was translated into Tibetan by Śīlendrabodhi, Jinamitra, and Ye shes sde around AD 800, and into Chinese in AD 983 (Taishō 1243, KBC 1097; see LANCASTER 1979, p. 377a, giving AD 933; LINROTHER 1999, p. 60, note 6, correcting the date), and numerous copies of this scripture, in both languages, have been found in the Dunhuang caves (STRICKMANN 2002, p. 156). In §18 of that work Vajrapāṇi teaches Bhūtādhipati the Maṇḍala of Ucchuṣmakrodha with its secret. The latter is the Mantra that follows: OM VAJRAKRODHA MAHĀBALA HANA DAHA PACA . . . LAMBODARA UCCHUṢMAKRODHA HŪM PHAṬ A AṢ MA HAṆ SVĀHĀ. He then teaches that anyone who enters this Maṇḍala will attain success in all he does. He will not suffer untimely death. His body will be immune to assaults and sickness. He will never be tormented by demons. In §13 the Mantrapadas OM VAJRAKRODHA MAHĀBALA DAHA HANA PACA . . . LAMBODARA UCCHUṢMAKRODHA HŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ are said to protect against every species of demon. In §12 a ray emerges from Śākyamuni and Māra comes with all his demon hordes. Ucchuṣma appears and terrifies them. Three texts of the exorcistic Ucchuṣma cult in Chinese are attributed to the translator A zhi da san (Ajitasena), a North Indian who worked in Anxi in the Turfan region of Central Asia in the first half of the eighth century: the *Wei ji jin gang jin bai bian fa jing* (KBC 1264, Taishō 1229), the *Wei ji jin gang shuo shen tong da man tuo la ni fa shu ling yao men* (KBC 1265, Taishō 1228), and the *Da wei li wu chu se mo ming wang jing* (KBC 1266, Taishō 1227). For the exorcistic and therapeutic contents of the first and third of these see STRICKMANN 2002, pp. 156–161. The three ‘translations’ were presented in AD 732 (LANCASTER 1979, p. 421b; DEMIÉVILLE *et al.* 1978, p. 236a [s.v. Ashitsudassan]). LINROTHER (1999, pp. 51–54) proposes with due caution that Mahābala/Ucchuṣma may be the identity of the two four-armed wrathful figures, squat and full-bellied, that attend two sculptures, one of Avalokiteśvara and the other of Vajrapāṇi, that flank the entrance porch of Monastery I at Ratnagiri in Orissa, assigning them to the period AD 600–700.

<sup>8</sup>For the latter role see, e.g., STEIN 1973, pp. 465–466; *Samvārodāya* 8.38cd: *utsṛṣṭabali saṃhārya bhūtam ucchuṣma dāpayet*; and, in the Esoteric Buddhism of the Far East, STRICKMANN 1996, pp. 248–249; 2002, pp. 156–63. There he is known in Chinese as *Wei ji jin gang* and in Japanese as *Eshaku kongō*, meaning ‘the Vajra-being (*jin gang*, *kongō*) of Impure (*wei*, *e*) Traces (*ji*, *shaku*)’ or ‘the Vajra-being of Impure (*wei*, *e*) Accumulations (*shaku*)’ and in Japan also as *Fujō kongō* (‘the Vajra-being [*kongō*] of Impurities [*fujō*]’), *Joe-funnuson* (‘the venerable [*son*] wrathful one [*funnu*] who purifies [*jo*] impurities [*e*]’), and *Ususama Myōō* (Ucchuṣmavidyārāja) (FRANK 1991, p. 158). In Japan he became the deity whose presence purifies latrines (STRICKMANN 2002, p. 156). See also the Mantra in *Mahābalasūtra* §14, in which he is commanded to ‘stop all impurities’, and the account of the subjection of Rudra/Maheśvara in the 15<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Tibetan *Rnying ma pa Mahāyogatantra Gsang ba’i snying po*, in which Heruka devours Maheśvara and excretes him in the form of an ocean of filth which Ucchuṣma then swallows (STEIN 1974, p. 511). A version of the *Pa dma thang yig*, the *Bka’ thang gser phreng* of Sangs rgyas gling pa composed in 1341 or 1389 (STEIN 1995, p. 124), relates that Ucchuṣma was rewarded after the subjection of Rudra by being given a place at the edge of the Maṇḍala as the receiver of the

sociation of Ucchuṣma with the elimination of impure substances is seen in the *Niṣvāsaguhya*, which makes Ucchuṣmarudra preside in a city of iron that bears his name in the first of the subterranean paradises known as the Pātālas. This, we are told, is the destiny of souls who have allowed the substances left from Śiva's worship to fall to the ground. Here they worship Caṇḍeśa (/Caṇḍeśvara), the ferocious Gaṇa of Śiva to whom such remnants are to be offered in Saiddhāntika worship, in order to remove the danger they pose.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the Vaiṣṇava *Varāhapurāṇa* declares that those who follow the impure forms of Rudra worship (*raudraṃ śaucavarjitam*), which it defines as those other than that laid down in the Veda-congruent [Saiddhāntika] *Niṣvāsasaṃhitā*, are to be seen as Ucchuṣmarudras (*ucchuṣmarudrās te jñeyāḥ*).<sup>10</sup> This is probably to be understood as 'Rudras addicted to the consumption of impure substances', an interpretation supported by a variant reading of this passage as it is cited by Raṅgarāmānuja in his commentary *Bhāvoparakāśikā* on Sudarśana's *Śrutaparakāśikā* on Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* 2.2.42, where these beings are termed Ucchiṣtarudras 'Rudras of [pollutant] remnants' (*ucchiṣtarudrās te jñeyāḥ*).<sup>11</sup> Further, the *Picumata/Brahmayāmala* is also known as the Tantra of Ucchuṣma (*ucchuṣmatantram, tantram ucchuṣmasaṃbhavam*),<sup>12</sup> and this name alludes to the strict indifference to impurity or rather to the cultivation of con-

remains of the offerings (STEIN 1973, p. 466). I thank my colleague Miyako Notake of Waseda University for her help with the Japanese names.

<sup>9</sup>*Niṣvāsaguhya* ff. 54v6–55r1: *āyāsī prathamā bhūmi purī bhasma ... | ... yasya nāgasya tathā ucchuṣmarudrayoḥ | ucchuṣmeti purī khyātā āyāsī harmamālinī | caṇḍīsaṃ pūjayantītha nirmālyapatane gatāḥ*. The form *caṇḍīsaḥ* here is evidently a MIA-influenced Aiśa variant of *caṇḍeśaḥ*.

<sup>10</sup>*Varāhapurāṇa* 71.50–56b (Ed. and Raṅgarāmānuja, *Bhāvoparakāśikā* on *Śrutaparakāśikā* on *Śrībhāṣya* 2.2.42 [R]; verse numbers of Ed.): 50 *evam abhyarthitas tais tu purāhaṃ dvijasattamaḥ | vedakriyāsamāyuktāṃ kṛtavān asmi saṃhitām | 51 niḥśvāsākhyāṃ tatas tasyāṃ līnā bābhavyaśāṇḍilāḥ | \*alpāparādhā ity eva śeṣā baidālikābhavan* (R: *alpārādhāc chrutvaiva gatā baidālikā bhavan* Ed.) | 52 *mayaiḥ mohitās te hi bhaviṣyaṃ jānatā dvijāḥ |* (Here Ed. has an extra line, lacking in R: *lalyārthinās tu śāstrāṇi kariṣyanti kalau narāḥ*) 53 *niḥśvāsasaṃhitāyāṃ hi \*lakṣamātrapramāṇataḥ* (R: *lakṣamātram pramāṇataḥ* Ed.) | *saiva pāsupatī dikṣā yogāḥ pāsupatas \*ca saḥ* (R: *tv iha* Ed.) | 54 *etasmād vedamārgād dhi yad anyad iha jāyate | tat kṣudrakarma vijñeyam raudraṃ śaucavarjitam | 55 ye rudram upajīvanti kalau baidālikā narāḥ |* (Extra line in Ed. here, repeating Ed.'s 52cd) *\*ucchuṣmarudrās* (Ed.: *ucchiṣtarudrās* R) *te jñeyā nāhaṃ teṣu vyavasthitaḥ* 'O best of brahmins, in the past when they requested me [to give them some scripture for the Kali Age] I created the *Niḥśvāsasaṃhitā*, which includes the rituals of the Veda. Then the Bābhavyas and Śāṇḍilas followed it, for their offence [against the Veda] had been less. The rest[, whose offence was greater,] became religious frauds. For I myself had deluded them, O brahmins, knowing the future. It is in the *Niḥśvāsasaṃhitā*, whose extent is but 100,000 [verses], that this Pāsupata initiation and meditation [have been revealed]. Know that whatever [teaching] comes into being that is other than [this] path of the Veda is the Raudra, base practice void of purity. Know that those frauds who live off Rudra in the Age of Kali are Ucchuṣmarudras. Among them I do not dwell'.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. the substitution of Mahocchiṣṭā for Mahocchuṣmā reported below in n. 141 on p. 277.

<sup>12</sup>*Picumata* f. 21r2–3 (4.255): *raktā karālī caṇḍākhya mahocchuṣmā tathaiḥ ca | ucchuṣmatantre nāmāni guhyakānām na saṃśayaḥ*; f. 185r5 (colophon of Paṭala 36): *ity ucchuṣmatantre picumate*; f. 1v2 (1.3cd): *yat paraṃ sūcitam deva tantram ucchuṣmasaṃbhavam*; f. 5r2 (2.14cd): *athāto mātaraṃ vakṣye tantre ucchuṣmasaṃbhave*.

tact with impurity as a means to power and liberation that characterizes this scripture. But in spite of these connections I am not aware of any Śaiva Kalpa that could have served as the prototype of the rites of the Ucchuṣmarudras seen in *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa* 36. Moreover, the Atharvavedic *Ucchuṣmakalpa* does not conform closely to the Mantramārgic model. The Mantras taught in the Kalpa comprise one for self-protection (*ātmaraḥṣā*) followed by formulas invoking protection of the four cardinal directions, the zenith, and nadir, with blows from the weapons of their respective guardian deities, an Ucchuṣmahṛdaya, an Ucchuṣmaśikhā, a Kavaca, and an Astramantra, and a long Mantra for *japaḥ*. The Hṛdaya, Śikhā, Kavaca, and Astra bring to mind the Mantramārgic model in which these are the names of the Ancillaries of any main Mantra (*mūlamantraḥ*); but they are not presented here in that role; nor are we given the Śiras or Śiras and Netra that complete the set of those Ancillaries in the rituals of the Mantramārga.<sup>13</sup> Nor do we find instructions for the installation of these Mantras (*nyāsaḥ*) on the hands and parts of the body, or for the visualization of the deity (*dhyānam*), both features fundamental to any properly Mantramārgic Kalpa. Furthermore the style of the Mantras is strongly reminiscent of a type that has a much earlier history, being seen, for example, in the Mantrapadas of the Buddhist *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī*,<sup>14</sup> the first two Chinese translations of which were listed in the *Qin lu*, a catalogue of the period AD 350–431, according to that compiled by Yuan zhao in AD 800.<sup>15</sup>

The third section (*khaṇḍaḥ*) of the *Mahāgaṇapatīvidyā*, a long Mantra in ten sections recited to ward off assault by demons, Yoginīs, and the like, and preserved in the ritual tradition of Kashmir, summons the aid of Ucchuṣmarudra and ends with an invocation of the Ucchuṣmarudras.<sup>16</sup> However, this too,

<sup>13</sup>On the ancillary Mantras in Mantramārgic Śaivism see BRUNNER 1986.

<sup>14</sup>Thus, for example, in the *japamantraḥ* of the Atharvavedic *Ucchuṣmakalpa* we have (9.3) NAMAḤ KAṬA VIKAṬA KAṆṬE MĀṬE PĀṬALE VIKALE ASAURYĀSAU ASAURYĀSAU PṚTHIVĪṢṬA-KĀ IṢṬAKĀJINĀTYŪNYO SAUGALUṀTIGALUṀTE KAṬAM ASI KAṬAPRAVRṬE PRADVIṢA RUDRA RAUDREṆĀVEŚAYĀVEŚAYA HANA HANA DAHA DAHA PACA PACA MATHA MATHA VIDHVAM-SAYA VIDHVAM-SAYA VIŚVEŚVARA YOGESVARA MAHEŚVARA NAMAS TE 'STU MĀ MĀ HIM-SĪḤ HUM PHAṬ NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ. This may be compared with *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī*, pp. 23, l. 22–24, l. 12: AKAṬE VIKAṬE HARIṆI HĀRINI DHARAṆI DHĀRAṆI HUKKE HUKKE VUKKE VUKKE HANA AMITRĀN MAMA SARVASATTVĀNĀM CA DAHA AHITAIṢIṆO MAMA SARVASATTVĀNĀM CA PACA PRATYARTHIKĀM MAMA SARVASATTVĀNĀM CA . . . . Compare also the *Ucchuṣmakalpa*'s Mantra for self-protection (1.4) ŚIVE JAṬILE BRAHMACĀRIṆI STAMBHANI JAMBHANI MOHANI HUM PHAṬ NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ with HARI HĀRIṆI CALI CĀLINI TRAMAṆI TRĀMAṆI MOHANI STAMBHANI JAMBHANI SVAYAMBHUVĒ SVĀHĀ in *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī*, p. 15.

<sup>15</sup>The *Mahāmāyūrī*'s two earliest Chinese translations, of unknown authorship, are KBC 305 (Taishō 986) and KBC 306 (Taishō 987). For Yuan zhao's report see LANCASTER 1979, p. 113a. There are also early Chinese translations by Kumārajīva (KBC 304, Taishō 988), produced between AD 402 and 412 (LANCASTER 1979, p. 112b), and Saṅghabhadra (KBC 307, Taishō 984), produced between AD 502 and 520 (LANCASTER 1979, p. 113b).

<sup>16</sup>*Mahāgaṇapatīvidyā*, pp. 57–58: OM BHAGAVATE UCCHUṢMARUDRĀYA SAPTADVĪPEŚVARĀ-

like the Atharvavedic *Ucchuṣmakalpa*, is not properly Mantramārgic. Similar Mantras are found in the Śaiva exorcistic tradition preserved in such works as the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, but they too have an archaic style that probably predates the Mantramārga.<sup>17</sup>

## The Āngirasakalpa

However, there is another relevant corpus, one that has received little scholarly attention, which is preserved in a number of *Āngirasakalpa* manuscripts now

YA HĀRAKAṬAŚARĪRĀYA ŚARAṆAKṚTAŚARĪRĀYA MANUṢYAŚARĪRAM ĀVEŚAYA 2 PRAVEŚAYA KHAṬVĀNGAṆ DRĀVAYA 2 SVARŪPAṆ DARŚAYA 2 MĀHEŚVARĪM MUDRĀM GRḤṆA 2 KĀPĀLĪM MUDRĀM BHAṆJAYA 2 VAIṢṆAVĪM MUDRĀM \*DĀRAYA (conj.: DHĀRAYA Ed.) 2 ŚIVADŪTIRŪPAṆ DARŚAYA 2 JAYA 2 JVALA 2 PRAJVALA 2 KAḌḌA 2 SPHOṬA 2 \*PRAHARA (conj.: PRAHARAṆA Ed.) 2 YAKṢO VĀ RĀKṢASO VĀ BHŪTO VĀ PRETO VĀ PISĀCO VĀ KŪSMĀNḌO VĀ APASMĀRO VĀ PRETAYĀMINĪ VĀ MATHA 2 MOCAYA 2 KAMPAYA 2 VIDHVAMSA 2 PRAMĀṆARŪPIKĀM DARŚAYA 2 BRĀHMAṆĪ VĀ KṢATRIYĪ VĀ VAIŚYĪ VĀ ŚŪDRĪ VĀ CAṆḌĀLĪ VĀ CARMĀKĀRĪ VĀ MĀLĀKĀRĪ VĀ MĀTAṆĠĪ VĀ PUKKASĪ VĀ CĀMUṆḌĪ VĀ YOGINĪ VĀ MAHĀYOGINĪ VĀ ĀKĀSAGĀMINĪ VĀ BHUVANAVĀSINĪ VĀ PĀTĀLAVĀSINĪ VĀ VAUṢAṬ PHAṬ 2 SVĀHĀ. OM NAMAḤ ŚĪGHRAGAMANĀYA AKṢARĀYA TRINETRĀYA TRISŪLAHASTĀYA HRḌGATĀYA MANTRĀYA MANTRAVRATĀYA \*SVAHRḌDAYĀYA (conj.: SUHRḌDAYĀYA Ed.) \*SVAHRḌGATĀYA (conj.: SUHRḌGATĀYA Ed.) ĀGACCHA 2 UCCHUṢMARUDREBHYAḤ SVĀHĀ. *tr̥tīyah khaṇḍah.*

<sup>17</sup>Compare, for example, the Vidyārāja of the Rudra Khaḍgarāvaṇa in the *Khaḍgarāvaṇakalpa* of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, f. 45v4–46r1 (the same Mantra is found with minor differences in the tradition of the Keralan Mantravādins; see the anonymous *Tantrasārasaṅgrahaṇyākhyāna*, pp. 186–187 and the *Tantrasārasaṅgrahamantravimarśinī* of Svarnagrāma Vāsudeva, vol. 1, p. 179): OM NAMO PAŚUPATAYE NAMO BHŪTĀDHIPATAYE NAMO RUDRĀYA LA LA LA LA KHAḌGARĀVAṆA BALAM VĪHARA 2 SARA 2 NṚTYA 2 VALGA 2 SPHOṬAYA 2 ŚMAŚĀNABHASMACARCITAŚARĪRĀYA GHAṆṬĀKAPĀLAMĀ(LĀ)DHARĀYA VYĀGHRACARMAPARĪDHĀNĀYA ŚAŚĀNKAKṚTAŚEKHARĀYA KṚṢṆASARPAYAJŅOPAVĪTINE \*HANA 2 CALA (conj.: NACALA Cod.) 2 VALA 2 VALGA 2 ANIVARTAKAPĀLINE \*HANA 2 (conj.: HANA Cod.) BHŪTĀN TRĀSAYA 2 MAṆḌALAMADHYE KAḌḌA 2 RUDRĀṆKUSĒNA SAMAYAM PRAVEŚAYA 2 ĀVĀHAYA 2 CAṆḌĀSĪDHĀRĀDHIPATIRUDRŌ JŅĀPAYATI SVĀHĀ; and that of the Rudra Lohaka in the *Lohakakalpa* of the same work, f. 59r3–60r1: OM NAMO BHAGAVATE RUDRĀYA OM NAMO LOHAKĀYA CĪPĪTANĀSĀYA AṢṬABHUIJAMAHĀLOHAKĀYA APARIMITABALA\*PARĀKRAMĀYA (corr.: PARĀKRAMAYA Cod.) EṢAKIṢAYĀYA MAHĀ\*DAṆṢṬROTKAṬĀYA (corr.: DAṆṢṬROTKAṬAYA Cod.) EHI 2 LOHAKA IDAM DUṢṬAGRAHAM ĀVEŚAYA SAMAYAM PRAVIŚAYA 2 ĀVIŚAYA 2 SAṆKRĀMA(YA 2) MAHĀBHĀIRAVARŪPA BHO BHO LOHAKA IMAM CAṆḌĀLAGRAHASYA ŚIRAS TROṬAYA TROṬAYA GRĪVAM MOṬAYA 2 HRḌDAYAM \*MOṬAYA (conj.: MOMOṬAYA Cod.) 2 BHINDA 2 MUDRĀ(M) CHINDA 2 DAHA 2 PACA 2 KUḌḌA 2 GARJA 2 HURU VURU 2 MAHĀGAṆAPATIRŪPAṆ DARŚAYA 2 HASTĀN PĀDĀN GRḤṆA 2 SAMAYAM \*ANUSMARA (corr.: ANUSMARAM Cod.) CAṆḌĀLAM ANUPRAVEŚ(Y)OTTHĀPAYA 2 BHRĀMAYA 2 DUṢṬAGRAHAM TRĀ(SA)YA 2 VIDRĀ(VA)YA ĀVEŚAYA 2 SVASTHĀNAM ĀVEŚAYA PUṆYENA SARVASATTVĀ(N) ĀVEŚAYA 2 DEVĀN ĀVEŚAYA 2 TATHĀ KATHAYA 2 \*TRAILOKYĀVĀRTĀM (corr.: TRAILOKYĀVĀRTTAM Cod.) KATHAYA 2 MAHĀBHĀIRAVA\*ḌĀMARA (conj.: ḌĀMV Cod.) APRATIHAṬAGATE AMOGHASARVAKARMAKARA SIDDHALOHAKA SARVAKARMAKARA SATTVĀ(N) ĀVEŚAYA SIDDH(Y)A AMOGHAMAHĀBALAPARĀKRAMA AJITASARVASATTVASĀDHANA MAHĀBHĀIRAVA LOHAKA SIDDHISĀDHANA (conj.: SIDDHASĀDHANA Cod.) AVIKALPA MAMA †BHŪBHṚTYAMĀNASYA† KRODHOTPANNAḤ †ASĀSĀDHANA† MAHĀGAṆARUDRO JŅĀPAYATI SVĀHĀ.

or formerly in the possession of brahmins of Orissa following the Paippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda,<sup>18</sup> members of a community of such brahmins found in numerous settlements from the Ganjam district in South Orissa to the East-Singbhum district in the southeastern corner of the State of Jharkhand just beyond Orissa's northern border, with concentrations within Orissa around the former royal seats of Puri, Narasinghpur, Bhadrakh, Kendujhargar, and Baripada.<sup>19</sup> For the manuscripts that I have seen, which do not transmit a single, constant work but contain varying but overlapping collections of texts, consist almost entirely of instruction in the procedures of hostile ritual through the propitiation of post-Vedic Mantra-deities following Tantric rather than Vedic liturgical models. One of these, a palm-leaf manuscript in the Oriya script from the home of the Paippalādin Dāmodara Miśra of Asimiḷā village in the Baleshwar District of Orissa, was transcribed and published in 2003 by the Oriya scholar Umākānta PANDĀ as the *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati* 'Directions on the Six [Hostile] Rites beginning with Subjection, according to the Paippalāda[-Atharvaveda]'.<sup>20</sup> This was the starting point of my research in this field.

The affiliation of these texts to the Paippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda is proclaimed in many cases through the device of presenting them in the format of instruction given by Aṅgiras in answer to questions put to him by the sage Pippalāda; and the priest selected by the Yajamāna to perform the rituals taught in them is identified as a Paippalādin (*atharvavedāntargatapippalādaśākhā-dhyāyī*) in the formula of intention (*saṃkalpaḥ*) that is to be recited before the ritual commences.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup>The only work on this corpus known to me is a pioneering but very short article by BAHULKAR (1987) in which he briefly outlines the contents and character of two *Āṅgirasakalpa* manuscripts, both used by me here (P<sub>1</sub> and P<sub>2</sub>), gathers the few existing references to the *Āṅgirasakalpa* in Dārila's and Keśava's commentaries on the Atharvavedic *Kauśikasūtra*, and in Sāyaṇa's introduction to his commentary on the Śaunaka *Atharvavedasaṃhitā*, and concludes that our work must be different and later.

<sup>19</sup>For this distribution and a list of Paippalāda-Atharvavedin settlements in the region see GRIFFITHS 2002, p. 37 and WITZEL and GRIFFITHS 2002. It is probable that the Paippalādins reached Orissa from Bengal, having migrated there from Gujarat. As Kei Kataoka observes in this volume (p. 324), it is not impossible that there were already Paippalādins in Bengal c. AD 700. The earliest evidence, with positive Śākhā identification, of their presence in Orissa is a copper-plate inscription of the tenth century from the central Orissan kingdom of Ubhaya-khiṅjalimaṇḍala recording grants to three Paippalādins, of whom two are said to have migrated there from coastal Orissa (Odra) (GRIFFITHS 2002, pp. 41–43). The presence of Atharvavedins in coastal Orissa at least a century earlier is established by a copper-plate inscription of the Orissan Bhaumakara king Śubhākaradeva, which records a grant of two villages to some 200 brahmins of specified Veda, of whom about a quarter were Atharvavedins (see Annette Schmiedchen's contribution in this volume, nos. 12 and 13). Though the inscription does not indicate to which school they belonged, that they were Paippalādins is at least probable.

<sup>20</sup>This title adequately describes the work's content but is found nowhere in the manuscript, which comes to us as an untitled collection of texts.

<sup>21</sup>*Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati* p. 124: *amukasagoṭram atharvavedāntargatapippalādaśākhādhyāyīnam amukaśarmāṇaṃ brāhmaṇam amukasagoṭraḥ amukadevaśarmā rājā mama amukapha-*

The colophons of some of the texts in this open corpus declare them to be works of human authorship or citations from such works, namely the *Prapañcasāra* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, the *Śāradātilaka* of Lakṣmaṇadeśika, the *Mantramuktāvalī* of Pūrṇaprakāśa, the *[Mantra]devaprakāśikā* of Viṣṇudeva, the *Āsurīdīpikā* of Bhūdhara, the *Tantrādhyāya* of the *Karmasamuccaya*, the *Lakṣaṇasamuccaya*, the *Ānuṣṭubhakalpamālā* of Śeṣa, and the *Paddhati* of Vāmanabhavadāsa or Vāmana and Bhavadāsa (the *Vāmanabhavadāsīya*). But those of most of the rest assign them to the *Āṅgirasakalpa*, often identified simply as the *Āṅgīrasa*, thereby claiming that in spite of their manifestly Tantric content they are properly Atharvavedic. For the *Āṅgirasakalpa* (*āṅgīrasaḥ kalpaḥ*, *āṅgīrasām kalpaḥ*), also known as the *Abhicārakalpa* ('The Kalpa of Hostile Ritual'), is among the five Kalpas that had been said since early times to constitute the ancillary literature of the Atharvaveda, namely (1) the *Nakṣatrakalpa*, (2) the *Vitānakalpa*, also called *Vaitānakalpa* or *Vedakalpa* (*/vedānām kalpaḥ*), (3) the *Samhitākalpa* (*/samhitānām kalpaḥ*), also called *Samhitāvidhi*, (4) the *Āṅgirasakalpa*, and (5) the *Śāntikalpa*.<sup>22</sup>

*lārthaṃ ... amukakalpoktaṃ mama karma kartum ... ācāryatvena tvām ahaṃ vṛṇe* 'I, the king, N-devaśarman, being of such and such a Gotra, choose you, N-śarman, a brahmin of such and such a Gotra, a student of the Pippalāda branch of the Atharvaveda, to be the officiant to perform for me such and such a ritual taught in such and such a Kalpa for such and such a benefit ...'. The same specification is seen in P<sub>1</sub>, f. 46v3: *amukadevaśarmaṇe brāhmaṇāya atharvavedāṃtar-gatapippalādasākhādhyāyine*.

<sup>22</sup>See Upavarṣa's lost commentary on the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* as quoted in the 11<sup>th</sup> century by Keśava of Malwa in his *Kauśikapaddhati* on 1.8: *upavarṣācāryeṇoktaṃ mīmāṃsāyām smṛtipāde kalpasūtrādīkaraṇe "nakṣatrakalpo vaitānas tṛtīyaḥ samhitāvidhiḥ | caturtho 'ṅgīrasām kalpaḥ śāntikalpas tu pañcamah"* iti. *ete kalpā vedatulyā hi iti bhagavatopavarṣācāryeṇa pratipāditam. anye kalpāḥ smṛtitulyāḥ* 'Upavarṣācārya has said the following [in his commentary] on the *Mīmāṃsā[sūtra]*, in the section on the Kalpasūtras in the *Smṛtipāda*: "[The five Kalpas are] the *Nakṣatrakalpa*, the *Vaitāna*, third the *Samhitāvidhi*, fourth the *āṅgīrasām kalpaḥ*, and fifth the *Śāntikalpa*". The venerable Upavarṣācārya has taught that these Kalpas are equal [in authority] to Śruti, whereas all other Kalpas have the status of Smṛti'. The verse quoted here is also attributed to Upavarṣa by Sāyaṇa in the *Atharvavedasamhitābhāṣya*, vol. 1, p. 25 (with the variant *turya āṅgīrasaḥ kalpaḥ*); and it has been incorporated into the corpus of brahmanical scripture as 2.5.4 of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*. Synonymous variants of this verse appear in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (3.6.13c–14b: *nakṣatrakalpo vedānām samhitānām tathaiḥ ca | caturthaḥ syād āṅgīrasaḥ śāntikalpaś ca pañcamah*) and, with badly defective metre, in the *Caraṇavyūha* ([*Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 49] 4.7: *pañca kalpā bhavanti. nakṣatrakalpo vaitānakalpas tṛtīyaḥ samhitāvidhiḥ | caturtha āṅgīrasaḥ kalpaḥ śāntikalpas tu pañcamah*; cf. also the version of this same defective verse in the corresponding section of the *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad*, in Arlo Griffiths' contribution to this volume). The *Nārādapurāṇa* (*Pūrvārdha*, 51.2–8b) both lists them and defines their subject matter: (1) the *Nakṣatrakalpa* as dealing with the asterisms and their presiding deities (see *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 1, which deals with these and their various effects, particularly on the fates of the rulers of various nations); (2) the *vedānām kalpaḥ* (= *Vaitānakalpa*) as comprising the *Vidhāna* texts of the four Vedas (*R̥gvidhāna* etc.), setting out the special fire-rites using Vedic mantras for supernatural effects (see *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, *Khaṇḍa* 2, chapters 124–127, which gives *Vidhāna* texts for all four Vedas; cf. p. 188 in Arlo Griffiths' contribution to this volume); (3) the *Samhitāvidhi* as specifying the sage (*ṛṣiḥ*), metre (*chandaḥ*), and presiding deity (*devatā*) of each of the various Atharvanic Mantras; (4) the *Śāntikalpa* as teaching the ritual procedures for countering the effects of portents of all kinds (cf., e.g., *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, *Khaṇḍa* 2, chapters 132–144); and

The term *pañcakalpaḥ* in the meaning ‘one who studies the five Kalpas’ is already given in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali; and it appears in the *Nārāyaṇīya* of the *Mahābhārata* in the meaning ‘possessing the five Kalpas’ with reference to the Atharvaveda itself.<sup>23</sup> The contents of our Orissan *Āṅgirasakalpa* corpus demonstrate beyond doubt that it is not the lost text of that title known to these early works.<sup>24</sup> But by taking on this title it asserts that it is; and in this capacity it adds the claim that of all the five Kalpas it is the foremost.<sup>25</sup>

## The Officiants of the Āṅgirasa Rituals

The Atharvavedic priests who created and employed these texts did so to authorize and guide rituals that they expected to be engaged to perform for the court. For with a few exceptions that bear on their personal worship this *Āṅgirasakalpa* corpus comprises rituals in which the king is the sponsor and beneficiary (*yajamānaḥ*), in which the principal stated aims are to subjugate, immobilize, or destroy his enemies,<sup>26</sup> and in which the king’s duty to gratify these officiants

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(5) the *Āṅgirasakalpa* as setting out the rituals of the six kinds of hostile sorcery (*ṣaṭ karmāṇi*). This is accurate for items 1, 4, and 5, but not for 2 and 3. An old, widely attested, and more plausible tradition takes the *Vaitānakalpa* to be the *Vaitānasūtra*, the Śrautasūtra of the Śaunaka recension of the *Atharvavedasamhitā*, and the *Samhitāvidhi* to be the *Kauśikasūtra*, the Atharvavedic Gṛhyasūtra. *Samhitāvidhi* in this sense is regularly employed in the *Kauśikapaddhati*, Keśava’s commentary on that text, as in its opening words: *atharvavedasya samhitāvidher vivaraṇam kriyate*. It is also supported by Sāyaṇācārya, *Atharvavedasamhitābhāṣya*, vol. 1, pp. 25–27, and followed by BLOOMFIELD (1884, pp. 376–378) and others, e.g. MODAK (1993, p. 124). As BAHULKAR has pointed out (1987, p. 572), the name is appropriate, because the *Kauśikasūtra* goes beyond the range of other Gṛhyasūtras by setting out the ritual applications (*vidhiḥ*) of the *Samhitā* of the Atharvaveda.

<sup>23</sup>*Mahābhāṣya* on 4.2.60: *sarvasāder dvigoṣ ca lo vaktavyaḥ. sarvavedaḥ sarvatantraḥ. savārttikah sasamgrahaḥ. pañcakalpaḥ dvitanttraḥ; Mahābhārata* 12.330.34 (Viṣṇu speaking): *pañcakalpam atharvānam kṛtyābhiḥ paribr̥mhitam | kalpayanti hi māṃ viprā atharvānavidas tathā* ‘Likewise learned brahmins expert in the Atharvaveda conceive of me as that Veda rich in Kṛtyās with its five Kalpas’.

<sup>24</sup>This is also the opinion of BAHULKAR (1987, p. 579). Seeing the Tantric character of the contents of the two *Āṅgirasa* manuscripts in the BORI, Pune, and the fact that the rituals of these manuscripts, unlike those of the section on hostile rites (*abhicāraḥ*) in the sixth Adhyāya of the *Kauśikasūtra*, are not based on the domestic New-moon and Full-moon sacrifice, he concluded that this *Āṅgirasakalpa* cannot be the work of that name known to Dārila, the author of the *Kauśikasūtrabhāṣya*, Keśava, the author of the *Kauśikapaddhati*, and Sāyaṇa, and surmised that it may have been composed after the disappearance of the Śaunaka *Āṅgirasakalpa* to fulfil the needs of the Paippalādins of Orissa for the fifth Kalpa.

<sup>25</sup>*Āṅgirasa*, P<sub>2</sub> f. 3v1–2: *iti putreṇa samtuṣṭaḥ provāca munir āṅgirāḥ | kalpam āṅgirasam nāma pañcakalpeṣu cottamam* ‘Thus, being pleased with his son [Bṛhaspati], the sage Āṅgiras taught [him] the Kalpa called *Āṅgirasa*, the foremost of the five Kalpas’.

<sup>26</sup>See, e.g., *Paippalādavaśādisaṭkarmapaddhati* p. 3: *vaśabhedam pravakṣyāmi śatruhīno nṛpo yataḥ | rājño yasya \*vaśe* (em.: *vaśet* Ed.) *sarvam tasyeṣṭam kiṃ na siddhyati*; p. 4: *tato vicakṣaṇo rājā vaśa-karmaṇi tatparaḥ | sapatnān vaśam ānīya bhūṅkte rājyam akanṭakam*; p. 5: *tasmāḥ jigamiṣum bhūpam*

with honours, land-grants, jewels, gold, and grain is repeatedly stressed.<sup>27</sup>

It is therefore probable *prima facie* that the priests who performed these rituals did so as holders of the office of the king's personal priest (*rājapurohitah*). For all sources that speak of the qualifications required of that official role either that he should be an Atharvavedin<sup>28</sup> or that he should be an expert in the rituals of the Atharvavedic tradition.<sup>29</sup> The latter formulation may have been

*jñātvā stambhanam ācaret; p. 5: ripūnām mohanaṃ caitad rājñām bahumataṃ bhavet | mohito hi na śaknoti pratikartuṃ parakriyām; p. 18: rājā rājyajayākāṅkṣī śrīṅṣiṃhaṃ prapūjya ca; p. 26: nṛpasya bhavanāc chālām aiśānyām diśi kārayet; p. 27: tasmād rājā viśeṣeṇa śrīṅṣiṃhaparo bhavet | yato nirupasargaḥ san sarvābhīṣṭam avāpnuyāt; p. 35: dakṣiṇām bhūpatir dadyāt kartr̥tr̥ptikarīm punaḥ | nṛpo digvijayaṃ kuryād idaṃ yantram vidhārayan; p. 36: tasmād rājā yadā śatruṃ balinaṃ jetum icchati | tadātharvavidam prājñam etaṃ homaṃ ca kārayet; p. 36: śrīṅṣiṃhaś ca devaḥ syāt kartā cātharvaṇaḥ sudhīḥ | rājā ced viṣṇubhaktāḥ syāj jayas tasya kare sthītaḥ; p. 41: tato nṛpeśvaro vīro mahājayaparāyaṇaḥ | brahmavedārthatattvajñam kārayeta mahājayam; p. 56: rājā sarvavaśaṃ kāṅkṣann āsurīm sarvadā japet; p. 59: māraṇam karma kurvīta rājā rāṣṭrasukhāvaham; p. 63: āsurīti tato devī rājakarmasu gīyate; p. 70: etan mantram sadā japtvā niścinto rājyabhug bhavet; p. 81: ātmotsādakaram śatruṃ yuddhe jetum apārayan | deśarākṣākarō rājā mārayed balinaṃ ripum; p. 109: mahābījāṃ japan rājā jayam eti na śaṃsayah; p. 111: athavā yuddhasamaye yantram etat svasamnidhau | kenacid dhārayed rājā labhate \*vijayaśriyam (corr.: vijayaṃ śriyam Ed.). See also n. 21 on p. 202.*

<sup>27</sup> *Paippalādavaśādiṣatkarmapaddhati p. 4: atharvavedatattvajñam tasmād rājā prapūjayet | sadātmīyam prakurvīta yasya haste vaśādikam; p. 7: \*bahubhir (corr.: bahubhi Ed.) draviṇair vastrair nānāratnair vibhūṣanaiḥ | pūjayitvā tataḥ paścād vidhinā vṛṇuyād dvijam; p. 13: tatkumbhavārinācāryō 'bhiṣiñcet taṃ narādhipam | tato 'smai dakṣiṇām dadyād yathāsau parituṣyati; p. 23: tasmān nara-patir vidvān dānamānādibhir dvijam | turyavedārthatattvajñam ātmīyam kurute sadā; p. 61: nṛpo 'smai dakṣiṇām dadyād dhanaśāṭhyaṃ vivarjayet | ratnaṃ grāmavaraṃ dhānyam yānāni kanakāni ca; p. 65: tato 'bhiṣiktaḥ nṛpatir dadyād viprāya dakṣiṇām | ratnaṃ suvarṇam dhānyāni yānāni ca vasundharām; p. 131: tasmād rājā viśeṣeṇa atharvāṇam budham dvijam | dānasaṃmānasatkārair nityam samabhipūjayet (echoing Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 4.6.3: tasmād rājā viśeṣeṇa atharvāṇam jiten-driyam | dānasaṃmānasatkārair nityam samabhipūjayet); p. 146: evaṃ vijayam āśādyā rājā mantra-vidē tataḥ | pradadyād \*dakṣiṇām (em.: dakṣiṇā Ed.) śreṣṭhaṃ grāmaṃ tattṛptikāraṇam; p. 147: ācāryāya nivedayet | svarṇam ratnaṃ ca dhānyam ca yānam grāmaṃ gavām śatam; P<sub>2</sub> f. 31v2: dadyāc ca dakṣiṇām tasmai sahasraṃ śatam eva vā | gavām suvarṇaniṣkāṇām bhūmiṃ \*ca sasyaśālinīm (conj.: cātyaśālinīm Cod.).*

<sup>28</sup> *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa 2.5.3: dvivedam brāhmaṇam rājā purohitam atharvāṇam | pañcakalpa-vidhānajñam varayeta sudarśanam 'The king should choose as his chaplain a handsome Atharvavedin brahmin who is versed in [at least] two Vedas and knows the rituals of the five [Atharvavedic] Kalpas'; and a passage in the southern recension of the Mahābhārata after 12.72.2 of the critical edition (Appendix I, No. 8), especially ll. 6–7: brahmatvaṃ sarvayajñeṣu kurvītātharvaṇo dvijaḥ | rājñāś cātharvavedena sarvakarmāṇi kārayet 'An Atharvavedin brahmin should serve as the Brahman priest in all [the king's] Vedic sacrifices and should have all the [necessary] rites performed for the king following the Atharvaveda'.*

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, *Arthaśāstra 1.9.9: purohitam uditoditakulaśīlam sāṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanītyām cābhivīṇitam āpadām daivamānuṣiṇām atharvabhir upāyais ca pratikartāraṃ kurvīta 'The king should appoint as his personal priest one who is of noble family and conduct, skilled in the Vedas, their ancillary disciplines, portents, and the administration of justice, and able to counteract calamities of divine and human origin with the methods of the Atharvaveda'; Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1.313: purohitam prakurvīta daivajñam uditoditam | daṇḍanītyām ca kuśalam atharvāṅgirase tathā 'He should appoint as his personal priest one who is expert in portents [and the averting of their consequences], who is of exalted family, and who is expert both in the administration of justice and in the pacifying and hostile rites [of the Atharva-*

intended to convey the same sense as the former, since the Atharvavedic literature frequently refers to Atharvavedins proper in this way,<sup>30</sup> though it is also possible that the definition by competence rather than birth was intended to accommodate the appointment of persons who though initially Ṛgvedins, Yajurvedins, or Sāmavedins in accordance with their inherited affiliation had subsequently been initiated and trained in the rituals of the Atharvavedic tradition. That non-Atharvavedin experts in Atharvavedic ritual were also appointable may be inferred from the fact that we have passages both in the Atharvavedic literature itself and in the *Mahābhārata* that warn kings that appointing non-Atharvavedins will lead to disaster, a warning that would have no point if kings did not on occasion disregard this restriction,<sup>31</sup> and is confirmed in the

veda]; *Agnipurāṇa* 239.16c–17b (A) (= *Nītiśāstra* quoted by Sāyaṇācārya in the introduction to his *Atharvavedasamhitābhāṣya*, pp. 5–6): *trayyām ca daṇḍanītyām ca kuśalah syāt purohitah | atharvavedavihitam kuryāc chāntikapauṣṭikam* ‘The [king’s] personal priest should be well-versed in the three Vedas and the administration of justice, and he should perform the rites of pacification and invigoration prescribed by the Atharvaveda’; *Matsyapurāṇa* quoted *ibid.*: *purohitam tathātharvamantrabrāhmaṇapāragam* ‘and a personal priest who has mastered the Mantras and informative passages of the Atharva[veda]’; Sāyaṇācārya, *loc. cit.*: *paurohityam ca atharvavidaiiva kāryam tatkarkāṇām karmanām rājābhiṣekādīnām tatraiva vistareṇa pratipāditavāt* ‘The role of the [king’s] personal priest should be taken only by an expert in the Atharva[veda], since it is in that [Veda] that the rituals of which he is the officiant, such as the king’s consecration, are taught’.

<sup>30</sup>See, e.g., *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa* 2.2.3–4: *divyāntarikṣabhaumānām utpātānām anekadhā | śamayitā brahmavedajñas tasmād raktitā bhṛguḥ | brahmā śamayen nādhvaryur na chandogo na bahvṛcaḥ | rakṣāṃṣi rakṣati brahmā brahmā tasmād atharvavit*; 2.3.4: *atharvavid guruḥ*; 3.3.7: *brahmavedavit*; *Paippalādavaśādiṣṭakarmapaddhati* p. 23: *turyavedārthatattvajñam*; p. 36: *brahmavedavidām varah*; p. 147: *brahmavedavit*.

<sup>31</sup>Southern recension of the *Mahābhārata* after 12.72.2 (Appendix I, No. 8), ll. 32–34: *bahvṛcam sāmagam caiva vājinaṃ ca vivarjayet | bahvṛco rāṣṭranāśāya rājanāśāya sāmagah | adhvaryur balanāśāya prokto vājasaneyakah* ‘He should avoid [appointing] a Ṛgvedin, a Sāmavedin, or a Vājasaneyin Yajurvedin. A Ṛgvedin [chaplain] is said [in authoritative texts] to bring about the ruin of the kingdom, a Sāmavedin the ruin of the king himself, and a Vājasaneyin Adhvaryu that of the army’; cf. *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa* 2.4.1–5: *paippalādam guruṃ kuryāc chrīrāṣṭrārogyavardhanam | tathā śaunakinam vāpi vedamantravipaścitam | rāṣṭrasya vṛddhikartāram dhanadhānyādibhiḥ sadā | ātharvaṇād rte nānyo niyojyo ’tharvavid guruḥ | nrpeṇa jayakāmena nirmīto ’gnir ivādhvare | bahvṛco hanti vai rāṣṭram adhvaryur nāśayet sutān | chandogo dhananāśāya tasmād ātharvaṇo guruḥ | ajñānād vā pramādād vā yasya syād bahvṛco guruḥ | deśarāṣṭrapurāmātyanāśas tasya na saṃśayaḥ | yadi vādhvaryavam rājā niyunakti purohitam | śastreṇa vadhyate kṣipram parikṣīṇārthavāhanaḥ | yathaiiva paṅgur adhvanam apakṣī cāṇḍajo nabhaḥ | evam chandogagurunā rājā vṛddhiṃ na gacchati* ‘He should appoint a Paippalāda[-Atharvavedin] as his priest, for he will increase his wealth, realm, and health, or a Śaunakin[-Atharvavedin], who is learned in the Mantras of [his] Veda. For he will cause the kingdom always to prosper in wealth, crops and the like. A king who desires to prevail over his enemies should appoint no expert in the Atharvaveda as his priest other than an Atharvavedin. For [the Atharvedin royal priest] has been created [as an element vital to his rule], just as the fire [is vital] to the Vedic sacrifice. A [royal priest who is a] Ṛgvedin destroys the kingdom, a Yajurvedin the [king’s] sons, and a Sāmavedin will bring about the loss of his wealth. Therefore [only] an Atharvavedin [should be appointed as his] priest. If out of ignorance or inattention [a king] has a Ṛgvedin [in this office] the loss of his region, kingdom, capital, and ministers will certainly follow. If the king appoints a Yajurvedin as his priest he will soon be killed by the sword, having lost his wealth, horses, and elephants. A king with a Sāmavedin

latter, which concedes that a king may after all appoint a non-Atharvavedin if no Atharvavedin is available,<sup>32</sup> a situation that we may suspect from the relative paucity of epigraphical evidence of land-grants to Atharvavedins to have been commoner than the prescriptive textual evidence would suggest. Indeed, the Atharvavedins themselves may have recognized that their numbers had to be supplemented and attempted to control this in a manner that presented the Atharvavedic tradition as a domain of knowledge above that of the common brahmanical tradition. For while acknowledging that non-Atharvavedins may study the Atharvaveda they ruled that such persons should be allowed to do so only if they first underwent the Upanayana ceremony for a second time.<sup>33</sup> This transforms expertise in the Atharvavedic rites, at least for those not privileged by birth as Atharvavedins, into a domain of restricted recruitment within the broader brahmanical religion and thereby conceptualizes it in a manner that makes it analogous to the religions of the Śaivas, Pāñcarātrikas, and others, that is to say, as a tradition to which those within that religion may ascend through a further rite of passage. Indeed the Śaivas themselves have presented the Atharvaveda in just these terms. After defining the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, and Sāmaveda together with the Smṛtis as the common revelation the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s first Ṣaṭka goes on to list those scriptures that are the basis of those religious systems that transcend this level, and includes the Atharvaveda among them:

The Saura, Śaiva, and Pāñcarātra [scriptures], the Lākula and Vaimala [scriptures of the Śaiva Atimārga], the Atharvaveda, [the texts of] Sāṃkhya and Yoga, and the scriptures of the Buddhists, Jains, and the like, are restricted teachings (*viśeṣatantram*), because a person adheres to [one of] them only after taking on specific vows [in addition to or in place of the general obligations imposed by brahmanical authorities].<sup>34</sup>

This image of the esoteric otherness of the Atharvavedic tradition can only have been made more plausible by the incorporation of the kind of Tantric procedures seen in our *Āṅgirasakalpa* corpus and indeed by the existence of the related

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as his priest does not prosper, just as a cripple cannot walk and a bird without wings cannot fly.'

<sup>32</sup>Southern recension of the *Mahābhārata* after 12.72.2 (Appendix I, No. 8), ll. 68–70: *vājinam tadabhāve ca carakādhvaryavān atha | bahvṛcaṃ sāmagaṃ caiva nītiśāstrakṛtāśramān | kṛtino 'tharvaṇe vede sthāpayet tu purohitān* 'If there is no [Atharvavedin available] he may appoint a Vājasaneyin or Caraka (Kāthaka) Yajurvedic officiant, a Ṛgvedin, or a Sāmavedin as his chaplain, provided such persons have studied the science of polity and are well-versed in the Atharvaveda'.

<sup>33</sup>*Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 49.5.3: *anyavede dvijo yo brahmavedam adhītukāmaḥ sa punar upaneyah* 'A brahmin in another Veda who wishes to study the Atharvaveda must undergo a second Upanayana'.

<sup>34</sup>*Jayadrathayāmala*, Ṣaṭka 1, f. 166v2–4 (35.68–69b): *sauram śaivam pañcarātram pramāṇam vaimalam matam | atharvam sāmkhyaयोगam ca baudham ārahatādikam | viśeṣākhyam yatas \*tatra* (em.: *tantram* Cod.) *viśeṣasamayāt sthitiḥ*. For the whole account of the hierarchy of revelations of which this passage is a part see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 232–235.

Tantric Atharvanic materials that have been presented without the disguise of attribution to this collection in the form of the unpublished *Kālarudratantra* subtitled *Kālikāgama*.<sup>35</sup>

If the Atharvavedin officiants envisaged in the *Āṅgirasakalpa* corpus were indeed persons occupying the office of the royal priest, having inherited qualification for this office through their patriline or perhaps in some cases through having acquired it through a second Upanayana and subsequent training, then they would have ranked among the highest dignitaries of the states that they served. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, for example, portrays this official as a member of a small élite consisting besides himself of the king, the chief queen (*agryamahīṣī*), the crown-prince (*yuvarājaḥ*), the chief minister (*mantrī*), the general of the army (*senāpatih*), and the royal astrologer. Nor was he considered an inferior among them. For when the same text prescribes the design and dimensions of the parasol (*chattram*) and yak-tail fly-whisk (*cāmarah*) to be carried by their attendants

<sup>35</sup>In the twenty-one short Paṭalas of this Tantra Kālarudra teaches Skanda a number of Vidyās for hostile purposes including in the first Paṭala an *atharvaṇī śikhāvidyā* described as the very essence of the Atharvaveda (f. 2v: *turyam ātharvaṇam vedam nānāmantrasamanvitam | tanmadhye kevalam turyam atharvaṇaśiras tathā | \*turyāt turyataram* [em.: *turyāturyetaram* Cod.] *caiva \*tacchikhetī* [em.: *tatsakhyety* Cod.] *abhidhīyate | atharvaṇī(ṃ) śikhāvidyā(ṃ) yo jānāti sa buddhimān*). The principal deities of these Vidyās, mostly described as Atharvanic (*atharvaṇāstravidyā*, *atharvaṇīkam astraṃ*, *atharvaṇamahāvidyā*), are the goddesses Dhūmāvati (Kākadhūmāvati, Mohinīdhūmikā, Uccāṇadhūmikā, Trailokyamohanī Dhūmāvati), Ārdrapaṭī Kālī, Mr̥tyukālī, Kālarātri, Gharmatikā (also called here Gharmāṭī and Gharmuṭikā), Kālī, and Caṇḍacāmuṇḍī. In the colophons the chapters of the text are described as being *kālikāgame kālarudratantre* (f. 6r) or *śrīkālarudratantre kālikāgame* (f. 17r). Other instances of the disintegration of the boundary between the Vedic and the Tantric in the classification of Atharvanic material exist and could be fruitfully studied. Note, for example, that a Nepalese digest of sources on the propitiation of the Vidyās of the Pratyāṅgirās (Siddhilakṣmī etc.) and Guhyakālī (*\*Pratyāṅgirādiviṣayakasaṃgraha*) contains a chapter (ff. 30r4–36v10) setting out a Paddhati for the worship of the latter whose colophon attributes it to the *Atharvaṇasaṃhitā* of the *Hāhārāvatantra* or to the *Atharvaṇasaṃhitā* that is the *Hāhārāvatantra* (f. 36v10: *iti hāhārāvatantra atharvaṇasaṃhitāyām guhyakālīpūjāpaṭalah*). Similarly, the 23-syllable Pratyāṅgirā OM HRĪM 2 KṢEM BHAKṢA JVĀLĀJIHVE KARĀLADAMṢṬRE PRATYAṅGIRE KṢEM HRĪM HŪM PHAṬ attributed in that same digest (f. 26r10–11) to the *Devīyāmala* is a variant of the *Atharvaṇabhadrakālīmahāvidyā* OM KṢAM BHAKṢA JVĀLĀJIHVE KARĀLADAMṢṬRE PRATYAṅGIRE KṢAM HRĪM HŪM PHAṬ seen in a South Indian manuscript with the name of that Vidyā as its title. The visualization-verse for this Vidyā goddess given in the digest (f. 26r11–v1) appears at the end of two other South Indian manuscripts in the same collection: the *Pratyāṅgirābhadrakālīmantra* and the *Pratyāṅgirāmantra*. Also to be considered in this context is the *Kubjikopaniṣad*, preserved in Nepalese manuscripts, in which the cult of the Śākta goddess Kubjikā is expounded by Sanatkumāra to Pippalāda for the use in hostile ritual by Atharvavedins, Śaunakin or Paippalādin (5.2). This text was composed in Bengal or in a region influenced by its Śāktism, since it has incorporated the worship of the ten Mahāvidyās (Dakṣiṇakālīkā, Ugratārā, Ṣoḍaśī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Caitanyabhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvati, Bagalāmukhī, Mātāṅginī, and Siddhalakṣmī) (11.1–21.12) that are distinctive of that tradition. It also contains a variant of the Pratyāṅgirāmantra, cited here from the *Devīyāmala* and the *Atharvaṇabhadrakālīmahāvidyā* manuscript: KṢAM BHAKṢA JVĀLĀJIHVE KARĀLADAMṢṬRE PRATYAṅGIRE KṢAM HRĪM NAMAḤ (24.4), and of that beginning OM KHAṬ PHAṬ given in the *Āṅgirasakalpa* materials as one of two Mantras of Mahākṛtyā; see below, p. 214.

in public as the external symbols of their relative standing it tells us that the length of the pole of the king's parasol (*chattradaṇḍaḥ*) should be six cubits, those of the general, royal astrologer, and royal priest five, and those of the queen and crown-prince four and a half (2.13.7c–9), and that the breadth of the parasol should be similarly calibrated, its width in each case being half the length of the pole (2.13.10ab).<sup>36</sup> The royal priest, then, was ranked below the king himself but above the queen and the crown-prince, enjoying the same status as the chief minister.

However, there is no unambiguous declaration in these *Āṅgirasakalpa* texts that the officiants envisaged by them occupied this exalted office. The closest to such a statement that I can find is this: 'Therefore a wise king should always make his own with gifts, honours, and the rest, a brahmin who understands the essence of the teachings of the fourth Veda',<sup>37</sup> which is strikingly similar to statements in the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* that certainly do refer to the king's appointing an Atharvavedin as the *rājapurohitaḥ*.<sup>38</sup> However, suggestive though this parallel is it does not amount to decisive evidence. It is possible, therefore, that the Atharvavedins of the *Āṅgirasakalpa* texts were envisaged as serving their rulers outside this semi-ministerial office, or that the redactors of the texts have avoided greater specificity because they were addressing a situation in which the royal priest was only the foremost among a number of Atharvavedin officiants attached to the court. In any case the texts reveal that for many of the rituals that they teach the king was to engage the services of not one but several brahmins and that all were to be Atharvavedins.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup>Similarly, we are told that the king's fly-whisk should be uncoloured, those of the astrologer, chief minister, and priest yellowish, and those of the chief queen, the crown-prince, and the general black; see *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* 2.12.5–6, emending *rājñā* to *rājño* in 5b.

<sup>37</sup>*Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*, p. 23: *tasmān narapatir . . .* (quoted in n. 27).

<sup>38</sup>Thus *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 2.1.4: *daivakarmavidau tasmāt sāmvoatsarapurohitau | gr̥hṇīyāt satataṃ rājā dānasaṃmānarañjanaiḥ* 'Therefore the king should always adopt with gifts, honours, and favours an astrologer learned in astrology and a priest learned in the rituals [of the Atharvaveda]'; and *ibid.* 4.6.3 and 69.7.2: *tasmād rājā viśesena atharvāṇaṃ jitendriyam | dānasaṃmānasatkārair nityaṃ samabhīpūjayet* 'Therefore the king should always show special veneration to an Atharvavedin of controlled senses with gifts, honours, and favours'.

<sup>39</sup>Thus *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*, p. 18: *parasainyaṃ jetum icchann etat karma samācaret | atyantatvarito rājā dvijair homaṃ vidhāpayet | tathāvidhadvijālābhe ekenaiva tu hāvayet* 'Desiring to conquer the army of an enemy the king [himself] should do this ritual. If he is exceedingly pressed for time he may have the fire sacrifice performed by brahmins. But if he cannot find [the requisite number] he may have it performed by just one'; p. 147: *vidrāvāṇasya siddhyartham kārayed brahmaviddivijaiḥ* 'In order to accomplish the routing [of his enemy] he should have [the fire sacrifice] performed by Atharvavedin brahmins'. I take *brahmavid-* here to mean *brahmavedavid* 'learned in the Atharvaveda'; cf. p. 36: *atharvavedatattvajñāṃ tasmān nrpatir arcayet; ibid.: brahmavedavidāṃ varah;* and *ibid.: tadātharvavidam prājñam etaṃ homaṃ ca kārayet*. For the use of the term *brahmavedaḥ* in the meaning *atharvavedaḥ*, see BLOOMFIELD 1899, p. 10, and, e.g., *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 1.15.1 and 49.1.2: *ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo brahmavedaḥ*; 49.4.1: *tatra brahmavedasya nava bheda bhavanti. tad yathā paippalādāḥ . . .*; P<sub>2</sub> f. 1v4: *brahmaṇo vedanād dhetor brahmavedo 'yam ucyate*; Jayantabhaṭṭa, *Nyāyamañjarī* vol. 1, p. 623, l. 16: *ata eva brahmavedaḥ athar-*

## The Manuscripts

Of various potentially relevant Orissan *Āṅgīrasa* manuscripts I have had access to photographic copies of three, all undated and on palm leaf. The first is the Asimilā manuscript transcribed as PAṆḌĀ's *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*. The other two, in the Devanāgarī script, are in the library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune, both catalogued as *Āṅgīrasa (Atharvavedīya)*, i.e. 'the *Āṅgīrasa [Kalpa]* (of the Atharvaveda)'. Both are incomplete.<sup>40</sup>

*The Contents of MS P<sub>1</sub> and the materials it shares with MS As (→ Ed<sup>P</sup>)*

The manuscript BORI 960 of 1887–91 (P<sub>1</sub>) opens with a long text on the ceremony of affusion with water empowered with the Mantra of Nṛsimha (*nṛsimhā-bhiṣekaḥ* [ff. 1v–55v]), ending with a colophon that specifies that this is the end of the second Paṭala of the *Vāmanabhavadāśīya*.<sup>41</sup> The contents of the rest of the manuscript (ff. 55v3–) are, barring minor variants, identical with those of approximately the first half of the Asimilā manuscript (As). The common text runs continuously from the beginning of the latter to a point three verses from the end of the *Bhadrakālīmahābījavidhi*. Here P<sub>1</sub> breaks off.<sup>42</sup> The contents of the portion of the manuscript that it shares with PAṆḌĀ's edition (Ed<sup>P</sup>) are as

*vaveda iti*. In the account of the rites of Āsurī Durgā (*Āsurīkalpa*) we are told that the king should appoint two brahmins to perform the fire sacrifice. These are the principal officiant, termed the *ācāryaḥ*, and his assistant, termed the *brahmā* (*Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*, p. 63): *vṛṇuyād dhomakāriṇau | ācāryaṃ vṛṇuyāt pūroaṃ brahmāṇaṃ tadanantaram*. In his *Āsurīdīpikā* Bhūdhara tells us that there are three possibilities in this tradition. The *yajamānaḥ* may appoint five, namely an *ācāryaḥ*, a *brahmā*, a *prṣṭaprativaktā*, a *mantraniścāyakaḥ*, and a *dravyopakalpakaḥ*—this, he says, is the view of Paiṭhīnasi—, or two, namely an *ācāryaḥ* and a *brahmā*—for this he cites the passage of the *Āsurīkalpa* given above—, or just an *ācāryaḥ*, in which case the *brahmā* is represented by a water-vessel (*udapātram*)—for this he cites the *Vaitānakalpa* (*Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*, pp. 123–124): *tatra pañca brāhmaṇāḥ karmanirvāhakāḥ. teṣv apy eka ācāryaḥ aparo brahmā anyāḥ prṣṭaprativaktā itaro mantraniścāyakaḥ aparo dravyopakalpakaḥ. tathā ca paiṭhīnasiḥ: “ekaḥ karmaṇi yuktaḥ syād eko dravyopakalpakaḥ | ekaḥ prṣṭaḥ san pratibrūyād eko mantrasya niścaye”*. BRĤHASPATE YAJÑAṂ PĀHI *iti brahmajapavidhānād brahmā siddham. tad \*evaṃ* (em.: *eva me* Ed.) *tanmate pañcaiva brāhmaṇāḥ. athavācāryabrahmāṇau dvāv eva \*vṛtau* (corr.: *vṛttau* Ed.). *uktaṃ cāsurīkalpe “saṃkalpya prathamāvṛttiṃ vṛṇuyād dhomakāriṇau | ācāryaṃ vṛṇuyāt pūroaṃ brahmāṇaṃ tadanantaram” iti. yad vaika eva vidvān kartā. brahmā punar udapātram. vacanaṃ vaitānakalpe “anyaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ \*anūcānam* (corr.: *anucānam* Ed.) *upaveśyam udapātraṃ vā” iti. evam ātharvaṇakarmaṇi trividhā brāhmaṇavyavasthā*. The statement said to occur *vaitānakalpe* can be traced to *Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa* 37.16.1.

<sup>40</sup>The contents of the two Pune manuscripts have been briefly described by BAHULKAR (1987). See Arlo Griffiths' contribution to this volume, §2D, for a list of all *Āṅgīrasa* manuscripts available to him and the relevant sigla. Griffiths points out that the original provenance of the two Pune manuscripts must also lie in Orissa.

<sup>41</sup>*Āṅgīrasakalpa*, P<sub>1</sub> f. 56v2–3: *iti vāmanabhavadāśīye abhiṣeko nāma dvitīyaḥ paṭalaḥ samāptaḥ*.

<sup>42</sup>The last words are *tato mahānavamyāṃ tu gandhādyair bahubhir yajet*, which are found on p. 113, l. 10 of the edition.

follows:<sup>43</sup>

1. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 56v3–61v4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 1–8. Definitions of the six hostile rites (*ṣaṭ karmāṇi*): subjection (*vaśam*), immobilization (*stambhanam*), deluding (*mohanam*), causing dissension (*vidveśanam*), causing panic (*uccātanam*), and killing (*māraṇam*). Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe vaśādiṣaṭkarmāṇi samāptāni*.
2. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 61v4–63r4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 8–9. Incompatibility between various hostile rites. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe karmavirodhakathanam*.
3. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 63r4–64v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 9–11. Foretelling the future by means of Yantras<sup>44</sup> of Nṛsiṃha and his 32-syllable Ānuṣṭubha Mantrarāja: UGRAM BHĪMAM MAHĀVIṢṆUM JVALANTAM SARVATOMUKHAM | NṚSIMHAM BHĪṢAṆAM BHADRAM MRṬYUMRṬYUM NAMĀMY AHAM. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase anāgatārthavedanam*.
4. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 64v1–66v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 11–14. Affusion of the king with water empowered by Nṛsiṃha's 32-syllable Mantrarāja. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe nṛsiṃhābhīṣekah*.
5. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 66v1–68v4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 14–16. The benefits of the 32-syllable Mantrarāja. Colophon *ity āṅgirasakalpe mantrarājaviñānam samāptam*. Ed<sup>P</sup> has here an additional section (pp. 16–17): *ity āṅgirase kalpe parakarmanivāraṇam*.
6. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 68v4–75v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 17–23. Worship of Nṛsiṃha's Mantrarāja for the destruction of the king's enemies, the warding off of drought, and other benefits. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase mantrarājavidhiḥ*.
7. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 75v1–76r4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 23–25. Worship of Nṛsiṃha's Mantrarāja to protect a fort when the king has retreated to it after a defeat in battle. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe durgarakṣāvidhānam*.
8. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 76r4–77v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 25–26. Worship of Nṛsiṃha's Mantrarāja to falsify a rumour. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kiṃvadantīmrṣākaraṇam*.

<sup>43</sup>I am greatly indebted to Arlo Griffiths for having provided me with all the Paippalāda materials used in this paper. In 2004 he sent me a copy of PAṆḌĀ's *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*. When after reading this edition I told him of my interest in its Śākta Śaiva elements he provided me with scans of the Asimilā manuscript and lent me his photocopies of the two *Āṅgirasakalpa* manuscripts in the collection of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. After I had prepared drafts of editions of the *Parājapavidhi*, the *Bhadrakālīmantravidhi*, and the *Bhadrakālīmahābījapraśamsā* from the evidence of these three witnesses and sent them to him he did me the great kindness in 2005 of preparing for me while he was in Bhubaneswar collations of my editions of these texts with two other *Āṅgirasakalpa* manuscripts in the collection of the Orissa State Museum, T/121 and T/187, that he had found to contain them. I am also grateful to him for providing me with electronic texts of PAṆḌĀ's edition of the Asimilā manuscript and BOLLING and VON NEGELEIN's edition of the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa*, and for sending me a copy of PATANAYAK's edition of Lakṣmīdharamīśra's *Śaivoacintāmaṇi*, on which see p. 232 and n. 76.

<sup>44</sup>For a definition of Yantra in this sense see n. 134 on p. 264.

9. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 77v1–78r4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 26–27. Bali offered to Nṛsimha and other deities to put an end to unforeseen calamities in the palace, region, or capital. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe nṛsimhabalividhiḥ*.
10. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 78r4–79r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 27–28. Other benefits of the same. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe nṛsimhabalikarmaphalakathanam*.
11. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 79r1–80r4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 28–30. Worship of 16-armed Abhayanṛsimha to end a major danger. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase abhayanṛsimhavidhiḥ*.
12. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 80r4–85v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 30–37. Worship of 20-armed Jayanṛsimha for victory in war (Mantra: OM ŚRĪNṚSIMHA JAYA JAYA ŚRĪNṚSIMHA). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase jayanṛsimhakalpaḥ*.
13. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 85v3–89r4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 37–42. Worship of 20-armed Mahājayanṛsimha for victory in war (Bīja: KṢRAUM; Mantra: ŚRĪNṚSIMHA JAYANṚSIMHA AMUKAṀ JAYA 2 NṚSIMHA HRĪM̐). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase mahānṛsimha ... (P<sub>1</sub>), ity āṅgirase mahājayakalpaḥ (Ed<sup>P</sup>)*.
14. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 89r4–92r3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 42–46. The Mantra of the four-armed goddess Āsurī Durgā (OM NAMAḤ KAṬUKE KAṬUKAPATRE SUBHAGE ĀSURI RAKTAVĀSASE ATHARVAṆASYA DUHITRE GHORE GHORAKARMAṆI KĀRIKE AMUKASYA PRASTHITASYA GATIṀ DAHA UPAVIṢṬASYA BHAGAṀ DAHA ŚAYITASYA MANO DAHA PRABUDDHASYA HṚDAYAṀ DAHA 5 PACA 2 MATHA 2 TĀVAD DAHA YĀVAN ME VAŚAM ĀGACCHET SVĀHĀ) and her visualizations appropriate to the various hostile rites. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe āsurīdhyānāni*.<sup>45</sup>
15. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 92r3–93r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 46–47. How to obtain the outcome of one's choice with the Mantras of Āsurī and Nṛsimha. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase aniṣṭasākune iṣṭasiddhiḥ (P<sub>1</sub>), ity āṅgirase iṣṭāniṣṭasākune iṣṭasiddhiḥ (Ed<sup>P</sup>)*.
16. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 93r1–94r4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 47–48. The worship of Āsurī and the deities of her retinue. Colophon: *iti pūjāvidhiḥ*.

<sup>45</sup>Āsurī is already present in Atharvavedic tradition in the *Āsurīkalpa* of *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 35. Indeed the latter, or a version of it, is probably what is mentioned in *Mahābhāṣya* on 4.1.19 under the name *āsurīyaḥ kalpaḥ*. The *Pariśiṣṭa* gives the Mantra used here in the *Āṅgirasa* collection but without a goddess of this name and no liturgical elements borrowed from or prefiguring the Tantric. There and in the *Āṅgirasa* text *āsurī* is the name of the Indian Black Mustard plant *Sinapis ramosa* Roxb. (MAGOUN 1889, pp. 171–172), which is ground into a meal out of which an effigy of the enemy is fashioned as the focus of hostile sorcery, being smeared with ghee, chopped up, and offered in the sacrificial fire (35.1.6–7: *hantukāmo hi śatrūṁś ca vaśikurovaṁś ca bhūpatīm | āsurīślakṣṇapīṣṭājyaṁ juhuyād ākr̥tiṁ budhaḥ | arkendhanāgniṁ prajvālya chittoāstrenākṛtiṁ tu tām | pādāgrato 'ṣṭasahasraṁ juhuyād yasya vaśy asau*). In the *Āṅgirasa* text all this is retained but the character of the ritual is transformed by superimposing a Tantric cult of a goddess who bears the plant's name and is equated with Durgā.

17. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 94r4–95r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 48–49. Fire-offering to Āsurī and the offering in the fire of the parts of a dismembered effigy of an enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase homasāmānyavidhiḥ*.
18. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 95r1–95r3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 49. Assuming the mental states of Āsurī appropriate to the six hostile rites. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase bhāvanāṣaṭkam*.
19. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 95r3–95v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 49–50. The substances with which the offerings into fire should be smeared in the six hostile rites. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase aṅjanaṣaṭkam*.
20. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 95v1–96r2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 50–51. Ranking of the durations of the hostile fire sacrifices from one to twenty-one days. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase homa-kālanirṇayaḥ*.
21. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 96r2–97r4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 51–52. How to adjust the Mantra of Āsurī according to the goal and context; and the meaning of its words. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase āsurīmantrārthakathanam*.
22. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 97r4–98r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 53. The shape of the fire-pit in the various hostile fire sacrifices. Colophon: *(ity āṅgirase) kuṇḍavidhiḥ*.
23. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 98r1–98v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 53–54. The metaphysical nature of Āsurī as the root-power (*mūlaśaktiḥ*) that operates through her proximity to Brahma. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase āsurīsvarūpakathanam*.
24. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 98v3–99v4; = pp. 54–55. Rites of a Yantra of Āsurī Durgā. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase ṣaṭkarmasiddhināmāsurīmahāyantram*.
25. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 99v4–101r4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 55–57. Rites of Āsurī Durgā for the subjection of an enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śatruvasaḥ*.
26. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 101r4–101v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 57. Rites of Āsurī Durgā for the immobilization of an enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase stambhanam*.
27. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 101v3–104v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 57–61. On the nature of immobilizing, deluding, causing dissension, causing panic, and killing the enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase āsurīkalpaḥ samāptaḥ*.
28. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 104v3–108v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 61–66. A work by an anonymous scholar on a fire sacrifice culminating in the dismemberment and sacrifice of an image of the enemy made of the Āsurī fruit and other substances. Colophon: *ity āsurīvidhānakalpaḥ samāptaḥ*.
29. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 108v3–110r4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 66–67. Fire sacrifice of an image made of meal of the Āsurī-plant for various purposes. This is the *Āsurīkalpa* of *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 35. Colophon: *ity āsurīkalpaḥ*.

30. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 110r4–111v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 67–70. The worship of the 2000-armed goddess Pratyāṅgirā to ward of the Kṛtyā of the enemy (Vidyā: OM HRĪM NAMAḤ KṚṢṆAVĀSASE ŚATASAHASRASIMHAVĀHINI SAHASRAVADANE MAHĀPRABALE APARĀJITE \*PRATYAṅGIRE [P<sub>1</sub>:PRIYAṅGIRE Ed<sup>P</sup>] PARASAINYAVIDHVAMŚINI PARAKARMAVIDHVAMŚINI PARAMANTROTSĀDINI SARVABHŪTAVIMARDINI SARVADEVĀN VIDHVAMŚAYA 2 SARVAVIDYĀM KṚNTAYA 2 PARAMANTRĀN SPHOṬAYA 2 SARVAŚṚṆKHALĀS TROṬAYA 2 JVALAJJVĀLĀJIHVE KARĀLAVADANE PRATYAṅGIRE KLĪM NAMAḤ OM). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe paravidyānivāraṇam*.<sup>46</sup>
31. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 111v3–113r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 70–71. Mantra rites of two-armed and ten-armed Kālī for victory (KĀLIKĀYAI NAMAḤ). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śaḍ-akṣarakālī)kalpamantravidhiḥ*.
32. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 113r1–113v4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 71–72. Mantra rite of Kālī to be worshipped on a sword to be given to the king before he enters battle (OM NAMAḤ KĀLIKĀYAI). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe kālīkamantravidhiḥ*.
33. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 114r1–115r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 72–74. Worshipping Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara in the king's bow before battle with the Atharvavedic Mantra OM DHANVANĀ GĀ DHANVANĀJIM JAYEMA DHANVANĀ TĪVRĀḤ SAMADO JAYEMA | DHANUḤ ŚATOR APAKĀMAM KṚNOTU DHANVANĀ SARVĀḤ PRADIŚO JAYEMA (*Paippalādasamhitā* 15.10.2).<sup>47</sup> Colophon: *ity āṅgirase dhanurmantravidhiḥ*.
34. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 115r1–115v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 74. An Atharvavedic Mantra (*Paippalādasamhitā* 1.3.1) to empower the king's arrows for victory: OM VIDMĀ ŚARASYA PITARAM PARJANYAM BHŪRIDHĀYASAM | VIDMO HY ASYA MĀTARAM PṚTHIVĪM VIŚVADHĀYA(SA)M. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śaramantraḥ*.
35. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 115v1–116r3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 74–76. Rite to be commissioned by the king for the pacification of inimical planets. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe graha-śāntividhiḥ*.
36. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 116r3–118r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 76–78. Rite of the formless Vijñānabhairava Rudra with the Atharvavedic Mantra OM BHŪḤ BHUVAḤ SVAḤ SVĀHĀ JANAD OM (e.g. *Vaitānasūtra* 1.3.18), which both frees from the sin incurred

<sup>46</sup>Pratyāṅgirā is a Tantric personification of Atharvavedic counter-sorcery (*pratyāṅgirasam*).

<sup>47</sup>The final words of the Mantra are ... *pṛtanā jayema* in BHATTACHARYA's edition, who follows here the reading of the Orissa manuscripts; however, the Kashmir manuscript reads ... *pradiśo jayema*, and the authenticity of this reading is confirmed both by the testimony of the *Āṅgīrasa* tradition, and by the nearly identical parallel that is *Ṛgvedasamhitā* 6.75.2.

by commissioning hostile rites and bestows self-realization. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase vijñānabhairavamantraḥ*.<sup>48</sup>

37. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 118r1–120r2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 78–81. Rites of two Mantras of the lion-faced goddess Mahākṛtyā to kill an enemy without going to war: KHAṬ PHAṬ DEVI MAHĀKṚTYE VIDHŪMĀGNISAMAPRABHE | HANA ŚATRŪN TRISŪLENA KRUDHYASVA PIBA ŚONITAM (cf. the Atharvadic *Kubjikopaniṣad* 22.5: KHAṬ PHAṬ JAHĪ MAHĀKṚTYE VIDHŪMĀGNISAMAPRABHE | DEVĪDEVI MAHĀKUBJE MAMA ŚATRŪN VINĀŚAYA MAMA ŚATRŪN VINĀŚAYOM) and OM HRĪM MAHĀYOGINI GAURI TRIBHUVANAṀKARI<sup>49</sup> HŪM PHAṬ. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase mahākṛtyāvidhānam*.<sup>50</sup>
38. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 120r2–120v4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 81–83. Rite of another Kṛtyāmantra: KRṢṆA-VARṆĪ BRĤADRŪPI BRĤATKARṆĪ MAHADDBHAYI | DEVI DEVI MAHĀDEVI MAMA ŚATRŪN VINĀŚAYA. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kṛtyāmantravidhānam*.
39. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 120v4–123r3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 83–87. A Kṛtyāmantra rite to be commissioned by a king to cause the effect of any Kṛtyā rite to be directed back to the enemy who has performed it against him with the Atharvavedic Mantra OM SABANDHUŚ CĀSABANDHUŚ CA YO ASMĀM ABHIDĀSATI | SABANDHŪN SARVĀMS TĪRTVĀHAṀ BHŪYĀSAM UTTAMAḤ . . . (*Paippalādasamhitā* 19.5.14). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kṛtyāpratisārah*.
40. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 123r3–123v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 87. A metaphysical explanation of the efficacy of such counter-rites. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kṛtyāpratisāre yuktiḥ*.
41. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 123v3–124v2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 87–89. How a king may recognize that a hostile rite has been directed against him (*kṛtyācihnāni*). No colophon.
42. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 124v2–125r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 89. A golden Yantra by means of which a king can cause the effect of hostile rites to revert to his enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase pratisārayantram*.
43. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 125r1–125v4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 89–91. A tantricized rite of the Atharvavedic Abhayamantra of Rudra (OM ABHAYAM SOMAS SAVITĀ . . . , *Paippalādasamhitā* 1.27.1) to be performed by the king for his security. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase 'bhayamantraḥ*.

<sup>48</sup>For those familiar with the Kashmirian Śaiva literature the name Vijñānabhairava will bring to mind the *Vijñānabhairava*, a scriptural text with a Trika background concerned with meditation techniques for liberation which received a commentary by Kṣemarāja and has enjoyed great popularity down to recent times. It is probable that the same association was in the mind of the namer of this Āṅgirasa Mantra. Here in P<sub>1</sub> the Mantra of Vijñānabhairava is Vedic. But in P<sub>2</sub> it is Tantric; see below, p. 220.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. the reading BHUVANABHAYAMKARI in this Mantra in item 10, below on p. 218.

<sup>50</sup>The term *kṛtyā* refers in the Atharvaveda to a hostile spell that may take the form of an effigy with human features, particularly one used against an enemy; see, e.g., *Atharvavedasamhitā* 10.1.

44. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 125v4–126v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 91–92. A parallel tantricized rite of the Atharvavedic Abhayamantra of Indra (OM YATA INDRA BHAYĀMAHE . . . , *Paippalādasamhitā* 3.35.1). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase aindrābhayamantraḥ*.
45. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 126v1–127v4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 92–93. Rite of the Mantra of Sarvakāmbhairava (OM BHAIKAVĀYA NAMAḤ) for the attainment of any limited goal by any person and for the attainment of identity with Rudra (*rudra-tvam*) by a meditator (*yogī*) or gnostic (*jñānī*). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase sarvakāmbhairavaḥ*.
46. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 127v4–128v2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 94–95. A tantricized rite of a Ṛgvedic Mantra (8.64.1, OM AVA BRAHMADVIṢO JAHĪ) that accomplishes simultaneously self-protection and the destruction of one's enemies. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase svarakṣāripughātaḥ*.
47. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 129r1–129v2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 95. A rite of the goddess Pratyāṅgirā on a Yantra of gold or birch-bark to ward off the spells of an enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase paravidyānivāraṇayantravidhiḥ*.
48. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 129v2–130r3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 96. Rite of the one-syllable Mantra of Bhairava (BHAM) for the attainment of liberation. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase ekākṣarabhairavamantṛaḥ*.
49. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 130r3–132r2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 96–98. Rite of the trisyllabic Mantra of the goddess Tripurabhairavī (HSRAIM HSKLRĪM HSRAUḤM) for the attainment of various effects, hostile and other. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase tripurabhairavīvidhānam*.
50. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 132r2–134v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 98–101. Rite of the Mantra of the goddess Parā (SAUḤ) for the attainment of liberation. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase parājapavidhiḥ*.
51. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 134v3–135v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 101–102. Rite of the Vidyā goddess Gharmaṭikā (OM GHARMAṬIKE 2 MARKAṬIKE 2 GHORE 2 VIDVEṢIṆĪ 2 VIDVEṢAKĀRIṆĪ 2 AMUKĀMUKAYOḤ PARASPARADVEṢAḤ 2 KURU 2 SVĀHĀ VAṢAT) to bring about hostility between one's enemies (*vidveṣanam*). Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe gharmatīkavidhiḥ*.<sup>51</sup>
52. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 135v1–136v4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 102–103. Factors that prevent the success of Mantra rites and procedures for counteracting them. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe 'siddhipratīkāraḥ*.

<sup>51</sup>The origin of the name Gharmaṭikā, which also appears in the forms Gharmuṭikā and Ghurmuṭikā (*Śāradātīlaka* 24.15), is obscure. The fact that the vocative *gharmaṭike* is followed in the Vidyā by *markaṭike* suggests the tentative hypothesis that this goddess that causes dissension personifies in these epithets the mosquito (cf. Prakrit *ghammoḍī*) and the spider (cf. Prakrit *makkaḍa* m., Panjābī *makkaṛī* f., Kumāunī *makurī* f., Hindī *makṛī* f.)

53. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 136v4–137v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 103–104. Signs of impediments to the success of Mantra rites; the means of preventing such impediments, notably that the commissioner of the rite, the principal officiant (*kartā*), and the secondary officiants (*sadasyāḥ*) should all be Vaiṣṇavas, and of counter-acting them, namely thousands of special oblations in the sacrificial fire. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase karmavighnapratīkārah*.
54. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 137v1–138r2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 104–105. How to prevent the success of an enemy's hostile ritual. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase parakarmanivāraṇam*.
55. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 138r2–142r4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 105–109. Mantra rites of Bhadrakālī for victory in battle: [1] OM HRĪM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒŚVARI PHAT; [2] BHADRAKĀLI BHAVĀBHĪṢṬABHADRASIDDHIPRADĀYINI | SAPATNĀN ME HANA HANA DAHA ŚOṢAYA TĀPAYA | ŚŪLĀSĪAKTIVAJRĀDYAIR UTKṚTYOTKṚTYA MĀRAYA | MAHĀDEVI MAHĀDEVI RAKṢĀSMĀN AKṢATĀTMIKE; [3] OM BHADRAKĀLI JAYAM DEHI PHAT; [4] Bīja: HSKHPHREM. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase bhadrakālīmantravidhiḥ*.
56. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 142r4–142v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 110. Praise of the Great Seed (HSKHPHREM) of Bhadrakālī. Colophon: *iti bhadrakālīmahābījaprasāmsā*.
57. P<sub>1</sub> ff. 142v3–145v4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 113. The worship of the Great Seed on a Yantra in combination with the nine-syllable and eleven-syllable Mantras of Bhadrakālī, with special procedures to be adopted on the eve of battle, to empower the royal weapons; a Bhadrakālīvrata to be observed on the ninth day of the bright fortnight; and the annual propitiation of Bhadrakālī with thrice-daily worship, a nightly fire-ritual, and sacrifices of buffaloes and other animals during the fifteen days leading up to Mahānavamī. Colophon in As: *ity āṅgiraskalpe bhadrakālīmahābījavidhiḥ* (Ed<sup>P</sup>: *ity āṅgirasakalpe bhadrakālībalimahāvidhiḥ*). The last surviving folio of P<sub>1</sub> ends three verses before the end of this section.

In PAṆḌĀ's text, that is to say, in the *Asimilā* manuscript, the *Bhadrakālīmahābījavidhi* with which the shared text ends is followed by the *Āsurīdīpikā* of Bhūdhara (pp. 113–127), the *Paśubalidānavidhi* of the *Āṅgirasakalpa* (pp. 127–130), the *Śatruparājayavidhi* and related materials from the *Tantrādhyāya* of the *Karmasamuccaya* (pp. 130–140), materials on the worship of Vakratuṅḍa (Gaṇeśa) from the *Mantramuktāvalī* of Pūrṇaprakāśa (pp. 140–148) and the *Ṣaḍakṣaravakratuṅḍakalpa* 'taught by Bhṛgu' (pp. 148–153), the *Siddhaudanaparakāra* on the food to be offered to Gaṇeśa, the *Sarvatobhadramaṇḍala* (p. 154) on the design of [his] Maṇḍala, and the *Ānuṣṭubhakalpamālā* of Śeṣa, an exhaustive Paddhati for the regular worship of Nṛsiṃha with his Ānuṣṭubha Mantra (pp. 154–209).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup>The remaining pages (210–249) of PAṆḌĀ's edition contain a number of Vaiṣṇava Atharvavedic Upaniṣads: *Anucūlikopaniṣad*, *Viśvarūpākhyopaniṣad*, *Kṛṣṇaśāntopaniṣad*, *Tripuraprakaraṇopaniṣad*, *Bṛhannṛsiṃhopaniṣad*, *Puruṣasubodhinī*, *Rāmacandropaniṣad*, and *Pāvamānīsūkta*.

The discontinuity between the shared portion and that which follows it in the Asimilā manuscript underlines the possibility that the missing last part of P<sub>1</sub> contained not this additional matter but only the end of the section on Bhadrakālī in which the manuscript breaks off, in fact the three final verses of that section in PAṆḌĀ's edition.

*The Contents of MS P<sub>2</sub>*

The second Pune manuscript, BORI 959 of 1887–1891 (P<sub>2</sub>), contains much that is not found in the first or in the Asimilā manuscript and Ed<sup>P</sup>. But there is also substantial common material. Its contents are as follows:

1. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 1v1–3r4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. The superiority of the Atharvaveda over the other three Vedas and the special virtue of honouring Atharvavedins. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe atharvavedaprasāṃsā*.
2. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 3r4–21v1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. An untitled Kalpa applicable to the worship of any deity: initiation (*dīkṣā*), the ritual of lighting the fire for sacrifice, transforming the fire (the *agnisaṃskārāḥ*) beginning with conception (*garbhādhānam*), worship of Agni, the *āghārāḥ*, *ājyabhāgau*, *vyāhrtayaḥ*, the fire sacrifice (*homaḥ*) to the Mantra to be mastered and its retinue, followed by the *iṣṭahomaḥ*; the order of regular worship (*nityayāgaḥ*), including *karanyāsaḥ*, *dehanyāsaḥ*, and *aṅganyāsaḥ*, purification of the site of worship (*sthānaśuddhiḥ*), preparing the vessels (*pātrasādhanaṃ*), worshipping the throne (*pīṭhapūjā*), bringing down the deity (*āvāhanaṃ*), presenting offerings (*upacārāḥ*) to it and its retinue; three kinds of worship (*yāgaḥ*) of descending degrees of elaboration; rules concerning eating; times and places for *mantrasādhanaṃ*; the deities of the weekdays; *japaḥ*; lunar days, modifications of the Mantra, rosaries, fire-offerings, and other variables in the various desiderative rites (*pauṣṭikādīni karmāṇi*). It breaks off without a colophon on f. 21v1; the rest of f. 21v and the whole of f. 22 are blank.
3. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 23r1–24v2; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Worship of Lakṣmī with the *Śrīsūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śrīsūktavidhānam*.
4. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 24v2–25r3; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Worship of Lakṣmī with the *Lakṣmīsūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śrīlakṣmīsūktavidhānam*.
5. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 25r3–27r1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Worship of Viṣṇu with the *Viṣṇusūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase viṣṇusūktavidhānam*.
6. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 27r1–31r1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Worship of Nārāyaṇa with his eight-syllable Mantra (OM NAMO NĀRĀYAṆĀYA) following Paṭala 20 of the *Prapañcasāra* and employing its visualization verse (f. 27v3–4; = *Prapañcasāra* 20.7). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase nārāyaṇāṣṭākṣaravidhiḥ*.

7. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 31r1–31v2; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Worship of Durgā with the *Devīsūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase devīsūktavidhiḥ*.
8. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 31v2–32r2; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Worship of Devī [Durgā] with another *Devīsūkta* (f. 31v2–3: *athāparaṃ devīsūktam ucyate. yāsya devīr iti devīsūktasya ...*). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase yāvaiśvadevīvidhānam*.
9. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 32r2–32v3; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Worship of Sarasvatī with the *Sārasvatasūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase sārasvatasūktavidhānam*.
10. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 32v3–35r1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. A rite to kill an enemy by means of a Kṛtyā (Kṛtyāmantra: OM KRĪM MAHĀYOGINI GAURI BHUVANABHAYAM-KARI HŪM PHAT). This is an extended version of the text seen in Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 80–81. It includes a fire sacrifice for various purposes in which Kṛtyā is surrounded by the eight Bhairavas Asitāṅgabhairava, Rurubhairava, Caṇḍabhairava, Krodhabhairava, Unmattabhairava, Kapālibhairava, Bhīṣaṇabhairava, and Saṃhārabhairava, and by the Kṣetrapālas. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase \*pratisaramantravidhānam* (em. : *parisaramantravidhānam* Cod.).
11. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 35r1–39v2; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Kṛtyā fire sacrifices for various hostile purposes using the Āṅgīrasa Mantras. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase āṅgīrasamantrakalpaḥ*.
12. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 39v2–42v3; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Worship of Mahālakṣmī with her Mantra ŚATRUM PĀHI . . . for various purposes, principally protective and hostile. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śatruṃpāhimantravidhānam*.
13. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 42v3–46r1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Worship of Gaṇapati for various purposes, optionally using the *Gaṇapatisūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase gaṇapati-sūktavidhānam*.
14. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 46r1–50r1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Kalpa of a Rudramantra (= *Atharvaśira-upaniṣad* 40a) for martial and other purposes; taught by Āṅgīrasa to Pippalāda; an 8-armed Rudra Mahādeva surrounded by the Gaṇeśvaras, Mātṛs, Lokapālas, and their weapons. Colophon: *ity raudre pippalādakalpaḥ*.
15. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 50r1–51r4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Rudrakalpa of another Rudramantra (= *Atharvaśira-upaniṣad* 40b) for the attainment of learning, pacification (*śāntiḥ*), long life [on birthday], and hostile purposes; a 10-armed Rudra closely related in iconography to the South Indian form of the Saiddhāntika Sadāśiva; accompanied by the Śaktis Vāmā to Manonmanī and surrounded by the Mūrtis, Ancillaries, Vidyeśvaras, Gaṇeśvaras, Lokapālas, and their weapons. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase rudraprayoge pippalādakalpaḥ*.

16. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 51r4–51v4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Mantra of Agni (VAIŚVĀNARA JĀTAVEDA IHĀVAHA LOHITĀKṢA SARVAKARMĀṆI SĀDHAYA SVĀHĀ), its Ancillaries, and retinue. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase agnimantraḥ*.
17. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 51r4–52r3; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Rite of the Mantra of Kāmadeva for the intensification of desire. The visualization-text is *Prapañcasāra* 18.6. Colophon: *iti kāmamantravidhānam*.
18. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 52r3–52v3; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Rite of Viṣṇu and the four Vyūhas with the Praṇavamāntra (OM). The visualization-text is *Prapañcasāra* 19.4. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase praṇavamāntravidhiḥ*.
19. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 52v3–54r3; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Worship of Indra with the Mantra TRĀ-TĀRAM INDRAM . . . (*Paippalādasamhitā* 5.4.11) to be undertaken when the kingdom is in danger from an enemy, and for other purposes. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase indramantravidhiḥ*.
20. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 54r3–54v4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Worship of Kāmadeva with the Mantra KĀMAS TAD AGRE . . . (*Paippalādasamhitā* 1.30.1). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kāmamantravidhiḥ*.
21. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 54v4–56r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 102–103. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase karmāsiddhipratikārah*.
22. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 56r1–56v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 103–104. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase karmaviḅhnapratikārah*.
23. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 56v1–60r3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 105–110. The Bhadrakālī texts as in Ed<sup>P</sup> and P<sub>1</sub> but lacking the *Bhadrakālīmahābījavidhiḥ* (Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 110–113). Colophons: *ity āṅgirase bhadrakālīmahābījavidhiḥ* (f. 59v4); *ity āṅgirase mahābījaprasamsā* (f. 60r2–3).
24. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 60r3–61v2; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Rite of the Ciṭimantra of the goddess Caṇḍikā for subjection of enemies (OM CIṬI CIṬI CAṆḌĀLI MAHĀCAṆḌĀLI AMUKAṆ ME VAŚAM ĀNAYA SVĀHĀ). The Ciṭimantra is also taught in *Śāradātilaka* 22.98–101. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase ciṭikalpaḥ*.
25. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 61v2–62r4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Rite of the Mantra of the goddess Dhūmāvātī to be used by the king to strike and destroy his enemies (DHŪM DHŪM DHŪMAVATI SVĀHĀ). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase dhūmāvātīmantravidhānam*.
26. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 62r4–63v2; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. A long Mantra invoking the intervention of the goddess Pratyāṅgirā and her Śaktis Vārāhī, Indrāṅī, Cāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍikā, Stambhanī, Mohanī, Kṣobhiṅī, Drāviṅī, Jṛmbhiṅī, Raudrī, and Saṁhārakāriṅī for various hostile purposes and for protection (Mantra: . . . STAMBHINI PHREṆ PHREṆ MAMA ŚATRŪN STAMBHAYA 2 MOHINI PHREṆ

PHREṀ MAMA ŚATRŪN MOHAYA 2 ...). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase mahāpratyāṅgirāmantraḥ*.

27. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 63v2–64r4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Details of the procedure in the use of the preceding Mantra of Pratyāṅgirā Mahākālī, e.g. the *nyāsaḥ* and the visualization. She is to be visualized as furious, spewing fire, dressed in black, and 20-armed. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ*.
28. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 64r4–68v4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. The Paddhati of Bhūdhara on the rites of the Mantra of the goddess Tripurabhairavī (HSRAIṀ HSKLRĪṀ HSRAUḤIṀ) for the various hostile effects and other supernatural benefits. Colophons: *iti bhūdharakṛtāyāṃ paddhatau tripurabhairavīvidhānaṃ* (f. 66r1) and *iti bhūdharakṛtāyāṃ paddhatau tripurāvidhānaṃ samāptam* (f. 68v4).
29. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 68v4–72v4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Rites of the Mantra of the goddess Tripurabhairavī, taken without attribution from the *Prapañcasāra*, being Paṭala 9 of that work. Colophon: *iti tripurāmantravidhiḥ*.
30. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 72v4–73v1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. The Paddhati *Lakṣaṇasamuccaya* on the rite of the Mantras of four-faced, twelve-armed Svachchanda-bhairava/Caṇḍabhairava (OṀ KRĀṀ KRAṀ KRĀṀ NAMO <MA>HĀSAM-KARṢAṆĀYA UGRABHAYAMKARABHAIRAVĀYA OṀ KRĀṀ KRAṀ KRĀṀ OṀ NAMAḤ) and his consort (OṀ KRĀṀ KRĪṀ KRAḤ \*MAHĀYOGĒŚVARI [tentative conj. : MAṀLAYOGĒŚVARE Cod.] PHAṬ OṀ KRĪṀ KRAṀ NAMAḤ) with unspecified purpose. Colophon: *lakṣaṇasamuccayoktacaṇḍabhairavaḥ*.
31. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 73v1–74r2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 76–78. Rite of the Mantra of Vijñānabhairava for expiation of sins and the attainment of wisdom (KṢRAUṀ AIṀ HRĪṀ BHAIravĀYA HUṀ). Colophon: *iti bhairavakalpe vijñānabhairavavidhiḥ*.<sup>53</sup>
32. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 74r2–74v1; cf. Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 96. Rite of the one-syllable Mantra of Bhairava for the attainment of Yoga/Bhairavahood (BHAṀ). Colophon: *ekākṣarabhairavamantravidhānam*.
33. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 74v1–74v4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Rite of eight-syllable Mantra of Bhairava for the attainment of Yoga (OṀ HSAUḤ BHAIravĀYA NAMAḤ). Colophon: *ity aṣṭākṣarabhairavamantravidhānam*.
34. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 74v4–75v1; cf. Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 98–101. Rite of the Mantra of Parā (SAUḤ) for liberation. Colophon: *iti parāmantravidhiḥ*.
35. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 75v1–76v4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Rite of the Mantra of Sarvamaṅgalā/Maṅgalacaṇḍī (OṀ KRĪṀ KLĪṀ ŚRĪṀ SARVAMAṅGALĀYAI SVĀHĀ) to

<sup>53</sup>Cf. item 36, above on p. 213, where Vijñānabhairava has a Vedic rather than a Tantric Mantra.

be performed by/for the king for the attainment of the objects of all desires, victory in war, subjection of women, ministers, members of the royal family; to be worshipped on Tuesdays; to be propitiated with nightly sacrifices of buffaloes and other animals from *mūlāṣṭamī* to *mahāṣṭamī*, that is to say, from the eighth day of the dark half of Āśvina to the eighth day of its bright half. No colophon.<sup>54</sup>

36. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 76v4–77r4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. On the subject of vessels made of different substances. The beginning is lacking. No colophon.
37. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 77r4–78r3; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Rules of procedure for the worship of any deity. Colophon: *iti sāmānyataḥ sarvadevapūjāvidhiḥ*.
38. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 78r3–91v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 113–127. Colophon: *iti karmasamuccaye ṣaṭkarmādhyāye bhūdharakṛtā āsurīdīpikā samāptā*.
39. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 91v3–93r2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 130–132. Colophon: *iti karmasamucca⟨ye⟩ śatru-jayaḥ*.
40. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 93r2–93v4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 132–133. The rite of the seven-syllable Mantra of Agni (OM BHŪR BHUVAḤ SVAḤ SVĀHĀ); and prescribed meditation on the deity installed and worshipped in the fire as consuming the offerings and rewarding the beneficiary of the ritual. Colophons: *ity agnipūjā*; *ity agnimadhye bhāvanā*.
41. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 93v4–97v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 133–136. The ritual of installing the vital energies in the effigy of the victim. Colophon: *iti prāṇapraṭiṣṭhā*.
42. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 97v1–98r3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 127–128. Preparing the animal to be sacrificed: preliminaries of the *balidānavidhiḥ* up to the installation of the syllabary (*mātrkā*) on the limbs of the victim (*paśuḥ*). Colophon: *iti paśumātrkā*.
43. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 98r3–99r4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 128–130. The sacrificial slaughtering of the victim, the offering of a simulacrum of the enemy, and a vigil with music and dancing on the night of the eighth [day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina]. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe balidānavidhiḥ* (f. 99r4 *ity āṅgirasakalpe paśubalidānavidhiḥ*, but P<sub>2</sub> lacks the prose paragraph before the colophon on p. 130).
44. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 99r4–101r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 136–138. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasoktapaśupūjā-mantraḥ*.
45. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 101r1–102v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 139. Colophon: *iti nakṣatrakalpoktaṃ tantraṃ samāptam*.

<sup>54</sup>The worship of Maṅgalacaṇḍī/Maṅgalā, particularly on Tuesdays, is characteristic of village religion in Bengal; see CHAKRABARTI 2001, pp. 209–213, 239–245.

46. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 102v1–102v5; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. The Mantras of the ten rites of passage from conception (*garbhādhānam*) to the termination of studentship (*samāvartanam*). Colophon: *iti daśasaṃsthāmantrāḥ samāptāḥ*.
47. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 102v5–106r2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 140–144. Worship of the six-syllable Gaṇeśa (Vakratuṅḍa) [Mantra] (OM VAKRATUṅḌĀYA HŪM). Colophon: *iti mantra-muktāvalyāṃ ṣaḍakṣaravakratuṅḍapūjā*.
48. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 106r2–113v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 148–153. Colophon: *iti bhṛguproktāḥ ṣaḍakṣaramantravakratuṅḍakalpāḥ*.
49. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 113v3–114r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 154. Colophon: *iti siddhaudanaparakāraḥ*.
50. P<sub>2</sub> f. 114r1–114v1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 154. Colophon: *iti sarvatobhadramaṅḍalam*.
51. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 114v1–162r2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 154–207. Parts of the *Mantrarājānuṣṭubhakalpamālā* of Śeṣa, giving a detailed account of the worship of [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṃha as embodied in the 32-syllable Mantra.
52. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 162r2–163r1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. The great power of this Mantra when Nṛsiṃha is worshipped with it at the three junctures of the day, at two, or at one: it is both a ladder leading to the Vaikuṅṭha paradise and the means of destroying any enemy (f. 162v1: *vaikuṅṭhadhāmasopānaṃ sarvaśatrūnirbarhaṇam*). Colophon: *iti mantrarājamāhātmyam*.
53. P<sub>2</sub> f. 163r1–163r3; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Affusion with Vaiṣṇava Mantras. Colophon: *iti mahābhiṣekaḥ*.
54. P<sub>2</sub> f. 163r3–163v5; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. The rite to be performed at each juncture by worshippers of [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṃha. Colophon: *iti nṛsiṃhasaṃdhyā samāptā*.
55. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 163v5–178r2; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. The worship of the 32-syllable Mantra of [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṃha in its Sāman chant forms. Colophon: *iti sāmāgānamantrarājapūjā samāptā* (f. 178r2).
56. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 178r2–179v3; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. The rites of the juncture, bathing, and gratification of [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṃha with the recitation of his 32-syllable Mantra. Colophon: *iti śrīnṛsiṃhasaṃdhyāsnānatarpaṇam*.
57. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 179v3–181v2; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Gratification of the pantheon beginning with [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṃha with water poured from the palm. Colophon: *iti tarpaṇavidhiḥ* (f. 181v2).
58. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 181v2–183r1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Bathing by rubbing the body with ashes. Colophon: *iti snānaparakāraḥ*.

59. P<sub>2</sub> f. 183r1–183v1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Gratification of Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha, Varāha, Aniruddha, the gods, and ancestors on a Yantra traced out by pouring water. Colophon: *iti snānatarpaṇam*.
60. P<sub>2</sub> f. 183v1–183v4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Fire sacrifice to Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha, Śrī, Mahālakṣmī, Paramātman, Sūrya, Yajurlakṣmī, and Nṛsiṃhagāyatrī. Colophon: *iti homaparakārah*.
61. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 183v4–184r4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Worshipping, giving guest-water (*saṃdhyārghaḥ*), and reciting the Mantra for the veneration of the Sun (*upasthānam*). Colophon: *ity upasthānam*.
62. P<sub>2</sub> f. 184r4–184v2; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. How to affuse the deity (*abhiṣekaḥ*). Colophon: *iti devasnānaparakārah*.
63. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 184v2–185r3; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. How to perform a short bathing of the deity with ash. Colophon: *iti saṃkocavibhūtisnānaparakārah*.
64. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 185r3–186r1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Rite of the monosyllabic Mantra of Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha (KṢRAUṢ). No colophon.
65. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 186r1–188r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 9–11. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe anāgatārthavedanam*.
66. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 188r1–190r1; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 14–16. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe mantrarāja-vijñānam*.
67. P<sub>2</sub> f. 190r1–4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 17. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase parakarmaniṅvāraṇam*.
68. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 190r4–195r2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 17–24. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe mantrarāja-vidhiḥ*.
69. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 195r2–196r2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 24–25. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase durgarakṣāvīdhānam*.
70. P<sub>2</sub> f. 196r2–v2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 25–26. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kiṃvadantīmṛṣākaraṇam*.
71. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 196v3–197v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 26–27. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe nṛsiṃhabalividhiḥ*.
72. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 197v3–198r3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 28. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe nṛsiṃhabalika-rmaphalakathanam*.
73. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 198r3–199r4; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 28–30. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe abhayānṛsiṃhavidhiḥ*.
74. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 199r4–204r2; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 30–37. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe jayanṛsiṃhakalpaḥ*.

75. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 204r2–207v3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 37–42. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe mahājaya-nṛsiṃhakalpah* (Ed<sup>P</sup>: *ity āṅgirase jayanṛsiṃhakalpah*).
76. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 207v3–209r3; = Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 12–14. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe nṛsiṃhābhiṣekah*.
77. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 209r3–213v1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Colophon: *iti sanatkumārakalpe nṛsiṃhābhiṣekah*.
78. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 213v1–214r1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Colophon: *iti pātālanṛsiṃhamantraḥ*.
79. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 214r1–215r1; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. A hymn to Nṛsiṃha, expressing devotion to him as characterized in each of the eleven epithets of his 32-syllable verse Mantra (*ānuṣṭubhamantrarājah*). Colophon: *iti śrīmantrarājanārasimhapadastotraṃ samāptam*.
80. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 215r1–233v; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Chapters 1–3 of the *Mantrarājakalpa* of the *Nāradasaṃhitā*. Colophons: *iti śrīnāradasaṃhitāyāṃ mantrarājakalpe prathamah paṭalaḥ* (f. 218r1); *iti ... dvitīyah paṭalaḥ* (f. 223v3); *iti mantrarājanāradasaṃhitāyāṃ trtīyah paṭalaḥ* (f. 233v3).
81. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 233v4–236r2; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. A detailed account of a *pūjā* and *homaḥ* of Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha. Colophon: *iti mantrarājavidhāne nigadabhañjanavidhānam samāptam*.
82. P<sub>2</sub> ff. ff. 236r2–259v4; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. Chapters 1–4 of the *Kapilapraṇīta*, comprising a Paddhati of the rituals of the worshippers of Nṛsiṃha, beginning with an initiation (*dīkṣā*) in which the 32-syllable Mantra is transmitted.
83. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 259v4–260v3; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. The rite of the eight-armed form assumed by Śiva as the Cintāmaṇimantra (KṢMRYAUM); the visualization-verse = *Prapañcasāra* 19.3 (f. 260r2, emending *ahiśāsikhara* to *ahiśāsadhara*). Colophon: *iti devaprakāśikāyāṃ cintāmaṇimantraḥ*.<sup>55</sup>
84. P<sub>2</sub> ff. 260v3–283v3; not in Ed<sup>P</sup> or P<sub>1</sub>. The first two chapters of a section of uncertain title within the *Nāradīya* dealing with the worship of Nṛsiṃha. Colophons: *iti śrīnāradīye siṃha\*prabhākare* (conj. : *prajācāre* Cod.) *bījarājaviddhānam prathamah paṭalaḥ* (f. 268r1); and *iti śrīsiṃha\*prabhākare* (conj. : *prabhāgare* Cod.) *nāradīye saṃhitoddhāre viśeṣamantraividhānam dvitīyah paṭalaḥ* (f. 277v5). The remainder of the manuscript, which breaks off at f. 283v3 before the colophon, continues the same subject.

<sup>55</sup>The deity of this Mantra is said here to be Umāmaheśvara (f. 260r1: *kaśyapa ṛṣir anuṣṭup chanda umāmaheśvaro devatā*), as in *Prapañcasāra* 19.2b (*devatomeśah*). In the *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* of the Keralan tradition it is said to be Mahārudra (23.22d: *mahārudro 'sya devatā*).

## The Deities of the Corpus and the Style of their Worship

The principal deities encountered in the corpus examined are then Nṛsiṃha, who receives much the greatest attention, especially in association with his 32-syllable Mantrarāja, which has the form of a *namaskāraślokaḥ* in the Anuṣṭubh metre, Vakratuṅḍa (Gaṇeśa), Rudra (here a variant of the Siddhānta's Sadāśiva), the Śiva of the Cintāmaṇimantra, and the following goddesses and Bhairavas: Āsurī (worshipped as a form of Durgā), Kālī, Pratyāṅgirā, Kṛtyā, Bhadrakālī, Parā, Tripurabhairavī, Maṅgalacaṇḍī, Gharmaṭikā Durgā, the Caṇḍikā of the Ciṭimantra, Dhūmāvati, Svachandabhairava (/Caṇḍabhairava), Vijñānabhairava, Sarvakāmabhairava, Ekākṣarabhairava, and Aṣṭākṣarabhairava.

The procedure for the worship of the Śaiva deities among these, that is to say, the Rudras, goddesses, and Bhairavas, is fully in accordance with Tantric norms, and those for the worship of Nṛsiṃha and Gaṇeśa follow the same model. Within the broad category of the Tantric there is a particular affinity here with the deity-range and style of worship seen in the *Prapañcasāra* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya and the related *Śāradātilaka* of Lakṣmaṇadeśika. In the first regard we may note in both those texts and our *Āṅgīrasa* corpus the prominence of the Nṛsiṃha of the 32-syllable Mantrarāja, and the presence of the Śiva of the Cintāmaṇimantra, Tripurabhairavī, Gharmaṭikā, the Caṇḍikā of the Ciṭimantra, Dhūmāvati, and Kāmadeva (Manmatha). In the second regard we may note that all these materials share (1) the distinctive use of the *vyāpakanyāsaḥ*, (2) the device of using the same throne-Mantra for a number of different Mantra-deities and prescribing its use after the first enunciation under such expressions as *vaiṣṇavaḥ pīṭhaḥ*, *śaivaḥ pīṭhaḥ*, and *āsurīpīṭhaḥ*, (3) the specification in pseudo-Vedic form of the Ṛṣi, metre (*chandaḥ*), deity, and, sometimes, application (*vinīyogaḥ*) of every Mantra, though the *Āṅgīrasa* materials also usually specify the parts of a Mantra that are its *bījam*, *śaktiḥ*, and *kīlakam*, and (4) the very ordering of information: first the Mantra is given, then its Ṛṣi, metre, and the rest, then its Ancillaries (*aṅgāni*), followed by the *nyāsaḥ*, the visualization (*dhyānam*), and the order of worship. Also consonant with the style of the *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradātilaka* is the fact that the system of worship is not restricted to Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śākta, Saura, or Gāṇapatya Mantras but includes in its system materials from all these traditions. Finally, like those texts, its mode of worship is Veda-congruent in the sense that with the exception of animal-sacrifice (*paśubaliḥ*) it eschews the elements of nondualistic practice (*advaitācāraḥ*) such as the offering of alcoholic liquor and worship involving union with a female consort that characterize the independent Śaiva cults of Bhairava and the Śākta goddesses.<sup>56</sup> In the same spirit it shows virtually no trace of

<sup>56</sup>This, however, is not true of all Atharvavedic Tantric materials. For the cult of the Kaula goddess Kubjikā taught in the explicitly and strongly Atharvavedic *Kubjikopaniṣad* mentions the five Ms (*pañca makārāḥ*) in the section from the eleventh chapter onwards that incorporates the East Indian Śākta tradition of the ten Mahāvidyās; see GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN 1994,

distinctively Śaiva doctrinal positions and terminology, whether Saiddhāntika or Śākta Śaiva. Where a doctrinal framework becomes visible it is generally Vedāntic in type, and this is so even in Śākta contexts;<sup>57</sup> and when theistic devotion is advocated it is Vaiṣṇava.<sup>58</sup>

## The Orissan Character of the Corpus

The preservation of this compilation in none but Orissan manuscripts and the concentration of Paippalādins in this region do not suffice to prove conclusively that it is Orissan. But there can be no doubt of this origin when one considers its contents.

### *The Centrality of Nṛsimha*

Notable is the preponderance in the collection of rites centred on Nṛsimha, both as the recipient of regular daily worship and in the ceremonies to be performed for clients. For this is the personal tutelary deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) of the Orissan Paippalādins<sup>59</sup> and enjoys an unusual pre-eminence in the religious culture of Orissa, where he has over one hundred temples with land endowments, concentrated in the southwestern and western areas of the State.<sup>60</sup> Prominent among them are the Nṛsimhanātha temple in Padampur, the Nṛsimha temple at Puri, the Lakṣmīnṛsimha temples at Amareswar near Konarak, Nua-patna near Bhubaneswar, and the compound of the Śaiva Liṅgarāja temple in Bhubaneswar, and the Varāhanṛsimha temple at Adasapur near Bhubaneswar. Moreover it has been shown that Nṛsimha was in all probability the original deity at the site of the famous temple of Jagannātha (Puruṣottama) in Puri, a conclusion supported by local Purānic tradition and confirmed by certain features of the ritual life of the temple. For it is the Mantra of Nṛsimha rather than

pp. 8–9, rightly pointing to these goddesses and the five Ms as characteristic of late Bengali Śāktism.

<sup>57</sup>See below, pp. 245, 266, 271, and above, p. 212. There is perhaps a slight departure from this brahmanical doctrine in vv. 3–4 of the *Parājapavidhi* (see p. 239) when it refers to Parā as the power of consciousness (*cicchaktiḥ*) and as ‘the supreme power of Śiva whose nature is consciousness’ (*cidrūpasya śivasyeyaṃ parā śaktir nigadyate*).

<sup>58</sup>See n. 26 on p. 204, and pp. 216 and 222.

<sup>59</sup>Umākānta PAṆḌĀ in *Paippalādavaśādiṣṭakarmapaddhati, Pūrvābhāsa* (Preface), p. 1: *atharva-vedavidbrāhmaṇānām iṣṭadevaḥ śrīnṛsimhaḥ*. See also GRIFFITHS 2002, p. 38. BAHULKAR reports (1987, p. 578) that the Atharvavedins of Orissa begin their Veda recitation with obeisance to Nṛsimha, as follows: *natvā narahariṃ devaṃ sarvaviḡhnapraṇāśanam | pippalādaprasādāc ca paṭhāmy ātharvaṇāsrutim* ‘I [now] recite the Atharvaveda, after bowing to Lord Nṛsimha, the destroyer of all impediments, and by the favour of Pippalāda’.

<sup>60</sup>According to ESCHMANN (2005, p. 103 and n. 11) a list prepared by G.C. TRIPATHI from materials collected by H. VON STIETENCROON shows 111 such temples of Nṛsimha in Orissa: 12 (+ 5 Lakṣmīnṛsimhas) in Ganjam, 21 in Puri, 51 (+ 5 Lakṣmīnṛsimhas) in Cuttack, 10 in Sambalpur, 2 each in Balasore, Dhenkanal, and Mayurbhanj, and 1 in Bolangir.

of Puruṣottama or Kṛṣṇa that is recited during the installation of the new Jagannātha at the time of the periodic replacing and consecration of his wooden image; and during the period of fifteen days after the annual *snānayātrā*, when the image of Jagannātha is withdrawn from public view, the Nṛsiṃha image in the front hall of the temple takes his place.<sup>61</sup>

### *The Ekapādabhairava Visualizations*

Orissa is also indicated by the fact that the visualization verses of the Mantras of certain Bhairavas in the corpus identify them with Ekapādabhairava ‘One-footed Bhairava’. This is so in the cases of Sarvakāmabhairava:

*jaṭī bhasmavilīptāṅgaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ śūlakapālabhṛt |*  
*yoganidrāgatas tiṣṭhann ekapād bhairavo 'vatu |*

*Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati p. 93*

**1a** *jaṭī* corr. : *jaṭā* Ed. **1c** *gatas* corr. : *gata* Ed.

With matted locks, his body smeared with ashes, black, holding a trident and a skull, standing in the sleep of meditation, may One-footed Bhairava protect [us].

### Ekākṣarabhairava:

*kṛṣṇo bhasmavilīptāṅgo vimuktordhvaजातवराजः |*  
*diḡambaro mahīṃ paśyan pratyakpravaṇamānasah |*  
*dakṣiṇe karparaṃ vāme śūlam udyamya cāntare |*  
*पुराः सन्न एकपदं पतुः भैरवो मक्षदायकः |*

*Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati p. 96*

**1a** *kṛṣṇo* em. : *kṛṣṇa* Ed. **1c** *mahīṃ* corr. : *mahiṃ* Ed.

May One-footed Bhairava, the bestower of liberation, protect [us], black, his body smeared with ashes, his high mass of matted hair loosened, naked, gazing at the ground, his mind inwardly focused, [standing] before [us] in the middle [air] with a skull bowl in his right hand and brandishing a trident in the left.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup>ESCHMANN 2005, pp. 112–117; VON STIETENCROON 2005a, pp. 12–13, 30; ESCHMANN, KULKE, AND TRIPATHI 2005, pp. 169–176, 178, 183; and PATTANAYAK 1988, p. 37. For the centrality of Nṛsiṃha in the rituals of the Navakalevara, the periodic replacing of the wooden images of the Jagannātha temple, see TRIPATHI 2005b, pp. 235, 239, 244–245, 247, 255–259.

Nṛsiṃha’s popularity is equally great in neighbouring Andhra, where, according to the Census of 1961, there are 169 shrines and temples of this deity (ESCHMANN 2005, p. 108). Major temples of Nṛsiṃha are found in Andhra at Ahobilam (9 Nṛsiṃhas: Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha and others), Simhachalam (Varāha-Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha), Akiripalli (Vyāghra-Nṛsiṃha), Yadagiri Gutta (Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha), Dharmapuri (Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha), and Mangalagiri (Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha).

<sup>62</sup>See also the visualization of Ekākṣarabhairava in P<sub>2</sub> f. 74r3–4: *kṛṣṇo \*vivasano* (corr. : *vivasana* Cod.) *bhasmalīptaḥ mukta\*kapardah* (em. : *kardah* Cod.) *\*bahirdṛṣṭir* (corr. : *bahirdṛṣṭir* Cod.) *api pratyakdrṣṭiḥ dakṣe karparaṃ vāme śūlam dadhānaḥ khe puraḥ sann ekapād bhairavo dhyeyaḥ*.

and Aṣṭākṣarabhairava:

*kr̥ṣṇaṃ jaṭilaṃ bhasmaliptāṅgaṃ vāme śūlaṃ dakṣiṇe kapālaṃ dadhānaṃ yoga-  
dharaṃ ākāṣe puraḥsthitam ekapādaṃ bhairavaṃ dhyāyet.*

P<sub>1</sub>, f. 74v3

1 *kr̥ṣṇaṃ* corr. : *kr̥ṣṇa* Cod.

He should visualize [him] before him in the sky [as] One-footed Bhairava, black, with matted locks, his body smeared with ashes, holding a trident in his left hand and a skull-bowl in his right, deep in meditation.

For this was the Bhairava of Ekāmra, the pre-eminent Śaiva sacred site of Orissa, located in modern Bhubaneswar. Here we have the early testimony of the *Picumata* (/ *Brahmayāmala*), which was known to the Kashmirian scholar Abhinavagupta (*fl. c.* 975–1025)<sup>63</sup> and has come down to us in a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript of AD 1052. For in the initiation Maṇḍala of that Tantra there are eight cremation grounds to be depicted in the eight directions with a Bhairava presiding in each surrounded by a retinue, and in that of Ekāmra the Bhairava is Ekapāda, as Mahādeva is in that of Vārāṇasī, Mahāghaṇṭa in that of Virajā (Jajpur), Mahāhāsa in that of Kollagiri (Kolhapur), Śaśibhūṣaṇa (Somanātha) in that of Prabhāsa (Somanāth-Pattan in Surat), Mahākāla in that of Ujjain, Gaṇādhyakṣa in that of Bhūteśvara, and Hetukeśvara in that of Koṭivarsa/Devīkottā:

*uttare kalpayed devi nāmnā ekāmraṃ śubham |  
112 aralukaṃ tu samālikhya gadāṃ vai pṛṣṭhato nyaset |  
tasyādhistā likhet padmam aṣṭapatraṃ sakarṇikam |  
113 bhairavaṃ tatra cālikhya rudrāṣṭakasamanvitam |  
ekapādaṃ mahāvīryaṃ bhairavākārasaṃjñakam |  
114 bahi rudrāṣṭakāc caiva mātaro vinyased budhaḥ |  
māheśvaryāditāḥ kṛtvā paramātā na saṃśayaḥ |  
115 pretārūdhā mahāvīryā ālikhen mantravikramāḥ |  
kapālai raktasaṃpūrṇair antrasragdāmalambibhiḥ |  
116 varadodyatahastās tu antrasragdāmabhūṣitāḥ |  
mātṛṇāṃ bāhyato devi yoginyaś ca likhed budhaḥ |  
117 sumanā devakī caiva cakravegā mahāravā |  
bhīmakī ratnagarbhā ca ṣaḍ yoginyo yathākramam |  
118 dantikam lohajaṅgham ca ūrdhvakeśam mahāmukham |  
catvāro rākṣasāṃ likhya śākinībhiḥ samāvṛtāṃ |  
119 kabandhāni likhed aṣṭau dikṣu caiva vidikṣu ca |<sup>64</sup>*

<sup>63</sup>Abhinavagupta cites or paraphrases this text under the titles *Brahmayāmala* and *Picumata* in *Tantrāloka* 4.60–65; 5.97c–100b; 13.145; 15.43c–44; 18.9; 23.43c–44b; 27.21c–23b; 27.29; 28.383c–384b; 28.409c–411a; 28.418c–419b; 28.422c–423b; and 29.11–12b.

<sup>64</sup>In these verses I have not removed by emendation such deviations from Paninian Sanskrit

*Picumata* f. 8r1–3 (3.111c–119b)

**112b** *gadāṃ* corr. : *gadā* Cod. **114c** *āditaḥ* corr. : *ādita* Cod. **115b** *mantravikramāḥ* conj. : *mantravikramāt* Cod. **117c** *yathākramam* corr. : *yathākramaḥ* Cod. **118a** *lohajaṅghaṃ* corr. : *lohajaṅghaś* Cod.

O Devī, in the North [of the Maṇḍala] he should make the splendid [cremation ground of] Ekāmra. [In it] he should draw an Aralu tree (*Colosanthus indica*) and behind that a club. Below it he should draw a lotus with eight petals and a pericarp. On this he should draw the Bhairava Ekapāda ('One-footed'), of terrible appearance and name, of vast power, accompanied by eight Rudras. Beyond the eight Rudras he should place the Mothers, beginning with Māheśvarī. He should depict the supreme Mothers standing on corpses, of vast power, mighty with [their] Mantras, with skull bowls full of blood draped with strings of entrails, with one hand in the gesture of bestowing boons, themselves adorned with strings of entrails. Let there be no doubt of this. Beyond the Mothers, O Goddess, the learned [officiant] should depict the Yoginīs. There are six. In their proper order they are Sumanā, Devakī, Cakravegā, Mahāravā, Bhīmakī and Ratnagarbhā. After depicting four Rākṣasas, namely Dantika, Lohajaṅgha, Ūrdhvakeśa and Mahāmukha, surrounded by Śākinīs, he should depict eight corpses[, one] in [each of] the cardinal and intermediate directions.

Moreover, the image of this one-footed Bhairava (Ekapādabhairava) was widely reproduced throughout the cultural zone. Images corresponding to the visualizations in the *Āṅgirasakalpa* texts in that the two hands, or the two front hands in the case of four-armed images, hold the trident and the skull-bowl, appear in Orissa in the ninth century in the Mallikeśvara temple at Padampur and became standard in the Śaiva and Śākta temples of Orissa and the northern parts of Andhra Pradesh from the tenth century to the fourteenth.<sup>65</sup>

#### *Utkala in the Saṃkalpa formula*

Finally, there is the evidence of the location specified in the formulas of intention (*saṃkalpaḥ*) to be recited before commencing a ritual. For in these materials we have a formula that gives this location as Utkala, which comprises the coastal districts of Orissa.<sup>66</sup>

as are commonly seen elsewhere in this text, namely *adhastā likhet* for *adhastāl likhet* in 112c, *bahī rudrāṣṭakāc* for *bahī rudrāṣṭakāc* in 114a, *mātaro* for *mātṛr* in 114b, *paramātā* (← *paramātāḥ*) for *paramātṛr* in 114d, and *rākṣasām* and *samāvṛtām* for acc. pl. m. in 118cd.

<sup>65</sup>For his iconography in Orissan temples see WILLIAMS 1984, pp. 298–301 and plates 261–264; DONALDSON 1987, p. 1106; DONALDSON 2002, pp. 462–464. See also VON STIETENCRON 2005b, pp. 121–122 on the popularity of Ekapādabhairava in Orissa during the Bhaumakara and Somavaṃśin periods and its diminution during the period of the Gaṅgas from around the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

<sup>66</sup>*Āsurīdīpikā* of Bhūdhara in *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*, p. 124: *iha pṛthivyaṃ jambudvīpe bhāratakhaṇḍe bhāratavarṣe utkalapradeśe iha viśiṣṭabhūpradeśe . . .*; P<sub>2</sub> f. 88v1: *. . . utkaladeśe . . .*

## The Period of the Composition of the Corpus

As for the period of time during which these materials were composed, that cannot be determined in our present state of knowledge with any precision. Even the works ascribed to human authors that appear in the corpus are of uncertain date.

### *The Date and Provenance of the Prapañcasāra and Śāradātilaka*

The earliest among them is perhaps the *Prapañcasāra* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, the chapter on the propitiation of Tripurabhairavī and several visualization-verses from which are found in P<sub>2</sub>. This text was the basis on which Lakṣmaṇadeśika composed his *Śāradātilaka*<sup>67</sup> and the latter is widely held to have been composed in Kashmir in the tenth century by Lakṣmaṇagupta, one of the Gurus of Abhinavagupta in the Śākta Śaiva tradition of the Trika, more particularly his teacher in the philosophical works composed by Lakṣmaṇagupta's teacher Utpaladeva.<sup>68</sup> But this attribution is patently false. It rests on the testimony of the Maharashtrian scholar Rāghavabhaṭṭa, who in his commentary on the *Śāradātilaka*, completed in Banaras in AD 1494,<sup>69</sup> cites a verse that he takes to be giving the preceptorial lineage down to and beyond its author as Śrīkaṅṭha, Vasugupta, Somānanda, Utpalācārya, Lakṣmaṇa, Abhinavagupta, and Kṣemarāja.<sup>70</sup> But he has certainly done so in error, since apart from the fact that its Lakṣmaṇa (= Lakṣmaṇagupta) is not identified in that verse as the author of the *Śāradātilaka*, so that the identification rests only on the tenuous evidence of the occurrence of an extremely common personal name, there is the evidence that the *Śāradātilaka* shares nothing with the Tantrism of that distinguished Kashmirian tradition either in the type and range of its deities and rituals or in its philosophical underpinnings. Indeed in the latter respect it is radically opposed to it, since though nondualistic in doctrine it adheres to the non-Śaiva model of reality in which the Tattvas are twenty-six (Śiva and the twenty-five of the Sāṃkhya system) rather than the thirty-six of the Mantramārgic Śaivism propagated by Utpaladeva and his successors. Moreover, it is almost certain that the undeclared source of the verse that Rāghavabhaṭṭa cites is not one that being within the tradition of the form of Tantrism taught in

<sup>67</sup>GOUDRIAAN in GOUDRIAAN and GUPTA 1981, pp. 134–135.

<sup>68</sup>This was first proposed by FARQUHAR (1920, p. 267) and then repeated by GONDA (1963, vol. 2, p. 28, note 9) and, among others, by GOUDRIAAN (in GOUDRIAAN and GUPTA 1981, p. 135), VON STIETENCROON (2005a, p. 16) and BÜHNEMANN (2000, p. 2).

<sup>69</sup>*Śāradātilakapadārthādarśa* pp. 916–917.

<sup>70</sup>*Śāradātilakapadārthādarśa* p. 12, ll. 18–20: *tathā ca granthakṛdgurupaṅktiḥ "śrīkaṅṭhaṃ \*vasuguptaṃ (em.: vasumantaṃ Ed.) śrīsomānandaṃ utpalācāryān" iti. "lakṣmaṇaṃ abhinavaguptaṃ vande śrīkṣemarājaṃ ca" iti tacchīṣyāḥ* "The line of the author's teachers is [seen in the first half of the following verse:] "[I praise] Śrīkaṅṭha, Vasugupta, Somānanda and Utpalācārya" and [the line of] his pupils in [the second:] "Lakṣmaṇa, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja.""

the *Śāradātilaka* is likely to have recorded information about its author. For it is a variant of a verse that appears in earlier South Indian sources that unlike the *Śāradātilaka* are within or closely allied to this famous Kashmirian tradition, namely the *Ānandakalpalatikā* of Maheśvaratejānandanātha, and, in another variant, the *Gurunāthaparāmarśa* and *Gurupaṅktistotra* of his predecessor Madhurāja of Madurai, an adept of the Ekavīra, also called the Anuttara or Parākrama, a form of the Trika that was transmitted to the South and flourished there,<sup>71</sup> with the difference that Lakṣmaṇa is lacking in the second of these variants and both Śrīkaṅṭha and Lakṣmaṇa in the first. Evidently Rāghavabhaṭṭa is citing a further variant from one of these sources or a cognate that had written in Lakṣmaṇa[gupta] in order to create a text closer to an account of the actual *guruparamparā*. For the verse as given in these three sources was not intended for that purpose but simply venerates the key authors in the teaching tradition of the Kashmirian Śaiva nondualists, since Śrīkaṅṭha was not the Guru of Vasugupta, but rather the mythical Ādiguru, nor was Vasugupta the Guru of Somānanda, and Lakṣmaṇagupta is not known for any compositions but only as Abhinavagupta's teacher. It appears then that when Rāghavabhaṭṭa encountered this rewritten verse—it is unlikely that it was he that rewrote it—

<sup>71</sup>*Ānandakalpalatikā*, introductory verse 3: *śrīkaṅṭhaṃ vasuguptaṃ śrīsomānandam utpalācāryam | abhinavaguptaṃ nāthaṃ vande śrīkṣemarājaṃ ca; Gurunāthaparāmarśa* v. 2 and *Gurupaṅktistotra* v. 3: *śrīvasuguptamahāgurusomānandaprabhūtpalācāryān | abhinavaguptaṃ nāthaṃ vande śrīkṣemarājaṃ ca*. The verse following this in the Madras manuscripts of the *Ānandakalpalatikā* and *Gurupaṅktistotra* reads *śrīpādabhairavasvādunāyakoḍayadeśikāḥ | trayo yasya prasannā me suprasīdantu mādhurāḥ* in the former and *śrīvādijainavasvāmanāyakoḍayadeśikāḥ | trayo 'pi me suprasīdantu pratyabhijñāpravartakāḥ* in the latter. Both are evidently corrupt in the first line. Collating the two I propose tentatively that we should read *śrīvādibhairavasvāmināyakoḍayadeśikāḥ*. If this is correct the authors pray for the favour of three Ācāryas of Madurai, Vādibhairava, Svāmināyaka, and Udayadeśika, whom Madhurāja describes as propagators of the Pratyabhijñā, that is to say, of the nondualism expounded by Utpaladeva in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñārikā* and its auto-commentaries *-vṛtti* and *-vīṛti* and by Abhinavagupta in his commentaries on the *-kārikā* and *-vīṛti*. Maheśvaratejānandanātha ends his introductory verses with obeisance to the three Gurus Sukhatīrtha, Candraśekhara, and Saṅgabhaṭṭāraka: *śrīhr̥dayacandrikāsvaprakāśikā\*vimarśodayācāryān* (conj.: *vimarśobhayācāryān* Cod.) | *sukhatīrthacandraśekharasaṅga\*bhaṭṭārakān* (*bhaṭṭārakān* conj.: *bhaṭṭārakam* Cod.). The line identifies them as Ācāryas of/in what are probably (lost) works in this tradition. The compound is ambiguous in the absence of other references that might tell us how to divide it. But since he speaks of an Udayadeśika in these verses it is plausible that it should be analysed as yielding three elements, one for each Ācārya: *Hṛdayacandrikā*, *Svaprakāśikāvimarśa*, and *Udaya* or perhaps *Hṛdayacandrikā*, *Svaprakāśikā*, and *Vimarśodaya*, and that Vādibhairava, Svāmināyaka, and Udayācārya were birudas of Sukhatīrtha, Candraśekhara, and Saṅgabhaṭṭāraka. The verse of Maheśvaratejānandanātha's introduction that follows that which is parallel to Rāghavabhaṭṭa's seeks the favour of Kṛṣṇavāsa, which is surely a scribal error for Kṛṣṇadāsa, *vā* and *dā* being readily confused in the Grantha script of the Far South. We know a Kṛṣṇadāsa in this tradition, a scholar of Cidambaram who wrote the *Śivasūtravārtika* following Kṣemarāja's *Śivasūtravimarśinī*. Also known as Varadarāja he describes himself in vv. 213–215 of that work as a pupil of Madhurāja. Madhurāja's engagement with the Parākrama form of Trika worship, of which the *Parātrīśikā* is the scriptural basis, is recorded in *Gurunāthaparāmarśa* v. 40: *śaktitrayaikaśaraṇe parākramākṛānta-viśvādikcakre | madhurāje mayi . . .*

he rashly jumped to the convenient conclusion that it provides the evidence of Lakṣmaṇadeśika's teaching lineage that is lacking in the *Śāradātilaka* itself.<sup>72</sup>

As for the true provenance of the *Śāradātilaka* and the *Prapañcasāra* that preceded it, I propose that they were composed, like our *Āṅgīrasa* materials, in Orissa or if not there then on the basis of Orissan religious tradition. For their treatment of Vaiṣṇava worship agrees closely with that seen in that region, being dominated by the cults of Nṛsiṃha, Puruṣottama/Jagannātha, and Dadhivāmana. The importance of the first among the Oriyas has been shown above, and that of the second, which for many centuries has been the principal deity of Orissa, needs no demonstration.<sup>73</sup> As for Dadhivāmana, this too is a distinctively Oriya deity, representing in all probability the primitive form of Jagannātha before the elaborations developed under royal patronage in Puri, his name being that under which Jagannātha is worshipped when he is not accompanied, as he is in his main temple in Puri, by images of Balabhadra and Subhadra.<sup>74</sup> 344 temples dedicated to Dadhivāmana, most of them in the Puri, Cuttack, Ganjam, and Sambalpur districts, have been registered in Orissa.<sup>75</sup> There is less firm evidence in the case of the texts' treatments of Śaiva and Śākta worship. But we may note that the *Śaivacintāmaṇi* of Lakṣmīdharamiśra, an Oriya brahmin of the early eighteenth century, shows that the *Śāradātilaka* provides the model for the Śaiva worship followed in the Liṅgarāja of Bhubaneswar, Orissa's pre-eminent Śaiva temple;<sup>76</sup> and we have seen that in the Śākta sphere there is a

<sup>72</sup>In the closing verses of the *Śāradātilaka* (25.83–86) Lakṣmaṇadeśika gives only his patrilineal ancestry, a fact that of itself militates against Rāghavabhaṭṭa's claim. It is very improbable that if he had been the pupil of Utpaladeva and the grand-pupil of Somānanda he would have failed to mention this.

<sup>73</sup>In addition to the principal Jagannātha of Purī, there are 930 temples dedicated to him and registered as independent religious foundations in Orissa (VON STIETENCROON 2005c, p. 469).

<sup>74</sup>See VON STIETENCROON 2005c, p. 470.

<sup>75</sup>By VON STIETENCROON (2005c, pp. 472–473).

<sup>76</sup>Lakṣmīdharamiśra was also the author of the unpublished *Śaivakalpadruma*. In its colophonic verses he identifies himself as a devotee of the Śiva of Bhubaneswar (in the Liṅgarāja temple), as the son of Rāmakṛṣṇa Agnihotrīn, and the grandson of Pradyumna, describing the last as 'the moon to the ocean of the Kautsa Gotra' (*kautsānvoayābdhīnduḥ*), 'a Śiva in human form' (*śaṅkaratanuḥ sākṣāt*) who had performed a [Vedic] sacrifice in Ekāmra (Bhubaneswar) and as a consequence been honoured by Gajapati Mukunda[deva I]. That king ruled from 1657 to 1689. See Dukhisya PATTANAYAK's introduction to his edition of the *Śaivacintāmaṇi*, pp. 3–6. Paṭala 6 of the *Śaivacintāmaṇi*, on Japa to be performed after the Pūjā, requires the worshipper to visualize the Ekāmra (the site of the Liṅgarāja temple) with the Bindusarovara tank (*bindūdbhavaṃ sarah*) at its centre (6.11–18). The Śaivism of the text draws on the *Śāradātilaka* extensively for its procedure (compare, for example, *Śaivacintāmaṇi* 3.50c–54 with *Śāradātilaka* 18.15–18; and 3.72–81 with *Śāradātilaka* 18.7–13). Moreover, the *Śaivacintāmaṇi* incorporates some of the *Śāradātilaka*'s visualization-texts (2.83 = *Śāradātilaka* 23.85 [← *Prapañcasāra* 35.7]; 2.96 = *Śāradātilaka* 6.4; 3.78 = *Śāradātilaka* 18.13). Its icon of Śiva, five-faced and four-armed, with deer, axe, and the two gestures, belongs to the same tradition; see 6.25–42 (also 2.72 and 3.78) and compare *Śāradātilaka* 18.13. It also uses the lay Pañcākṣara Mantra (NAMAḤ ŚIVĀYA) and incorporates various Vedic Mantras. Thus it requires the Stava-recitation of the *Atharvaśiras*, *Śatarudriya*, *Rudrādhyāya*, or *Tanḍisahasranāmastotra* (5.60, 8.9). It also adheres in

striking congruence between its range of goddesses and those seen in our Orissan *Āṅgirasakalpa* texts. Moreover, manuscripts of the *Śāradātilaka* are reputedly found in almost every Orissan brahmin household and quotations from it are very frequent in Orissan Pūjāpaddhatis.<sup>77</sup> As for the date of the *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradātilaka*, a probable prior limit is established by the importance they attach to Puruṣottama. For the cult of this deity is evidenced in Orissa only from the late eleventh century and rose to pre-eminence only after the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva began the building of the great temple to this god in Puri in or shortly after 1135.<sup>78</sup> The earliest firm posterior limit is established by the fact that Rāghavabhaṭṭa tells us that he completed his commentary on the *Śāradātilaka* in Saṃvat 1551 (AD 1494).<sup>79</sup> He refers to another commentary on the text, the *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* of one Mādhavabhaṭṭa, but I am unable at present to determine how much earlier this author lived. However, it is not probable that the *Prapañcasāra* and the *Śāradātilaka* were composed much after the beginning of the thirteenth century, because their Vaiṣṇavism reflects the stage of the Puruṣottama cult before the development of the Balabhadra, Jagannātha, Subhadrā triad, for which the earliest known evidence is an inscription of AD 1237 at the Pātāleśvara temple in the inner compound of the Jagannātha temple, in which the three deities that formed the later triad are already praised as Halin, Cakrin and Subhadrā.<sup>80</sup>

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the style of the *Śāradātilaka* and the *Uttarabhāga* of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* to the de-Āgamicized doctrine of the 26 Tattvas; see 6.32 (*ṣaḍviṃśatattvaparam ādyavasānahīnam*; cf. 2.60). The splendid Liṅgarāja temple was built c. 1060 under the patronage of the kings of the Śaiva Somavaṃśin dynasty, by whom the Śiva of this temple, Kṛttivāsa, was elevated to the status of the state deity (*rāṣṭradevatā*), before this honour was transferred to the Jagannātha of Puri; but the sanctity of the site is considerably older. Ekāmra is included but without the name of its Śiva among the Śaiva Kṣetras treated in the *śivāyatanavarṇanam* of the *Ur-Skandapurāṇa*, a work probably no later than the seventh century and in any case preserved in a manuscript of AD 810, and, with the name, in the list of the sixty-eight Śaiva sacred sites (see BISSCHOP 2006, p. 222), most significantly in the version of this list in the *Brahmayāmala* with the variant Kīrtivāsa (3.140; see the edition of 3.132–156 in SANDERSON 2003–04, p. 407, n. 208). Kṛttivāsa is also identified as the Śiva of Ekāmra in the early Śākta *Niśiṣaṃcāra*, f. 31r2 (9.15–16a), here too with the variant Kīrtivāsa: \**ekāmre saṃsthito devi kīrtivāseti kīrtitaḥ | cāmuṇḍāyā samāyuktaḥ sthānapālasamanvitaḥ | atha mantram pravakṣyāmi kīrtivāsasya suvrate* (corr.: *ekātye saṃsthitā devi kīrtivāseti kīrtitā | cāmuṇḍāyā samāyuktaḥ sthānabalisanamvitaḥ | atha mantram pravakṣyāmi kīrtisamyaksa suvrate* Cod.); see also the Pīṭha-hymn of the *Kubjikāmata*, verses in some manuscripts after 22.46, ll. 9–10: *kṛttivāsasamopetāṃ cāmuṇḍāṃ muṇḍadhāriṇīm | \*ekāmrasaṃsthitāṃ (ekāmra corr.: ekaika Codd.) devīm namāmi śubhakāriṇīm*.

<sup>77</sup>Here I follow the report of TRIPATHI (2005a, p. 42). Arlo Griffiths reports to me that he does not recall having seen any manuscripts of the text in Atharvavedic brahmin households.

<sup>78</sup>See VON STIETENCROON 2005a, p. 28.

<sup>79</sup>*Śāradātilakapadārthadarśa* p. 917.

<sup>80</sup>ESCHMANN, KULKE and TRIPATHI 2005, p. 191.

*The core of the Āṅgirasakalpa texts probably predates the Prapañcasāra*

It is probable that most, if not all, of the anonymous materials in the Orissan *Āṅgirasa* corpus listed above go back in their content if not in their current textual form to a period before the *Prapañcasāra*. For it is striking that these materials, for all their emphasis on Vaiṣṇava devotion, make no reference to Puruṣottama/Jagannātha but exhibit an intense concentration on Nṛsimha. It is likely, therefore, that they reflect a time before Puruṣottama had supplanted that god as the primary focus of Oriya Vaiṣṇavism.<sup>81</sup> It might be suggested against this inference that the lack of Puruṣottama and the foregrounding of Nṛsimha may simply be the consequence of the fact that these materials are concerned with hostile ritual, for which Nṛsimha rather than Puruṣottama was the appropriate deity. But this objection would be unconvincing, if we may judge from the treatments of the propitiation of Puruṣottama in the *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradātilaka*. For the former includes among its applications victory in battle (*yuddhajayah*), killing one's enemies (*māraṇam*), immobilizing them (*stambhanam*), and causing panic (*uccātanam*) or dissension (*vidveṣaṇam*) among them,<sup>82</sup> and the latter when prescribing the fire sacrifices to Puruṣottama includes one that will bring about the subjection of all kings.<sup>83</sup> It is, then, at least probable that the bulk of the *Āṅgirasa* materials seen here goes back to a period before the dominance of the cult of Puruṣottama that flowed from the patronage of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva in the first half of the twelfth century. We do not know when the Paippalādins established themselves in Orissa, but if, as is probable, it was not long before the tenth century, the period of the earliest epigraphical evidence of their presence in the region, then the Paippalādins will have created the bulk of their *Āṅgirasa* corpus shortly after their arrival.<sup>84</sup> It is certainly plau-

<sup>81</sup>Of course, any approximate dates that may be deduced from the presence or absence of particular deity cults in the corpus can refer only to the period during which these cults entered the Paippalādins' repertoire, not to the period of the composition of the texts that contain them in their surviving manuscripts, since it is possible that the texts we have received are at the end of a now invisible history of redaction in which old materials were carried forward and revised.

<sup>82</sup>*Prapañcasāra* 23.2–5.

<sup>83</sup>*Śāradātilaka* 17.52–53b. The Trailokyamohana Mantra of Puruṣottama is, moreover, of the type that lends itself to such applications: OṂ KRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ NAMAḤ PURUṢOTTAMA APRATIRŪPALAKṢMĪNIVĀSA SAKALAJAGATKṢOBHAṆA SARVASTRĪHRDAYAVIDĀRAṆA TRIBHUVANAMADONMĀDAKARA SURĀSURAMANUJASUNDARĪJANAMANĀMSI TĀPAYA 2 DĪPAYA 2 ŚOṢAYA 2 MĀRAYA 2 STAMBHAYA 2 MOHAYA 2 DRĀVAYA 2 ĀKARṢAYA 2 SAMASTAPARAMASUBHAGA SARVASAUBHĀGYAKARA SARVAKĀMAPRADA AMUKAṂ HANA 2 CAKREṆA GADAYĀ KHAḌGENA SARVABĀṆAIR BHINDA 2 PĀSENA KAṬṬA 2 AṆKUṢENA TĀḌAYA 2 KURU 2 KIṂ TIṢṬHASI TĀVAD YĀVAT SAMĪHITAṂ ME SIDDHAṂ BHAVATI HUṂ PHAṬ NAMAḤ (taught in *Prapañcasāra* 23.6–14 and *Śāradātilaka* 17.2–11). The *Prapañcasāravivarāṇa* attributed to Padmapāda states in his commentary on the passage that gives the Mantra that its twelve imperatives (*ājñāpadāni*) beginning with TĀPAYA are to be used, followed by HUṂ PHAṬ, in rites of subjection, attraction, and aggression: *tāny api tāpayādīni tāvanti dvādaśasaṃkhyāni vidyāt. vaśyākaraṇakrūrakarmādiṣu puṣpāñjalyartham jānīyād ity arthaḥ. ... ājñāpadānām upari huṃ phad iti prayoktavoyam ity arthaḥ.*

<sup>84</sup>See above, n. 19 on p. 201.

sible that they should have lost no time in developing a repertoire of rituals that would appeal to their new patrons by integrating local religious traditions.

This rough chronology is consistent with the one positive element in the Paippalāda Tantric tradition that seems to me to be open to plausible approximate dating. This is the fact that the rites of Mantras of Bhairava seen in the Asimilā manuscript and the two from Pune are accompanied by the visualization of that deity as Ekapādabhairava.<sup>85</sup> For, as we have seen, images corresponding to this visualization became standard in the Śaiva and Śākta temples of Orissa and the adjoining region of Andhra Pradesh from the tenth century to the fourteenth, with a decline in popularity from around the end of the twelfth.<sup>86</sup>

### *Later Influence of the Śākta Cults of Bengal*

The corpus, however, was not closed to later accretion, as can be seen in *Āṅgīrasa* manuscripts other than those whose contents have been presented here, manuscripts that I have not yet been able to read but whose lists of contents have been transcribed and sent to me. Thus manuscript V/124 (*Āṅgīrasakalpa*) in the collection of the Orissa State Museum, whose contents while apparently Tantric-Atharvavedic overlap only to a small extent with those of the manuscripts I have seen, contains materials for the propitiation of the goddess Dakṣiṇakālī in the midst of sections on the cults of Nṛsiṃha and Gaṇeśa,<sup>87</sup> and manuscript T/48(e) (*Āṅgīrasakalpa*) in the same collection contains materials pertaining to the goddesses Dakṣiṇakālī, Tārā, and Bhuvaneśvarī,<sup>88</sup> who are among the Ten Mahāvidyās of the late medieval Śākta tradition of Bengal, the others being Śoḍaśī (Tripurasundarī), Bhairavī (Tripura-

<sup>85</sup>See above, p. 227.

<sup>86</sup>See above, p. 229.

<sup>87</sup>I am grateful to Arlo Griffiths for his assistance in making a transcription *in situ* of the section at the end of this manuscript (ff. 175v–180v) in which its contents are listed and sending it to me as an e-text. The relevant part of his transcription is as follows: [f. 180–182r] 315 *karmasiddhipratīśāra*vidhi 168; 316 *parakarmānirarthakā*vidhi 169; 317 *abhayanṛsiṃha*vidhi 170; 318 *aindrābhāyamantra*vidhi 170; 319 *dakṣiṇakālī*mantra<sup>87</sup>vidhi 171; 320 *punaś ca nṛsiṃhamantreṇa sāmagāyana*vidhi 172; 321 *āṅgīrasakalpe gaṇeśamantra*vidhi 181; 322 *saubhāgyakāṇḍe dakṣiṇakālī*mantra<sup>87</sup>vidhi 182; 324 *punaś ca kālīyantra*vidhi 182; 325 *punar dakṣiṇakālīyantra*vidhi 180; *āṅgīrasakalpe mahācakrayantra*vidhi 182; 326 *ākramacakra*vidhi 182; 327 *dakṣiṇakālīyantra*vidhi 182; 328 *dakṣiṇakālīyantradevatā*vidhi 182; 329 *vakratuṇḍamantra*vidhi 182; 330 *paravidyānivāraṇayantra*vidhi 182; 331 *gopālāṣṭadaśākṣaramantra*vidhi 182; 332 *punar vṛṣṭikāma*vidhi 183; 333 *mantrarājajapa*vidhi 183; 334 *pātalanṛsiṃhamantra*vidhi 184; 335 *mūṣalanṛsiṃhamantra*vidhi 187; 336 *pātalanṛsiṃhasya mahātmya*vidhi; 338 *sahasrākṣanṛsiṃhamantra*vidhi 187. The numerals before the titles are the serial numbers of the items—they run from 1 to 350—and those after the titles are the folio numbers.

<sup>88</sup>According to a list of contents prepared and sent to me by the same generous colleague the manuscript T/48(e) contains the following texts: (1) *Nīlasarasvatībhaktakulasarvasvasahasranāmasotra* (Tārā); (2) the *Ekajaṭāstotrarāja* said to have been proclaimed by Brahmā and assigned to the *Brahmayāmala* (Tārā); (3) the *Tārāstotra* of the *Nīlatantra* (Tārā); (4) the *Trailokyamohana* of the *Tārākalpa* of the *Bhairavantra* (Tārā); (5) the *Karpūrastotra* of the *Pheṭkārīṇītantra*, said to have been composed by Mahākāla (I presume this to be the well-known hymn to Dakṣiṇa-

bhairavī), Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvātī, Bagalāmukhī, Mātāṅgī, and Kamalā,<sup>89</sup> of whom Dakṣiṇakālī and Tārā are pre-eminent. The oldest evidence of the worship of Tārā in Orissa appears to be the image of this goddess in the Ugratārā temple in Bhusandapur near the Chilka lake. This has been assigned by DONALDSON to the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.<sup>90</sup> The same scholar reports that the majority of Orissan images of Dakṣiṇakālī date from the eighteenth century and later,<sup>91</sup> which is also the period from which the ten Mahāvidyā goddesses are found as a group in the temples of the region.<sup>92</sup>

### The Distinct Character of the Tantrism of the Corpus and its Connection with the Trika and Kālīkula

Before this assimilation of the Śāktism of Bengal, the Tantric repertoire of the Oriya Paippalādins had a distinct regional character, as can be seen from the repertoire of Mantra deities in the manuscripts whose contents have been listed above, and in the significant overlap between this pantheon and that seen in the *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradātilaka*, both works from the same region.

The Āgamic sources on which the Orissan Paippalādins drew for the creation of their *Āṅgīrasa* corpus before the advent of Bengali influence are invisible to me for the most part. But I recognize two that show that the Oriyas, unlike their Bengali Śākta neighbours in later times, participated in this domain in major traditions from the earliest phase of this variety of religion, traditions that are known to have been established before the end of the first millennium and which flourished in such widely separated regions as Kashmir, Nepal, Karnataka, and Tamilnadu. These, moreover, are traditions that, unlike the Śāktism

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kālī known as the *Karpūrādistotra*, though that is not in the published *Pheṭkārīṇītantra*); (6) the *Mahogratārājanmaprakaraṇastotra* of the *Kubjikātantra* said to be the second Kalpa of the *Rudrayāmalamahātantra* (Tārā); (7) the *Nityapūjānirṇaya* from the *Tārārahasya* of the Śaṅkarācārya of Gauḍa (*gauḍabhūminivāsīśrīsaṅkarācārya-*) (Tārā); (8) the first *Pariccheda* of the *Tārāpaddhati* of Dāmodara (Tārā); (9) the *Tārīṇīkalpa* (Tārā); (10) the *Vakratuṅḍamahāmanukalpa*; (11) the *Gaṇeśa-prakaraṇopākhyāna* of the *Śāmbhavītantra*; (12) the *Gaṇeśastavarāja* of the *Brahmavaivarta*; and (13) the *Bhuvaneśvarīkalpa* of the *Samṃohanatantra* (Bhuvaneśvarī).

<sup>89</sup>*Muṅḍamālātantra* B 1.7–8: *kālī tārā mahāvidyā ṣoḍaśī bhuvaneśvarī | bhairavī chinnamastā ca vidyā dhūmāvātī tathā | bagalāmukhī siddhavidyā mātāṅgī kamalātmikā | etā daśa mahāvidyāḥ siddhavidyāḥ prakāśitāḥ*. The earliest dateable evidence of the ten Mahāvidyās known to me is to be found in the Śākta *Sarvollāsatāntra* compiled by Sarvānandanātha, born probably at the beginning of the fifteenth century in the Tripura district in Bangladesh; see Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya's introduction to Rāsamohana Cakravartin's edition of the text and BANERJI 1992, pp. 87–90. In *Sarvollāsatāntra* 3.10–29 he cites a passage from the *Jñānavīpa*, a text with the form of scripture, that teaches the creation of Mahākālī (= Dakṣiṇakālī), Tārīṇī (= Tārā), and Ṣoḍaśī (= Tripurā) and that the last is the first of a set of eight of whom the others are the remaining seven of the set of ten Mahāvidyās.

<sup>90</sup>DONALDSON 1991, p. 137; fig. 32.

<sup>91</sup>DONALDSON 1991, pp. 135–136.

<sup>92</sup>DONALDSON 2002, pp. 462–464, 514, 562.

of Bengal, share the theological and soteriological principles that distinguish the Śaivism of the Mantramārga from all other forms of Indian religion and serve to express its conviction of its superiority to the Vedic tradition. They differ markedly in this respect both from the later Śāktism of Bengal and from the Tantrism of the *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradātilaka*, both of which lack or have expurgated these principles, grounding their practice, whether transgressive as in the case of Bengal's Śāktism or Veda-congruent as in the case of the Tantrism of those two texts, in a twenty-five/six Tattva model of reality that unlike the Mantramārga's doctrine of thirty-six Tattvas is sanctioned by texts within the brahmanical canon and so was less objectionable to brahmanical orthodoxy.<sup>93</sup>

The two traditions to which I refer are the Śākta Śaiva systems of the Trika and the Kālīkula, both of which are generally associated with Kashmir because of the emergence in that region of an impressive body of literature on these cults during the tenth century but which are also attested in other regions of the subcontinent, to which Orissa may now be added. The Trika's texts teach the cult of the goddess Parā and those of the Kālīkula the cults of forms of the goddess Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī (Kālī).

The principal scriptures of the Trika are the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, the *Mālinīvijayottara*, the *Tantrasadbhāva*, the *Triśirobhairava*, the *Devyāyāmala*, the *Trikasāra*, and the *Parātrīśikā*, also known as the *Parātrīṣikā*, of which the *Devyāyāmala* alone provides grounds for concluding that it was composed in Kashmir;<sup>94</sup> and the principal works of learned exegesis are the monumental *Tantrāloka* in some 6,000 verses, strictly speaking an analytic verse commentary (*śloka-vārttikam*) on the *Mālinīvijayottara* but extending far beyond this text in its range, and an elaborate prose commentary (*-vivaraṇa*) on the *Parātrīśikā*, both works by Abhinavagupta, the distinguished Kashmirian scholar of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. From the Tamil South we have a few works in the tradition of the *Parātrīśikā*, notably the *Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti*, the *Parātrīśikātātparyadīpikā*, a verse commentary on the *-laghuvṛtti*, and the *Parākrama*, the section on the worship of Parā, the principal goddess of this system of Śākta worship, which forms the eighth Khaṇḍa of the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*. This text governs the Tantric Śākta (Kaula) worship of the goddess Lalitā (/Kāmākṣī) of Kāñcī and other deities

<sup>93</sup>See, e.g., *Prapañcasāra* 1.21c–60; *Śāradātilaka* 1.6–22, 25.87 and Rāghavabhaṭṭa thereon. In the Śāktism of Bengal see, e.g., *Sarvollāsatāntra*, *Ullāsa* 62. The reduction of the Śaivas' thirty-six Tattvas to the twenty-five of the Sāṃkhyas (or twenty-six in the theistic variant) sanctioned in texts considered valid by the orthodox, such as the *Mokṣadharmā* of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*, is also a notable feature of the influential commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* composed by Lakṣmīdhara (AD 1497–1539); see, e.g., pp. 102 and 120 on *Saundaryalaharī* 9 and 11 respectively. For the same reduction in the presentation of Mantramārgic Śaiva materials in the *Uttarabhāga* of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* see SANDERSON 2005b, p. 235, n. 10 and *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Uttarabhāga* 9.15c–16, 26; 14.32–33 (33ab: *pañcaviṃśatitattvātmā pañcabrahmātmakāḥ śivāḥ*); 15.24c–26; 16.26c–29b.

<sup>94</sup>On the probable Kashmirian origin of the Trika's *Devyāyāmala* see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 259–260, n. 83.

that have been integrated into the cycle of her cult, each with its own Paddhati, namely Mahāgaṇapati, her chief minister (*pradhānasacivā*) Mātāṅgī (/Śyāmā), her general (*daṇḍanāyikā*) Vārāhī (Vārtālī), and the Trika's Parā, the last venerated as her heart (*hr̥dayam*). We also have two learned works of exegesis on this text composed by Maharashtrian Deśastha brahmins, the *Nityotsava* of Umānandanātha (Jagannāthapaṇḍita) composed in AD 1745 and the *Saubhāgyodaya* of Aparājitānandanātha (Rāmeśvara) composed in 1831, both of which expound the procedure for the worship of Parā in detail.<sup>95</sup>

In the Kālīkula the principal early scripture is the *Jayadrathayāmala*, also known as the *Tantrarāja*[*bhaṭṭāraka*], a massive compilation of some 24,000 verses in four sections of about 6,000 verses each, the last three of which were added in Kashmir.<sup>96</sup> A number of shorter works teach the essentialized form of the Kālīkula known as the Krama, notably the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva* (/Kramasadbhāva), the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* (/Devīpañcaśataka), and the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*. The post-scriptural learned tradition of the Kālīkula consists for the most part of independent treatises on the Krama, the early works composed in Kashmir, but later works, notably the *Cidgaganacandrikā* of Śrīvatsa and the *Mahārthamañjarī* of Maheśvarānanda with its auto-commentary (*-parimāla*) composed in the South of India.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup>On the South Indian cult of the Trika's goddess Parā based on the *Parātrīśikā*, the variant of the Trika known as the Anuttara, Ekavīra, or Parākrama of the Trika, see SANDERSON 1990, pp. 32–34, 80–82. One important detail there must be revised, namely my acceptance of the hitherto unquestioned assumption that the attribution of the *Parātrīśikālaghuṛṭṭi* to Abhinavagupta, the author of the *Parātrīśikāvivarāṇa*, is correct. The redactions of the scriptural text in the two commentaries differ, the commentaries themselves diverge on many points, and the *Laghuṛṭṭi* reveals an intellectual and literary talent of lesser calibre, has a purely South Indian exegetical tradition, and was unknown in Kashmir until it was published from a single Devanāgarī transcript (ZADOO 1947a, pp. 1–2) belonging to the Kashmirian Śaiva Guru Swami Lakshman (1907–1991), which was doubtless prepared by him, like his transcript of the *Gurunāthaparāmarśa* of Madhurāja (PUSHP 1960, p. i), from a Devanāgarī transcript of a South Indian manuscript acquired by him in or from Madras. Its verse subcommentary, the evidently South Indian *Parātrīśikātātparyadīpikā*, was likewise published in Kashmir on the basis of a single transcript obtained from the same source (ZADOO 1947b, p. i).

The engagement of Maharashtrian Deśastha brahmins with the cult of the goddess Lalitā of Kāñcī, and thence with that of Parā, is no doubt the result of the fact that the kingdom of Tañjāvūr (Tanjore) centred in the city of that name with Kāñcī as a subsidiary capital was in Maratha hands from 1674, when it was conquered by Venkājī, the half-brother of Śivājī, to 1779, when it was ceded to the British East India Company by Serfojī II, who retained only the capital and its immediate environs, passing on this diminished realm to his son Śivājī, who held on to it until he died without an heir in 1855, when it came under direct British rule.

<sup>96</sup>On the Kashmirian origin of the last three sections of the *Jayadrathayāmala* see SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 280–283.

<sup>97</sup>For a detailed account of the exegetical literature of the Trika and Kālīkula and its scriptural sources see SANDERSON 2007.

## The Parājapavidhi

The evidence of the Trika among the Oriya Paippalādins appears in the *Parājapavidhi* ‘The Procedure for the Japa of the [Mantra of the Goddess] Parā’, a composition of 37 verses assigned to the *Āṅgīrasa*, which is found in the text common to the Asimiḷā manuscript (As ff. 48v4–50v1 = Ed<sup>P</sup>, pp. 98–101) and P<sub>1</sub> (ff. 130r3–132r2), and also in manuscripts T/121 (ff. 76r1–76v7) and T/187 (ff. 78v2–82r2) of the collection of the Orissa State Museum. What is remarkable about this text of the Trika is not so much that it appears in Orissa but that it stands apart from the mainstream of the *Āṅgīrasakalpa* corpus in that it is not part of the repertoire for the performance of hostile rituals for royal patrons but is taught exclusively for the personal spiritual benefit of the priests themselves, as the means by which in spite of being ritualists (*karmī*) they may attain meditative absorption (*yogaḥ*) and final liberation (*mokṣaḥ*).<sup>98</sup> At its beginning Pippalāda says to his teacher Aṅgīras that he has been taught no Mantra for this purpose and asks how he may achieve this ultimate goal while remaining committed to the path of rites, a role inescapable for the mythical prototype of the Atharvavedic priesthood. Aṅgīras then teaches him the rite of SAUḤ, the Trika’s core Mantra,<sup>99</sup> describing it as the great Mantra-syllable for liberation that denotes the Śakti Parā, the power of Śiva on which Śiva himself meditates with devotion:

*pippalāda uvāca:*

1 *bhagavan sarvamantrāṇāṃ vidhānaṃ kathitaṃ tvayā |*  
 1 *muktihetur mahāmantra na kaścit pratipāditah |*  
 2 *karmamārge praviṣṭo ’haṃ kathaṃ muktiṃ vrajāmy aham |*

*aṅgīrā uvāca:*

*sādhu pṛcchasi mām śiṣya kṛpayā te vadāmy aham |*  
 3 *muktyartho ’sti mahāmantraḥ parāśaktyabhidhāyakaḥ |*  
 3 *cicchaktir ekā jīvānāṃ mokṣadānakṛtavratā |*  
 4 *tasmāt tāṃ samupāsyaiva muktiṃ yānti prasādhakāḥ |*  
 4 *cidrūpasya śivasyeyaṃ parā śaktir nigadyate |*

<sup>98</sup>The only other Vidhis in the corpus that are presented as means of attaining meditative absorption and liberation are the brief sections on the rites of the Bhairavas Vijñānabhairava, Ekākṣarabhairava, Aṣṭākṣarabhairava, and Sarvakāmabhairava, though the first is also said to be a means by which the king may expiate the sin incurred by engaging in the hostile sorcery that is the primary concern of the *Āṅgīrasakalpa* and the fourth is also, as the name implies, considered to be a means of attaining any desired goal. See above, pp. 213 (Vijñānabhairava), 215 (Sarvakāmabhairava), 215 (Ekākṣarabhairava), 220 (Vijñānabhairava), 220 (Ekākṣarabhairava), and 220 (Aṣṭākṣarabhairava). In P<sub>2</sub> these rites of the Bhairavas (but without Sarvakāmabhairava) are grouped together immediately before the *Parājapavidhi*, silently forming with that a section devoted to liberation. In P<sub>1</sub> (and Ed<sup>P</sup>) this grouping is absent.

<sup>99</sup>On SAUḤ, the Seed-syllable of the goddess Parā, see *Tantrāloka* 30.27–33.

5 *mantra 'syāḥ saur iti prokto yam upāste śivaḥ svayam |*  
*yaṃ mantram anupāsyāpi mriyante 'bjāsanādayaḥ |*  
 6 *taṃ mantram te pravakṣyāmi śṛṇu vatsa samāhitaḥ |*

**1a** *sarvamaṅṭrāṅṇāṃ* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *sarvadharmāṅṇāṃ* As Ed<sup>P</sup> **1d** *kaścit* As P<sub>1</sub> T/187: *kaści* T/121 **2b** *muktiṃ* As P<sub>1</sub> T/187: *mukti* T/121 **2c** *ṛcchasi* As T/121: *ṛcchati* P<sub>1</sub> T/187 **2d** *te vadāmy aham* As T/187: *te dadāmy aham* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 **3a** *muktyartha* As T/121: *muktārtha* P<sub>1</sub> **3d** *parāśaktiyabhidhāyakaḥ* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *paraśaktiyabhidhāyakaḥ* As: *parāśaktividhānakaḥ* P<sub>1</sub><sup>ac</sup>: *paraśaktividhāyakaḥ* P<sub>1</sub><sup>pc</sup>: *parasatvābhidhāyakaḥ* T/121: *parāśaktividhāyakaḥ* T/187 **3c** *cicchaktir* As P<sub>1</sub> T/187: *bījaśaktir* T/121 • *ekā jīvānāṃ* As P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *eva mokṣāya* Ed<sup>P</sup> **3d** *mokṣadānakṛtāvatatā* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *mokṣādānakṛtāvatatāḥ* As Ed<sup>P</sup> **4a** *tasmāt tāṃ* corr.: *tasmān tāṃ* T/121: *śiṃ* As: omitted in P<sub>1</sub> T/187: *cicchaktiṃ* conj. Ed<sup>P</sup> **4d** *parā* As Ed<sup>P</sup> T/121 T/187: *purā* P<sub>1</sub> **5ab** *prokto yam upāste* T/121: *proktaḥ samupāste* P<sub>1</sub> As Ed<sup>P</sup> T/187 **5c** *yaṃ mantram anupāsyāpi* conj.: *yaṃ mantram anupāsyāmi* T/121: *yamantram anupaśyāmi* T/187: *yaṃ maṅṭram anupaśyā* P<sub>1</sub>: *yaṃ mantram anupāśyāmā* As: *yaṃ mantram samupāśya mā* Ed<sup>P</sup> **5d** *mriyante 'bjāsanādayaḥ* As Ed<sup>P</sup> T/121: *mriyatejāsanādayaḥ* P<sub>1</sub>: *mriyatejāsanādayaḥ* T/187 **6a** *taṃ mantram* corr.: *tanmantram* P<sub>1</sub> As Ed<sup>P</sup> T/121 T/187

Pippalāda said: (1–2b) O venerable one, you have taught the procedures for every Mantra. [But] you have taught [me] no higher Mantra (*mahāmantraḥ*)[, one] that can bring about liberation. I am committed to the path of rites (*karmamārge*). How [in spite of that] shall I achieve liberation?

Āṅgiras said: (2c–3b) You ask well, my pupil. Out of compassion I shall tell you. There is [indeed] a higher Mantra for the purpose of liberation. It is that which denotes Parāśakti. (3c–4b) She is the single Power of Consciousness, dedicated to granting liberation to souls. It is by propitiating that Power that Sādhakas (*prasādhakāḥ*) achieve this goal. (4c–5b) [The scriptures] teach that this [Power], Parāśakti, constitutes Śiva [himself], since his nature is [none other than this] Consciousness, and they teach that her Mantra is SAUḤ, on which Śiva himself meditates with devotion. (5c–6b) I shall [now] teach you [the procedure of] that Mantra upon which Brahmā and the other [lesser gods] do not meditate and for that very reason are mortal.<sup>100</sup> Listen, dear [pupil], with full attention.

He then sets out in verses 6c–31 an order of essentialized worship of this Mantra based on that set out in the *Parātrīśikā*, except that it assimilates this to the model of the other *Āṅgirasakalpa* Mantra rites by incorporating such features as the *vyāpakanyāsaḥ* and the specification of a Ṛṣi and the rest. It ends, should there

<sup>100</sup>Brahmā and the other lesser gods of the Śaivas are indeed considered mortal. For their life-spans, though vast and ever vaster the higher their rank, are finite. That of Brahmā (100 of his years) is one *mahākālpaḥ* (313,528,320,000,000 ordinary years), which is a day in the 100-year life-span of Viṣṇu, and so on. When they die the universe up to their level is withdrawn for a period equal to their life-spans and they themselves are dissolved. When the period of withdrawal of a segment of the universe comes to its end a new deity, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, or another, according to the level, is engendered by Śiva to govern it. See, e.g., *Svacchanda* 11.252c–319.

be any doubt as to its source, with the unacknowledged incorporation of six verses of the *Parātrīśikā* as its verses 32–37.<sup>101</sup> The preliminaries:

*pippalāda uvāca:*

*saptaviṃśatidhā tasyoccāraṇe prāṇasaṃyamah |*  
 7 *padmāsanagato mantrī namaskuryāt svam āsanam |*  
*aiṃ hrīm śrīm samuccārya kulapadmāsanaṃ namet |*  
 8 *tathodḍiyāṇapīṭhaṃ ca praṇamen mantravittamah |*  
*tataḥ paraṃ śivaṃ devaṃ praṇamya svaguruṃ namet |*  
 9 *ganeśvaraṃ kṣetrapālaṃ durgāṃ sarasvatīm tathā |*  
*brahmāṇaṃ ca namaskṛtya vighnaśāntyarthaṃ ācaret |*  
 10 *mūlādhāre sakāreṇa tālatrayaṃ samācaret |*  
*uttarottaravṛddhyā tu kuryāt tālatrayaṃ budhaḥ |*  
 11 *aukāreṇa hṛdi brahmarandhre kuryād visargakaiḥ |*  
*amībhir navabhis tālair bhūmyādivighnavāraṇam |*  
 12 *dhr̥tvā vāmena hastena dakṣiṇaṃ caraṇaṃ budhaḥ |*  
*sakāroccāraṇaiḥ pṛthvīm hanyād vighnanivṛttaye |*  
 13 *aukāreṇa punaḥ kuryāt tālatrayam atandritaḥ |*  
*visargocāraṇaiḥ krūradr̥ṣṭim ākāśataḥ kṣipet |*  
 14 *pātālbhūminabhasāṃ vighnāḥ sarve nirākṛtāḥ |*  
*antastālā bahistālā dvidhāmī parikīrtitāḥ |*  
 15 *hṛdy antaryajanaṃ kuryād devatāyās ca sādaram |*  
*bhūtaśuddhiṃ prakurvīta mantraṃ uccārayan sudhīḥ |*  
 16 *mūlādibrahmarandhrāntaṃ mūlena dahanātmanā |*  
*samsārapāśadāhārthaṃ bhāvayet dahanam manum |*  
 17 *brahmarandhrādīmūlāntaṃ bhāvayet plāvanātmakam |*

**6cd** *saptaviṃśatidhā tasyoccāraṇe* conj.: *saptaviṃśativārasyo* T/121: *saptaviṃśativāras(y)ovāraṇe* T/187: *saptaviṃśativārasyo* P<sub>1</sub>: *saptaviṃśativāra syo gharāṇe* As: *saptaviṃśativāro ghoreṇa* Ed<sup>P</sup> **7b** *namaskuryāt* As Ed<sup>P</sup> P<sub>1</sub> T/187: *namaskṛtyā* T/121 • *svam āsanam* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *svam āsanam* As: *svamānasam* Ed<sup>P</sup> **7c** *aiṃ hrīm śrīm* P<sub>1</sub> T/121: *aiṃ hrīm grā* As: *aiṃ klīm śrīm* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *aindrīm śrīm* T/187 **7d** *kula* As P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *kṛta* Ed<sup>P</sup> • *namet* As P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *nayet* Ed<sup>P</sup> **8a** *tathodḍiyāṇapīṭhaṃ ca* conj.: *tathoti āṇapīṭhaṃ ca* T/121: *tatottrikṣāṇapīṭhaṃ ca* As (*yā* and *kṣā* are readily confused in the Oriya script): *tatas triḥkṣāṇapīṭhaṃ ca* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *tathoktvā yogapīṭhaṃ ca* P<sub>1</sub> T/187 **9c** *brahmāṇaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> Ed<sup>P</sup> T/187: *brahmaṇaṃ* As T/121 • *namaskṛtya* P<sub>1</sub> As Ed<sup>P</sup> T/187: *namaskṛtyā* T/121 **9d** *śāntyarthaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> As Ed<sup>P</sup> T/121: *śāntyadvam* T/187 **10a** *sakāreṇa* As Ed<sup>P</sup> T/121: *svalāreṇa* P<sub>1</sub> T/187 **10c** *vṛddhyā* As Ed<sup>P</sup>: *buddhyā* T/121: *vṛddhiṃ* P<sub>1</sub>: *vṛddhaṃ* T/187 **11a** *aukāreṇa* As T/187: *aikāreṇa* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 **11d** *bhūmyādivighnavāraṇam* T/121: *bhūmyā vighnanivāraṇam* P<sub>1</sub> As Ed<sup>P</sup> T/187 **12a** *vāmena* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187: *vāma* T/121 • *hastena* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *haste* As **12d** *hanyād* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187: *janyād* T/121 • *nivṛttaye* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *nivṛttayet* As **13a**

<sup>101</sup>These are the verses numbered 12–18b in the KSTS edition of the *Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti*, which takes 17 to consist of a half-verse, and 12c–18b in the editions of the *Parātrīśikāvivarāṇa* of Abhinavagupta.

*aukāreṇa* As T/187: *aikāreṇa* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 **13b** *ataṃdritaḥ* P<sub>1</sub> T/187: *atantritaḥ* As T/121 **13cd** *dr̥ṣṭim* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187: *dr̥ṣṭam* T/121 **14a** *nabhasām* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187: *nirasām* T/121 **14c** *antastālā* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187: *antastālār* T/121 **14d** *dvidhāmī* As T/187: *dvidhāmi* T/121: *dvidhāḥ* P<sub>1</sub> **15a** *hr̥dy antaryajanaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> T/187: *hr̥dantaryajanaṃ* T/121: *hr̥dyam tu taryanaṃ* As: *hr̥dyam tu taryanaṃ* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *hr̥di tu tarpanaṃ* conj. PANDĀ **15b** *devatāyās* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121: *devateyās* T/187 **15c** *bhūtasuddhiṃ* T/121 T/187: *bhūmisuddhiṃ* P<sub>1</sub> As • *prakurvīta* P<sub>1</sub> Ed<sup>P</sup> T/121 T/187: *prakūvīta* As • *dahanātmanā* As Ed<sup>P</sup> T/121 T/187: *hr̥\*anātmanā* P<sub>1</sub> **16c** *pāśadāhārthaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *pāśahatvārthaṃ* As: *pāśanāsārthaṃ* Ed<sup>P</sup> **16d** *bhāvayad dahanam* As Ed<sup>P</sup> T/187: *bhāvayad danaṃ* P<sub>1</sub>: *bhāvadehananaṃ* T/121 **17b** *bhāvayet plāvanātmakam* conj.: *bhāvayet plavanātmakam* T/121: *bhāvayet pavanātmakam* P<sub>1</sub> As Ed<sup>P</sup> T/187

Pippalāda said: (6c–8) He should restrain his breathing twenty-seven times while repeating this [Seed].<sup>102</sup> In the lotus-posture the Mantrin should bow to his seat. He should first utter [the syllables] AIM HRĪM ŚRĪM and then express obeisance to (*namet*) the lotus throne of the Kula (*kulapadmāsanam*).<sup>103</sup> The best of Mantrins should bow to the Pīṭha \*Oḍḍiyāna (*conj.*).<sup>104</sup> (8c–9b) Then after bowing to the supreme God Śiva, he should bow to his Guru,

<sup>102</sup>Cf. the instruction for breath-restraint in *Nityotsava, Parāpaddhati*, p. 191: *ṣoḍaśavāram āvṛttena mūlena pūrakam catuḥṣaṣṭivāram āvṛttena kumbhakaṃ dvātriṃśadvāram āvṛttena recakam iti viṃśatidhā ṣoḍaśadhā saptadhā tridhā vā prānān āyamiya* ‘Having restrained his breathing twenty, sixteen, seven, or three times, doing each inhalation for the duration of sixteen repetitions of the root-Mantra, each holding of the inhalation for the duration of sixty-four repetitions, and each exhalation for the duration of thirty-two repetitions ...’. The number twenty-seven in our text is by extension of its prescription in the *Parātrīśikā* for the number of repetitions of the Mantra required for the empowerment of the hair-queue (*śikhā*) before it is tied (27a) and the water to be sprinkled for purification (28c–29b), and for the worship of Parā (31cd).

<sup>103</sup>I surmise that this means that one should consecrate one’s seat with the Mantra AIM HRĪM ŚRĪM KULAPADMĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ or, considering parallels and the possibility that *padmāsanam* is for the metre, AIM HRĪM ŚRĪM KULAKAMALĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ. Cf. *Parāpaddhati*, p. 191: *svāstīrṇe ūrṇāmṛduni śucini mūlena dvādaśavāram abhimantrite sakṛt prokṣite cāsane SAUḤ ĀDHĀRAŚAKTIKAMALĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ iti prāṇmukha udāṇmukho vā padmasvastikādyanyatamenāsane nopaviśya; Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, Śyāmākrama*, p. 193: *yāgagrham pravīśyāsane ĀDHĀRAŚAKTIKAMALĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ ity upaviśya*. I have opted for reading of the seed-syllables given in P<sub>1</sub> and T/121 (AIM HRĪM ŚRĪM), because these are the *tritārī* ‘the set of three Praṇavas’ that is much used in the system of the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*. That requires (*Śrīkrama, Sūtra* 8) that this triad should open every Mantra used in the worship of Lalitā after the worshipper has entered the shrine (*yāgagrham*): *sarveṣāṃ mantrāṇām ādau tritārīsaṃyogaḥ. tritārī vāṇmāyākamalāḥ* ‘The *tritārī* should be added at the beginning of all the Mantras. It is the Vāk, Māyā, and Kamalā’. Rāmeśvara explains the Sūtra’s definition of the *tritārī* (*vāṇmāyākamalāḥ*) as follows (p. 92): *vāk sabindur dvādaśavarah. māyā turīyośmasahitadvitīyāntasthottara(h) sabindus turyasvarah. kamalā prathamōśmasahitadvitīyāntaḥsthopari sabindus turyasvarah* ‘Vāk is the twelfth vowel and the dot (AIM). Māyā is the fourth vowel with the dot after the second of the semivowels (*antaḥsthāḥ*) together with the fourth of the fricatives (*uṣmāṇaḥ*) (HRĪM). Kamalā is the the fourth vowel with the dot after the second of the semivowels together with the first of the fricatives (ŚRĪM)’.

<sup>104</sup>This translates a tentative conjecture based on the readings of T/121 and As. It is tentative because although it seems to me to be the most economical interpretation of the source of the meaningless readings transmitted by these two manuscripts I know of no parallel that supports obeisance of a Śākta sacred site at this point of the ritual nor any passage that associates this Śākta site Oḍḍiyāna with the Trika rather than the Krama (for its association with

Gaṇeśa, the Kṣetrapāla, Durgā, and Sarasvatī.<sup>105</sup> (9c–10) After bowing to Brahmā [as the Lord of the shrine (*vāstvadhpatiḥ*)] he should act to eliminate the Impeders. With SA he should clap thrice at [the level of his] Mūlādhāra. The learned [worshipper] should make each subsequent clap of the three louder than that which it follows. (11ab) He should do [the same] with AU at [the level of his] heart and with [three] AḤs at [the level of] the aperture of Brahmā. (11cd) With these nine claps he will drive away the Impeders from the earth[, the region below it,] and [the air above it]. (12) After taking hold of his right foot with his left hand the learned [worshipper] should beat the ground [with it] while repeating the sound SA, in order to eliminate the Impeders [in the Pātāla worlds beneath the earth]. (13ab) Remaining alert he should make three more claps with AU. (13cd) [Clapping thrice] while repeating AḤ he should cast a furious gaze into the sky. (14ab) [By this means will] have been eliminated all Impeders in the Pātālas [below the site], on the earth [of the site], and in the sky [above it]. (14cd) We have been taught that these claps are of two kinds: internal and external.<sup>106</sup> (15–

the Krama see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 261–269). It is possible, however, that for the author or redactor of the *Parāṅjapavidhi* Oḍḍiyāna was understood not as that Oḍḍiyāna, located in the Swat valley, but as a name of Orissa (Oḍra) itself. It is tempting to prefer the reading *tathoktvā yogapīṭham* ca of P<sub>1</sub> T/187. Though *tathoktvā* seems to be corrupt, since it yields no appropriate sense here, we can find support for obeisance to the Yogapīṭha, that is to say, for a Mantra ending -YOGAPĪṬHĀYA NAMAḤ, in the procedure taught in the *Parākrama* of the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra* (Sūtra 18, commentary, and *Parāpaddhati*, p. 193) for the creation of the throne of Parā comprising all the thirty-six Tattvas from earth to Śiva. The worshipper builds the throne (*āsanam*) by casting single flowers as he utters for each Tattva a Mantra consisting of SAUḤ followed by the stem-form of the name of the Tattva followed by YOGAPĪṬHĀYA NAMAḤ, thus beginning SAUḤ PṚTHIVĪYOGAPĪṬHĀYA NAMAḤ and ending SAUḤ ŚIVAYOGAPĪṬHĀYA NAMAḤ. Perhaps, then, *tathoktvā* is a corruption of *tattvoktyā* or similar. With *tattvoktyā* the meaning would be ‘The best of Mantrins should bow to the Yogapīṭha while naming the Tattvas’.

<sup>105</sup>I am not aware of an exact parallel to this obeisance to Gaṇeśa, the Kṣetrapāla, Durgā, and Sarasvatī; but it is evident that these deities are to be understood as guarding the door to the shrine. These four minus Sarasvatī are prescribed in that role in the *Parāpaddhati*, p. 191. That requires the meditator to worship Bhadrakālī (= Durgā) at the base of the right doorpost, Bhairava (= Kṣetrapāla) at the base of the left, and Lambodara (= Gaṇeśa) above the door: *dvārasya dakṣavāmaśākhayor ūrdhvabhāge ca krameṇa SAUḤ BHADRAKĀLYAI NAMAḤ BHAIKAVĀYA LAMBODARĀYA NAMAḤ iti tisro dvāradevatāḥ saṃpūjyāntaḥ praviṣṭaḥ*; see also *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*, *Gaṇanāyakaḥpaddhati*, Sūtra 4. A similar cluster of door-deities is prescribed in *Śāradātīlaka* 4.6d–7. There one is instructed to worship Gaṇeśa, Mahālakṣmī, and Sarasvatī on the lintel, and Gaṇeśa and the Kṣetrapāla at the bases of the right and left doorposts. A closer parallel is seen in the practice of some, as reported by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on this passage, according to which one worships Durgā rather than Gaṇeśa at the base of the right doorpost. That passage also requires one to worship Gaṅgā and Yamunā flanking the two deities of the doorposts and Astra on the door-sill. The *Parāṅjapavidhi*’s prescription could be interpreted as keeping only the core-deities from this more elaborate sequence, which is taught after all in the more elaborate context of the ceremony of initiation.

<sup>106</sup>This distinction between the internal and external aspects of the rite of expelling the Impeders is seen in *Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti*, p. 20 on 28ab (*tālatrayaṃ purā dattvā saśabdāṃ vighnaśāntaye*): *purā pūroaṃ tālatrayaṃ hṛdbījakalātrayaḥsvāntitrayarūpaṃ vaikhariśabdaparyantaṃ svātma-*

17b) Next he should devotedly worship the deity internally in [his] heart. The learned [worshipper] should purify the elements [of his body], uttering the Mantra, with [the visualization of] the root-Mantra burning [as it ascends] from [his] Mūlādhāra to his aperture of Brahmā. He should visualize the Mantra burning to incinerate the bonds of [his] transmigratory existence. [Then] he should visualize it inundating [his body with nectar] from his aperture of Brahmā to his Mūlādhāra.<sup>107</sup>

The Ṛṣi, metre, deity, Seed, Śakti, application, and installation (*nyāsaḥ*) of the Mantra:

*ṛṣiḥ syād dakṣiṇāmūrtis triṣṭup chandaḥ prakīrtitam |*  
*18 devatā syāt parāśaktiḥ sakāro bījam iṣyate |*  
*auḥ śaktir yogasiddhyarthe viniyoga udāhṛtaḥ |*  
*19 ṣaḍbhir dīrghaiś ca saṃyuktaiḥ sakārair ūrdhvabindukaiḥ |*

*no dadyāt. tatsvīkārakaṃ svātmānaṃ vighnānāṃ caturāṇḍagatabhedābhimānasamkalpānāṃ śāntaye bahir antaś ca \*vāmapārṣṇihastamukhaśabdakrameṇa (vāmapārṣṇi corr. [cf. Parākrama, 8: vāmapārṣṇighātaiḥ; Parāpaddhati, p. 191: vāmapārṣṇibhūtala-; Anuttarasamvidarcanārcā, p. 9: pārṣṇihastamukhaiḥ]: pādapāṇi Ed.) pātālabhūmyantarikṣagatabhedavighnaśamanāya kuryāt* ‘First he should give three ‘claps’ to himself, these in the form of the three points of rest in the three constituents of the heart-seed [SAUḤ], descending [through Paśyantī, and Madhyamā] to audible utterance on the level of Vaikharī. He should make himself assimilate them in order to quell the Impeders in the form of false identification with and desire for the plurality of the four spheres [of the universe], both internally and externally, with sounds produced by his left heel, hands, and mouth in order to quell the Impeders that are the pluralities [manifest] in the subterranean worlds, on the earth, and in the air’. See also *Parātrīśikātātparyādīpikā* 377–381: *vācaḥ parāyā vakyartharūpāyā hṛdayātmanaḥ | vivakṣādhyavasoktyātmapaśyantiyādikramātmanaḥ | parādīśaktirūpeṇa prasaratritvoasūcakam | mātrmānārthasadbhāvavācyāṃśatritayātmakam | hṛdayaṃ bhairavīyaṃ tad ātmatvenāvadhārayan | \*tadaṃśāntarūpāṃśūccaiḥśabdanakramalakṣaṇam (tadaṃśā em.: tadaṃśo Ed.) | śaktyādicaturāṇḍodyatpātālakṣmāntarikṣagān | sarvān śamayitum vighnān bhedataddhīmayān vibhūn | tālatrayaṃ pārṣṇihastamukhaśabdanam \*ācaret (em.: ācaran Ed.) | svīkurvan mātrmā \*meyatrayasadbhāvalakṣaṇam (meyā em.: pīya Ed.); and *Anuttarasamvidarcanārcā*, pp. 8–9: *śaktyādyāṇḍacatuṣṭayārabdhapātālaprthivyantarikṣātmakatrailokyaviśayabhedābhimānasamkalpātmakavighnanirāsāya \*vivakṣādhyavasāyoktirūpapaśyantīmadhyamāvaikharyātmakavāgṛttitrayeṇa (vivakṣādhyavasāyoktirūpapaśyantīmadhyamāvaikharyātmaka- em.: vivakṣādhyavasāyoktirūpā paśyantīmadhyamā vaikharyātmaka- Cod.) pramāṇaprameyavimarśānāṃ saṃyojanatayā pārṣṇihastamukhaiḥ śabdanam tālatrayasvīkaraṇam*. The four spheres (*caturāṇḍa-*) mentioned in these passages are those beginning with the *śaktyāṇḍam* taught in *Mālinīvijayottara* 2.49.*

<sup>107</sup>For this incineration (*dahanam*) and inundation with nectar (*[ā]plāvanam*) cf. *Paraśurāmakaḥlpasūtra*, *Śrīkrama* 11: *vāyavagnisalilavarṇayukprāṇāyāmaiḥ śoṣaṇaṃ saṃdahanam āplāvanam ca vidhāya* ‘having desiccated, incinerated, and inundated [his body] with breath-restraints accompanied with the syllables of wind, fire, and water respectively ...’. The term *bhūtaśuddhiḥ* for this process is also seen *ibid.* in *Vārāhīkrama*, *Sūtra* 6. For the purpose of the inundation see, e.g., *Mṛgendrapaddhativoyākhyā*, p. 77: *humphaḍantena mantreṇa \*dahanam* (em.: daharam Cod.) *kṛtvā vauṣaḍantamūlena śāktatvasaṃpādanāya āplāvanam ca kṛtvā* ‘Having burnt away [the body] with the Mantra followed by HUM PHAṬ, and having inundated it with the root-Mantra followed by VAUṢAṬ in order to transform it into one that is made of [Śiva’s] powers’. For the use of *plāvanam* rather than *āplāvanam* in this context see, e.g. *Svacchanda* 2.37d–38a: *plāvane vāruṇaḥ smṛtaḥ | bindumastakasambhinnaḥ*.

*mantrī kuryāt ṣaḍ aṅgāni prakārāntaram ucyate |*  
 20 *tribhir varṇair dvīr uktair vā saccidānandalakṣaṇaiḥ |*  
*prakurvīta ṣaḍ aṅgāni tataḥ pratyakṣaram nyaset |*  
 21 *mastake caiva jihvāyām hr̥daye guhyake tathā |*  
*sarvāṅge ca pañca pañca nyāsān kuryān mahāmanoḥ |*  
 22 *saptaviṁśativāram ca śikhāyām vinyasen manum |*  
*mastakād hr̥dayam yāvāt sakāram vinyased dvijaḥ |*  
 23 *hr̥dayān nābhiparyantam aukāram ca pravinyaset |*  
*nābheś caraṇaparyantam visargam ca pravinyaset |*  
 24 *bhūyo 'dhaḥkramato 'py evaṃ mantrī pratyakṣaram nyaset |*  
*sarveṇa vyāpakam nyāsam mantrī pūroavad ācaret |*

17c ṛṣiḥ syād T/187:ruṣiḥ syād P<sub>1</sub> As:ṛṣisyā T/121 • dakṣiṇā P<sub>1</sub>:dakṣiṣā As 17d triṣṭup  
 P<sub>1</sub> Ed<sup>P</sup> T/121 T/187:triṣṭap As 18a syāt As Ed<sup>P</sup> T/187:syāḥ P<sub>1</sub> T/121 18b sakāro  
 As T/121 T/187:sākāro P<sub>1</sub> 18c auḥ Ed<sup>P</sup>:au As T/187:ai P<sub>1</sub> T/121 • śaktir P<sub>1</sub> T/121  
 T/187 Ed<sup>P</sup>:śaktar As • siddhyarthe P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187 Ed<sup>P</sup>:sadhvarthe As 19a ṣadbhir T/121  
 T/187:ṣadbhir P<sub>1</sub>:padbhir As Ed<sup>P</sup> • ca saṃyuktaiḥ As T/121 T/187:ca yuktais ca P<sub>1</sub> 19b  
 sakārair ūrdhvaabindukaiḥ As T/187:sakārair urddhvaabimdukaiḥ P<sub>1</sub><sup>pc</sup>:sakārairddhakindukaiḥ As  
 T/121:sakārair ūrdhvaabimdubhiḥ P<sub>1</sub><sup>ac</sup>:sakārairddhakindukaiḥ As T/121 20a tribhir conj.:ebhir  
 Codd. • varṇair As P<sub>1</sub> T/187:varṇai T/121 20c prakurvīta P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187:prakuvīta As  
 21a caiva jihvāyam P<sub>1</sub> Ed<sup>P</sup> T/121 T/187:vaiva jijñāyām As 21c sarvāṅge ca conj.:sarvāṅgeṇa  
 Codd. 21d nyāsān As P<sub>1</sub> T/187:nyāsam T/121 • mahāmanoḥ conj.:mahāmanuḥ Codd. 22c  
 mastakād hr̥dayam yāvāt P<sub>1</sub> As T/187:mastakāt hr̥dayā jāvat T/121 22d vinyased dvijaḥ P<sub>1</sub>  
 As:vinyasedvijaḥ T/121:vinyased budhaḥ T/187 23b aukāram As T/121 T/187:aikāram P<sub>1</sub>

(17c–18) The Ṛṣi [of the Mantra] is Dakṣiṇāmūrti,<sup>108</sup> [its] metre is said to be  
 the Triṣṭubh; its deity is Parāśakti; [its] Seed (*bījam*) is held to be SA (*sakārah*);  
 [its] Śakti is AUḤ; and [its] application (*viniyogaḥ*) has been declared [to  
 be] “for the success of meditation” (*yogasiddhyarthe*). (19abc) Moreover, the  
 Mantrin should form the six ancillary Mantras (*ṣaḍ aṅgāni*) with [six] S[A]-s  
 combined with the six long vowels [Ā Ī Ū AI AU AḤ] and Ṁ above [all except  
 the last].<sup>109</sup> (19d–20) I shall teach an alternative. He has the option of form-

<sup>108</sup>This choice was probably motivated by the thought that the form of Śiva known as Dakṣiṇā-  
 mūrti is, as it were, Parā’s male counterpart, Parā being a Tantric form of Sarasvatī (SANDERSON  
 1990, pp. 43–45), the goddess that embodies speech and knowledge, and Dakṣiṇāmūrti being  
 Śiva’s aspect as Guru in the South Indian iconographical tradition. Moreover, in his form as ex-  
 positor of the scriptures (*vyākhyānamūrtiḥ*) his iconography is strikingly similar to Parā’s, since  
 he too is white and in two of his four hands shows the gesture of knowledge (*jñānamudrā*)  
 and a manuscript (*pustakam*); see the South Indian *Kāmika* 2.51.8d–9b quoted by BHATT in *Rau-  
 ravāgama*, vol. 2, p. 120: \*savyahastaś (corr.: savyahastam Ed.) ca mudrayā | saṃdamśasamjñāyopeto  
 \*vāmahastah sapustakah (conj.: vāmahastasthapustakah Ed.) ‘His right hand has the pincers ges-  
 ture (*saṃdamśamudrā*) and the left has a manuscript’. The pincers gesture is the same as the  
*jñānamudrā* but with the palm towards the chest; cf. the prescription of his icon in *Rauravāgama*,  
*Kriyāpāda* 35.288cd: hr̥daye jñānamudrā tu hy abhyantaramukham karam.

<sup>109</sup>Thus the modifications of the root-Mantra that form its six Ancillaries are SĀṀ [HR̥DAYĀYA  
 NAMAḤ], SĪṀ [ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ], SŪṀ [ŚIKHĀYAI VAṢAṬ], SAIṀ [KAVACĀYA HUṀ], SAUṀ [NE-

ing the six Ancillaries with the three sounds [of the Mantra] uttered twice, [these three] representing Being, Consciousness, and Bliss [respectively] (*sac-cidānanda*-). Then [after the installation to be prescribed] he should do the *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ*, the installation of each of the [three] sounds one by one. (21–22b) He should install the Great Mantra five times on each [of the following:] the [top of the] head, the tongue, the heart, the genitals, and [then as Pervasive in] the whole body<sup>110</sup> and then twenty-seven times on his top-knot (*śikhā*).<sup>111</sup>

(22c–24b) [The brahmin should then do the *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ*. He should] install SA from [the top of] his head to his heart, AU from his heart to his navel, and AḤ from his navel to his feet. The Mantrin should install [the Mantra] in the same way once again, sound by sound (*pratyakṣaram*), in the order of descent.<sup>112</sup> (24cd) The Mantrin should [then] do the Pervasive Installation as above, using the whole [Mantra].<sup>113</sup>

TRATRAYĀYA VAUṢAṬ], and SAḤ [ASTRĀYA PHAṬ]. Cf. the *Parāmantravidhi* edited below, ll. 2–3, and *Tantrāloka* 30.36cd: *sakāro dīrghaṣaṭkena yukto 'ṅgāni; Mālinīvijayottara* 3.60cd. For the closing elements from NAMAḤ to PHAṬ (the six *jātayaḥ*) I have followed the order followed in the nearly universal tradition seen, for example, in the *Mrgendra* (*Kriyāpāda* 1.9ab), the *Svacchanda* (1.72), the *Prapañcasāra* (6.6), the *Paraśurāmakaḥkalpasūtra* exegesis (e.g. Rāmeśvara on *Parākrama*, Sūtra 14 and *Parāpaddhati*, p. 192), the *Mahākālasaṃhitā* (e.g. 6.510c–513), the Bengali Śākta literature of the Ten Mahāvidyās (e.g. *Śaktapramoda*, p. 8), and our *Āṅgirasakalpa* texts (e.g., the *Āsurīdīpikā* of Bhūdhara, Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 121; the *Vakratuṇḍakalpa* of Bhṛgu, Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 148). This differs from the tradition seen in the *Tantrāloka*, in which VAUṢAṬ is the *jātiḥ* of the Śikhā rather than the Eyes and VAṢAṬ that of the three Eyes rather than the Hair-queue (30.43c–44a: *namaḥ svāhā tathā vauṣaṭ hum vaṣaṭ phaṭ ca jātayaḥ | aṅgeṣu kramaśaḥ ṣatsu*).

<sup>110</sup>This is derived from *Parātrīśikā* 26c–27a: *mūrdhni vaktre ca hṛdaye guhye mūrttau tathaiḥ ca | nyāsaṃ kṛtvā*. The *Parāpaddhati* prescribes this installation as follows (p. 192): *tejorūpadevīmayaṃ bhāvayann ātmānaṃ muhur āvṛttena SAUḤ NAMAḤ iti namontena mūlena śīromukhahṛṇmūlādhāreṣu nyāsaṃ vidhāya sarvāṅge ca vyāpakaṃ kṛtvā ...* ‘While meditating on himself as one with the Goddess in the form of light he should do the installation [of the Mantra] on his head, face, heart, and *mūlādhāraḥ* (genitals), and then install it as pervasive on his whole body, through multiple repetitions of the root-Mantra followed by NAMAḤ, i.e. SAUḤ NAMAḤ’. The *Parājapavidhi*’s rule that one should utter the Mantra five times at each of these five locations is seen in the *Parātrīśikātātparyadīpikā* 383–385: *drśyamānāḥ śarīre 'tra svaktīye satatoditāḥ | ātmano bhairavītyasya hṛdayāmṛtavāridheḥ | cidānandaīṣaṇājñānakriyākhyāḥ spandasampadaḥ | vimṛśya hṛdaye 'traiva sarvataṭtvamaye nīje | bhāti dehatayā \*kāsyahṛdguhyāṅghridvayātmatā (kāsyā em. : kārya Ed.) | pañcakṛtvo nyased bījaṃ teṣu sthāneṣu pañcasu* ‘The splendours of the vibrancy of the self that is Bhairava, [the waves] of the ocean of the nectar of the Heart, namely consciousness, bliss, will, cognition, and action, are ever active, directly perceived in this one’s body. If one meditates upon them within this same [centre that] is one’s Heart, [this Heart] that comprises all the Tattvas, their identity with one’s head, face, heart, genitals, and two feet shines forth as one’s body. One should [therefore] install the Seed [SAUḤ] five times on each of these five locations’.

<sup>111</sup>For this element see *Parātrīśikā* 27ab: *nyāsaṃ kṛtvā śikhāṃ baddhvā saptaviṃśatimantritām; and Parākrama*, Sūtra 10: *... saptaviṃśatiṣo japtvā aṅguṣṭhena śikhāṃ baddhvā ...*

<sup>112</sup>This *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ* is not found in the *Parātrīśikā* or in any of the South Indian texts of the *Parākrama* that I have seen. It has probably to be counted among elements added to bring the ritual into line with the standard procedure of the *Āṅgirasakalpa* corpus.

<sup>113</sup>The order of the installations intended here appears to be as follows: (1) *ṣaḍaṅganyāsaḥ*,

The visualization (*dhyānam*):

25 *tato dhyāyen mahādevīm sāksān muktīpradāyinīm |*  
*akalaṅkaśāsāṅkābhā tryakṣā candrakalāvātī |*  
 26 *mudrāpustalasadbhūḥ pātu mām īśvarī parā |*  
*dhyātō devīm dhenumudrām yonimudrām ca darśayet |*  
 27 *śuklām vā śuklavasanām pīnonnatapayodharām |*  
*varābhayakarām devīm trinetrām candrasekharām |*  
 28 *sarvālaṅkāradīptāṅgīm padmāsanagatām parām |*  
*śaktisthāne 'thavākāśe mokṣārthī pravacintayet |*

**25a** *mahādevīm* As T/121 T/187: *mahāmamtram devīm* P<sub>1</sub> **25b** *pradāyinīm* As P<sub>1</sub>: *pradāyini* T/121 T/187 • *sāksān* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *sāksyā* As **25d** *candrakalāvātī* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *ca candrakāvātī* As **26a** *mudrāpustalasadbhūḥ* em.: *mudrāpustanasadbhūḥ* T/121: *mutāpustalasadbhūḥ* P<sub>1</sub>: *sutāpustalasadbhūḥ* T/187: *sūtrāpustalasadbhūḥ* As: *sūtrapustakamadavāḥ* Ed<sup>P</sup> **26b** *pātu mām īśvarī* em. Ed<sup>P</sup> T/121 T/187: *pātu mām īśvarīm* As: *pātum īśvarīm* P<sub>1</sub> **26d** *ca darśayet* As T/121 T/187: *pradarśayet* P<sub>1</sub> **27a** *śuklām vā śuklavasanām* conj.: *śuklām ca śuklavasanām* As: *śuklām śuklavasanām* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187 **27c** *varābhayakarām* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *varātrayakarām* As: *vasutrayakarā* Ed<sup>P</sup> **28a** *dīptāṅgīm* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 T/187: *sarvāṅgīm* Ed<sup>P</sup> **28b** *padmāsanagatām* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187: *padmāsanām gatām* T/121 **28c** *thavākāśe* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187: *gavākāśe* T/121

(2) *aṅganyāsaḥ*, (3) *śikhānyāsaḥ*, (4) *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ*, and (5) *vyāpakanyāsaḥ*. This interpretation assumes that 20d (*tataḥ pratyakṣaram nyaset*) does not prescribe a *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ* between the first and second but refers to the *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ* that will be detailed in 22c–24b after the prescription of the *aṅganyāsaḥ* and *śikhānyāsaḥ*.

The alternative procedure (*prakārantaram*) for the installation of the six Ancillaries given here is that prescribed by the *Parākrama* (Sūtra 14): *bhṛgucaturdaśaṣoḍaśadvirāvṛtṭyā varṇaśaḍaṅgam ...* ‘The six Ancillaries of the individual sounds are formed by repeating Bhṛgu, the fourteenth, and the sixteenth twice’. Rāmeśvara explains: *bhṛguḥ sakārah. caturdaśa aukārah. ṣoḍaśo visargah. eteṣāṃ pratyekam dvirāvṛtṭyā hrdayādiśaḍaṅgam kuryāt. \*iti* (em.: *atha* Ed.) *binduyogaś ca śiṣṭasampradāyāt. mantrasvarūpam: SAḤ HRDAYĀYA NAMAḤ AUḤ ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ AḤ ŚIKHĀYAI VAṢAṬ visargasya kevalasyānucāryatvāt. evam agre 'pi 'Bhṛgu is SA, the fourteenth is AU, and the sixteenth is AḤ. One should make the six Ancillaries beginning with the Heart by using each of these twice. This is how one installs the six Ancillaries in the form of the individual sounds [of the Mantra SAUḤ]. Moreover, one must add Ṣ [to SA and AU], because such is the tradition of the learned. The form of the Mantras is as follows: SAḤ HRDAYĀYA NAMAḤ, AUḤ ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ, AḤ ŚIKHĀYAI VAṢAṬ—[AḤ,] because Ḥ on its own is unpronounceable—and so on’. The immediately preceding Sūtra rules that all the Mantras of the *Parākrama* should begin with the sounds SAUḤ (13: *sarve 'pi parākramamanavaḥ sauhvarṇapūrvāḥ kāryāḥ*), and the *Parāpaddhati* applies this to the *varṇaśaḍaṅganyāsaḥ*. It also goes against the view seen in Rāmeśvara’s commentary by teaching that the constituent sounds should be S, AU, and Ḥ, stating that the last should be on its own and not preceded by A. Thus (p. 192): SAUḤ S HRDAYĀYA NAMAḤ SAUḤ AU ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ SAUḤ Ḥ ŚIKHĀYAI VAṢAṬ SAUḤ S KAVACĀYA HUḤ SAUḤ AU NETRATRAYĀYA VAUṢAṬ SAUḤ Ḥ ASTRĀYA PHAṬ *iti mūlamantrāvayavair dvirāvṛttair varṇaśaḍaṅgam*. The order of installations in the *Parāpaddhati* differs from that taught in the South Indian texts. The *Parākrama* teaches first the *aṅganyāsaḥ* on the five locations (Sūtra 9), then the *śikhānyāsaḥ* (Sūtra 10), then the *varṇaśaḍaṅganyāsaḥ* with the parts of the Mantra, and finally the *mantraśaḍaṅganyāsaḥ* with the whole Mantra (Sūtra 14). The *Parāpaddhati* (p. 192) teaches the same order, except that it omits the *śikhānyāsaḥ*.*

(25–26b) Then he should visualize the Great Goddess who directly bestows liberation [by reciting the following:] “May the goddess Parā protect me, with the colour of a moon with no mark, three-eyed, with the crescent of the moon [on her hair], her [two] arms beautiful with [her right hand in] the hand-posture [of knowledge] and [her left holding] a manuscript [of scripture]”.<sup>114</sup>

(26cd) After he has visualized the goddess he should display the hand-postures of the Cow and the Vulva.<sup>115</sup> (27–28) Alternatively one who seeks liberation should visualize the goddess Parā in the site of Śakti [above the cranial aperture] (*śaktisthāne*)<sup>116</sup> or in the sky, white, dressed in white, with

<sup>114</sup>No such visualization is found in the Kashmirian sources of the Trika, but it is standard in the South Indian sources of the Parākrama, and appears there in the form of this verse or a variant of it. We see it in the *Parātrīśikātātparyadīpikā* (v. 2), the *Anuttarasamvoidarcanācarcā* (v. 1) both with the variant *mudrāpustalasadbāhā pātu vah paramā kalā* as the second line, the *Gurupā-ramparyaparakāra*: \*akalaṅkaśaśāṅkābhā (*śaśāṅkābhā* em. : *śivāṅkābhā* Cod.) \*tryakṣā (em. : *akṣā* Cod.) *candrakalāvātī | mudrāpustalasadbāhā pātu māṃ varakomalā | svarṇanirmalavarṇāṅgī †mūlamāyavarū-thinī† | brahmendumaṅḍalārūḍhā saccidānandamātṛkā; Parākrama* 20 and *Parāpaddhati*, p. 193, both with *mudrāpustalasadbāhūḥ pātu māṃ paramā kalā* as the second line; and *Prayogakramadīpikā* on *Prapañcasāra* 9.28 (which teaches the Japa of SAUḤ as the *śaktaṃ bījaṃ*, the last of the three Seeds of the Mantra of Bālā Tripurasundarī [AIṀ KLIM SAUḤ], *kevalaśaktajapaḥ*, for the attainment of eloquence), giving this as the visualization appropriate in the case of those who worship for liberation alone (*niṣkāmaṣaye*): *akalaṅkaśaśāṅkābhāṃ tryakṣāṃ candrakalāvātīm | mudrāpustalasadbāhāṃ muktāmaṇivibhūṣitām*. The same iconography is given in vv. 4–6 of the *Parāstuti* of Sa-hajānandayogin incorporated in the *Parāpaddhati* (p. 196): *mauktikamaṇigaṇarucirāṃ śaśāṅkanir-mokanirmalamāṃ kṣaumamā | nivasānāṃ parameśīṃ namāmi sauvarṇapuṭāntahsthām | 5 bhaktajanabhe-dabhañjanacinmudrākalitadakṣiṇapāṇitalām | pūrṇāhaṃtākāraṇapustakavaryeṇa ruciravāmakarām | 6 sṛṣṭisthitilayakṛdbhir nayanāmbhojaiḥ śaśīnadahanākhyaiḥ | mauktikatāṅkābhyaṃ maṅḍitamukhama-ṅḍalāṃ parāṃ naumi* ‘I bow to the supreme goddess who shines with her array of pearls and jewels, wearing a silken garment white as the moon or the slough of a snake, seated between two SAUS. I praise Parā, her round face adorned by her pearl earrings and her three lotus-like eyes that as the moon, sun, and fire bring about the emission, maintenance, and resportion [of all things], her left hand showing the gesture of consciousness that shatters plurality for her devotees and her left hand holding a fine manuscript [that contains the knowledge] that brings about fully expanded awareness of the self’. The same visualization is seen in the *Rahasyapañcadaśikā* (v. 21), the *Lalitopākhyāna* of the *Brahmaṅḍapurāṇa* (39.10), and the *Ahirbudhnyasamhitā* (24.16), all South Indian texts; see SANDERSON 1990, p. 34, nn. 16–17 and 20.

The gesture of knowledge (*jñānamudrā*, *cinmudrā*) is formed by joining the tips of the index finger and thumb of the right hand to form a circle at the level of the heart with the other fingers extended and the palm facing to the left; see, e.g., *Jñānārṇava* 4.40c–41b and the unattributed quotation in *Śāradātilakapadārthadarśa*, p. 358 on 6.4. The manuscript is held with the back of the hand facing away from the body; see the definition of the *pustakamudrā* *ibid.*, l. 25 (*vāmamuṣṭiḥ svābhīmukhī*).

<sup>115</sup>The pairing of these two Mudrās is seen in the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*, which requires them to be shown in this order to perfect the preparation of the chalice (*arghyapātra*). See *Gaṇanā-yakapaddhati*, Sūtra 5, concerning the setting up of the Arghyapātra: *astreṇa samrakṣya kavace-nāvakuṅṭhya dhenuyonimudrāṃ pradarśayet; Śyāmākrama*, Sūtra 18: *astreṇa samrakṣya kavacenāvakuṅṭhya dhenuyonī pradarśya*; and 19: *astreṇa samrakṣya kavacenāvakuṅṭhya dhenuyonī pradarśayet*. For photographs of these Mudrās see *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*, Appendix 6, figs. A5 and B4.

<sup>116</sup>For the location of the *śaktisthānam* in the *dvādaśāntam* twelve finger-breadths above the cra-

full, high breasts, with her hands in [the gestures of granting] boons and protection, three-eyed, with the [crescent] moon on her head, her body glistening with every kind of jewelry, and seated on a lotus throne.<sup>117</sup>

The repetition of the Mantra (*japaḥ*):

29 *apānam ūrdhvam ākarṣan śāmbhavīm samyag ācaran |*  
*pratyahaṃ prajapen mantraṃ yathāśaktyā prasādhakah |*  
 30 *yo dvādaśasahasrāṇi pratyahaṃ prajaped imam |*  
*so 'vaśyaṃ jñānam āpnoti tato muktiṃ vrajaty api |*  
 31 *gūḍhād gūḍhatamo mantrō mayā te kṛpayoditaḥ |*  
*yogine 'yaṃ pradātavyo na deyo yasya kasyacit |*

29a *apānam* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187: *āpānam* T/121 • *ūrdhvam* P<sub>1</sub> As: *ūrddham* T/121: *advīm* T/187  
 29b *śāmbhavīm* P<sub>1</sub> T/187: *śāmbhavī* T/121: *śāmbhavīm* As 29c *mantraṃ* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187: *mantrīm*  
 T/121 29d *yathāśaktyā* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 T/187: *yathāśakti* Ed<sup>P</sup> 31a *gūḍhād gūḍhatamo* P<sub>1</sub>: *gūḍhād*  
*gūḍhatamo* As Ed<sup>P</sup>: *gūḍhāmghūḍatamo* T/121: *apadgūḍhatamo* T/187 31b *kṛpayoditaḥ* As P<sub>1</sub>  
 T/187: *kṛpayodvitaḥ* T/121

(29) Every day the Sādhaka should repeat the Mantras as [many times as] he is able, drawing upwards the descending breath,<sup>118</sup> correctly practising the

nial aperture see *Tantrāloka* 31.126ab and commentary in the light of 15.361–2 and commentary.  
<sup>117</sup>I know of no occurrence of this alternative visualization outside the two Trika-based *Āṅgīrasa* texts edited here.

<sup>118</sup>The expression *apānam ūrdhvam ākarṣan* echoes a verse quoted without attribution by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śāradātilaka* 2.111: *pārṣṇibhāgena sampīḍya yonim ākuñcayed gudam | apānam ūrdhvam ākarṣen mūlabandho nigadyate*, which also appears as *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* 3.61, *Gorakṣaśataka* 58, and *Yogamārtanḍa* 48, but with *ākṛṣya* instead of *ākarṣen*: ‘After compressing the Yoni with his heel he should contract his anus. The Mūlabandha is said [to be accomplished] by drawing the descending breath upwards [in this way]’. In Rāghavabhaṭṭa’s text this verse is followed by *gudamedhrāntaram yonis tām ākuñcya prabandhayet | yuvā bhavati vṛddho 'pi satatam mūlabandhanāt* ‘The Yoni is the area between the anus and the penis. He should bind [the Mūlabandha] by contracting it. By constant practice of the Mūlabandha even an aged man becomes youthful’. The *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* continues as follows (3.62–64): *adhogatim apānam vā ūrdhvagam kurute balāt | ākuñcanena taṃ prāhur mūlabandham hi yoginaḥ | gudam pārṣṇiyā tu sampīḍya vāyum ākuñcayed balāt | vāraṃ vāraṃ yathā cordhvam samāyāti samīraṇaḥ | prāṇāpānau nādabindū mūlabandhena caikatām | gatvā yogasya saṃsiddhiṃ yacchato nātra saṃśayaḥ* ‘Or else he forces the descending breath upwards. The Yogins teach that the Mūlabandha is brought about by contracting. He should press the anus with his heel and then forcefully contract the [descending] breath again and again until the breath ascends. The outgoing and descending breaths, the Resonance and the Drop, are fused by the Mūlabandha and so bring about the success of one’s meditation. There is no doubt of this’. No connection with Japa is stated in these *Haṭhayogic* passages, but Rāghavabhaṭṭa gives his citation in just that context, for the verse of the *Śāradātilaka* (2.111) on which he is commenting is teaching a method for the reinvigoration (‘purification’) of defective Mantras: *ityādidoṣaduṣṭāms tām mantrān ātmani yojayet | śodhayed ūrdhvapavano baddhayā yonimudrayā* ‘He should take such Mantras as suffer from defects of this kind into himself and purify them by practising the Yonimudrā, [so] causing the [descending] breath to ascend’. It is to explain the nature of this Yonimudrā that he gives his citation. He cites another passage without attribution here that further clarifies the applicability of this practice

Śāmbhavī [Mudrā].<sup>119</sup> (30) If a person repeats this [Mantra] twelve thousand [times] a day, he certainly attains enlightenment and thereby the state of liberation. (31) Out of compassion I have told you the Mantra that is more secret than secret. It may be passed on [only] to a meditator. It may not be given to all and sundry.

The benefits of the *japaḥ* (= *Parātrīśikā*<sup>120</sup>):

32 *muhūrtam smarate yas tu cumbake nābhimudritam |*  
*sa badhnāti tadā dehe mantramudrāgaṇam mahat |*  
 33 *atītānāgatān arthān pṛṣṭo 'sau kathayaty api |*  
*praharād yad abhipretam devatārūpam uccaran |*  
 34 *sākṣāt paśyaty asaṁdigdham ākrṣtam rudraśaktibhiḥ |*  
*praharadvayamātreṇa vyomastho jāyate smaran |*  
 35 *trayeṇa mātaraḥ sarvā yogeśvāryo mahābalāḥ |*  
*vīrā vīreśvarāḥ siddhā balavān śākinīgaṇaḥ |*  
 36 *āgatya samayaṁ dattvā bhairaveṇa pracoditāḥ |*  
*yacchanti paramāṁ siddhiṁ phalaṁ yad vā samīhitam |*  
 37 *anena siddhāḥ setsyanti sādhayanti ca mantriṇaḥ |*  
*yat kiṁcit bhairave tantre sarvaṁ asmin prasiddhyati |*

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**32b** *cumbake nābhimudritam* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121: *cumvakenābhimantritam* T/187 **33a** *atītānāgatān* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187: *atatānāgatān* T/121 **34ab** *asaṁdigdham ākrṣtam* P<sub>1</sub> As: *asaṁdiśyamākṣtam* T/121: *asandigdhammāmkrṣtam* T/187 **35b** *yogeśvāryo* As T/121: *yogeśvarāmyo* P<sub>1</sub> T/187 • *mahābalāḥ* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187: *mahābalā* T/121 **36a** *dattvā* As P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187<sup>pc</sup>: *gatvā* T/187<sup>ac</sup> **36d** *phalaṁ yad vā samīhitam* em.: *phalaṁ yad vā samīritam* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *phala yadā samīritam*

to Japa: *yonim baddhvā bījaṁ bindvādipathena conmanīm prāpya tatra sahasraṁ mantraṁ japet. sa mantraḥ prabuddhaḥ syāt* 'By practising the Yoni[mudrā] he should raise the Seed [through the central channel] through the stages of the Bindu and the rest until it reaches Unmanī and there he should repeat the Mantra a thousand times. It will be awakened'.

<sup>119</sup>See *Hathayogapradīpikā* 4.36–37: \**antarlakṣyaḥ* (conj.: *antarlakṣyaṁ* Ed.) *bahirdṛṣṭir nimeṣonmeṣavarjitā | eṣā sā śāmbhavī mudrā vedaśāstreṣu gopitā | antarlakṣyavilīnacittapavano yogī yadā vartate dṛṣṭyā niścalatārayā bahir adhaḥ paśyann apaśyann api | mudreyaṁ khalu śāmbhavī bhavati sā labdhā prasādād guroḥ śūnyāśūnyavilakṣaṇaṁ sphurati tat tattvaṁ padaṁ śāmbhavam; Lasakāka, \*Āryāvīvaraṇa* (commenting on the Āryā verse *udyantrtābalena tu vikāsavṛtṭyā svarūpagas tiṣṭhet svayam upasṛtendriyārthān aśnann ānandabhūmigo yogī | eṣocchrīṅkhalarūpā vikāsvataraḥ prabuddhabuddhīnām siddhāḥ sthitāḥ sadāsyāṁ hy ānandaratāḥ parā ca mudraīśā*): *eṣā daśā parātyutkrṣṭā mudrā śāmbhavīmudrākhyā. yad uktam antarlakṣyo bahirdṛṣṭir nimeṣonmeṣavarjitā | eṣā sā śāmbhavī mudrā sarvatantreṣu gopiteti*. The Kashmirians Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja refer to this state of wide-eyed introversion as the Bhairavamudrā; see *Mālinīvijayavārttika* 2.77c–28b: *parabhairavamudrāṁ tām antarlakṣabahirdṛṣam | yadāśrayati śaivī sā parā devī; Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* on Sūtra 18, p. 42: *śakter vikāsaḥ antarnigūdhāyā akramam eva sakalakaraṇacakravisphāraṇena "antarlakṣyo bahirdṛṣṭiḥ nimeṣonmeṣavarjitāḥ" iti bhairavīyamudrānupraveśayuktyā bahiḥ prasaraṇam; and Svacchandoddyota*, commenting on the description of Svacchandabhairava as 'large-eyed' (*viśālākṣam*) in 2.89c: *viśālākṣam iti "antarlakṣyo bahirdṛṣṭir nimeṣonmeṣavarjitāḥ" ityāmnātaparabhairavasphārāvasthitam*.

<sup>120</sup>See above, n. 101 on p. 241.

As: *tām ānayat samūritam* Ed<sup>P</sup> 37a *setsyaṃti* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *sevyanti* As: *sevyante* Ed<sup>P</sup> 37c *tantra* As T/121: *maṅtre* P<sub>1</sub> T/187 37d *asmin* em.: *asmī* As: *asmāt* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187 **Colophon** *parājapa* As T/187: *parājaya* T/121: *parājina* P<sub>1</sub>

(32–33b) If one meditates [on it] for forty-eight minutes, sealed at the navel in the “kiss”, he will then lock into his body the great array of Mantras and Mudrās;<sup>121</sup> and if interrogated [as an oracle] he can also reveal facts past and future. (33c–34b) One who repeats [the Mantra] for three hours will then undoubtedly behold directly the form of any deity that he seeks [to behold], drawn [to him] by Rudra’s Powers. (34cd) If he meditates [on the Mantra] for a mere six hours he will enter the firmament. (35–36) After nine hours all the Mothers, the mighty Yogeśvarīs, the Vīras, Vīreśvaras, Siddhas, and the powerful horde of the Śākinīs, [all of] whom Bhairava has recruited and so compelled, arrive and bestow on him the ultimate Siddhi or any [lesser] reward he may desire.<sup>122</sup> (37) It is [only] when they have mastered this

<sup>121</sup>The commentators differ on the reading of 32b. In his *-vivaraṇa* Abhinavagupta reads *cumbakenābhimudritam* (though the editions of the text and *-vivaraṇa* give *cumbakenābhimudritaḥ* in their text of the verse): *ata eva muhūrtam akālakalitave ’pi parakalanāpekṣayonmeṣamātram yaḥ smaraty anusamḍhatte sa eva vyākhyātam mantramudrāgaṇam \*sarvaṃ badhnāti* (em. [see below, n. 125 on p. 254]: *saṃbadhnāti* Eds.) *svātmany ekīkaroty advayataḥ. katham. cumbakena viśvasparśakena śāktena rūpeṇābhitaḥ sarvato mudritaṃ mudraṇaṃ kṛtvā* (ed. GNOLI, p. 270; KSTS ed., p. 245) ‘For this very reason if he remembers [this Seed], maintains awareness of [it], for a *muhūrtam*, that is to say, for a mere instant—though he himself is out of reach of time [in this state] he realizes it for an instant from the temporalizing point of view of others—then he seals the entire array of Mantras and Mudrās that has been explained above, that is to say, fuses them with his own identity in non-duality. How? [This question is answered in the words *cumbakena abhimudritam*:] By completely (*sarvataḥ* ← *abhitaḥ* [← *abhi-*]) sealing (*mudritaṃ mudraṇaṃ kṛtvā*) [his awareness of Śiva] with the “kisser” (*cumbakena*), that is to say, with the [awareness of] the energetic nature [of Śiva] that touches all [things]’. The author of the *-laghuvṛtti* reads *cumbake nābhimudritam*, taking *cumbake* as an elliptical locative absolute (*cumbake sati*): *atha tathāveśo nirantaram yaḥ ghaṭikādvayam abhyasyati cumbake vaktre samastabhāyasadṛpabhāvarāśiniṣṭhacumbanātmani \*nigiraṇapravṛttakākacañcuputākāre* (*pravṛtta* conj.: *pravṛtte* Ed.) *sadvṛttisomabhāvoparamaśītalarasāsvādakāriṇi sati nābhimudritaṃ nābhishthānāvadhim kṛtvā pūrṇakumbhakasamāveśābhyaṣena tadā mantramudrāgaṇaḥ ...* (KSTS ed., p. 12) ‘Then if while in this state of immersion he practises [the Seed] without interruption for forty-eight minutes, provided there is (*sati*) the “kisser”, the mouth in the shape of a crow’s beak in the act of swallowing, the kissing that applies to the mass of all objective, external entities, the [mouth] that sips the supremely cool liquid that is the lunar [nectar] of the flow of the real, by sealing [them] in the navel, i.e. by bringing them down to the navel through the repeated practice of full breath retention, then the array of Mantras and Mudrās ...’. The latter interpretation is also implicit in the following instruction in the *Parākrama* (Sūtra 10): *kākacañcuputākṛtinā mukhena saṃcoṣyānilam saptaviṃśatiso mūlam japtvā vedyaṃ nābhau saṃmudrya ...* ‘Having sipped in the breath through his mouth [with its lips pursed] in the shape of a crow’s beak, having repeated the main [Mantra] twenty-seven times, having sealed the object of awareness in the navel ...’. Rāmeśvara explains ‘the object of awareness’ (*vedyam*) here as the thirty-six Tattvas: *vedyaṃ ṣaṭtriṃśat tattvāni vakṣyamāṇāni saṃmudrya ekīkṛtya*. The close affinity between our *Parājapavidhi* and the South Indian exegesis of the *Parātrīśikā* in other details has prompted me to follow it here.

<sup>122</sup>I have translated *āgatya samayaṃ dattvā bhairaveṇa pracoditāḥ | yacchanti paramam siddhim* following the *Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti*, which takes *bhairaveṇa* as the agent of *dattvā*: *samayaṃ dattve-*

[Mantra] that Mantrins will achieve Siddhi and enable [others] to do so. All [that has been taught] in the Bhairavatantras depends for its success on this [Mantra]. Here ends the *Parājapavidhi* of the *Āṅgīrasa[kalpa]*.

## The Parāmantravidhi

Covering the same ground as the *Parājapavidhi* but in an abbreviated form and in prose, is the *Parāmantravidhi* found in P<sub>2</sub> alone (ff. 74v4–75v1). Its principal difference from the longer text lies in the fact that at its end it assimilates this tradition to the Vedic corpus by identifying the goddess Parā with the ‘higher knowledge’ (*parā vidyā*) taught in the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* and the ‘supreme power’ (*parā śaktiḥ*) of Maheśvara taught in the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*:

*atha parāvidhānam ucyate. asya parāmantrasya dakṣiṇāmūrti⟨r⟩ ṛṣis triṣṭup chandah parāśaktir devatā. saṃ bījaṃ auḥ śaktir mama yogasiddhyarthe viniyogaḥ. sām sīm sūṃ saim⟨saum⟩ sah iti śad aṅgāni. nābher adhaḥ hrdayād adhaḥ śiraso 'dhaḥ sakāraukāraavisargān nyaset. sarvāṅge vyāpakam nyaset. śaktisthāne ā⟨kā⟩samanḍale vā śu⟨klām⟩ śuklavasanām pīnonnatastanīm trinetrām varābhayakarām candrasekharām †niravakarām† padmāsanopaviṣṭām prasannavadanām sarvālamkārahūṣitām muktīpradām parām dhyāyet. athavā śuklām śuklavasanām trinetrām candrasekharām vāme pustakam anyasmin jñānamudrām ca bibhratīm parām padmāsanām devīm muktyarthī pravincintayet. sakāraukāraavisargaiḥ piṇḍita ekākṣarah parāmantraḥ. apānam ūrdhvam ākarṣan pratyahaṃ dvādaśasahasraṃ japet. jñānam prāpnoti. tathā ca śrutih: atha parā yayā tad akṣaram adhigamyata iti ⟨na⟩ tasya kārya⟨ṃ⟩ karaṇam ca vidyate na tatsamaś cābhyadhikaś ca dr̥ṣyate parāsyā śaktir vividhaiva śrūyate svābhāviki jñānabalakriyā ceti.*

### ITI PARĀMANTRAVIDHIḤ

1 *asya parāmantrasya* conj.: *atha parāmantrasya* Cod. 2 *saṃ bījaṃ*: *sīm bījaṃ* Cod. 3 *sām sīm* em.: *sīm sīm* Cod. 5 *śuklām* em.: *śurām* Cod. 5–6 *varābhayakarām* corr.: *varābhayakarām* Cod. 8 *pustakam anyasmin* conj.: *pustakasaparita* Cod. • *bibhratīm* corr.: *bibhratiṃ* Cod. 9 *muktyarthī* conj.: *muktyārtha* Cod. • *pravincintayet* conj.: *vā cintayet* Cod. 11 *parā yayā* em.: *parājayā* Cod.

Next I shall teach the rite of Parā. The Ṛṣi of this Mantra of Parā is Dakṣiṇāmūrti, its metre the Triṣṭubh, its deity Parāśakti, its Seed SAṂ, its

*ti maryādāpūrvakaṃ bhairaveṇa bhagavatā ... prakarṣeṇa coditāḥ.* However, it is more probable that the author of the *Parātrīśikā* meant the Mothers and the rest to be understood as the agents of the giving: ‘... all the Mothers etc. arrive, give the *samayaḥ* (*samayaṃ dattuā*), and then bestow the ultimate Siddhi’. Cf. *Picumata* f. 364v3 (101.28c–29a): *dadate yogisaṅghas tu kaulam samayam uttamam | carukam sampradāyam ca* ‘The assembly of Yoginis [comes and] bestows [on him] the supreme Kaula *samayaḥ*, the [initiatory] sacrament, and the tradition’. The word *yogī-* in *yogisaṅghaḥ* is to be understood to mean *yoginī-*. Cf., e.g., *Netratantra* 20.16c’s *yogiyogena* and Kṣemarāja’s gloss: *yoginīnām yogena*; and *Mālinīvijayottara* 19.25c–26: *tato 'sya vatsarārdhena \*dehāntar* (em.: *dehāntam* Ed.) *yoginīkulam | āvirbhavaty asaṃdehāt svavijñānaprakāśakam | tenāvirbhūtamatreṇa yogī yogikule kulī.*

Śakti AUḤ, and its application [formula] ‘For the success of my meditation’. The six Ancillaries are SĀṂ, SĪṂ, SŪṂ, SAIM, SAUM, and SAḤ. He should install S below his navel, AU below his heart, and Ḥ below his head. He should install the Pervader [i.e. the Mantra as a whole] on his whole body. He should visualize Parā on the site of Power [in the cranial aperture] or in the circle of the sky as the bestower of liberation, white, clothed in white, with full, upturned breasts, three-eyed, showing the hand-postures of generosity and protection [with her two hands], with the moon on her hair, †... † seated in the lotus-posture,<sup>123</sup> with a tranquil expression, adorned with every form of jewelry. Alternatively the seeker of liberation may visualize the goddess Parā as white, clothed in white, three-eyed, with the moon on her hair, holding a manuscript in her left [hand] and showing the hand-posture of enlightenment in the other, seated in the lotus-posture. The Mantra of Parā is a single syllable combining S, AU, and Ḥ. He should repeat it 12,000 times a day, drawing up the ingoing breath. [Thus] he attains enlightenment. And this is confirmed by Vedic scripture, namely “The Supreme [Knowledge] (*parā [vidyā]*) is that by means of which one realizes that imperishable [reality]” (*Muṇḍakopaniṣad* 1.5b) and “He has no body or faculties [of cognition and action]. No being is perceived who is his equal or greater. His Supreme Power (*parā śaktiḥ*) is taught in the scriptures in many forms. It is one with his essence and its action is the energy of [his] consciousness” (*Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 6.8).<sup>124</sup> Here ends the *Parāmantravidhi*.

<sup>123</sup>The reading *niravakarāṃ* in *niravakarāṃ padmāsanopaviṣṭāṃ* yields no meaning. The syllables *nirava-* are probably a corruption of *nīraja-* ‘lotus’, in which case one might conjecture the emendation *nīrajakarāṃ vā* ‘or holding a lotus in her hand’ or ‘or holding a lotus in each hand’. But this would be awkward. The emendation would give an alternative within an alternative, we would expect any such alternative to be expressed immediately after *varābhayakarāṃ*, and it is not seen in the *Parājapavidhi*. Since the crux with its probable reference to a lotus immediately precedes Parā’s description as seated on the lotus posture it is more probable that the text was stating that she is to be visualized on a lotus in that posture, a prescription seen elsewhere in our *Āṅgīrasa* corpus, for example, in the *\*Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa* edited below, v. 34ab: *padme padmāsanāṃ devīṃ bhadrakālīṃ smared raṇe* and in Ed<sup>P</sup>, p. 141: *padme padmāsanāṃ raktam vakratuṇḍam vicintayet*. Moreover, this would be in harmony with the prescription of the alternative visualization in the *Parājapavidhi*, which says that she is *padmāsanagatā* (v. 28b) ‘on a lotus-throne’. Perhaps, then, *niravakarāṃ* is a corruption of *nīrajopari*, *nīrajāsanāṃ*, or similar.

<sup>124</sup>I have translated *kāryam* here as ‘body’, and *karaṇam* as ‘faculties [of cognition and action]’ in accordance with the usage of the Pāñcārthika Pāśūpatas, taking both as singulars denoting classes (*jātāv ekavacanam*). There (1) *kāryam* denotes the five subtle elements (*tanmātrāṇi*) and the five gross elements (*mahābhūtāni*), that is to say in the case of souls, the body (*Pañcārthabhāṣya* p. 26: *kāryaṇiṇḍaḥ śarīrākhyāḥ*), and *karaṇam* the three internal faculties (*buddhiḥ, manaḥ, and ahaṃkāraḥ*), the five sense-faculties (*buddhīndriyāṇi*), and the five faculties of action (*karmendriyāṇi*), all these making up the twenty-three *kalāḥ* that are the transformations of primal matter (*pradhānam, prakṛtiḥ*) (*Pañcārthabhāṣya* p. 77: *atra kalā nāma kāryakaraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ. tatra kāryākhyāḥ pṛthivy āpas tejo vāyur ākāśaḥ śabdasparsarūparasagandhās ca ... tathā karaṇākhyāḥ śrotram tvak cakṣuḥ jihvā ghrāṇam pādāḥ pāyur upastho hasto vāṅ mano ’haṅkāro buddhir iti*), and (2) souls are classified as pure and impure according to whether or not they are bound by *kāryam* and *ka-*

As for the source or sources drawn upon by these two *Āṅgīrasa* texts on the propitiation of Parā, I have indicated in my annotations of my translations numerous points of agreement between the details of their account and those prescribed for the same in the corpus of South Indian texts based on the interpretation of the *Parātrīśikā* given in the *-laghuṛtti* and, more broadly, between the former and the South Indian Śākta tradition of the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*. These correspondences suggest strongly that the Oriya Paippalādins had access to some at least of these materials or to materials closely related to them. But they do not allow us to exclude entirely the possibility that the Paippalādins were drawing not on those materials but at least to some extent on earlier Kashmirian sources to which those who formed the South Indian tradition had independent access. For no Kashmirian work setting out the ritual procedure following the *Parātrīśikā* survives to enable us to determine what is distinctively non-Kashmirian in the non-Kashmirian literature other than in such peripheral details as the door-guardians and the pseudo-Vedic *anukramaṇī* with its specification of a Ṛṣi and the rest. However, the probability that the Paippalādins' sources for this form of the Trika were not Kashmirian is increased by the fact that at the one place where the verses of the *Parātrīśikā* incorporated in the *Parājapavidhi* diverge in the versions attested by the *Parātrīśikālaghuṛtti* on the one hand and Abhinavagupta's *-vivarāṇa* on the other the *Parājapavidhi* agrees with the former against the latter.<sup>125</sup>

*raṇam* so defined (*ibid.*, p. 5: *kāryakaraṇāñjanā nirañjanās ca*). This interpretation I consider plausible for two reasons. Firstly there are other elements of Pāśupata terminology in the text; see 1.8c, 2.15d, 4.16d, 5.13d, 6.13d: *jñātvā devaṃ mucyate sarvopāśaiḥ* and 1.11a: *jñātvā devaṃ sarvopāśāpahāniḥ* (cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* p. 5: *pāśā nāma kāryakaraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ*); 4.21cd: *yat te dakṣiṇaṃ mukhaṃ tena māṃ pāhi nityam* (cf. *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.9: *mahādevasya dakṣiṇāmūrteḥ*); 5.14ab: *kalāsargakaraṇaṃ devaṃ ye vidus te jahus tanum* and 6.5b: *akalo 'pi dṛṣṭaḥ* (cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* p. 77: *atra kalā nāma kāryakaraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ. . . tāsāṃ vikaraṇo bhagavān īśvaraḥ. kasmāt. dṛṅkriyāśaktyor apratighātāt*; *ibid.*, p. 118: *niṣkalasya kāryakaraṇarahitasyety arthaḥ*); 6.9a: *sa kāraṇaṃ* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 55: *atrotpādakānuḡrāhakatirobhāva(ka)dharmi kāraṇam*; *ibid.*, p. 11: *kāraṇamūrtyāropitāvātāritaṃ niṣparigrahaṃ padmotpalādyam*); 6.20d–21a: *duḥkhasyānto bhaviṣyati | tapaḥprabhāvād devaprasādā ca* (cf. *Pāśupatasūtra* 5.39: *apramādi gacched duḥkhāntam īsaprasādāt*). Secondly I see no satisfactory alternative in previous attempts to make sense of the collocation of the two terms. OLIVELLE (1998, p. 431) translates *kāryam* as 'obligation to act' ("One cannot find in him either an obligation to act or an organ with which to act") and RADHAKRISHNAN (1969, p. 745) as 'action' ("There is no action and no organ of his to be found"). The first renders the literal meaning 'thing to be done' but produces a theologically odd assertion. The second is impossible, both grammatically and because it is contradicted by the statement that follows, viz. that he does have the power to act.

<sup>125</sup>Thus in 32cd the *Parājapavidhi* has *dehe mantramudrāgaṇaṃ*. This agrees with the reading of the *-laghuṛtti* (12cd) against that of the text transmitted with Abhinavagupta's *-vivarāṇa*, which reads *sarvaṃ mantramudrāgaṇaṃ* here (13ab). The KSTS edition of the *-laghuṛtti* gives *dehaṃ* rather than *dehe* here in its text of the *Parātrīśikā*, but the *-laghuṛtti*'s comment indicates that it read *dehe* as in the *Āṅgīrasa* text (p. 12, l. 11–12: *tadā mantramudrāsamūhaḥ dehe vāgrūpe kālarūpe ca paramēśvarasyaivābhivoyajyate*). The *-vivarāṇa* appears not to confirm the reading *sarvaṃ* by glossing it, the relevant passage in both of the critical editions reading simply *sa eva vyākhyātāṃ mantramudrāgaṇaṃ sambadhnāti svātmany ekīkaroty advayataḥ*. However, I judge the reading *sambadhnāti* to be corrupt, on the grounds (1) that *saṃ-bandh-* never occurs to my

## The \*Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa

The case of the Kālīkula, the second of the two old Śākta traditions detectable in these *Āṅgīrasa* texts, differs from that of the Trika. For there is no complete Paddhati in the corpus that can be said to have been based on its rituals. Its contribution is rather in the form of Mantras that have been adopted for the propitiation of Bhadrakālī in procedures whose aim is to empower the king to achieve victory in battle. Our manuscripts contain a section of two hundred and twenty-two half-verses devoted to this topic (As ff. 52v2–57r1 = Ed<sup>P</sup>, pp. 105–113; P<sub>1</sub> ff. 138r2–145v4; P<sub>2</sub> ff. 56v1–60r3; T/121 ff. 86v1–88r3; T/187 ff. 85r2–89r4). They give colophons only for its constituent parts, but I shall treat it as a whole with a single verse numeration, from 1 to 110, and for the sake of convenience I shall refer to it under a single title as the \**Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa*, ‘the Section on the Rites of the Mantras of Bhadrakālī’. It begins by teaching the first of these Mantras as follows:

1 *atha devyā bhadrakālyā mantrō yaḥ so 'bhidhīyate |*  
*yo rājño jayakāmasya dadāti jayam īpsitam |*  
 2 *pranavaṃ pūrvam uccārya māyābījaṃ samuccaret |*  
*mahācaṇḍapadaṃ procyā yogeśvaripadaṃ vadet |*  
 3 *phaḍanto mantrarājo 'yaṃ bhaved ekādaśākṣarah |*  
*pūjākāle namontaḥ syād dhome svāhānta iṣyate |*  
 4 *pippalāda ṛṣiḥ proktaś chando nāsti yajusṭvataḥ |*  
*devatā syād bhadrakālī jayadurgeti yāṃ viduḥ |*  
 5 *pranavo bījam etasya hr̥llekhā śaktir iṣyate |*  
*jaye ca viniyogaḥ syād atharvamunibhāṣitaḥ |*  
 6 *nīyamo nāsti mantre 'smin na puraścaraṇaṃ bhavet |*  
*kevalaṃ vihitaṃ kṛtvā yathāśāstraṃ phalaṃ labhet |*

1d *īpsitam* As T/187: *ipsitam* P<sub>2</sub>: *āpsitam* T/121: *āṣṭhitam* P<sub>1</sub> 2d *yogeśvari* As T/121 T/187: *yogīśvari* P<sub>1</sub>: *yogeśvarī* P<sub>2</sub> • *vadet* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *bhavet* As 3a *phaḍanto* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *phaḍānto* As: *paḍanto* P<sub>1</sub> • *mantrarājo* As P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/187: *mantrarāje* T/121 3c *namontaḥ* As P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *namontaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> 4c *syād* P<sub>2</sub> T/187: *syā* As P<sub>1</sub>: *syāt* T/121 4d *yāṃ* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>

knowledge in place of *bandh-* in the meaning ‘to tie, fix’ that is intended here, and (2) that even if it were used in this meaning I can see no reason why Abhinavagupta would have substituted it, since doing so would not serve any purpose that I can see. I propose, therefore, that *saṃ* is a corruption of the otherwise missing word *sarvaṃ*. This conjecture now finds support from MS no. 2312 of this text in the collection of the Research Department in Srinagar. That reads *sambadhnāti* (f. 64v11) in agreement with the two editions and MS no. 848 in the same collection (f. 151v2). But a marginal annotation in a recent Śāradā hand requires or proposes the insertion of *roa* after the *sa* of *sambadhnāti* to give *sarvaṃ badhnāti*. I am very grateful to Dr. Bettina BÄUMER for providing me with scans of these two manuscripts (and of another, no. 2138, which lacks this passage due to a lacuna that extends inclusively from *nāmasmaraṇam* in l. 4 of p. 260 of GNOLI’s edition to *mudrāmudritaḥ* in l. 23 of p. 281 of the same) from a crucial collection that has long been inaccessible to scholars.

T/121 T/187: *yāḥ* As **5b** *hr̥llekhā* As P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *hr̥khā* P<sub>1</sub> **6b** *puraścaraṇam* As P<sub>1</sub>  
T/187: *puraścaraṇam* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 **6d** *labhet* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *bhavet* As

(1) Next I shall tell you the Mantra of Bhadrakālī, which bestows on a king desiring victory the victory he seeks. (2) After uttering the Praṇava [OM] he should utter the Seed of Māyā [HRĪM],<sup>126</sup> then MAHĀCANḌA and YOGĒSVARI. (3) This, with PHAṬ at its end, is the eleven-syllable King of Mantras. When it is used in the worship [of the deity in a substrate other than fire] it should end in NAMAḤ. In the fire sacrifice it should end in SVĀHĀ. (4) Pippalāda has been proclaimed to be its Ṛṣi. It has no metre because it is [treated as] a Yajus-formula. Its deity is Bhadrakālī, whom [the learned] know as Jayadurgā ‘The Durgā of Victory’. (5) Its Seed is the Praṇava [OM] and its Śakti is held to be Hr̥llekhā [HRĪM]. Its application, declared by the Atharvan sage, is [in rites] for the conquering [of enemies]. (6) There are no special restrictions [that apply] to [the practice of] this Mantra. Nor is there [any requirement that one should undertake] a preliminary practice [to master it] (*puraścaraṇam*).<sup>127</sup> One will obtain the desired result simply by doing what has been prescribed [here] according to the scriptures.

The Mantra’s Ancillaries (*aṅgāni*) are then stated:

7 *sānusvāro ya ākāro hr̥dayam sa nigadyate |*  
*tathekāraḥ śiraḥ prokta ūkāraś ca śikhā smṛtaḥ |*  
8 *aikāraḥ kavacaṃ jñeyaḥ au ca netratrayam viduḥ |*  
*astram aḥ syāt khakāro ’tra phra prayojyam ca pūrvataḥ |*  
9 *karāṅganyāsam etasya mantrasyettham vadanti vai |*

<sup>126</sup>For the convention that *māyābījam* (also *māyārṇaḥ*, or *māyā*) denotes HRĪM see, e.g., Śiva-svāmin Upādhyāya, *Śrīvidyāmantravivṛti* f. 16v6–7: *śuddhavimarśadārḍhyam eva māyābījenāha hr̥m̐ iti; Tantrālokaivēka* on 30.107 (*praṇavo māyā bindur varṇatrayam*): *māyā hr̥m̐*; on 30.116a (*māyārṇam*): *māyārṇam hr̥m̐*; Rāmeśvara on *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*, *Śrīkrama* 8: *māyā turīyośma-sahitadvitīyāntasthopari sabindus turyasvarah; Rāghavabhaṭṭa* on *Śāradātilaka* 6.39–40 (p. 370): *sāṃ-pradāyikās tu praṇavamāyālakṣmīpañcāḥsarī- ... prayogas tu om hr̥m̐ śrīṃ namaḥ śivāya ...*

<sup>127</sup>The term *puraścaraṇam* refers to a preliminary practice to be undertaken after receiving a Mantra comprising the worship of a Mantra-deity, the repetition of the Mantra a prescribed number of times or for a prescribed period such as a month, sometimes with its gratification by offering it a proportionate number of oblations into fire, with accompanying ascetic restraints, rules of apparel and so forth. See, e.g. *Svacchandatantrōddyota*, vol. 3 (Paṭala 7), p. 231, ll. 13–14: *puraścaryā prathamam eva mantragrahapūrvam \*vrataniyatajapādikaraṇam (vrata em. : vrataṃ Ed.)*. The practice is also termed *pūrvasevā* ‘prior service’ or *sevā* ‘service’. See, e.g., *Niśvāsaguhya* f. 80v3: *japamānam eva māsenā pūrvasevā kṛtā bhavatīty evam ...*; f. 80r4: *pañcaviṃśasahasrāṇi japtvā vyomaśivasya tu | sarvapāpaviśuddhātmā kṛtasevo bhaviṣyati | sarvakarmasamarthaś ca; Svacchandatantrōddyota*, vol. 3 (Paṭala 7), p. 235, ll. 3–4: *pūrvasevārtham japapūjādhyānādi; Bāṇa, Harṣacarita* p. 184: *bhagavato mahākālahr̥dayanāmno mahāmantrasya kṛṣṇasragambarānulepanenākalpena kalpakathitena mahāśmaśāne japakoṭyā kṛtapūrvasevo ’smi*. In the norm, waived here, it is only after this preliminary practice that one may employ the Mantra for specific ends.

7a *ya ākāro* P<sub>2</sub> T/187:*ya ākāraḥ* As:*pa ākāraḥ* T/121:*ja ākāraḥ* P<sub>1</sub>:*trir ākāraḥ* conj. Ed<sup>P</sup> 7b *hṛdayaṃ* P<sub>2</sub> T/121:*hṛdayaḥ* P<sub>1</sub> As:*hṛdaya* T/187 • *sa nigadyate* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 T/187:*saṃnigadyate* P<sub>2</sub> 7c *tathekāraḥ* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187:*ṅvekāraḥ* T/121 • *śiraḥ prokta* T/187:*śiraḥ proktaḥ* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121:*proktaḥ* P<sub>2</sub> 7d *ūkāraś* P<sub>2</sub> T/121:*ukāraś* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187 8a *aikāraḥ* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/121:*aikāraṃ* T/187 • *kavacaṃ* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187:*kavaca* P<sub>1</sub>:*kavace* As • *jñeyaḥ* As P<sub>1</sub> T/121:*jñeyaṃ* P<sub>2</sub> T/187 8b *au ca* T/121:*oṃ ca* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>:*aiṃ ca* As:*ai* T/187 8c *astram aḥ* Codd.:*astram maḥ* Ed<sup>P</sup> 8d *phra* em.:*phraṃ* P<sub>1</sub>:*phre* As P<sub>2</sub>:*pre* T/187 Ed<sup>P</sup>:*phreṃ* T/121 • *pūrvataḥ* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187:*pūrvavat* T/121 9b *vadanti* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187:*vadanni* As:*vidanti* P<sub>1</sub>

(7) It is taught that the Heart [of the Mantra] is *Ā* with *anusvāraḥ* (Ṁ), the Head *Ī*, and the Hair-queue *Ū*. (8) Know that the Armour is *AI*. The [wise] know that *AU* is the Three Eyes. The Weapon is *AḤ*. [The initial consonant] here is *KH*; and *PHR* should be placed [after it] before [the vowels]. (9) They teach that the installation on the hands and body should be done with these for this Mantra.

The norms for the formation of Ancillaries require us to understand (1) that the *anusvāraḥ* should be added not only after the *Ā* of the Heart but after all except the Weapon, which ending in *Ḥ* does not receive this closure, and (2) that the prescription of the opening consonant cluster *KPHR* should be applied throughout. Thus we have the following: *KPHRĀṀ* [*HR̥DAYĀYA NAMAḤ*], *KPHRĪṀ* [*ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ*], *KPHRŪṀ* [*ŚIKHĀYAI VAṢAṬ*], *KPHRAIṀ* [*KAVACĀYA HUṀ*], *KPHRAUṀ* [*NETRATRAYĀYA VAUṢAṬ*], and *KPHRAḤ* [*ASTRĀYA PHAṬ*]. This creates an implausible anomaly, since it is normal practice to form the Ancillaries from the Seed-syllable of the main Mantra by substituting the six sounds *ĀṀ*, *ĪṀ*, *ŪṀ*, *AIṀ*, *AUṀ*, and *AḤ* for the vowel of that syllable.<sup>128</sup> Since the main Mantra has been given as *OM HRĪṀ MAHĀCANḌAYOGĒŚVARI PHAṬ*, that is to say, with *HRĪṀ* as its Seed-syllable, those of the Ancillaries should have been *HRĀṀ*, *HRĪṀ*, *HRŪṀ*, *HRAIṀ*, *HRAUṀ*, and *HRAḤ*. From the fact that the section on the Ancillaries has them begin with *KPHR* rather than *HR* we may infer that it is highly probable that the author who composed this section had as his main Mantra not *OM HRĪṀ MAHĀCANḌAYOGĒŚVARI PHAṬ* but *OM KPHREṀ MAHĀCANḌAYOGĒŚVARI PHAṬ*, which, as we shall see, conforms to the practice of the *Kālīkula*, and therefore that the substitution of *HRĪṀ* may be the result either of a conscious modification that was not carried through to the form of the Ancillaries, or, perhaps, of a scribal error. In the latter case it is conceivable that the word *māyābījam* in 2b (*māyābījam samuccaret*), denoting *HRĪṀ*, is a corruption of *mātrbījam* ‘the Seed

<sup>128</sup>The vowels *Ā*, *Ī*, *Ū*, *AI*, *AU*, and *AḤ* used in the Ancillaries are known as the six ‘long vowels’ as opposed to the five ‘short vowels’ (*A*, *I*, *U*, *E*, *O*) that are used in the same way to modify the main Mantra to create the five face-Mantras. See Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* 30.11 (*vaktrāṅgaṃ hrasvadīrghakaili*): *a i u e o iti pañca hrasvāḥ. ā ī ū ai au aḥ iti ṣaḍ dīrghāḥ. evam āpāta eva vacanād anyatrāpy aṅgavaktrāṅgāṃ iyam eva vārtety āveditam*; and BRUNNER 1986, p. 102.

of the Mothers', denoting KHPHREM.<sup>129</sup>

We are now told how the goddess should be visualized:

*śyāmām indudharām devīm ātāmranayanatrayām |*  
*10 vāme raktakapālaṃ ca triśūlaṃ dakṣiṇe tathā |*  
*kr̥śodarīm raktavastrām pīnastananitambinīm |*  
*11 padmāsthām yuvatiṃ dhyāyet smerāsyām atisundarīm |*  
*bhadrakālīm mahādevīm jayadātrīm suśitalām |*

9c śyāmām P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As: śāmām T/121: ⟨śyā⟩mā T/187 • indudharām As P<sub>2</sub> T/121: bindudharām P<sub>1</sub>: śadudharām T/187 9d ātāmra P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: ātāgra T/121 • trayām P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121: trayīm As T/187 11a yuvatiṃ T/187: yuvatiṃ P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 11d jayadātrīm P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: jagaddhātrīm T/121

(9c–11) He should visualize the goddess, Mahādevī Bhadrakālī, the tranquil bestower of victory, as an extremely beautiful young girl [seated] smiling on

<sup>129</sup>I can cite no instance of the use of *mātr̥bījāṃ* in this sense, but the concept that the syllable KHPHREM embodies the essence of the Mothers is well-attested. Thus *Tantrāloka* 30.45c–51: *akṣiṣaṇmunivargebhyo dvitīyāḥ saha bindunā | 46 yonyarṇena ca mātr̥nām sadbhāvaḥ kālakaṣiṇī | ādyojjhito vāpy antena varjito vātha saṇmataḥ | 47 jīvaḥ prāṇapuṭāntaḥsthaḥ kālānalasamadyutiḥ | atidīptas tu \*vāmānḡhrir (em.: vāmānḡhri Ed.) bhūṣito mūrdhni bindunā | 48 dakṣajānugataś cāyaṃ sarvāmātr̥gaṇārcitaḥ | anena prāṇitāḥ sarve dadate vāñchitaṃ phalam | 49 sadbhāvo paramo hy eṣa mātr̥nām bhairavasya ca | tasmād enaṃ japeṇ mantrī ya icchet siddhim uttamām | 50 rudraśaktisamāveśo nityam atra pratiṣṭhitaḥ | yasmād eṣā parā śaktir bhedenānyena kīrtitā | 51 yāvatyāḥ siddhayaḥ tantre tāḥ sarvāḥ kurute tv iyaṃ | aṅgavaktrāṇi cāpy asyāḥ prāḡvat svaraniyogataḥ* ‘The second [consonants] from the second, sixth, and seventh series [KH, PH, and R] with the Bindu [M] and the Yoni vowel [E] [form] Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī, the **Essence of the Mothers** (Mātr̥sadbhāva) [i.e. KHPHREM]. It is also approved without the first [of the three consonants, i.e. as PHREM] or also without the last [i.e. as PHEM]. [When] the same is [formed of] the vital principle [S] enclosed on either side by the breath [H] and radiant as the fire of the Aeon [+R], [followed by] the left foot [PH], burning brightly [+R], adorned upon its summit by Bindu [M] and conjoined with the right knee [E] [= HSHRPHREM], then it] is **venerated by the assembly of all the Mothers**. Any Mantra will grant whatever result one desires if it is brought to life by [the addition of] this [syllable]. For this is the **ultimate essence of the Mothers** and of Bhairava. Therefore it is this whose Japa the Mantrin should undertake if he seeks the supreme Siddhi [of liberation]. In it the state of immersion in the power of Rudra is eternally established. For this is proclaimed to be the [Trika’s] Śakti Parā in another form. She accomplishes all the Siddhis that have been taught in the Tantras. As for her [six] Ancillaries and [five] face-Mantras they are [to be formed] by adjusting [her] vowel in the manner taught above [for other Mantras]’. See also the term *mātr̥jāṃ calam* that denotes the syllable PHEM in the Trika’s *Tantrasadbhāva*, f. 22v2–3: *calaṃ tu mātr̥jāṃ cādyam taṃ pravakṣyāmi vistarāt | vāmapādaṃ [PH] samuddhṛtya bhinnam dakṣiṇajānunā [E] | bindunā [M] samalamkr̥tya amṛtārthe prayojayet*. One of these variants of the Mātr̥sadbhāva syllable, PHREM, was adopted as that of the appropriately named Viśvamātr̥ ‘Mother of the Universe’, the female consort of the Buddhist Tantric deity Kālacakra; see the Mantra OM A Ā AM AḤ HA HĀ HAM HAḤ HOḤ PHREM DAŚAPĀRAMITĀPŪRAṆI SVĀHĀ used in the file consecration (*paṭṭābhiṣekaḥ*) of the Kālacakra initiation (*Vimalaprabhā*, vol. 2, p. 92, ll. 12–13, explaining *Kālacakra* 3.96c: *śaktibhiḥ paṭṭam eva*), in which the ten syllables beginning with A and ending with PHREM embody the ten Śaktis in ascending order from Kṛṣṇadīptā to Viśvamātr̥; also CHANDRA 1991, fig. 724, a Tibetan drawing of Sna tshogs yum dkar mo (White Viśvamātr̥) with her Mantra below: OM PHREM (corr.: PHRAIM Ed.) VIŚVAMĀTAḤ . . .

a lotus, black, wearing the [digit of the new] moon [on her hair], with her three eyes slightly copperish in colour, with a skull filled with blood in her left hand and a trident in her right, slim-waisted, dressed in red, with full breasts and hips.

The king will achieve victory by worshipping her as follows:

12 *pūjayed āsurīpīṭhe syus tadāvaramāni ca |*  
*tryayutaṃ vāyutaṃ vāpi ghr̥tahomāj jayo bhavet |*  
 13 *ājyenāktāḥ palāśasya samidho vā huned budhaḥ |*  
*athavā japanāt tāvaj jayaḥ syān nātra saṃśayaḥ |*

**12b** *syus* As P<sub>1</sub> T/121 : *syās* P<sub>2</sub> T/187 **12c** *tryayutaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187 : *ayutaṃ* T/121 **12d** *homāj* As P<sub>2</sub> T/187 : *homārj* P<sub>1</sub> : *homāt* T/121 **13c** *japanāt* em. : *japanām tāvaj* P<sub>1</sub> As : *japanāmītāc ca* P<sub>2</sub> : *ja(pa + + +)* T/187 : *tapanāt. dvat* T/121

(12) He should worship her on the throne [prescribed for the worship] of Āsurī [Durgā]; and the circuits of [secondary deities] should also be those of that [goddess].<sup>130</sup> He will achieve victory by [then] offering her in the sacrificial fire 10,000 or 30,000 oblations of ghee. (13) Or the wise may offer kindling sticks of Palāśa wood (*Butea frondosa*) smeared with ghee. Alternatively he may conquer simply by repeating her Mantra the same number of times. Of this there is no doubt.

We are now taught the propitiation of a second Mantra of Bhadrakālī, which takes the form of two Anuṣṭubh verses:

<sup>130</sup>For the throne taught for Āsurī (the *āsurīpīṭhaḥ*) see the passage on this subject in Bhūdhara's *Āsurīdīpikā* (Ed<sup>P</sup> pp. 116, l. 8–117, l. 2, and p. 119, l. 22). It is to be built up by uttering Mantras of obeisance (...NAMAḤ) to the following in the order of ascent: Maṇḍūka, Kālāgnirudra, Kūrma, Ādhāraśakti, Vārāha, Pṛthivī, Hayagrīva, Kṣīrārṇava, Ratnadvīpa, \*Maṇipāṇḍara (?), Maṇimaṇḍapa, Ratnavedikā, Kalpadruma, Sarvatobhadrakāla, Ratnasimha, the eight *buddhidharmāḥ* beginning with Dharma and ending with Anaiśvarya, Ananta, Ānandakandala, the lotus, its petals, its filaments, and its pericarp, and, on the pericarp, the discs of the sun, moon, and fire, the three Guṇas (*sattvam*, *rajaḥ*, and *tamaḥ*), the four Ātmans (*ātmā*, *antarātmā*, *parātmā*, and *jñānātmā*), and the four Tattvas (*kālatattvam*, *māyātattvam*, *vidyātattvam*, and *paratattvam*). Then one is to install the following eight Śaktis on the filaments: Prabhā, Māyā, Jayā, Sūkṣmā, Viśuddhā, Nanditā, Subhadrā, Vijayā; and the Śakti Siddhipradā at their centre. He completes the *āsurīpīṭhaḥ* by uttering the Siṃhamantra, invoking the 'great lion [of Durgā] whose weapons are his adamantine claws and fangs'. See also Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 47–48, giving only the Śaktis (with Nandinī and Suprabhā rather than Nanditā and Subhadrā, and with Sarvasiddhidā rather than Siddhipradā). The circuits of Āsurī's secondary deities are as follows (Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 47): (1) her six Ancillaries, which in the case of Bhadrakālī would be replaced by her own; (2) Āryā, Durgā, Bhadrā, Bhadrakālī, Ambikā, Kṣemā, Vedagarbhā, and Kṣemaṅkarī (see Bhūdhara, Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 212, l. 19); (3) [the attributes of her hands (*āyudhāḥ*):] the gesture of protection (for *abhir* in Ed<sup>P</sup> p. 48, l. 11 read *abhir*), the gesture of generosity, the sword, the shield, the arrow, the bow, the trident, and the skull-bowl (*kapālam*); (4) the eight Mothers from Brāhmī to Mahālakṣmī; (5) the ten Dikpālas (from Indra in the East to Ananta and Brahmā at the nadir and zenith); and (6) the Dikpālas' weapons.

14 *bhadrakālī bhavetyasya ṛgdvayasya vidhiṃ bruve |*  
*pūrovaat sarvam atra syād viniyogo 'sya māraṇe |*  
 15 *jaye vā viniyogaḥ syād dhomena japanena vā |*  
 BHADRAKĀLĪ BHAVĀBHĪṢṬABHADRASIDDHIPRADĀYINĪ |  
 16 SAPATNĀN ME HANA HANA DAHA ŚOṢAYA TĀPAYA |  
 ŚŪLĀSĪAKTIVAJRĀDYAIR UTKṚTYOTKṚTYA MĀRAYA |  
 17 MAHĀDEVI MAHĀKĀLĪ RAKṢĀSMĀN AKṢATĀTMIKE |  
*ṛṣir bhṛguḥ syād etasya chando 'nuṣṭup prakīrtitam |*  
 18 *devatā bhadrakālīti bījāni vyañjanāni ca |*  
*svaṛāḥ śaktaya ucyante ājyahomāj jayo bhavet |*  
 19 *māraṇaṃ kaṭutailena homena bhavati dhruvam |*  
*māyābījena kartavyo nyāsaś caiva karāṅgayoḥ |*

**14b** *ṛgdvayasya* T/121: *rugdvayasya* As P<sub>2</sub>: *ṛgbhayasya* T/187: *ruyasya* P<sub>1</sub> **14c** *sarvam atra* conj.: *sarvamantraḥ* P<sub>1</sub>: *sarvamantra* As P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187 **15c** *bhadrakālī* P<sub>1</sub>: *bhadrakālī* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187 **15d** *pradāyini* As P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *pradānī* P<sub>1</sub> **17b** *rakṣāsmān* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *rakṣyāsmān* P<sub>1</sub>: *rakṣyāsmī* As • *akṣatātmike* conj. (cf. here 23c: *akṣatām bhāvayann etām svayam akṣatātām iyāt*): *akṣatrātmike* T/121: *rakṣatātmike* As: *anta ambike* P<sub>1</sub>: *aṣitātmike* P<sub>2</sub> T/187 **17c** *ṛṣir* corr.: *ruṣir* As P<sub>1</sub>: *rupir* P<sub>2</sub>: *ṛṣi* T/121 T/187 • *etasya* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *evasya* As: *evāsya* P<sub>1</sub> **18d** *ājyahomāj* As P<sub>2</sub> T/187: *lājahomāj* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 **19cd** *kartavyo nyāsaś* conj.: *kartavyā nyāsaś* Codd.

(14) I shall now teach the rite of the two-verse Mantra that begins BHADRAKĀLĪ BHAVA. Everything in this case is as with the preceding [Mantra]. Its application should be in killing [the enemy] or conquering [him], through fire sacrifice or [merely] through its repetition: (15c) BHADRAKĀLĪ, GRANT THE EXCELLENT SIDDHI THAT I DESIRE. KILL, KILL, BURN, DESICCATE, AND SCORCH MY RIVALS. KILL THEM BY CUTTING THEM TO PIECES WITH THE TRIDENT, SWORD, THUNDERBOLT AND OTHER [WEAPONS IN YOUR HANDS]. PROTECT ME, GREAT GODDESS MAHĀKĀLĪ, YOU WHOSE NATURE IS [TO REMAIN EVER] UNSCATHED.<sup>131</sup> (17c) The Ṛṣi is Bhṛgu. It is taught that the metre is the Anuṣṭubh. The deity is Bhadrakālī, the Seeds are the vowels, and the Śaktis are the consonants. (18d) Victory is [accomplished] by a fire sacrifice of ghee. (19) [Alternatively] he may offer white mustard-oil into the fire. By this means he will certainly bring about [his enemy's] death.<sup>132</sup> He should use the Māyābija [HRĪM] to install [the power of the deity] in his hands and body.

When worshipped with it the goddess should be visualized as follows:

<sup>131</sup>These two verses are also taught for use in hostile ritual in *Prapañcasāra* 32.38–39 and *Śāradātīlaka* 22.145–146, with the difference that in the first line the editions have *bhavābhīṣṭe bhadrasiddhipradāyini*.

<sup>132</sup>The variant of P<sub>1</sub> and T/121 specifies that the substance offered should be parched grain (*lājahomāj jayo bhavet*).

20 *śūlāsīśaktivojvrāṇi śaṅkhacakradhanuḥśarān |*  
*dhārayantī mahākālī ghorā vikaṭadamṣṭrikā |*  
 21 *calajjihvā mahātunḍī lambamānapayodharā |*  
*mukhād vahnīm vamanṭī ca trāsayantī jagattrayīm |*  
 22 *dhāvanti nighnatī śatruṃ dhyeyā yuddhe jayaiṣiṇā |*

*vajrāṇi* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 : *vajrāsri* T/187 : *vajrāṣi* P<sub>2</sub> **20c** *dhārayantī* Codd. : *mārayantī* Ed<sup>P</sup> **21a** *calajjihvā* P<sub>2</sub> T/187 : *calajihvā* P<sub>1</sub> : *calajijijñā* As : *lalajihvā* T/121 • *mahātunḍī* T/121 : *mandatundī* T/187 : *maṇdatundī* P<sub>2</sub> : *manyatundī* As : *manyatulī* P<sub>1</sub> **21b** *lambamāna* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187 : *lambina* As : *vilambita* P<sub>1</sub> **21c** *vahnīm* P<sub>1</sub> : *varhni* T/121 : *vakniṃ* As<sup>ac</sup> : *vagniṃ* As<sup>pc</sup> : *va* + T/187 : *ya* P<sub>2</sub> • *vamanṭī* P<sub>1</sub> As : *vamanṭi* P<sub>2</sub> : *vamantrī* T/121 : *vamantri* T/187 **21d** *jagattrayīm* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187 : *jagatrayīm* T/121 : *jagatrayaṃ* P<sub>2</sub> **22a** *nighnatī* T/187 : *nīghnatī* T/121 : *jighnatī* P<sub>2</sub> As<sup>pc</sup> : *vighnatī* P<sub>1</sub> As<sup>ac</sup> • *śatruṃ* P<sub>2</sub> As T/187 : *śatrūn* P<sub>1</sub> : *śakuṃ* T/121 **22b** *dhyeyā* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187 : *dhyayā* T/121 • *yuddhe* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187 : *śuddhe* As • *jayaiṣiṇā* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187 : *jayīṣiṇā* P<sub>1</sub>

(20–22b) One who desires victory in battle should visualize Mahākālī holding a trident, a sword, a Vajra, a conch, a discus, a bow, and arrows, terrible, with huge fangs, darting tongue, large nose, and pendulous breasts, spewing fire from her mouth, terrifying the three worlds, running towards and slaughtering his enemy.

The result:

*gajaṃ vā vājinaṃ vāpi samārūḍho mahāraṇe |*  
 23 *dhyāyann etāṃ bhadrakālīm japan mantram ripuṃ jayet |*  
*akṣatām bhāvayann etāṃ svayam akṣatatām iyāt |*  
 24 *trṇakūṭaṃ yathā vātyā preritaṃ śīghratām vrajet |*  
*japato dhyāyataś cāgre parasainyaṃ palāyate |*  
 25 *na cāsti japasaṃkhyātra niyamaś ca na vidyate |*  
*dhyāyann etāṃ japan mantram parasenāṃ jayaty aho |*  
 26 *tasmād yatnena bhūpālo vidyām etāṃ samabhyaset |*  
*durbalo 'pi balīyāṃsaṃ yatprasādād ripuṃ jayet |*

**22c** *mahāraṇe* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187 : *mahāruṇe* P<sub>1</sub> **23a** *bhadrakālīm* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187 : *mahākālīm* P<sub>1</sub> Ed<sup>P</sup> **23b** *japan* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 T/187 : *japanan* P<sub>2</sub> **23d** *akṣatatām iyāt* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187 : *akṣatasamiyāt* As **24b** *śīghratām vrajet* P<sub>2</sub> T/187 : *śīghraśaṃbhavet* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 : *śīghratām bhavet* As **24c** *dhyāyataś cāgre* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 : *dhyāyatasyāgre* P<sub>2</sub> T/187 : *dhyāyatayāgre* As **25b** *japasaṃkhyātra* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187 : *japaraṃkhyātra* As : *japasaṃkhyāni* P<sub>1</sub> **25c** *japan mantram* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187 : *jayet sarvaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> : *bhadrakālīm* As **26a** *yatnena* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187 : *yatavoṃ* P<sub>1</sub> **26b** *vidyām* As P<sub>2</sub>? T/121 T/187 : *vijñam* P<sub>1</sub> • *samabhyaset* : P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187 : *samabhūset* T/121

(22c) If he visualizes this Bhadrakālī and repeats her Mantra when he is in the midst of a great battle mounted on his elephant or horse he will conquer the enemy. (23c) If he meditates on her as the Unscathed (*akṣatā*) he will himself be unscathed. (24) Just as a pile of grass moves at speed when blown by the wind so the army of the enemy flees in the presence of one who repeats [this

Mantra] while visualizing [her thus]. (25) There is no [prescribed] number of repetitions; nor are there any restrictions [to be observed]. Behold, [simply] by repeating the Mantra while visualizing this [goddess] he will defeat the enemy's army. (26) Therefore a king should make efforts to practise this Vidyā repeatedly. For by its favour even if his own forces are weak he will overcome the mightiest of foes.

Now a third Mantra is taught:

27 *atha mantrāntaram tasyā bhadrakālyā nigadyate |*  
*yasya prasādān nṛpatir ekacchatrī bhaved bhuvi |*  
 28 *bhadrakālīpadasyānte jayamdehipadam vadet |*  
*phaḍanto 'yaṃ mahāmantra ghorayuddhe jayapradah |*  
 29 *asyāṅgirā ṛṣiḥ proktaś chando 'nuṣṭup prakīrtitam |*  
*devatā bhadrakālī yā jayadurgeti gīyate |*  
 30 *hrīṃ bījaṃ phaṭ ca śaktiḥ syād viniyogo jaye mataḥ |*  
*śaktyā kuryāt ṣaḍ aṅgāni pratyakṣaram athocyate |*  
 31 *mastake ca lalāṭe ca mukhe kaṅṭha urasy api |*  
*udare ca tathā liṅge ūrudvandve padadvaye |*  
 32 *itthaṃ pratyakṣaram nyasya bhadrakālī svayaṃ bhavet |*  
*tataḥ samastamantreṇa vyāpakam vighrahe nyaset |*

**28a** *bhadrakālī* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>: *bhadrakālī* T/121 T/187: *bhadrakālī* As **28b** *jayam* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/121: *jaya* T/187 • *padam* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121: *pade* T/187: *prade* As **28d** *jayapradah* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>: *'bhayapradah* As Ed<sup>P</sup> **29a** *asyāṅgirā* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *aṅgirāsyā* T/121 • *ṛṣiḥ* T/121 T/187: *ruṣiḥ* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As • *proktaś* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *proktaś* T/121 **29d** *chando 'nuṣṭup* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *chando 'nuṣṭut* T/121 • *prakīrtitam* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/121: *prakīrtitam* T/187 **30a** *hrīṃ* conj.: *krīṃ* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187: *hūṃ* P<sub>1</sub> • *phaṭ ca* P<sub>2</sub>?: *phaṭ* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *phaṭa* As • *syād* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *syāt* T/121 **30b** *mataḥ* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *namaḥ* As **30d** *pratyakṣaram athocyate* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/121: *pratyakṣarayathocyate* T/187 **31b** *mukhe* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187 As: *mukha* P<sub>1</sub> • *urasy* P<sub>1</sub> As: *ūrasy* T/121: *tarasy* P<sub>2</sub>: *(tara)sy* T/187 **31d** *ūru* P<sub>2</sub> T/187: *uru* P<sub>1</sub> As: *ur* T/121 • *dvandve* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>? T/121 T/187: *dvande* As **32a** *itthaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>? T/121 T/187: *itham* As **32d** *vighrahe*: P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *vighraṃ* T/121

(27) Now I shall teach [you] another Mantra of this [goddess] Bhadrakālī, by whose favour a king enjoys unchallenged sovereignty on earth. (28) He should utter JAYAM DEHI after BHADRAKĀLĪ ('O BHADRAKĀLĪ, GRANT VICTORY'). This great Mantra, when PHAṬ is placed at its end, bestows victory [even] in [the most] terrible battle. (29) It is taught that its Ṛṣi is Aṅgiras and its metre the Anuṣṭubh. Its deity is the Bhadrakālī called Jayadurgā. (30) Its Seed is HRĪM, its Śakti is PHAṬ, and its application is held to be [in rites] for victory. He should install the six Ancillaries using the Śakti[-syllable]. Now I shall teach [the *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ*, that is to say,] how the syllables [of the Mantra] should be installed one by one. (31) [They are to be placed] on the head, the forehead, the mouth, the throat, the chest, the belly, the genital organ, the two thighs, and the two feet [respectively]. (32) By installing

[the Mantra] syllable by syllable in this way he will become Bhadrakālī herself. He should follow this with the Pervasive [Installation] (*vyāpakanyāsaḥ*), which he should do with the whole Mantra upon his body [as a whole].

She should be visualized in the same form as for the first Mantra:

33 *bālām kālīm raktavastrām kupitām candrasekharām |*  
*dakṣiṇe dadhatīm sūlam vāme rudhirakarparam |*  
 34 *padme padmāsanām devīm bhadrakālīm smared raṇe |*

33a *kālīm* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 : *bālīm* T/187 : *balīm* P<sub>2</sub> 33b *śekharām* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187 : *sekharām* T/121  
 33c *dakṣiṇe dadhatīm* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 : *dadhatīm dakṣiṇe* P<sub>2</sub> : *dadhatī dakṣiṇe* T/187 33d *karparam* P<sub>2</sub>  
 T/121 T/187 As : *kharparam* P<sub>1</sub>

In the battle he should visualize Bhadrakālī as a young girl, black, dressed in red, furious, with the moon on her hair, holding a trident in her right hand and a skull-bowl full of blood in her left, seated on a lotus in the lotus-posture.

The text now gives instruction in the context and form of her propitiation. The context is the period of two weeks leading up to the commencement of the annual season of military campaigns after the passing of the monsoon, from the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina (*mūlāṣṭamī*) to the 'Great Eighth' (*mahāṣṭamī*), the eighth of the light fortnight of the same month; and the form is a daily programme in which the king is to worship the goddess (*pūjā*), repeat her Mantra (*japaḥ*), and make 10,000 oblations of parched grain into the fire (*homaḥ*), with 30,000 oblations of ghee at the end of the period, presumably on the 'Great Ninth', the day on which the Navarātra, the annual nine-day Durgā festival, reaches its climax.<sup>133</sup> This is a demanding course of worship; but in a manner characteristic of the *Āṅgirasakalpa* texts, the Paippalādins did not insist that their royal patrons should enact it in full, allowing that if a ruler is unable to do all this, he may omit the fire-sacrifices and do only the *pūjā* [, *dhyānam*, and *japaḥ*], or only [the *dhyānam* and] the *japaḥ*, or even only the *dhyānam*, and then only as he goes into battle. The last is an extreme concession from the Tantric point of view, since that envisages as the limit of the condensation of worship the repetition of a Mantra without an accompanying visualization, but never, to my knowledge, visualization without Mantra:

*evam vicintayen mantrī yāgam antar vidhāya ca |*  
 35 *japed arcet prajuhuyāl lājānām ayutaṃ sudhīḥ |*  
*mūlāṣṭamīm samārabhya bhaved yāvan mahāṣṭamī |*  
 36 *tāvad etām prapūjyājyaṃ tryayutaṃ juhuyān nr̥paḥ |*  
*sarvān ripūn vijityāyaṃ bhūṅkte rājyam akaṅṭakam |*  
 37 *etat kṛtvā purā śakro 'py asurāñ jitavān svayam |*

<sup>133</sup>On the Navarātra festival, a pan-Indian royal tradition, see, e.g., EINO 1999 and LEVY 1990, pp. 523–576.

*homāśaktau caret pūjāṃ tadaśaktau japed budhah |*  
 38 *kevalaṃ cintayed enāṃ japāśaktau raṇe vrajan |*  
*niyataṃ jayam āpnoti na vicāryam idaṃ vacah |*

**34c** *vicintayan* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As: *vicintayan* T/187 : *vicintyayan* T/121 **34d** *yāgam antar vidhāya ca* em.: *yāgamāntra vidhāya ca* T/121: *yāgamantaravāyā* T/187: *yāgamāntraṃ vidhyāya ca* P<sub>2</sub> As: *yā?dha?mantraṃ vidhyāya ca* P<sub>1</sub> **35a** *prajuhuyāl* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *prajūhuyāt* T/121 **35b** *ayutaṃ* As P<sub>2</sub>? T/121 T/187: *ayutām* P<sub>1</sub> **35c** *mūlāṣṭamīṃ* P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *mūlāṣṭamī* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 **35d** *bhaved* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *bhavedd* T/121 **36a** *prapūjyājyaṃ* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121: *prapūjyājyaṃ* T/187: *prapūjyāṃti* P<sub>1</sub> **36b** *juhuyān* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *juhuyā* T/121 **36c** *sarvān ripūn* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/187: *sarvātripūn* As: *sarvatripūn* T/121 • *vijityāyaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *vijityāya* T/121 **36d** *bhunkte* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *bhukte* T/121 • *akaṣṭakam* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *akaṣṭakam* As **37a** *śakro* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As: *śatro* T/187: *śukro* T/121 • *etat kṛtvā* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187: *etatkṛtye* P<sub>1</sub> **37b** *asurān* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>? T/121 T/187: *asurāṃ* As **37c** *caret* P<sub>1</sub> T/121: *japet* P<sub>2</sub> As T/187 **37d** *tadaśaktau* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *daśaktau* T/121 **38b** *japāśaktau* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187: *japāśakto* P<sub>1</sub> • *vrajan* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187: *vrajet* P<sub>1</sub>

(34c) The Mantrin should meditate [on her] in this form. Then, when the wise one has worshipped her internally he should repeat her Mantra, worship her [externally], and offer 10,000 oblations of parched grain into the fire. This should be [repeated every day] from the eighth day of the dark half of Āśvina (*mūlāṣṭamī*) to the eighth of the bright half of the same (*mahāṣṭamī*). (36) After worshipping her during this period the king should offer 30,000 oblations of ghee. He will [then] defeat all his enemies and enjoy untroubled sovereignty. (37) Indra too did this in former times and so defeated the Asuras. If he is unable to do the fire sacrifice he may do [only] the act of worship (*pūjā*) [and the repetition of her Mantra]. If the wise one is unable to do [even] that then he may do [only] the repetition of her Mantra (*japah*). (38) If he is unable to do [even] that he may simply visualize her as he goes into battle. He will certainly attain victory. This statement should not be questioned.

Alternatively he can ensure victory by going to war wearing a Yantra of this Mantra-goddess as an amulet on his arm:<sup>134</sup>

<sup>134</sup>The Sanskrit term *yantram* refers to a Mantra-inscribed diagram that may be engraved or written in various colours and with various inks on a strip of metal, cloth, birchbark, the hides of various animals and the like, wrapped up, and then employed in various ways, by being worn as an amulet, by being buried in a cremation ground, and so on, for purposes such as warding off ills, harming an enemy, or forcing a person to submit to the user's will. Cf. the definition in NANJUNDAYYA and IYER 1928–1936, vol. 2, p. 425: "Charms are written, engraved, on a small metal plate which is either rolled or enclosed in a small case which is fastened to a thread to be made fit for wearing. It is called a yantram (that which holds, restrains, or fastens). Yantrams are usually drawn on thin plates of gold, silver, copper led [sic] and sometimes on a piece of cadjan leaf, and the efficacy of the figures when drawn on a gold leaf will last for 100 years, while those on the less precious metals will last for a year or six months. Leaden plates are used when the yantrams are to be buried underground. The figures should possess the symbols of

39 *athavā yantram etasyā haste baddhvā ripum jayet |*  
*haimapaṭṭagate padme madhye māyāṃ phaḍ ity api |*  
 40 *daleṣu vilikhed aṣṭau mantravarṇān pṛthak pṛthak |*  
*dalānte varmabījāni mātrkābhiś ca veṣṭayet |*  
 41 *yantram etat kare baddhvā sūlinam jetum īśvaraḥ |*  
*pūjayed vidhinā yantram sahasram juhuyād ghr̥taiḥ |*  
 42 *tāvad eva japam kṛtvā yantram baddhvā raṇe viśet |*  
*durgāpīthe 'rcayed durgām vidhinā vidhivittamaḥ |*

39a *yantram* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 T/187: *mantram* P<sub>1</sub> • *etasyā* conj.: *etasya* Codd. Ed<sup>P</sup> 39cd *madhye* As P<sub>2</sub>? T/121 T/187: *madhya* P<sub>1</sub> • *māyāṃ* As P<sub>2</sub>? T/121 T/187: *māyā* P<sub>1</sub> 40a *daleṣu* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>? As T/121: *daleṣṭa* T/187 40b *varṇān* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>? T/187: *varṇā* T/121: *mantram* As: *mantrān* Ed<sup>P</sup> • *pṛthak pṛthak* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>? T/121 T/187: *pṛthak* As 40d *mātrkābhiś* P<sub>1</sub> As T/187: *mā + kābhis* T/187: *mākābhiś* P<sub>2</sub> 41a *yantram* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121: *mantram* P<sub>2</sub> T/187 • *etat*: P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *eta* T/121 • *baddhvā*: P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>? As T/121: *baddhvāt* T/187 41b *jetum* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187: *petum* P<sub>1</sub> 41d *ghr̥taiḥ* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121: *ataiḥ* P<sub>2</sub> T/187 42c *pīthe* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *pāṭhe* T/121 42d *vidhinā* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 T/187: *vidhi* P<sub>2</sub> • *vidhivittamaḥ* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/187: *vidhivattamaḥ* As T/121

(39) Or he may defeat the enemy by attaching a Yantra of this [goddess] to his arm. He should draw Māyā [HRĪM] PHAṬ in the centre of an eight-petal lotus [painted] on a strip of gold. (40) On each of the petals he should write one of the [eight] syllables of the Mantra [BHA, DRA, KĀ, LI, JA, YAṀ, DE, HI], and the armour-Seed (*varmabījam = kavacam*) [HUM] on the tip of each of the petals. He should set around it the [eight] Mother goddesses [Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Aindrī, Cāmuṇḍā, and Mahālakṣmī]. (41) If he attaches this Yantra to his arm he will be able to conquer the Trident-wielder himself. He should worship the Yantra following the prescribed procedure, make a thousand oblations of ghee in the fire, (42) repeat the Mantra the same number of times, tie it on, and enter the battle. Most learned in rites he should worship [this] Durgā according to rule on the throne [prescribed] for Durgā.

The text then teaches the propitiation of a fourth and final Mantra, Bhadrakālī's monosyllabic Great Seed (*mahābījamaṅtraḥ*) HSKHPHREM:

43 *ataḥ param mahābījam bhadrakālyā nigadyate |*  
*yatprasādān mahīpālo mahāntam jayam aśnute |*  
 44 *hakāraś ca sakāraś ca khakāraś ca tataḥ param |*  
*phakāraś ca tathā rephas tathaikārah sabindukah |*  
 45 *saptavarṇam mahābījam bhadrakālyāḥ prakīrtyate |*  
*jayadāyimahāmantraṅṅesv eṣa mahāmanuḥ |*  
 46 *bhadrakālīmahābījam avāśyam vijayapradam |*

life: the eyes, tongue, eight cardinal points of the compass and the five cardinal points. When properly made and subjected to a routine of *pūjās* by a magician (*mantravādi*), it is supposed to possess occult powers. Each yantram is in honour of some particular deity, and when that deity is worshipped and the yantram is worn, the wearer's object is satisfied".

44d *tathaikārah sabimdukaḥ* As P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187 : *tathaikārasya bimdukaḥ* P<sub>2</sub> 45a *saptavarṇam* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187 : *satvavarṇam* P<sub>1</sub> : *samastavarṇa* As (45ab is lacking in EdP) • *mahābījam* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187 : *hābījam* As 45c *jayadāyi* P<sub>2</sub> As T/187 : *jayadāpi* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/187 : *jayadākṣi* T/121 46a *bhadrakālī* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187 : *bhadrakālīḥ* T/121

(43) Next I shall teach you the Great Seed (*mahābījam*) of Bhadrakālī, by whose favour the king will achieve the greatest of victories. (44) Her Great Seed is taught as having seven sounds: H and S, then KH, PH, R and E with M. This is the greatest of all the great Mantras that bestow victory. (46) The Great Seed of Bhadrakālī inevitably grants this result.

Here too the king is spared the inconvenience of elaborate ceremonies. He is promised that he will emerge from battle unscathed and victorious simply by repeating this syllable while meditating on and thereby assimilating its transcendental essence and infinite power, with or without the accompanying visualization of Bhadrakālī's form:

*bhadram sukham iti proktaṃ tat paraṃ brahma kīrtitam |*  
 47 *kālī tamomayī śaktiḥ sā ca saṃhāriṇī smṛtā |*  
*saṃhāraśaktisaṃyuktaṃ paraṃ brahma yad ucyate |*  
 48 *bhadrakālīpadenaitan munibhiḥ pariḡyate |*  
*bhadrakālīmahābījam api tasyābhidhāyakam |*  
 49 *hakāro jīva ity uktaḥ sakāro brahma kathyate |*  
*tayor aikyaṃ paraṃ brahma khakāreṇābhidhīyate |*  
 50 *phrem syāt saṃhāriṇī śaktis tatpradhānam hi cetanam |*  
*bhadrakālīpadenāpi mahābījena cocyate |*  
 51 *saṃhāraśaktimad brahma mahābījārtha iṣyate |*  
*saṃhartā ca vidhātā ca sthitikartā ca saṃsmṛtaḥ |*  
 52 *haṃsaḥ so 'haṃ mahābījapadārtham paribhāvayan |*  
*mahābījam japen mantrī svayaṃ saṃhāraśaktimān |*  
 53 *paramātmā bhavan rājā jayam prāpnoti cākṣayam |*  
*athavā bhadrakāly eva ghorarūpā svayaṃ bhavet |*  
 54 *mahābījam japan rājā jayam eti na saṃśayaḥ |*  
*na homo na balir nārcā na ca tarpaṇam iṣyate |*  
 55 *dhyānāj japāc ca so 'vaśyaṃ nṛpatir jayam aśnute |*  
*bhadrakālīmahābījadhyānam samyag vadāmy aham |*  
 56 *yatprasādān mahādevo 'py ātmārim ajayad bhṛṣam |*  
*kālī raktāambarātyuccā pīnaśroṇipayodharā |*  
 57 *kṛṣodarī mahāvīryā trijagadgrasanaksamā |*  
*samarābhīmukhī devī caṇḍikā caṇḍavikramā |*  
 58 *bhīṣanā śavapṛsthasthapadme dattapadā sthitā |*  
*pañcavaktrānuvaktraṃ ca tāmrasthūlatrinetrakā |*  
 59 *ūrdhvabāhūtaladvandve dhṛtaṃ śatrum adhomukham |*  
*pañcavaktramahādamaṣṭrāvīmśatyā pīḍitaṃ ripum |*  
 60 *bhūyo bhūyaḥ pīḍayantī mahākopabhareṇa ca |*

*dakṣe 'dhaḥkramataḥ śūlam anikuśaṃ śaram eva ca |*  
 61 *khadgaṃ ca dadhatī dorbhir vāme 'dhaḥkramatas tathā |*  
*raktapātraṃ ca pāśaṃ ca dhanuḥ khetakam eva ca |*  
 62 *evaṃ daśabhujā bhīmā bhadrakālī jayapradā |*  
*dhyātavyā bhūmipālena saṃgrāme jayam icchatā |*  
 63 *bhadrakālīmahābījaṃ japatā prāpyate jayaḥ |*  
*dhyānāśakto 'vanīpālaḥ kevalaṃ bījam abhyaset |*  
*tathāpi jayam āpnoti nātra kāryā vicāraṇā |*

## ITY ĀṄGIRASE BHADRAKĀLĪMANTRAVIDHIḤ

**46c** *bhadraṃ sukham* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *bhadrasukham* P<sub>1</sub> As **47a** *tamomayī* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *tamomayā* T/121 **47b** *smṛtā* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *smṛtāḥ* As **47c** *saṃhāra* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *saṃhā* T/121 • *saṃyuktaṃ* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187: *saṃyuktāṃ* P<sub>1</sub> **47d** *brahma* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *brahmā* T/121 **48b** *munibhiḥ* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *mūnibhiḥ* As: *mahāmunibhi* P<sub>1</sub> **48c** *bhadrakālī* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187: *mahākālī* P<sub>1</sub> **49a** *hakāro* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *haṃkāra* T/121 • *jīva* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As: *bīja* T/121 T/187 **50a** *phreṃ* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121: *phre* P<sub>2</sub>: *pre* T/187 **50b** *hi* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187 As: *ca* P<sub>2</sub> • *cetanaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *tetanaṃ* T/121 **50c** *padenāpi* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *panenāpi* T/121 **50d** *cocyate* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *nocyate* T/121 **51a** *saṃhāra* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *sahāra* As • *śaktimad* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *śaktiyad* T/121 **51b** *mahābījārtha* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/187: *mahāvīryārtha* As: *mahābījārtham* T/121 **51c** *vidhātā* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187: *vidhartā* P<sub>1</sub> **51d** *saṃsmṛtaḥ* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187: *sa smṛte* P<sub>1</sub> **52a** *mahābīja* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *mahāvīta* As **52b** *padārthaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/121: *padārtha* T/187 **53b** *jayaṃ prāpnoti* P<sub>2</sub>? As T/121 T/187: *jayam āpnoti* P<sub>1</sub> • *cākṣayaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121: *cākṣataṃ* P<sub>2</sub> T/187 **53c** *eva* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *e* As **53b** *bhavet* P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *bhavan* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 **54b** *jayam eti* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>? T/187: *jayam iti* As: *jayanet(i)* T/121 **54c** *balir* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 T/187: *balī* P<sub>2</sub> **54d** *iṣyate* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>? As T/187: *āpsite* T/121 **55a** *ca so 'vaśyaṃ conj.*: *cāvaśyaṃ* T/121 T/187: *ca nāvaśyaṃ* As: *cāvaranyaṃ* P<sub>1</sub>: *cāvaśaṃ* P<sub>2</sub> **55c** *samyag vadāmy ahaṃ* As T/121 T/187: *samāpyadāmy aham* P<sub>1</sub>: illegible in P<sub>2</sub> **56b** *ātmārim ajayad* T/187: *ātmārāmaṃjayad* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>: *ātmārāmojayad* T/121: *ātmābhimajjayad* As • *bhṛśaṃ* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *bhruśaṃ* As: *bhuśaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> **56c** *kālī* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121: omitted in P<sub>2</sub> T/187 • *uccā* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/121: *ucca* T/187 **57c** *samarābhimukhī* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/121: *samarābhimukhā* T/187 **58a** *śavapṛṣṭhastha* P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *śavapṛṣṭhasya* P<sub>1</sub>: *śavapṛṣṭhasthā* As **58b** *dattapadā* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 T/187: *dantapadā* P<sub>2</sub> As **58d** *tāmra* T/187: *tāmbra* P<sub>2</sub> T/121: *tāma* P<sub>1</sub>: *trāsa* As **59a** *taladvandve* T/187: *taladvandva* As T/121: *talakanva* P<sub>1</sub>: unclear in P<sub>2</sub> **59b** *śatrum* P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *mṛtam* P<sub>1</sub>: *ripum* T/121 **59d** *viṃśatyā* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>? T/187: *viṃśatyo* T/121: *viśatyā* As **60c** *dakṣe* P<sub>2</sub>? As T/121 T/187: *dīkṣe* P<sub>1</sub> **61a** *dadhatī* As P<sub>2</sub>? T/121 T/187: *dadhati* P<sub>1</sub> **62a** *daśabhujā* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *daśabhūjā* As **63b** *japatā* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *japatāṃ* As **63c** *dhyānāśakto* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 T/187: *dhyānāśaktau* P<sub>2</sub> **63d** *bījam* P<sub>2</sub>? As T/187: *bija* T/121: *rvam* P<sub>1</sub> **63f** *kāryyā* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *karyyā* As **Colophon** *bhadrakālīmantravidhiḥ* As P<sub>1</sub> T/187: *bhadrakālīmahābījavidhiḥ* P<sub>2</sub> T/121

We are taught that the word *bhadra*- [in *Bhadrakālī*] means 'bliss'; and bliss is declared [in the scriptures] to be the [nature of the] highest Brahma. (47) [The word] *-kālī* [in her name, meaning 'black', denotes] the power that embodies the [Guṇa] darkness (*tamaḥ*); and that, we are taught, is [the power]

that destroys. (48) [So] the sages have used the word Bhadrakālī to denote this highest Brahma conjoined with the power to destroy. The Great Seed of Bhadrakālī has the same meaning. (49) [For of its constituents] H means the individual soul, S means Brahma, and KH expresses the highest Brahma that is the unity of these two, (50) while PHREṀ [denotes its] destructive power. For in the conscious it is this [urge to resorb] that is predominant. [Thus] both the name Bhadrakālī and [her] Great Seed denote Brahma endowed with the power of destruction. (51b–52a) We hold [further] that the meaning of the Great Seed is [not only Brahma in destructive mode but also that of the Mantra] HAṀSAḤ SO 'HAM which is held to be [the embodiment of] the destroyer [Rudra] [but] also [of] the creator [Brahmā], and the preserver [Viṣṇu].<sup>135</sup> (52b) The Mantrin should repeat the Great Seed while meditating on its meaning. [Thereby] the king will himself become one with the Supreme Soul endowed with the power of destruction, or one with Bhadrakālī of terrible nature, and so he will obtain undying victory. (54) There is no doubt that the king will be victorious [simply] by repeating the Great Seed. No offerings into fire (*homaḥ*) are required, nor animal-sacrifices (*balih*), nor worship (*arcā*), nor gratification with libations (*tarpaṇam*). (55) Visualization [of the goddess's form] and repetition [of her Mantra] are sufficient to bring about the victory of the king without fail. I shall [now] teach in full the visualization of the Great Seed of Bhadrakālī, (56) by whose favour even Mahādeva completely crushed his enemy. This goddess is black, dressed in red, very tall, with full breasts and hips, (57) slender-waisted, of huge strength, able to devour the three worlds, eager for battle, ferocious, of fierce might, (58) horrifying, standing with her feet on a lotus that rests on the back of a corpse, with three large, copper-coloured eyes in each of her five faces. (59–60) With the force of her great anger she crushes [the king's] enemy again and again, holding him face-down in her two uppermost arms, tortured by the twenty fangs of her five faces. On the right [in her other hands] she holds in descending order a trident, an elephant-goad, an arrow, (61) and a sword, and in her [other] left hands in the same order a vessel filled with blood, a noose, a bow, and a shield. (62) A king who wishes to conquer in battle should visualize fearsome Bhadrakālī thus with ten arms as the granter of victory. (63) One achieves victory by repeating the Great Seed of Bhadrakālī. If the king is unable to perform her visualization and repeats the Seed without it, he will still be victorious. Do

<sup>135</sup>The connection of the passage from 51b to 52a with what precedes and follows is not explicit and the passage itself is unclear because of the puzzling collocation of *iṣyate* and *saṃsmṛtaḥ*. My translation with its expansions in parentheses seeks to convey only what I find to be its probable gist. I take the relevance of the Mantra HAṀSAḤ SO 'HAM to be that HAṀSAḤ expresses meditation on the ascent of Kuṇḍalinī through the Cakras from the Mūlādhāra to the Sahasrāra, that is to say, in the order of progressive withdrawal or destruction (*saṃhāarakramaḥ*, *ārohakramaḥ*), while SO 'HAM expresses her descent through the same from the Sahasrāra to the Mūlādhāra, that is to say, in the order of emission or creation (*sṛṣṭīkramaḥ*, *avarohakramaḥ*).

not doubt this. Here ends the *Bhadrakālīmantravidhi* of the *Āṅgīrasa[kalpa]*.

There follows a short section of five verses with its own colophon, proclaiming the greatness of this Seed-syllable:

64 *ṛṣir atra na kaścīt syān na ca cchando 'sya vidyate |*  
*devatā bhadrakālī syān na bīje bījam iṣyate |*  
 65 *jaye ca viniyogaḥ syāt karāṅganyāsavarjanam |*  
*na caiva vyāpakanyāso na ca pratyakṣaram bhavet |*  
 66 *mahābījajapāt sadyo nṛpatir jayam aśnute |*  
*na puraścaraṇam kiṃcin na kaścīn niyamo bhavet |*  
 67 *bhadrakālī svayam bhūtvā japan jayam avāpsyati |*  
*maheśo 'pi sadā sarvaṃ jagat saṃharate yayā |*  
 68 *tatprasādān mahārājo jayaty atra kim adbhutam |*  
*na bhūto na bhavan bhāvī mahābījasamo manuḥ |*

ITY ĀṄGIRASE BHADRAKĀLĪMAHĀBĪJAPRAŚAṂSĀ

**64a** *ṛṣir atra* T/121 T/187: *ruṣir atra* As P<sub>1</sub>: *ruṣir atri* P<sub>2</sub> **64b** *cchando* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *chando* T/121 **64c** *syān* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *syāt* T/121 **65b** *karāṅganyāsavarjanam* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 T/187: *katanyāsanivarjanam* P<sub>2</sub> **65c** *vyāpakanyāso* P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *vyāpakanyāsa* T/121: *vyāpakanyāsa* P<sub>1</sub> **65d** *na ca* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187: *ca* P<sub>1</sub> **66a** *mahābījajapāt* P<sub>2</sub> T/121: *mahābījajayāt* T/187: *mahābījapāt* P<sub>1</sub>: *mahāvidyājapāt* As **66b** *jayam* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 T/187: *jāyam* P<sub>1</sub> **66c** *kiṃcin* P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *kiṃci* P<sub>1</sub> T/121 **66d** *na* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *lacking in* T/121 **67b** *japan* P<sub>1</sub> As T/121 T/187: *japanam* P<sub>2</sub> **67c** *sadā* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> T/121 T/187: *sa ca* As **68a** *tatprasādān* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *yatprasādān* T/121 • *mahārājo* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As: *mahorājo* T/121: *mahābījo* T/187 **68b** *adbhutam* P<sub>1</sub> T/187: *adbhūtam* P<sub>2</sub> As T/121 **68c** *bhūto na* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As: *bhūto pi* T/187: *bhūto* T/121 • *bhavan* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/187: *bhava* T/121 • *bhāvī* As T/121 T/187: *bhāvi* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> **68d** *samo* P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub> As T/121: *samā* T/187 **Colophon** *ity āṅgirase bhadrakālīmahābījapraśaṃsā* conj.: *ity āṅgirase mahābījapraśaṃsā* P<sub>2</sub> T/121: *iti bhadrakālīmahābījapraśaṃsā* P<sub>1</sub> T/187: *iti bhadrakālīmahāpraśaṃsā* As

(64–65a) This [Mantra's] deity is Bhadrakālī and its application is for victory. It has no Ṛṣi, no metre, and, since it is itself a Seed (*bījam*), no Bīja. (65a–d) There is no procedure of installation on the hands and body, no Pervasive Installation, and no installation [on separate parts of the body] of its [seven] constituent sounds (*pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ*). (66) The king attains victory immediately [simply] by repeating [this] Great Seed. There is no preliminary practice [to master it] (*puraścaraṇam*), nor are there any [associated] restrictions [of conduct] (*niyamah*). (67) He will gain victory [simply] by repeating [her Mantra] after achieving identity with Bhadrakālī. It is always she that enables Śiva himself to act [when at the end of every Aeon] he dissolves the whole universe. (68) What wonder, then, that a Mahārāja should conquer by her favour? There has never been, nor is, nor will be any Mantra equal to this Great Seed [of Bhadrakālī]. Here ends the *Bhadrakālīmahābījapraśaṃsā* ('Praise of the Great Seed of Bhadrakālī') in the *Āṅgīrasa[kalpa]*.

The *\*Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa* continues and ends in P<sub>1</sub> and the Asimiḷā manuscript (As ff. 55r4–57r1 = Ed<sup>P</sup>, pp. 110–113) with a section of some forty verses on the worship of this same Mantra. The materials at my disposal do not reveal whether this passage is present in T/121 and T/187. However, it is lacking in P<sub>2</sub>; and this suggests that it may well be a later addition. This suspicion is strengthened by its relationship with the section on this Mantra that it follows (vv. 43–68). For the passage lacking in P<sub>2</sub> begins with Pippalāda asking Aṅgiras why he has not taught a ritualistic procedure for the Great Seed’s worship even though he has done so in the case of every other Mantra. Aṅgiras replies that, as we have seen in the preceding material, it is precisely the special virtue of this Mantra that it is not necessary to do anything more than repeat it, but he agrees nonetheless to teach such a procedure ‘out of compassion’ for Pippalāda. This suggests a consciousness that the last section of our *\*Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa* is a somewhat awkward addition, one that seems to undermine the point of the preceding exposition, whose emphasis is on an ascent from more to less ritualistic procedures.<sup>136</sup>

69 *athātaḥ pippalādena pṛṣṭo maharṣir aṅgirāḥ |*  
*bhagavan vedatattoajña sarvabhūtahite rata |*  
 70 *sarveṣām api mantrāṇām vidhānaṃ kathitaṃ mama |*  
*bhadrakālīmahābījavidhir na kathitaḥ katham |*

*aṅgirā uvāca:*

71 *bhadrakālīmahābījaṃ jayaikaphaladaṃ mune |*  
*mantroccāraṇamātreṇa jayaḥ syād adhikena kim |*  
 72 *tathāpi tvayi kāruṇyād vidhānam abhidhīyate |*

69d *rata* P<sub>1</sub> : *rataḥ* Ed<sup>P</sup> 71a *mahābījaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> : *mahemantraḥ* Ed<sup>P</sup> 71b *phaladaṃ* P<sub>1</sub> : *phaladaḥ* Ed<sup>P</sup> 71c *mātreṇa* P<sub>1</sub> : *mantreṇa* Ed<sup>P</sup>

(69) Then Pippalāda addressed a question to the great Ṛṣi Aṅgiras, saying: “Venerable one, who know the essence of the Vedas and are devoted to the welfare of all beings, (70) you have told me rituals of all the [other] Mantras. Why [then], have you not done so in the case of Bhadrakālī’s Great Seed?” Aṅgiras replied and said: (71) “O sage, the Great Seed of Bhadrakālī cannot but grant the reward of victory; and that goal is achieved simply by uttering the Mantra. [So] what more is needed? (72) Nonetheless out of compassion for you I shall now teach you [a set of] rituals [for this too].”

It begins with an account of the worship of the goddess embodied in the Great Seed HSKHPHREM on a Yantra with this at its centre surrounded by the letters of the nine-syllable and eleven-syllable Vidyās taught in the

<sup>136</sup>Constraints of time did not permit me to collate directly with the Asimiḷā manuscript (As) the following final part of the *\*Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa*, that I decided to include in my contribution only at a relatively late stage. I have thus edited it only from P<sub>1</sub> and Ed<sup>P</sup>, which is based on As.

*Bhadrakālīmantravidhi* (BHADRAKĀLI JAYAM DEHI PHAṬ and OM KHPHREM/HRĪM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒSVARI PHAṬ):

*brahmaṇoktena vidhinā yantram kuryāt prayatnataḥ |*  
 73 *suvarṇaśatamānena nirmitam yantram iṣyate |*  
*vilikhyāntar mahābījaṁ tasyādho vilikhet phalam |*  
 74 *tataś ca vilikhen mantrī navapatre navākṣaram |*  
*tata ekādaśadale mantram ekādaśākṣaram |*  
 75 *tataḥ ṣoḍaśapatre ca vilikhet ṣoḍaśa svarān |*  
*vyañjanāni likhen mantrī pṛthivīmaṇḍale kramāt |*  
 76 *evaṁ yantram vinirmāya saṁpūjya ripujid bhavet |*  
*bahubhir gandhapuṣpaiś ca dhūpadīpair niveditaiḥ |*  
 77 *bhūyobhir mahiṣājāvīpaśubhiḥ saṁskṛtaiḥ smitām |*  
*bhadrakālīm yajet tatra pañcāsyām ripucarvaṇām |*  
 78 *upāsakaḥ prayatnena sukruddhām śāntarūpiṇīm |*  
*saccidānandarūpasya māyāśaktiṁ vadanti yām |*

74a *mānena* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *māṣeṇa* P<sub>1</sub> 74b *navapatre navākṣaram* em.: *navapatreṇavākṣaram* P<sub>1</sub>: *navapatre navākṣarīm* Ed<sup>P</sup> 74d *mantram* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *ayam* P<sub>1</sub> • *ekādaśākṣaram* P<sub>1</sub>: *ekādaśākṣarīm* Ed<sup>P</sup> 75b *ṣoḍaśa svarān* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *ṣoḍaśākṣarān* P<sub>1</sub> 77a *mahiṣājāvi* P<sub>1</sub>: *mahiṣājādi* Ed<sup>P</sup> 77d *pañcāsyām ripucarvaṇām* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *pañcāsyaripucarvaṇām* P<sub>1</sub> 78a *upāsakaḥ prayatnena* P<sub>1</sub>: *upāsakaprayatneṣu* Ed<sup>P</sup> 78b *sukruddhām* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *sakṛdyām* P<sub>1</sub>

He should carefully prepare a Yantra following the procedure taught by Brahmā. (73) It is required that it should be one made from one hundred measures of gold. After tracing the Great Seed [HSKHPHREM] at its centre he should write the result [he seeks] beneath it. (74) Then the Mantrin should trace the nine-syllable [Mantra] (BHADRAKĀLI JAYAM DEHI PHAṬ) on [the petals] of a nine-petal [lotus drawn around that centre], then the eleven-syllable [Mantra] (OM KHPHREM/HRĪM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒSVARI PHAṬ) on [the petals of] an eleven-petal [lotus extending beyond the first], (75) and the sixteen vowels on a sixteen-petal [lotus beyond that]. The Mantrin should then draw the [thirty-four] consonants one by one on an earth-disc [that extends beyond the petals]. (76) When he has made the Yantra in this way and worshipped it he will defeat his enemies. (76c–78) On it the propitiator should scrupulously worship Bhadrakālī, whom the [wise] declare to be the power of illusion (*māyāśaktiḥ*) of [Brahma, that being] whose nature is existence, consciousness, and bliss, doing so with many scented powders, flowers, fumigants, lamps, and foods, and with many ritually prepared buffaloes, goats, and sheep as animal sacrifices, [visualizing her as] five-faced, smiling, wrathful [yet] tranquil, devouring [his] enemies.

Then it teaches the procedure of the fire sacrifice, presumably to be understood as following this worship on the Yantra:

79 *atha homaṁ pravakṣye 'haṁ pravarārinivāraṇam |*

vṛtte kuṇḍe 'gnim ādhāya gandhādyair abhipūjayet |  
 80 aṣṭottarasahasraṃ tu juhuyād gavyasarpīṣā |  
 tāvad eva japed rātrau baliṃ dadyād vidhānataḥ |  
 81 saptāhaṃ evaṃ vidhinā kṛtvā jayam avāpnuyāt |  
 dvādaśāhaṃ tathā pakṣam ekavimśativāsaram |  
 82 māsam kāryaṃ vidhānaṃ vā homakālo 'sya ṣaḍvidhaḥ |  
 tāvad vā sarpiṣāktās ca aśvatthasamidho hunet |  
 83 sarpir aśvatthasamidhaḥ pratyekaṃ vā hunet budhaḥ |

82a kāryaṃ vidhānaṃ Ed<sup>P</sup> : kāryāvāsānaṃ P<sub>1</sub> 83a samidhaḥ P<sub>1</sub> : samidbhiḥ Ed<sup>P</sup>

(79–80) I shall now tell [you] the fire sacrifice, as the means of warding off [even] the most powerful of enemies. In a circular fire-pit he should install the fire and worship it with scented powders and other [offerings]. He should [then] offer [her] 1008 oblations of cow's ghee, repeat [the Great Seed] the same number of times during the night, and offer an animal sacrifice according to the [prescribed] procedure. (81–82b) He will obtain victory if he does the fire sacrifice in this way for seven days. Or the ritual may be maintained for twelve, fifteen, twenty-one days, or a month. [Thus] the duration of the fire sacrifice is sixfold. (82c–83b) Or he may offer kindling sticks of Aśvattha wood (*Ficus religiosa*) smeared with butter for the same period. Alternatively the wise one may offer butter and such sticks separately.

Next come procedures to be adopted at the time of battle:

athavā yuddhasamaye sahasraṃ sarpiṣā hunet |  
 84 juhuyāt tāvad evāsau yuddhaṃ yāvad dinaṃ bhavet |  
 paṭṭe mantraṃ vilikhyāgre vaṃśadaṇḍe ca dhārayan |  
 85 jayakāmo nr̥po yāyād avāśyaṃ jayam āpnuyāt |  
 athavā bhadrakālīṃ tāṃ samlikhya vidhivat paṭe |  
 86 senāgre dhārayan rājā gacchan jayam avāpnuyāt |  
 yantram etad yaḥ svahaste baddhvā vā jayam āpnuyāt |  
 87 athavā yuddhasamaye yantram etat svasaṃnidhau |  
 kenacid dhārayan rājā labhate vijayaśriyam |  
 88 yantraṃ kṛtvā bhadrakālyāḥ pratyahaṃ yadi pūjayet |  
 parājayaṃ na labhate jayaṃ ca labhate sadā |  
 89 athavā brāhmaṇadvārā yantram etat prapūjayan |  
 na parājayaṃ āpnoti jayaṃ cāvāśyaṃ aśnute |

84b yāvad yuddhadinaṃ conj.: yuddhaṃ yāvad dinaṃ P<sub>1</sub> Ed<sup>P</sup> 84d dhārayan P<sub>1</sub> : dhārayet Ed<sup>P</sup>

85c–86b Lacking in Ed<sup>P</sup>, probably as the result of an eyeskip from *jayam āpnuyāt* in 85b to *jayam āpnuyāt* in 86b 86a senāgre corr.: senāgra P<sub>1</sub> 86d baddhvā vā P<sub>1</sub> : badhnyāt Ed<sup>P</sup> 87c kenacid P<sub>1</sub> : kenacad Ed<sup>P</sup> • dhārayan P<sub>1</sub> : dhārayed Ed<sup>P</sup> 87d vijayaśriyam P<sub>1</sub> : vijayaṃ śriyam Ed<sup>P</sup> 88a bhadrakālyāḥ P<sub>1</sub> : bhadrakālī Ed<sup>P</sup>

(83c–84b) Alternatively he may offer 1000 oblations of ghee when it is time to go to war. He should make the same number of oblations [every day] un-

til the day of the battle. (84cd) He should trace the [Great Seed] Mantra on a banner and carry it in front [of his army] on a bamboo pole. (85) A king seeking victory who marches forth [with this banner] will certainly be victorious. Or he may paint [the icon of] this [form of] Bhadrakālī on [gessoed] cloth, following the rules [of her iconography]. (86) A king who goes into battle carrying [this painting] in front of his forces will be victorious. He will [also] conquer if he attaches this [goddess's] Yantra to his arm. (87) Alternatively the king will achieve a glorious victory if he has another carry the Yantra at his side when the battle commences. (88) If he makes a Yantra of Bhadrakālī and worships it every day he will not be worsted, but will always conquer. (89) Alternatively he may have this Yantra worshipped by a brahmin on his behalf. He will not be defeated but will inevitably be victorious.

There follows instruction on the *bhadrakālīvratam* 'the Bhadrakālī observance' to be performed on the ninth day of the bright fortnight:

90 *prabalārijayaṃ kāṅkṣan mahīpālo vidhānataḥ |*  
*śuklāyāṃ ca navamyāṃ vā bhadrakālīvratam caret |*  
 91 *svaputraṃ vā svapatnīm vā vidvāṃsam vāpi kārayet |*  
*saṃvatsarena rājāyam ajayyaṃ jayam aśnute |*  
 92 *pippalāda śṛṇu mama vratam etaj jayapradam |*  
*śatamānena yantram vai kṛtvā devīm prapūjayet |*  
 93 *pūpān aṣṭau prakurvīta śālitaṇḍulanirmitān |*  
*devyai nivedya vidhivat ekaṃ viprāya yacchati |*  
 94 *tato bhūñjīta vidhivat sapta pūpān svayaṃ vratī |*  
*suvarṇaṃ dakṣiṇāṃ dadyād gurave yena tuṣyati |*

90a *kāṅkṣan* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *kāṅkṣī* P<sub>1</sub> 90c *śuklāyāṃ ca navamyāṃ vā* P<sub>1</sub>: *śuklāyāṃ navamyāṃ vāpi* Ed<sup>P</sup> 91a *svapatnīm vā* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *sapatnīm ca* P<sub>1</sub> 91b *vidvāṃsam* P<sub>1</sub>: *bāndhavān* Ed<sup>P</sup> 91d *ajayyaṃ* P<sub>1</sub>: *ajeyam* Ed<sup>P</sup> • *aśnute* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *aśate* P<sub>1</sub> 92a *pippalāda* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *pippada* P<sub>1</sub> 92c *vai* P<sub>1</sub>: *tu* Ed<sup>P</sup> 93d *ekaṃ* P<sub>1</sub>: *evam* Ed<sup>P</sup> 94b *vratī* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *kutī* P<sub>1</sub>

(90) Or, if a king desires to conquer a powerful foe, he should undertake the observance of Bhadrakālī on the ninth lunar day of [each] bright fortnight. (91) Alternatively he may have it undertaken [on his behalf] by his son, his wife, or a learned [brahmin]. After one year this king attains a victory [otherwise] unattainable. (92) Pippalāda, hear me [as I explain] this observance that leads to victory. Having prepared the Yantra with one hundred measures [of gold] he should worship the goddess. (93–94) He should prepare eight cakes made from rice grains. After duly offering them to the goddess the holder of the observance should give one to a brahmin, eat the other seven himself, and give gold to the Guru as his fee (*dakṣiṇā*) so that he should be content.

There follow fire sacrifices to be offered on the eve of battle:

95 śatrum jetum nr̥po gacchan tatpūrvadvase ghr̥taiḥ |  
 sahasratritayam hutvā dhruvam vijayate ripum |  
 96 svasainyālokamātreṇa parasainyam palāyate |  
 yatamāno nr̥po 'śvatthasamidbhir ayutam hunet |  
 97 rājā mahājayam vāñchan candanair ghr̥tasamyutaiḥ |  
 ayutam juhuyād eṣa mahājayam avāpnuyāt |  
 athavāgurukāṣṭhasya samidbhir ayutam hunet |  
 98 ripum jetum nr̥paḥ sainyam prasthāpayati cet tadā |  
 etat sarvam prakurvīta tatsainyam arijid bhavet |  
 99 sahasram sarpiṣā hutvā sampātyāśvatthakīlake |  
 parasenāsthitisthāne khātvā jayam avāpnuyāt |

95a gacchan Ed<sup>P</sup>: yacchan P<sub>1</sub> 96c yatamāno P<sub>1</sub>: yajamāno Ed<sup>P</sup> 98c etat sarvam P<sub>1</sub>: tat sarvam tu Ed<sup>P</sup> 99c sthitisthāne P<sub>1</sub>: sthitasthāne Ed<sup>P</sup>

(95) When the king is marching forth to conquer an enemy he will certainly be victorious if on the day before he offers 3000 oblations of ghee. (96) The enemy forces will flee at the mere sight of his troops. The king should scrupulously offer 10,000 kindling sticks of Aśvattha (*Ficus religiosa*) into the fire. (97) If the king seeks a great victory he will achieve it by making 10,000 oblations of sticks of sandal-wood together with ghee. Or he may make the 10,000 oblations with sticks of aloe wood. (98) If he sends forth his troops to conquer the enemy at that time he will achieve all this. His army will prevail over the enemy's. (99) He will be victorious if he offers 1000 oblations of ghee pouring the remnant of each on to a spike fashioned from Aśvattha wood and buries it at the place where the enemy's forces are encamped.<sup>137</sup>

Then we are taught fire sacrifices to empower the king's sword and arrows in preparation for battle:

<sup>137</sup>The text refers to what is termed a *sampātahomaḥ* 'a sacrifice of the remnant' or by abbreviation a *sampātaḥ*. In Tantric practice the officiant pours the first part of each oblation of melted butter from the ladle (*sruvaḥ*) into the fire as he utters the SVĀ of the SVĀHĀ that closes the Mantra in the case of oblations and then as he utters the HĀ pours the rest (*ājyaśeṣaḥ*) on to whatever is to be empowered (*samskārya-*). This is done first with the root-Mantra and then with its ancillaries. See, e.g., *Svacchanda* 3.153: *pūrvamantraṃ samuccārya SVĀ ity agnau pradāpayat HEti śiṣyasya śirasi sampātaḥ śivacoditah; Tantrāloka* 15.440c–441b: *SVĀ ity amṛtavārṇena vahnav hutvājyaśeṣakam | carau HETyagnirūpeṇa juhuyāt tat punaḥ punaḥ; Kalādīkṣāpaddhati* f. 60v–61r4: *niṣkalena tadanḡavaktrais ca ekaikayāhutyā sampātaṃ kuryāt, yathā: OM HŪM SAMPĀTAM KAROMI SVĀ ity agnau HĀ iti carau. evaṃ hr̥dayādīmantraih. OM HĀM SAMPĀTAM KAROMI SVĀ ity agnau HĀ iti carau. evaṃ anyat. punaḥ niṣkalenāṣṭottaraśatam japtvā parāmṛtam anusmaran carāv ājyāhutim kṣiped ity agniṣomasomasomatāvōyāptaś carur bhavet. iti carusādhanam. tataḥ karaṇīkhaṭīkārājaḥ-kartaryājyatilādīnām yajñāṅgānām mūlena ṣaḍaṅgena prāḡvat SVĀ ity agnau HĀ karaṇīkhaṭīkādiṣu iti sampātaṃ kuryāt; ibid. f. 76v6–11: tataḥ śiṣyaśirasi samhitayā SVĀ ity agnau HĀ iti śiṣyaśirasi pratyekam āhutitrayeṇa trayeṇa kāryam yathā OM HŪM SAMPĀTAM KAROMI SVĀ ity agnau HĀ iti śiṣyaśirasi ghr̥tāhutityāḡaḥ. evaṃ hr̥dayādibhiḥ.*

100 *sarpiṣāyutahomena khadgaṃ sampātya yo nr̥paḥ |*  
*tam ādāya paraṃ jetuṃ prayāti paramaṃ jayet |*  
 101 *ghṛtasyāyutahomena sampātya śarapañcakam |*  
*tat kṣīpan parasenāyāṃ tāṃ senāṃ bhañjayen nr̥paḥ |*

101c *tat kṣīpan* Ed<sup>P</sup> : *tāṃ kṣīpan* P<sub>1</sub>

(100) A king who makes 10,000 such split oblations of ghee on his sword and then marches forth with it against his enemy will achieve total victory. (101) If a king does the same with five arrows and then shoots them into the army of the enemy he will shatter it.

and the preparation of a Yantra [with HSKHPHREM at its centre] to be worn by the king to empower him as he fights:

102 *yantram nirmāya vidhinā mantreṇānena mantravit |*  
*snāpayec chuddhatoyena sahasraṃ tu dine dine |*  
 103 *evaṃ phalāntakaṃ karma kālasamkhyā na vidyate |*  
*yantram etad gale baddhvā yudhyamāno jayaṃ vrajet |*

102c *snāpayec chuddhatoyena* P<sub>1</sub> : *snāpayed ghṛtatoyena* Ed<sup>P</sup> 103c *yantram etad gale baddhvā* P<sub>1</sub> : *mantram etaṃ hṛdi dhyātvā* Ed<sup>P</sup>

(102) The Mantrin should make a Yantra with the prescribed procedure and then bathe it with pure water 1000 times every day using this Mantra. (103) He should continue the ritual until he achieves success. There is no time limit. He will be victorious if he fights after tying this Yantra around his neck.

Finally we are told the procedure for the annual propitiation of Bhadrakālī that culminates on Mahānavamī, at the end of the Navarātra festival that initiates the season of military campaigns:

104 *āśvīnasya ca māsasya kṛṣṇapakṣasya yāṣṭamī |*  
*tām ārabhya yajed devīm bhaved yāvan mahāṣṭamī |*  
 105 *prātarmadhyāhnayoḥ sāyaṃ trikālaṃ tāṃ prapūjayet |*  
*viśeṣeṇa niśāyāṃ tu pūjayet pṛthivīpatiḥ |*  
 106 *tryayutaṃ juhuyād rājā sapatnavijayecchayā |*  
*niśāyāṃ homasaṃprāptau balim dadyād dine dine |*  
 107 *mahiṣājāvīpaśubhir māṃsabhojyair yathā jayet |*  
*tato mahānavamyāṃ tu gandhādyair bahubhir yajet |*  
 108 *niśāyāṃ pūjayed devīm śraddhābhaktisamanvitāḥ |*  
*gandhādyair upacāraiś ca balibhir nr̥tyagītakaiḥ |*  
 109 *toṣayet tāṃ mahādevīm jayakāmo mahīpatiḥ |*  
*evaṃ devīm samārādhyā sukhaṃ saṃvatsaram vaset |*  
 110 *nāriḥ saṃmukham āyāti āgato 'pi palāyate |*  
*tasmād vijayakāmo yaḥ sa etat kurute sadā |*

## ITY ĀṄGIRASAKALPE BHADRAKĀLĪMAHĀBĪJAVIDHIḤ

**104c** *tām ārabhya* P<sub>1</sub>: *tadārabhya* Ed<sup>P</sup> • *yajed* P<sub>1</sub>: *pūjed* Ed<sup>P</sup> **105c** *viśeṣeṇa* conj.: *viśeṣaṃ tu* P<sub>1</sub> Ed<sup>P</sup> • *niśāyāṃ tu* P<sub>1</sub>: *niśāyāṃ hi* Ed<sup>P</sup> **106b** *sapatna* Ed<sup>P</sup>: *sapatnī* P<sub>1</sub> **107ab** *paśubhir ?māṃsa?-bhojyair yathā yajet* P<sub>1</sub>: *paśubhi bhojyaiḥ pratoṣayet* Ed<sup>P</sup> **Colophon**: *bhadrakālīmahābījavidhiḥ* As [reported by Arlo Griffiths; P<sub>1</sub> broken off]: *bhadrakālībalimahāvidhiḥ* conj. Ed<sup>P</sup>

(104) Three times a day, at dawn, midday, and sunset, he should worship the goddess beginning on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvina and continuing until the Great Eighth[, the eighth day of the bright fortnight that follows]. (105) The king should worship her three times, at dawn, midday, and sunset, but [once again] in more elaborate form during the course of each night. (106–107) Every day he should make 30,000 oblations into the fire during the night, in order to secure victory over his rivals, and when the fire sacrifice has been completed, he should gratify [the goddess] by sacrificing buffaloes, goats, and sheep to her, offering her meals of \*[raw] meat (?), in order that he may be victorious. Then on the Great Ninth (*mahānavamī*) he should worship her with many scented powders and the other [prescribed offerings]. (108–109) He should worship her at night with faith and devotion. A king who wishes to conquer in war should gratify the Great Goddess [during the night] with the offerings beginning with scented powder, with animal sacrifices, and with music and dancing. If he has propitiated the goddess in this way he will remain at ease throughout the year. (110) No enemy will march against him and if he does he will turn and flee. Therefore if a king desires to be victorious he always performs these rites. Here ends the *Bhadrakālīmahābījavidhi* of the *Āṅgirasakalpa*.

## The \*Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa and the Kālīkula

The form of the rituals of Bhadrakālī prescribed here is not derived from the Kālīkula, nor is the annual worship of the goddess culminating on Mahānavamī. That has no place in the texts of such properly Tantric traditions, which generally eschew the regulation of such calendrical festivals as belonging to the more mundane domain of religion governed by Purāṇic prescription,<sup>138</sup> even though, as our \**Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa* illustrates, the worship of the goddess during this festival is often highly tantricized.<sup>139</sup> Nor is Bhadrakālī herself among the primary forms of Kālī taught in the texts of the Kālīkula. Her role as the recipient of worship during this festival is a feature of Purāṇic religion, seen, for example, in the prescriptions of the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* (793–803), the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (2.152.5ab; 2.158.1–8), the *Agnipurāṇa* (268.13c–30),

<sup>138</sup>For a detailed analysis of the Purāṇic prescriptions of this festival see EINO 1999.

<sup>139</sup>For another example of this see the information given in SANDERSON 2003 (p. 371, n. 64) on the Tantric rituals of Mahāṣṭamī in the Kathmandu valley.

and the *Nāradapurāṇa* (*Pūrvārdha* 118.17c–22). In the early medieval period it is, to my knowledge, only in the Māṛtantra tradition of the unpublished and hitherto unstudied *Brahmayāmala* texts of southern India that Bhadrakālī comes to the fore as the principal focus of a properly Tantric Śākta cult.<sup>140</sup> And while that cult, in which she is worshipped either on her own or, as Cāmuṇḍā, as one of the seven Mothers, accompanied by Vīrabhadra, and Gaṇeśa, is indeed fully Tantric, it is much more integrated into the civic dimension of religion than are the early North Indian Śākta traditions exemplified by the Trika and Kālīkula. For unlike these and the northern *Brahmayāmala*, with which it has only a tenuous connection,<sup>141</sup> the subject of these texts is not worship conducted by individual initiates for their own benefit or that of individual clients but a calendrically fixed programme of regular worship conducted by professional priests before permanent idols in temples;<sup>142</sup> and the principal purpose of this worship

<sup>140</sup>I base the following remarks concerning the South Indian Māṛtantra tradition on the two manuscripts to which I have had access: *Brahmayāmala* IFP and *Brahmayāmala* Triv. The South Indian provenance of these texts is supported by a strong correlation (1) between the iconography of the goddess in these manuscripts (here she is the destroyer of the demon Dārūka) and surviving South Indian images of Bhadrakālī and (2) by a strong correlation between the prescription of her temple cult in the same texts and the provisions for the rituals to be performed in the temple of the goddess Kolāramma at Kolār in Noḷambavāḍi detailed in two Tamil inscriptions from that temple (*Epigraphia Carnatica* 10, K1 108; pp. 35–42; translation on pp. 35–40; and 106d, pp. 33–35; translation on pp. 33–34), dated in the second regnal year of Kō-Rājakesarivarman alias Rājendracoladeva (= the Cola king Kulottuṅga I) or AD 1071/2. Only the first, which details the allowances for the deities and the various ceremonies is dated; but the second, which gives the allowances of the staff of the temple, records the same witnesses, and is probably its continuation.

<sup>141</sup>We see this connection in the fact that Bhadrakālī is attended by the same four goddesses as Caṇḍā Kāpālīnī, the supreme goddess in the *Picumata*/*Brahmayāmala*, though Mahocchuṣmā, the fourth, appears under the variant name Mahocchiṣṭā (cf. the substitution of *ucchiṣṭarudra* for *ucchuṣmarudra* in the citation of the *Varāhapurāṇa* in the South Indian *Bhāvaprakāśikā* noted above on p. 198); see *Brahmayāmala* IFP, p. 7 (3.28): *\*evaṇvidhā* (em.: *evaṇvidhi* Cod.) *\*prakartavyā* (em.: *prakartavyaṃ* Cod.) *ekavīrī manoharā* | *\*raktākhyāṃ* (conj.: *raktākṣīṃ* Cod.) *vinyaset prācyāṃ karālīṃ dakṣiṇe nyaset* | *caṇḍākṣīṃ paścīme nyasya mahocchiṣṭottare nyaset*; p. 89 (19.59ab): *raktā karālī caṇḍākṣī mahocchiṣṭā pṛthak pṛthak*; p. 143 (36.14ab): *raktā⟨ṃ⟩ karālī⟨ṃ⟩ caṇḍākṣī⟨ṃ⟩ mahocchiṣṭā⟨ṃ⟩ pṛthak nyaset*.

<sup>142</sup>These priests are required to be non-brahmins, termed *pāraśavaḥ* in Sanskrit (defined in the Dharmasāstra as the offspring of a brahmin man and Śūdra mother [*Manusmṛti* 9.178]). See, e.g., *Brahmayāmala* IFP, p. 146 (37.18c–19b): *śūdrāyāṃ vidhinā viprāj jātaḥ \*pāraśavo* (corr.: *pāraśivo* Cod.) *mataḥ* | *bhadrakālīṃ samāśritya jīveyuḥ pūjakāḥ smṛtāḥ*. Their Śaiva character is expressed by transforming *pāraśavaḥ* into *pāraśaivaḥ* as the title of those who have been initiated and consecrated as the officiants of this cult; see *ibid.*, p. 88 (19.54): *ādau pāraśavāś caiva \*nityaṃ* (em.: *nityāṃ* Cod.) *devyās tu pūjakāḥ* | *dīkṣitā⟨ḥ⟩ \*karmayogyās te* (conj.: *yogyānāṃ* Cod.) *\*pāraśaivā* (em.: *pāraśaiva* Cod.) *viśeṣataḥ*. The tradition that the priests of Bhadrakālī are persons born into this mixed caste is also recognized outside the Yāmala texts, in the medieval South Indian Vaiṣṇava *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra*, 143.1–2: *viprāc chūdrāyāṃ pāraśavo bhadrakālīpūjanacitrakarmāṅgavidyātūryaḥ ṣaṇamardanavṛttīḥ* ‘The Pāraśava, born of a brahmin man and a Śūdra woman, lives [by one or other of the following professions:] by performing the worship of Bhadrakālī, by painting, by divination from physiognomy, by playing musical instruments, or by massage’. The

is said to be to foster the victory of the monarch over his enemies, as in the Orissan cult of Bhadrakālī, and, more generally, to protect the kingdom from danger (*deśasāntiḥ, rāṣṭrasāntiḥ*),<sup>143</sup> such temples being, at least in the main, royal foundations and recipients of royal patronage.

What has been imported from the Kālīkula, then, is neither the goddess Bhadrakālī nor the forms of her worship. Rather it is her Tantric Mantras, these having been embedded in an already tantricized Purāṇic matrix, elevating it from within with their associations of awesome power. The Mantras in question are the first and the fourth of the four taught in the *\*Bhadrakālīmantravidhi-prakaraṇa*:

1. OM KHPHREM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒSVARI PHAṬ  
OR OM HRĪM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒSVARI PHAṬ.
2. HSKHPHREM.

The first is given in all the manuscripts accessed here in the form OM HRĪM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒSVARI PHAṬ but, as we have seen, the fact that the seeds

members of this caste are known in Tamil as *uvaccaṇ*, defined in the *Tamil Lexicon*, s.v., as ‘Member of a caste of temple drummers and Pūjāris of Kālī’. See PILLAY 1953, pp. 220–248 on the *uvaccaṇ* priests of the sanguinary cult of Kālī associated with the Śiva temple of Śucīndram and SHULMAN 1980, pp. 219–220 on the cult of Tillaikālī at Cidambaram.

<sup>143</sup>*Brahmayāmala* IFP, p. 2 (1.17–19): *bhadrakālī tu cāmuṇḍī sadā vijayavardhinī* | 1.17 *\*śatrunāśe śivodbhūtā* (conj.: *nāśaimastu śivodbhūtā* Cod.) *kaliyuge prakīrtitā* | *\*catasro* (conj.: *etair* Cod.) *mūrtayo jñeyā sadā \*sāntikarī* (*karī* em.: *karo* Cod.) *bhavet* | 1.18 *tasyās sarvaprāyatnena \*caturmūrtiṃ* (em.: *caturmūrtiḥ* Cod.) *prapūjayet* | *\*deśasāntikarās* (em.: *daśasāntikarās* Cod.) *caiva nṛpānām vijayam bhavet* | 1.19 *sarvopāpaharam śāntam sadā vijayasambhavam* | *caturmūrti-vidhānena \*mātrpūjām* (em.: *mātrpūjās* Cod.) *ca kārayet*; *ibid.*, p. 30 (7.104ab): *\*pratiṣṭhāvidhinā* (conj.: *pratiṣṭhāvidhāyām* Cod.) *proktaṃ rāṣṭrasāntiyarthakāraṇam*; p. 50 (12.65cd): *\*svāhāntam* (corr.: *svāhānte* Cod.) *devikāhomam \*nagarasāntivardhanam* (*nagara* em.: *nagaram* Cod.); p. 50 (12.70ab): *devihomam tu sāntiyartham nagarasya tu vardhanam*. When Bhadrakālī is isolated (*kūṭasthā, ekaberam*), the cult is for victory and the destruction of enemies. When she is worshipped together with the Mothers (*bahuberam*) the cult’s purpose is the quelling of dangers and the restoration of well-being. See *Brahmayāmala* Triv., p. 3 (2.7–8): *\*kevalā* (conj.: *kevalam* Cod.) *caikabere tu bhadrakālīti viśrutā* | *saptadhā bahubere vā mātaraś ceti sarvataḥ* | *jayārtham śatrunāśārtham ekaberam praśamsitam* | *sāntipuṣṭikārtham tu bahuberam udāhṛtam*; pp. 15–16 (3.102c–103), on the purpose of the king’s establishing Śākta sites, ritually identified with one or other of the Śākta sites of pan-Indian fame: *nagare pattane vāpi \*khetake* (corr.: *ketake* Cod.) *rājadhānīke* | *tantroktena vidhānena vijayārtham nṛpeṇa tu* | *\*sthāpyeta* (conj.: *sthāpayet* Cod.) *ṣṣetram ekam vā \*prayāgādipracoditam* (conj.: *prayāgādipracodite* Cod.) | *kāsmīram oddiyāṇam vā pīṭhasthānam ca kalpayet* | *rakṣārtham vijayārtham ca pīṭhahīne tu maṇḍale*; p. 20 (3.147–50b), on the solitary Bhadrakālī (Ekaberi): *\*asyā* (em.: *asya* Cod.) *eva parā mūrtiḥ kālarātrīti viśrutā* | *sarvasaṃhāriṇī \*sākṣāt* (conj.: *sābhāk* Cod.) *\*kālagñisadr̥śopamā* (em. [= *Mahābhārata* 12.273.7b; *ibid.*, supplementary passage after 12.274, l. 105]: *kālagñiyatraśopamā* Cod.) | 48 *\*ekaberīti* (corr.: *ekavīriti* Cod.) *nāmnā \*sā* (em.: *syā* Cod.) *dā(ru)kāsuranāśinī* | *\*vāstuśaktir iti proktā* (conj.: *vāstuśakteritīkrāntā* Cod.) *\*śatrupakṣavināśinī* (*pakṣa* em.: *paṅka* Cod.) | 49 *\*eṣā* (corr.: *eṣa* Cod.) *vai \*devatāmūrtī* (corr.: *devatāmūrtiṃ* Cod.) *rājñām vijayasādhanī* | *caturbhedoditā* (conj.: *caturthāheditā* Cod.) *devī jayadā rājapadminī* | 50 *ṣṣatriyasya viśeṣeṇa rājadhānau pratiṣṭhayā*; p. 22 (3.172): *yāś cainām sampratiṣṭhāpya \*kārayen* (em.: *kārayan* Cod.) *nityam arcanam* | *sa nṛpaḥ sārvaabhaumatvam prāpnuyād iti \*niścayaḥ* (corr.: *niścayam* Cod.).

of its Ancillaries are said to be KHPRĀṢ, KHPRĪṢ, KHPRŪṢ, KHPRĀIṢ, KHPRĀUṢ, and KHPRĀḤ, with KHPR- rather than HR- before the vowels, suggests that the original form of the root-Mantra in this text had KHPREṢ as its seed-syllable rather than HRĪṢ.<sup>144</sup> This is the core Mantra of the Kālīkula insignificantly modified by being enclosed by the universal Mantra-syllables OṢ and PHAṢ, the first used everywhere in this position as the opening ‘illuminator’ (*dīpakah*) of Mantras,<sup>145</sup> and the second marking it as one endowed with the character of aggression, since PHAṢ is the closing expostulation that distinguishes the ancillary known as the Weapon (*astram*).

The *locus classicus* for this Mantra in the literature of the Kālīkula is a passage giving its constituent letters in encoded form that appears in the *Devīdyardhaśatikā*, in a recension of parts of that text that forms the *Kālīkārama* chapter of the *Manthānabhairava*, in the anonymous *Jayadrathayāmālaprastāra-mantrasaṃgraha*, and in an unattributed quotation in Jayaratha’s commentary on the *Tantrāloka*:

88 *varāṅgaṃ vihagaṃ krūraṃ puñjaṃ puruṣaṃ eva ca |*  
*kālaṃ sarvagataṃ caiva dāraṇākrānta sundari |*  
 89 *ṛṭṭiyādyam turaṅgaṃ ca dākinīmarmasamyutam |*  
*pavanaṃ navame yuktaṃ tejas tejagr̥he yutam |*  
 90 *lakṣmīveśmaṃ tu udadhīm ekatra samayojitam |*  
*somāt saptamakoddhṛtya navavarṇā kuleśvarī |*

*Devīdyardhaśatikā* f. 8v3–4 (D); *Manthānabhairava*, *Siddhakhanda*, *Kālīkārama* (ff. 179r5–186v3), ff. 183r2–4 (K); *Jayadrathayāmālaprastāra-mantrasaṃgraha* A, f. 3v1–2 (J<sup>1</sup>); *Jayadrathayāmālaprastāra-mantrasaṃgraha* B, ff. 3v7–4r1 (J<sup>2</sup>); *Tantrāloka* *viveka* on 30.54 (vol. 12, p. 202) (lacking the first line) (T). The numeration of the above verses is that of their place in D.

88a *varāṅgaṃ* K J<sup>2</sup>:*varāṅga* D J<sup>1</sup> • *vihagaṃ* D K J<sup>1</sup>:*vihaga* J<sup>2</sup> • *krūraṃ* K J<sup>1</sup> J<sup>2</sup>:*sūraṃ* D  
 88b *puñjaṃ* D K:*pūjāṃ* J<sup>1</sup>:*pūjāṃ* J<sup>2</sup> 88d *dāraṇā* K J<sup>1</sup> J<sup>2</sup> T:*dāruṇā* D • *sundari* J<sup>1</sup>:*sundarī*  
 D:*sūmdarīm* J<sup>2</sup>:*sundara* K (because in this version the pupil is Bhairava and the Goddess the teacher): *mastakam* T (to avoid the Aīśa stem-form of *dāraṇākrānta*) 89a *ṛṭṭiyādyam*  
 K T J<sup>2</sup>:*ṛṭṭiyādyā* D J<sup>1</sup> • *turaṅgaṃ* J<sup>1</sup>:*turaṅga* J<sup>2</sup>:*turagaṅ* D:*taraṅgaṃ* K T 89c *navame* D  
 K T:*nacame* J<sup>1</sup> J<sup>2</sup> 89d *tejas tejagr̥he yutam* J<sup>2</sup>:*tejas tejagr̥hamyutam* J<sup>1</sup>:*jagat tejogr̥he yutam*  
 K:*tejas tejaḥsamanvitam* D:*tasmāt saptamam eyutam* T 90ab *lakṣmīveśmaṃ tu udadhīm eka-*  
*tra samayojitam* J<sup>1</sup> J<sup>2</sup>:*lakṣmīveśan tu udadhi ekatra sama yojayet* D:*ūṣmāṇam uddharet pūroam*

<sup>144</sup>See above, pp. 257–258.

<sup>145</sup>*Nīśvāsaguhya* f. 108v5 (15.202ab): *oṃkāraś cādhiś cātra mantrādaṃ dīpakah sthitaḥ* ‘and the syllable OṢ is present here in addition as the illuminator at the beginning of the Mantra’. The term *dīpakah* is used both for the opening OṢ and for the closing NAMAḤ; see *Svacchandanatantrōddyota*, vol. 3 (Paṭala 6) p. 145: *sarvamantrāṇāṃ pūjājapaviśaye praṇavanamaskārābhyaṃ ādyantasambandho dīpakah kārya iti śāstrasamayah* ‘The convention of the Śāstra is that when worshipping or repeating any Mantra one should provide an illuminator at its beginning and end with OṢ and NAMAḤ’; and *Parātrīśikāvivarāna*, p. 281 (ed. GNOLI): *etad eva hṛdayabījaṃ dīpakābhāvād gamāgamaśūnyatvāt satatoditatvāc cānādyantam* ‘This same heart-syllable is said [in *Parātrīśikā* 33a] to be without beginning or end because it lacks the [two] illuminators, because it is free of ebb and flow, and because it is permanently active’.

*vāridhyuparisamsthitam* K : *lakṣmībījaṃ tatoddhṛtya udadhīśasamanvitam* T 90c *somāt saptamakoddhṛtya* K J<sup>1</sup> J<sup>2</sup> : *somāsaptamakoddhṛtya* D : *somāt saptamam uddhṛtya* T 90d *navavarṇā kuleśvarī* K T : *navavarṇāṅkuleśvari* J<sup>1</sup> : *navavarṇāṅh kuleśvari* J<sup>2</sup> : *navarṇāṅh kuleśvari* D

The nine-syllable [Vidyā] Kuleśvarī comes about by raising [from the matrix the following sounds:] the best part of the body [the Yoni: E], the bird [KH(A)], the fierce [PH(A)],<sup>146</sup> the mass [of rays] [R(A)], and the individual soul [M(A) (= M)], O beautiful one; then time [MA],<sup>147</sup> the all-pervading [H(A)] mounted by the [mouth]-opener [Ā],<sup>148</sup> the first of the third [consonant class] [CA], the horse [N(A)]<sup>149</sup> united with the vulnerable point of the Dākinīs [ḌA],<sup>150</sup> wind [Y(A)] united with the ninth [of the solar vowels] [O], fire [G(A)]<sup>151</sup> with the house of fire [E],<sup>152</sup> the residence of Lakṣmī [Ś(A)]<sup>153</sup>

<sup>146</sup>The term *krūram* is listed among names for PHA in the fourth Ṣaṭka of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Varṇanāmapaṭala*, vv. 37c–38b: *kundalaṃ bhairavaṃ rāvaṃ rāviṇī yoginīpriyam* | 38 *kundalīnātham atulaṃ krūram vai bhīmaśankukam*. I see nothing to support the variant *sūram* as a letter-name.

<sup>147</sup>*Varṇanāmapaṭala*, v. 40: *pañcamāntaṃ lāñchanaṃ ca kālaṃ puruṣam eva ca* | *paśuṃ marmāntaraṅgaṃ ca makāraṃ samudāhṛtam*.

<sup>148</sup>*Varṇanāmapaṭala*, vv. 4c–5a: *nārāyaṇam anākāram aṅkuśaṃ \*mukhadāraṇā* (corr. : *mukhadārunam* Cod.) | 5 *dīrghādyaṃ nāmabhi(r) jñeyam*.

<sup>149</sup>The *Kālikākrama* (K) and the unattributed quotation by Jayaratha (T) read not *turaṅgaṃ* ‘horse’ but *taraṅgaṃ* ‘wave’. The written shape of the syllable ṆA is indeed wavelike in the Gupta script, a feature that has been preserved in the Śāradā script of Kashmir. However, ṆA is referred to as the ‘horse sound’ (*aśvavarṇaḥ*) elsewhere in the literature of the Kālikula; see, e.g., *Varṇanāmapaṭala*, v. 33ab: *aśvaṃ megham adhovaktraṃ ṅakāraṃ parikīrtitam*; *Kālikulapañcaśataka*, N<sup>2</sup>, f. 31v6–32r1 (2.88b): *aśvārṇaṃ vāmakarṇake*.

<sup>150</sup>For *ḍākinīmarma* as a term for ḌA cf. *Varṇanāmapaṭala*, v. 32: *musalaṃ caiva marmaṃ ca yoginīnāṃ ca vallabham* | *ḍakāraṃ ḍamarādhāraṃ nāmabhi(r) jñeyam eva hi*; and *Tantrasadbhāva* f. 114v1 16.233c: *ḍakāra(h) śākinīmarma*.

<sup>151</sup>The use of *tejaḥ* ‘fire’ for G[A] is based on the equation of the twenty-four consonants from KA to BHA with the twenty-four elements from earth (*ṛthivī*) to primal matter (*prakṛtiḥ*). The same parallel is implied by the use seen above of *puruṣaḥ* ‘the individual soul’, the twenty-fifth Tattva in the Sāṃkhya and Śaiva universe, for M[A], the twenty-fifth consonant. For this equation see *Picumata* f. 55v4–5 (11.178–179): *ṛthivyādīni tattvāni kakārādīni vinyaset* | *trikaṃ trikaṃ yathānyāyaṃ patre patre yathākramaṃ* | *bhakārāntaṃ na saṃdehaś caturviṃśatibhiḥ kramāt* | *pūrvādidalam ārabhya keśareṣu na saṃśayaḥ*; and an unattributed quotation of scripture in *Tantrālokaiviveka* vol. 2, p. 154: *ṛthivyādīni tattvāni puruṣāntāni pañcasu* | *kramāt kādiṣu vargeṣu makārānteṣu suvrate ityādyuktyā kādayo māvasānāḥ pañcaviṃśatir varṇāḥ ṛthvītattvād ārabhya puruṣatattvāntaṃ yāvāt sthitāḥ*.

<sup>152</sup>For *tejaḥgrham* (Aiśa for *tejoḥgrham*) ‘the abode of fire’, probably meaning a (triangular) fire-receptacle, denoting the vowel E, which had the written form of a triangle, see the synonym *vahnigeham* in the *Varṇanāmapaṭala* v. 13: *trikoṇam ekādaśamaṃ vahnigehaṃ ca yonigam* | *śṛṅgāṭam caiva ekāraṃ nāmabhiḥ parikīrtitam*.

<sup>153</sup>T has *lakṣmībījam* ‘the seed of Lakṣmī’ rather than *lakṣmīveśmam* (Aiśa for *lakṣmīveśma*) ‘the abode of Lakṣmī’. That these should mean ŚA may be understood as a reference to the first sound of the syllable ŚRĪM, often called Lakṣmī/Kamalā, since that goddess is also known as Śrī.

united with the ocean [VA],<sup>154</sup> and the seventh [sound] from *somaḥ* [Ṛ].<sup>155</sup>

It is also given in the *Kālikulapañcaśataka* 3.35–40:

35 *dakṣabāhusthitam varṇam mahānādena saṃyutam |*  
*tasyādhaḥ śirasontastham mahāyonisamāyutam |*  
 36 *vāmajānu(ṃ) śiraḥkrāntam proddharet piṇḍanāyakam |*  
*anena jñātamātrena yogayuktyā maheśvara |*  
 37 *vaśīkaroti vīrendro brahmādīn yoginīs tathā |*  
*athānyac chr̥ṇu deveśa bījam bījavarottamam |*  
 38 *saoyaśravaṇapālistham hṛdayam nābhisamāyutam |*  
*kevalam vāmapārsvasthanam vāmakarṇam samuddharet |*  
 39 *adhaḥstād yojayed deva kapālārṇatṛṭyakam |*  
*nārāntram vāmapādādho harimūḍena saṃyutam |*  
 40 *jīvārṇam yonibījena saṃyuktam saptamam hara |*  
*guhyaṃ śiroruhādyasthanam dakṣīnoru(ṃ) samuddharet |*  
 41 *randhrasaṃkhyā mahāvīdyā śuṣkāvigrahakoddhṛtā |*  
*durlabhā tridaśeśānām siddhānām khecarīṣu ca |*  
 42 *asyāḥ saṃsmaraṇād eva merutulyo gurur bhavet |*  
*bhasmasād yāti sadyaiva pāpam yat pūrvasaṃcitam |*  
 43 *anayā jñātayā deva kālikākulajātayā |*  
*saptasaptatikotīs tu vidyānām paramārthataḥ |*  
 44 *adhītā tena deveśa kim anyair vistareṇa vā |*

N<sup>1</sup>, f. 13r3–v3; N<sup>2</sup>, ff. 43r3–44r2; N<sup>3</sup>, ff. 36r5–37r3

**35c** *śirasontastham* N<sup>2</sup> N<sup>3</sup>: *śirastontastham* N<sup>1</sup> **35d** *saṃyutam* conj.: *mahāyutam* N<sup>2</sup> N<sup>3</sup>: *mahā-*  
*putam* N<sup>1</sup> **37c** *deveśa* N<sup>1</sup> N<sup>2</sup>: *deveśī* N<sup>3</sup> **38a** *pālistham* em.: *pānistham* Codd. **38b** *saṃyutam*  
 N<sup>2</sup> N<sup>3</sup>: *saṃyu* + N<sup>1</sup> **39a** *adhaḥstād* em.: *adhaḥstād* Codd. **40a** *hara* N<sup>1</sup> N<sup>3</sup>: *haram* N<sup>2</sup>  
**40b** *saṃyuktam* N<sup>2</sup> N<sup>3</sup>: *saṃ* + + N<sup>1</sup> **41a** *randhrasaṃkhyā* em.: *randhrasaṃjñā* Codd. **42a**  
*saṃsmaraṇād* N<sup>1</sup> N<sup>2</sup>: *sasmarāṇād* N<sup>3</sup> **42c** *sadyaiva* N<sup>1</sup> N<sup>2</sup>: *saṃdyaiva* N<sup>3</sup> **43c** *koṭīs tu*  
 conj.: *koṭīnām* Codd. **43d** *paramārthataḥ* N<sup>1</sup> N<sup>2</sup>: *pāramarthataḥ* N<sup>3</sup>

(35–36b) He should extract the foremost of conglomerate [Seeds as follows]: the letter in the right arm [KH(A)]<sup>156</sup> combined with the Great Resonance [PH(A)], with that in the head [R(A)] below it, joined with the Great Womb

<sup>154</sup>The use of the word *udadhīḥ* ‘ocean’ for VA is through reference to its watery nature, VAṂ being the seed-syllable of water and of its deity Varuṇa. See *Varṇanāmapāṭala* 43cd: *vakāraṃ vārunam candraṃ sudhā saudham prakīrtitam*.

<sup>155</sup>See *Tantrāloka* v. 12, p. 202, glossing this: *somāt saptama ṛ*. There is no doubt that the syllable intended is Ṛ, but it cannot be ‘seventh from *somaḥ*’, since *somaḥ* ‘the moon’ denotes SA or ṬA in the Mantra-code and Ṛ is not seventh from either of these. However, Ṛ is the seventh sound of the syllabary and ‘seventh’ is among its synonyms in the Mantra-code (*Varṇanāmapāṭala*, v. 9: *ṛkta(ṃ) devakalādyam ca saptamam bhānur uttamam | napuṃsakādyam vikhyātam ṛkāraṃ nāmabhiḥ sadā*). The vowels are ‘lunar’ when they are sixteen (A to AḤ) and ‘solar’ when they are reduced to twelve by the omission of the neuter or sterile vowels (Ṛ, Ṝ, Ḍ, and Ḍ̄). So the intended meaning must have been ‘seventh of the lunar series’.

<sup>156</sup>The syllable-code used here has been explained in the second Paṭala (2.85–97). The fifty

[E], with the [letter in] the left knee [(A)M] above its head. (36c–37b) Merely by realizing this through meditation, O Maheśvara, the excellent Vīra subjects to his will Brahmā, the other [gods], and the Yoginīs. (37cd) Hear, O god of the gods, another Seed, the best among the best of them. (38) He should extract the heart [H(A)] combined with the navel [Ā] resting on the lobe of the right ear [MA], that in the left side on its own [CA], and the left ear [N(A)]. (39) Below that he should add, O god, the third of the letters of the skull[-chaplet] [ḌA]. Then he should extract the human entrails [Y(A)] combined with the severed head of Viṣṇu beneath her left foot [O], (40) the letter of her vital principle [G(A)] combined with the womb-seed [E] as seventh, O Hara, then the sex organ [Ś(A)] on the first of the hair [letters] [VA] and the right thigh [Ṛ]. (41) [Thus] has been extracted from the body of [the goddess] Śuṣkā, the Great Vidyā numbering nine [syllables] that is hard to obtain even for the gods, Siddhas, and Khecarīs. (42) If one merely meditates on it one's sins accumulated in former time are instantly burned to ash, be they as vast in mass as mount Meru itself.<sup>157</sup> (43–44b) O divine [Bhairava], O Lord of the gods, by knowing this [Vidyā] born of the Kālīkula one has in reality mastered [all] seven hundred and seventy million Vidyās. So what need is there for other [Mantras] or [further] elaboration?

In both these 'extractions' (*mantroddhāraḥ*) the Mantra is as in the *Bhadrakālī-mantravidhiprakaraṇa* except that the final syllable is given as Ṛ where there we had RI. This is a deviant orthography that was widely accepted, since it is also prescribed in the Kālīkula scripture *Yonigahvara*,<sup>158</sup> in the Kālīkula-incorporating form of the Trika taught in the *Devyāyāmala* as reported by

syllables of the syllabary (*mātrkā*) are assigned for the purpose of the extraction of the Mantras to the parts and adornments of a drawing of the goddess to be depicted on the ground with chalk as two-armed, emaciated, hollow-cheeked, enthroned on the severed head of Rudra, with her feet on the severed heads of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, wearing a chaplet of skulls, holding a human skull-bowl filled with human entrails (2.76–84).

<sup>157</sup>In spite of the grammatical irregularity that this entails I take the masculine adjectives *merutulyo gurur* of 42b to qualify the neuter *pāpaṃ* of 42d, the comparison of the accumulated mass of sins to the vast mountain Meru being a rhetorical commonplace; see, e.g., *Yonigahvara*, f. 5r6 (62ab): *sūdayed duṣkṛtān ghorān merutulya-m-ayopamān* (em. : *ayopamāṃ* Cod.), with masculine *duṣkṛtān* for neuter *duṣkṛtāni*. The deviation appears to have been prompted by the metre, the correct *merutulyaṃ guru* being unmetrical.

<sup>158</sup>*Yonigahvara* f. 19v–20r4 (vv. 271–279): *ebhyo mantrān pravakṣyāmi yathāmnāye prakāśitam | tridaśe dvitīyaṃ gṛhya navamadhyaṃ tu āsane | 272 laṭhamadhyam adhe yojya tridaśe navamaṃ śire | asyaiva pañcamam gṛhya śire deyaṃ vicakṣaṇāt | 273 kūṭarājam mahāghoraṃ sarvasiddhikaram param | jhahamadhyaṃ gṛhya sayamadhyaṃ tu uddharet | 274 triyonī-aṅkuṣaṃ deyam etad varṇatṛṭīyakam | saptame prathamam gṛhya kevalam tu samuddharet | 275 tadhamadhyaṃ gṛhya dha-ūmadhyam tu āsane | dvau varṇāv ekataḥ kuryād aśvadhāram prakīrtitam | 276 navame antimoddhṛtya ṇalamadhyam adhe dadet | uddhṛtam ṣaṣṭhamam varṇam mahāsiddhikaram param | 277 tridaśe prathamam gṛhya tasyaiva navamaṃ śire | saptamaṃ tu mahāvārṇam vāgvilāsam prakīrtitam | 278 dasamadhyaṃ gṛhya śalamadhyam tu āsane | aṣṭamaṃ tu mahāvīra navamam adhunā śṛṇu | 279 tridaśe antimam gṛhya kevalam tu samuddharet | ante pāda samākhyātam madhye nāmaṃ prakalpayet.* This gives the Mantra as KHPHREṀ MAHĀCAṆḌAYUGEŚVAR, with a surprising substitution of

Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*,<sup>159</sup> and in the *Kālīkulakramārcana* of Vimalaprabodha, the Rājaguru of King Arimalla of Nepal (r. 1200–1216).<sup>160</sup> However, the form with RI, which provides the correct orthography for what is evidently the vocative singular of *mahācaṇḍayogeśvarī*, is also widely attested. We see it, for example, in the *Guhyakālīkhaṇḍa* of the *Mahākālasaṃhitā*,<sup>161</sup> the *Guhyakālīpūjā*,<sup>162</sup> the *Uttarāmnāyayajñākrama*,<sup>163</sup> and the scripture *Jñānārṇavatāntra*. The last is a work of the Śākta Śrīvidyā rather than the *Kālīkula*, but its system of worship includes Vidyās for goddesses as the deities presiding over each of four Śākta traditions, these being attributed to the cardinal directions: the Eastern (Pūrvāmnāya), the Southern (Dakṣiṇāmnāya), the Western (Paścimāmnāya), and the Northern (Uttarāmnāya). The first two, the Vidyās of Unmanī and Bhoginī, are in the territory of the Śrīvidyā itself, the third is the Vidyā of Kubjikā, and the fourth is that of Kālī in the Uttarāmnāya, which is to say, in the *Kālīkula*, and is our nine-syllable Mantra.<sup>164</sup> We also see it in the *Yonigahvara*. That, as we have seen, teaches the form in Ṛ. But it prescribes that in RI in its Mantras for the worship of the two highest of the five goddess circles of the Krama, namely those of the Nameless (*anākhyacakram*) and

U (276a: *navame antimoddhṛtya*) for O. The code used here is that of the position of the 49 letters in the triangular grid of 49 triangles in descending rows of 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, and 13, known as the *yonigahvaram*, with the 50<sup>th</sup>, KṢA, added below. It is illustrated in SCHOTERMAN 1982, p. 203, fig. 25.

<sup>159</sup>*Tantrāloka* 30.45c–46b (KHPHREM) + 30.54–55b: *mahācaṇḍeti tu yogeśvar ity aṣṭavarṇakam | navārṇeyam guptatarā sadbhāvaḥ kālakarṣiṇī | śrīḍāmare mahāyāge parātparataroditā* ‘[When] the set of eight syllables MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGESVAR [is preceded by KHPHREM or one of its variants], this is the most secret [Vidyā] of nine syllables [known as Mātr]sadbhāva or Kāla[sam]karṣiṇī which has been taught [in the chapter of the *Devayāmala* on] the Great Ḍāmara Maṇḍala as that which transcends even the highest [embodied in the goddess Parā]’. In his comment on this passage Jayaratha notes that the use of Ṛ here is sanctioned by scripture (*aṣṭamaś cātra varṇaḥ \*saṅṭhādyā* [corr.: *saṅṭhādyā* Ed.] *iti saṃhitayā āveditam*). He then demonstrates this by citing the passage edited above that also appears in the *Devīdvayardhaśatikā* and the *Kālīkārama* for these eight syllables that follow KHPHREM.

<sup>160</sup>*Kālīkulakramārcana*, f. 16r1–2: *varāṅga-vihaga-sūra-puñja-puruṣa-kāla-sarvagata-dāraṇa-trṭīyādya-turaga-ḍākiṇīmarmā-pavanānavama-tejas-tejo* (gr̥ha)-*lakṣmīveśma-udadhi-somasaptamayogāt pañcākrasāmānyā* (ṇ) *navākṣaravidyāṃ samuccārya*. Here Vimalaprabodha is following the passage seen in the *Devīdvayardhaśatikā* with the erroneous variant *sūra-* (see above, p. 279).

<sup>161</sup>*Mahākālasaṃhitā*, *Guhyakālīkhaṇḍa* 3.34: *etasyaiva dvitīyārṇam mahātaś caṇḍato ‘py anu | sambodhanapadaṃ yogeśvaryā mantro navākṣaraḥ* ‘The second syllable of the same, MAHĀ, and then, after CAṆḌA, the vocative of *yogeśvarī* are [her] nine-syllable Mantra’. ‘The second syllable of the same’ refers to the second syllable of the Mantra of Guhyakālī taught immediately before this, namely PHREM KHPHREM SIDDHIKARĀLI SVĀHĀ.

<sup>162</sup>*Guhyakālīpūjā*, f. 10v1–2: KHPREM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGESVARI AMBĀPĀDA.

<sup>163</sup>*Uttarāmnāyayajñākrama*, f. 2r: KHPHREM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGESVARI BALIṀ GR̥HṆNA 2 HŪM PHAT; 5r: HRĪM ŚRĪM KHPHREM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGESVARI ŚRĪPĀDUKĀM NAVASOPĀNAŚRĪPĀDUKĀM PŪJAYĀMI NAMAḤ.

<sup>164</sup>*Jñānārṇavatāntra* 9.67–68b: *khphremātmaṃ samuccārya mahācaṇḍapadaṃ likhet | \*yogeśvari-padaṃ* (corr.: *yogeśvarī-padaṃ* Ed.) *paścād vidyeyaṃ kālīkā priye | uttarāmnāyavidyeyaṃ nāmnā kālīti viśrutā*. On the Uttarāmnāya and the *Kālīkula* see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 342–343, n. 363.

Radiance (*bhāsācakram*), respectively KHMLYPHREM CAṄḌAYOGEŚVARI RJHRIM ANĀKHYE GPHREM YOGĒŚVARI PHAṬ and KHPHREM MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGEŚVARI RKHPHREM PHAṬ RAUDRARAUDRE JHKHPHEM PHAṬ.<sup>165</sup>

As for the presence of HRĪM rather than KHPHREM in the Mantra as it is given in the accessed manuscripts of the \**Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa*, it is conceivable that it is genuine in spite of the consequent anomaly of its having Ancillaries whose seeds begin with KHPHR-, since we find the component HRĪM followed by the same vocative at the beginning the seventeen-syllable Vidyā prescribed for the worship of Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī in the *Jayadrathayāmala*, where it is the basic Mantra of the goddess (HRĪM MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGEŚVARI ṬHRĪM DHRĪM THRĪM PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ)<sup>166</sup> and, in a variant, in the Trika's Kālīkula-based *Devyāyāmala*, where it is prescribed for use in addition to the nine-syllable form (HRĪM MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGEŚVARI ṬHR̥⟨M⟩ DHṚ̥⟨M⟩ THṚ̥⟨M⟩ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ).<sup>167</sup>

The second of the two Mantras adopted from the Kālīkula in the \**Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa* is Bhadrakālī's Great Seed HSKHPHREM, which is evidently intended as a more esoteric and powerful substitute for the longer Mantra, one that holds its power in condensed form, as it were, and by the same measure permits an even greater transcendence of ritualistic requirements. This is prescribed in the Kālīkula's *Jayadrathayāmala* as the Mantra of a form of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī called both Kuṇḍaleśvarī and Kūṭeśvarī.<sup>168</sup>

8 gatvā vīrendranilayaṃ candanāgurucaritaḥ |  
 madirānandacaitanyo pañcaratnasamācitaḥ |  
 9 prastaren mātṛkām tatra sarvavāṇmayamātaram |

<sup>165</sup>These are extracted letter by letter in *Yonigahvara*, f. 23r3–v4 (vv. 322c–331) and f. 34r4–v5 (vv. 338c–347).

<sup>166</sup>This Vidyā is taught in encrypted form in *Jayadrathayāmala*, Ṣaṭka 1, f. 71r3–9 (11.43c–51) (given in decoded form in *Jayadrathayāmalaḥprastāramantrasaṃgraha*, f. 29v1) and Ṣaṭka 4, ff. 124v6–125r1 (*Mādhavakula* 3.37–41), quoted, but only in its first and last lines, in *Tantrāloka-viveka*, vol. 11 (*Āhnika* 29), p. 49, ll. 14–18.

<sup>167</sup>This is the form of the Mantra that is prescribed in the Mālinī code (on which see VASUDEVA 2007) in a passage of the *Devyāyāmala* cited by Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* 29.69c. In the first line emend *nāsārṇaṇi* to *nāsārṇaṇi* to yield the Ī of HRĪM, and in the sixth *jihvayoḥ* to *jihvayā* to yield the RĪ of MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGEŚVARI (*śūladanḍaṃ tu jihvayā* 'the staff of the trident [R(A)] with the tongue [I]'). The *anusvāraḥ* after each of the syllables ṬHR̥, DHṚ̥, and THṚ̥ is not taught in these verses, but this is such a surprising irregularity that I have assumed that the absence was not intended and that either their presence was to be understood or that a line has been lost in which it was prescribed. The use of Ṛ̥ for RĪ in these syllables parallels the alternation of Ṛ and RĪ in the nine-syllable Vidyā.

<sup>168</sup>Paṭala 15 of Ṣaṭka 3 (ff. 107v1–118r4; 264 verses) is devoted to this form of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī. She is named at f. 107v2–3 (15.3ab): *kiṃ tu kautūhalaṃ deva katham sā kuṇḍaleśvarī*; f. 108v3–4: *evaṃ kuṇḍalacakreśī piṇḍeśī kālīkā smṛtā*; f. 108v5–6: *etat tatpiṇḍavijñānaṃ kuṇḍaleśmatam śubham*; f. 118r3–4 (colophon): ... *kuṇḍaleśvarīvidhiḥ pañcadaśamaḥ paṭalaḥ*. She is called Kūṭeśvarī at f. 110r1 (15.61c): *kūṭeśvarī devadevī*; f. 110r4 (15.67ab): *deyam argham devadevī kūṭeśvaryābhi-mantritam*; and Ṣaṭka 4, f. 59r7: \**yat tat* (as cited in *Jayadrathayāmalaḥprastāramantrasaṃgraha*, f. 61r1: *yan na A) kūṭeśvarīcakre piṇḍam uktam mayā tava* (see n. 176 on p. 286).

*vīradravoyopalīptāyāṃ bhūvi vīrendravanditaḥ |*  
 10 *saṃpūjya vīvidhair bhogais tato mantram samuddharet |*  
*mahāsūnyam tatpravāham trīśaktiparimaṇḍitam |*  
 11 *tato bindum tataś candram tato yonyaṣṭamaṃ punaḥ |*  
*tadadho yojayed vidvān yonikuṇḍān maheśvari |*  
 12 *aṣṭāvīṃśatimaṃ bhadre nādāt saptamasamsthitam |*  
*tadveśmaśirasā bhinnam natipraṇavavarjitam |*  
 13 *piṇḍam etan mahābhāge sarvamantrāraṇiṃ param |*  
*sarvamantreśvaram saram sarvamantrapradīpakam |*  
 14 *sarvasāmnidhyakaraṇam sarvasiddhibharāvaham |*  
*bhogamokṣapradam saram devyāpiṇḍam anuttamam |*

*Jayadrathayāmala*, Ṣaṭka 3, f. 108r4–6

10a *vīvidhair* em. : *vīvidhā* Cod. 10c *trīśaktiparimaṇḍitam* em. : *trīśaktiṃ parimaṇḍitam* Cod. 11a *bindum* em. : *bindu* Cod. 11c *tadadho* corr. : *tadadhā* Cod. • *vidvān* em. : *vidyām* Cod.

Perfumed with sandal-wood and aloe, his mind blissful with wine, and smeared with the five jewels,<sup>169</sup> the [Sādhaka] venerated by the best of Vīras should go to a cremation ground and there lay out the syllabary, the mother of all speech, on ground annointed with the substances of Vīras,<sup>170</sup> and after worshipping it with various offerings he should extract the Mantra from it [as follows]. O Maheśvarī, the learned [Sādhaka] should take the Great Void [H(A)], adorn it with the three Śaktis of its flow [S(A)], then the drop [(A)M], the moon [that marks the syllable's higher resonance], the eighth [letter] from the Yoni [KH(A)],<sup>171</sup> and, O excellent [wife], below it the twenty-eighth [letter] from the same [PH(A)] resting on the seventh from Resonance [R(A)],<sup>172</sup> with the fire-pit [E] above it.<sup>173</sup> This, most fortunate, which is without a [closing] NAMAḤ or [opening] OM, is the supreme conjunct [seed syllable], the churning rod that produces [the fire of] all Mantras, the Lord of

<sup>169</sup>For the identity of the products of the body known as the five jewels see SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 111–114, n. 63.

<sup>170</sup>Wine, blood, and the like. See *Tantrāloka* 15.559: *na jugupseta madyādi vīradravoyam kadācana; Tantrālokaivēka*, vol. 9 (Āhnika 15), p. 223 on 15.437c (*carau ca vīradravoyāṇi*): *vīradravoyāṇi sārādirūpāṇi*; *Tantrāloka* 16.49a: *raktādisāraughacālanākaraṇādīṣu*; *Svacchandatantrōdyota*, vol. 3 (Paṭala 5), p. 41 on 5.48ab (*madyam māṃsaṃ tathā matsyam anyāni ca*): *anyānīti vīradravoyāṇi* 'By "[and] others" he means "[and] other substances of Vīras"'.  
<sup>171</sup>The Yoni is the sound E and so the eighth from it in the order of the Mātrkā syllabary is KHA.

<sup>172</sup>Resonance (*nādah*) is HA. RA is the seventh back from that.

<sup>173</sup>The Sanskrit *tadveśmaśirasā bhinnam* is irregular. The sense in prose is *tadveśmabhinnāśirasam* 'its head modified by the receptacle of that' where 'that' (*tad-*) denotes RA, the seventh letter back from HA, which is equated with fire. The 'fire-receptacle' (*tejoveśma*) is E. For the decoding of this passage see *Jayadrathayāmala*prastāramantrasaṃgraha, f. 44v4–5: *mahāsūnyam HA. tatpravāhatrīśakti SA. bindu o. candra ∪. yonyaṣṭamaṃ ekārād aṣṭamaṃ KHA. yonikuṇḍād aṣṭāvīṃśatimaṃ PHA. nādāt saptamasamsthitam hakārāt saptamaṃ RA. tadveśmabhinnam ekārayuktam ity arthaḥ. militvā HSKHPHREM kuṇḍaleśvaryaḥ.*

all Mantras, the Essence that illumines all Mantras, that makes all [Mantra-deities] present, that brings the richness of all Siddhis, the unsurpassed conjunct of the Goddess that bestows both liberation and lesser rewards.

Moreover, her propitiation is of the essentialized kind, as in the *\*Bhadrakālī-mantravidhiprakaraṇa*, the Mantra being without Ancillaries and an accompanying visualization of the goddess's form.<sup>174</sup>

As we might expect, the Mantra does not appear only in this monosyllabic isolation. As in the additional passage at the end of the *\*Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa*, it is also reinscribed into the less essentialized level it transcends, adding its lustre to polysyllabic Mantras that are thought to articulate the same transcendental essence. In the Kālīkula of the *Jayadrathayāmala* this occurs to my knowledge only once, and it is no doubt significant that it does so in the context of the *kālīkramavidhiḥ*, which for the redactors is evidently the high-point of the esoteric Śāktism contained in this huge work, teaching the cult of Mahākālī as manifest in the thirteen Kālīs from Sṛṣṭikālī to Mahābhairavakālī, that is to say, as the cycle of the Nameless (*anākhyacakram*) in which the Krama's course of worship culminates.<sup>175</sup> There we are told that the Mantra should consist of the conjunct syllable taught in the [chapter on the] cycle of Kūṭeśvarī followed by the name of the deity and the honorific ending -PĀDA. The *Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṅgraha* explains when commenting on the passage that contains this instruction that the Mantra required is either HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀKĀLĪPĀDA or HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒŚVARĪPĀDA with the Mantras of the individual Kālīs consisting of PHĀṀ PHĀṀ PHEṀ followed in the same way by the name of the Kālī ending in -PĀDA.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>174</sup>*Jayadrathayāmala*, Ṣaṭka 3, f. 108r6–7: *asya devi yadā samyag uccārah kriyate sakṛt | tadā prakampate dehaḥ \*samantāt tu (conj.: samanāttam Cod.) na saṁśayaḥ | 16 hr̥cchiraś-ca-śikhāvarmalocanāstravivarjitām | dhyānadhyeyavinirmuktām cidacitpadamadhyagām | 17 spandamānām pare vyomni sarvaśaktikalālayām | ā kālacakrakuharāc †chadanāt† parakuṇḍalīm | 18 prabodhya guru-vakrāntam yuktyā mīnavivartavat* 'When the [internal] utterance of this [Mantra] is accomplished correctly only once, the body trembles violently. Of this there is no doubt. [This goddess] Parakuṇḍalī does not have the Heart, Head, Hair-queue, Armour, Eyes, and Weapon [that are the Ancillaries of ordinary Mantras]; and she is free of visualization or anything to visualize, resting in the point between consciousness and unconsciousness, vibrant in the supreme void, the ground of all her constituent powers. After awakening her and causing her to ascend from the pit of the fire of the Aeon †...† to the Aperture of the Guru [above the cranium] by the technique that resembles the writhing of a fish ...'.

<sup>175</sup>On the place of this chapter in the *Jayadrathayāmala* see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 256–257, n. 77 (pp. 257–258), p. 260, n. 84.

<sup>176</sup>*Jayadrathayāmala*, Ṣaṭka 4, f. 59r7–v2 (4.4–47b) (A), collated with the citation of this passage in *Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṅgraha*, f. 61r1–2 (B): *\*yat tat (B: yan na A) kūṭeśvarīcakre piṇḍam uktaṁ mayā tava | \*tad (A: tam B) uddhṛtya prayatnena punar \*nāmam athoddharet (B: nāma hy athoddharet A) | 45 pādāntam parameśāni punar \*anyaṁ (A: mantram B) śṛṇu priye | \*mahātmānam (A: mahānādam B) nādayutam mahābindusamanvitam | 46 kuṇḍalam \*dāraṇākṛāntam (em.: dārunākṛāntam A: dārakṛāntam ca B) bindunādasamanvitam | punar \*bindum (B: bindu A) trikoṇam ca kuṇḍalam dhāmasaṁsthitam | 47 nāmapādasamāyuktam mantram sarvāsu kīrtitam. The *Jayadrathayā-**

This upgraded form of the nine-syllable Mantra (HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀ-CAṄḌAYOGĒŚVARI) is also prescribed in the ‘worship of the [four Śākta] Āmnāyas’ (*āmnāyapūjā*) included in the tradition of the Śrīvidyā, where it is the Mantra of Kālī in her role as the Samayavidyā, the Vidyā that rectifies all errors, proper to the Northern Āmnāya (*uttarāmnāyah*).<sup>177</sup> Similarly, the syllable is incorporated in the Mantra of Kālasaṃkarsaṇī included in the *Rāsmimālā*, a long and wide-ranging series of Mantras to be recited mentally immediately after waking each morning by those following the Śrīvidyā-centred system of the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*: SAṀ SRṢṬINITYE SVĀHĀ | HAṀ STHITIPŪRṆE NAMAḤ | RAṀ MAHĀSAMḤĀRIṆĪ KṚṢĒ CAṄḌAKĀLĪ PHAṬ | HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀNĀKHYE ANANTABHĀSKARI MAHĀCAṄḌAKĀLĪ PHAṬ | RAṀ MAHĀSAMḤĀRIṆĪ KṚṢĒ CAṄḌAKĀLĪ PHAṬ | HAṀ STHITIPŪRṆE NAMAḤ | SAṀ SRṢṬINITYE SVĀHĀ | HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGĒŚVARI.<sup>178</sup> This Mantra comprises five Vidyās in one: four invoking Kālī as embodied in each of the four phases of Krama worship, those of emission (*srṣṭih*), stasis (*sthitih*), retraction (*saṃhārah*), and the Nameless (*anākhyam*), the first three repeated in reverse order after the fourth, and a fifth invoking Kālī in her uninflected essence through a variant of her nine-syllable Mantra. Awareness of the higher nature of the syllable is suggested by the fact that it is introduced only in the two highest of these Vidyās, those of the Nameless (HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀNĀKHYE ANANTABHĀSKARI MAHĀCAṄḌAKĀLĪ PHAṬ) and the transcendent or universal fifth (HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGĒŚVARI).

### *A Category Mistake?*

That the cult of Bhadrakālī seen in this Orissan evidence should have drawn on the Kālīkula for its Mantras may surprise. For it is concerned exclusively with

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*malapraṣṭāramantrasaṃgraha* leaves it to the reader to understand for himself that the conjunct syllable ‘taught above in the cycle of Kūṭeśvarī’ is that of Kuṇḍaleśvarī taught in the third Ṣaṭka, Kuṇḍaleśvarī also being called Kūṭeśvarī in that chapter, as shown above (see p. 284). He explains only what should follow that syllable in the primary Mantra and then decodes the instructions for the Mantras for the individual Kālīs. Without the interspersed citations from the text he is explaining his commentary is as follows (f. 61r–6): MAHĀKĀLIPĀDA. ATHAVĀ MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGĒŚVARĪPĀDA. ... PHĀṀ PHĀṀ PHEṀ SRṢṬIKĀLIPĀDA. ... 3 STHITIKĀLIPĀDA. 3 SAṀHĀRAKĀLIPĀDA. 3 \*RAKTAKĀLIPĀDA (corr. RAKTAKĀLIKĀLIPĀDA Cod.). 3 SUKĀLIPĀDA. 3 YAMAKĀLIPĀDA. 3 MṚTYUKĀLIPĀDA. 3 BHADRAKĀLIPĀDA. 3 PARAMĀRKAKĀLIPĀDA. 3 MĀRTAṄḌAKĀLIPĀDA. 3 KĀLĀGNIRUDRAKĀLIPĀDA. 3 \*MAHĀKĀLAKĀLIPĀDA (corr. : MAHĀKĀLAKĀLIKĀPĀDA Cod.). 3 MAHĀBHĀIRAVAKĀLIPĀDA. \**evam* (em. : 3 *evam* Cod.) *devī* 13. The numeral 3 here denotes the three syllables PHĀṀ PHĀṀ PHEṀ.

<sup>177</sup> *Mahātripurasundarīvarivasyā* (KARAPĀTRASVĀMIN 1962), p. 255: [OM HRĪṀ ĪṀ OM] HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀCAṄḌA\*YOGĒŚVARI (corr. : YOGĪŚVARI Ed.) KĀLIKE PHAṬ UTTARĀMNĀYASAMAYAVIDYĒŚVARĪKĀLIKĀDEVYAMBĀ[ŚRĪPĀDUKĀṀ PŪJAYĀMI NAMAḤ]. The additions in parenthesis are mine, replacing the author’s indications to carry standing elements forward.

<sup>178</sup> *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*, *Sarvasādhāraṇākrama*, Sūtra 25. On the context of recitation see *ibid.*, Sūtras 8–9: *atha rāsmimālā*. 9 *suptothitenaiṣā manasaikavāram āvartyā* ‘Next the *Rāsmimālā*. He should recite this once mentally as soon as he has risen from sleep’.

empowering the king and his weapons to conquer his enemies and has been inserted accordingly into the pan-Indic annual festival of Navarātra that initiated the season of military campaigns, while the Kālikula appears in learned Kashmirian sources in a mystical and soteriological context.

However, the contrast diminishes when we look beyond this exegesis to the primary sources of the tradition. The short Krama scriptures *Kālikulakrama-sadbhāva*, *Kālikulapañcaśataka*, and *Devīdivyārdhaśatikā* confirm the exegetes' approach; but the much larger *Jayadrathayāmala* embeds this path to liberation in a much more diverse religious context, one in which the propitiation of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī and her many ancillary forms is taught not merely for salvation but also, indeed predominantly, for the attainment of worldly benefits, among which those of concern to kings are far from inconspicuous. Thus in the first Śaṭka, when Devī asks Bhairava to teach Jayadratha, the king of Sindhu, the root Mantra of this Tantra, namely the seventeen-syllable Vidyā of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī, she describes it as bestowing sovereignty over the three worlds, which I take to be a hyperbolic statement of a claim that its propitiation will enhance royal power;<sup>179</sup> the same Śaṭka tells us that by seeing her Maṇḍala, that is to say, by receiving initiation before it, soldiers will easily defeat the enemy when they go into battle;<sup>180</sup> and in its account of the canon of which it is part it describes itself as 'this Tantra of war'.<sup>181</sup> Nor is this royal context forgotten in the three Śaṭkas that were subsequently added to the first. Indeed the whole work ends with several chapters setting out the means of propitiating a form of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī called Mahālakṣmī<sup>182</sup> with a variant of the seventeen-syllable Vidyā<sup>183</sup> as the means of attaining sovereignty over the earth (*pr̥thivyaiśvaryam*) and obtaining from the goddess a sword that embodies her power and so renders its bearer invincible in battle (*khadgasiddhiḥ*).<sup>184</sup>

The belief that the king derives his sovereignty from the goddess and that

<sup>179</sup>*Jayadrathayāmala*, Śaṭka 1, ff. 69v6–70r1 (11.6–11b): 6 *pihanāt gopitā yā ca gūdhā \*sarvārthasiddhidā* (conj. [cf. *Yonigahvara*, f. 15v5 (212b): *kūṭaṃ sarvārthasiddhidam*]: *sarvajñasiddhidā* Cod.) | *prabodhakaraṇī vidyā kr̥tyāvetālasādhānī* | 7 *trailokyarājyapradayā \*yayā* (conj.: *yasyā* Cod.) *tulyā na vidyate* | *āścaryāṇi mahīyāṃsi pratyayāś ca tathaiṃ ca* | 8 *yayā jāyanti vīrānāṃ vidhānārpitacetāsām* | *yayā sarvāṇi kāryāṇi ekayā sādhyet sadā* | 9 *yā na kilayitum śakyā yasyānyogrā na vidyate* | *mantra mudrāthavā vidyā yā tvayādhyāsitāsakṛt* | 10 *kālarūpā mahāvīdyā jagat karṣayate yataḥ* | *kālasaṃkarṣaṇī tena proktā yā prak̥ tvayā mama* | 11 *sā muhuḥ kṛpayā nātha saindhavōya prakāśyatām*.

<sup>180</sup>*Jayadrathayāmala*, Śaṭka 1, f. 125r1–2 (19.66ab): *dṛṣṭvaitan maṇḍalaṃ yodhā jayanti yudhi līlayā*.

<sup>181</sup>*Jayadrathayāmala*, Śaṭka 1, f. 177r9–v1 (40.87): *sāṃsthītā dhārakā \*hy asya* (em.: *dyasya* Cod.) *śīracchedasya suvrate* | *sāṃgrāmikam idaṃ tantram rājānasyātidurlabham*.

<sup>182</sup>*Jayadrathayāmala*, Śaṭka 4, ff. 222v5–237v3. Colophons: *mahālakṣmīmatācakre devyutpattiman-troddhārapāṭalaḥ* (f. 224v2–3); *mahālakṣmyā yāgapāṭalaḥ* (f. 229r7–v1); *mahālakṣmyādisiddhipāṭalaḥ* (f. 232v4–5); *mahālakṣmīvidhipāṭalaḥ* (f. 234v1); *mahālakṣmīvidhau rasadvayasiddhipāṭalaḥ* (f. 237v3).

<sup>183</sup>The Vidyā is extracted on f. 223v2–7. It is decoded in the *Jayadrathayāmalapraśāntamantra-saṃgraha*, f. 28r6 as follows: HRĪṂ MAHĀLAKṢMYAI KALEŚVAR ŚRĪṂ ŚRYĀṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ.

<sup>184</sup>*Jayadrathayāmala*, Śaṭka 4, f. 223r1–2 (vv. 6–9b): *adhunā śrotum icchāmi mahālakṣmīmatam subham* | *utpattioratavijñānacaryāmantrasamāyutam* | 7 *sādhakānām yathā karma mudrāmaṇḍala-*

she transmits her power to a dynasty by bestowing a sword on its conquering founder is widely attested in India from the early medieval period onwards. We see it, for example, in a Nepalese inscription of AD 1387/8 recording a gift by king Jayasthitimalla, the renowned restorer of the Malla dynasty, in which he is described as having brought his enemies under his sway with a sword that he had received as a boon from the goddess Māneśvarī.<sup>185</sup> The medieval Bengali narrative poem *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* portrays the first king of Kaliṅga as having received his sword from the goddess Caṇḍī,<sup>186</sup> Tulajā Bhavānī, the lineage goddess of Chatrapati Śivājī (1627–1680), the founder of the Maratha kingdom, is believed to have presented him with a sword with which to fight against the Muslim occupation,<sup>187</sup> and in a variant of this theme, drawing on the notion that the king's sword is an embodiment of the goddess herself, Dantesvarī, the lineage goddess of the Bastar dynasty, is said to have appeared to its founder Annamdeo in his sword and led him to Bastar from his capital in Warangal whence he fled after its capture by the Bahmani sultanate in around 1435.<sup>188</sup>

*pūjanam | vahnikāryaṃ yathāvasthaṃ japaṃ sarvārthasiddhidam | 8 tad brūhi devadeveśa yathā rājyādisādhanam | evaṃ nīsamya deveśaḥ priyāvaktroditaṃ vacaḥ | 9 \*prāha (corr.: prāhi Cod.) tantravarasyānte mahālakṣmīmataṃ śubham; f. 224r7: dadāti pṛthivīśvaryaṃ acirān nātra saṃśayaḥ; f. 226r1: yad icched \*rājyasampattim (corr.: rājyasampattis Cod.); f. 228r6–7, speaking of the Yoginīs worshipped in the Maṇḍala: etat sādharmaṇam devi khadgasiddhipradāyikā(h) | acirāt pāṛthivendratvam sādha(ka)sya dadanti tāḥ; f. 230v1: carukaṃ juhuyād devi bhāgaṃ tāsāṃ prakalpayet | dadanti pṛthivīśvaryaṃ; f. 231v7: siddhikṣetrāṇy atah śṛṇu | yeṣu saṃsiddhyate mantrī yena rājyaṃ labhed dhruvam; f. 232r3: saṃvatsare narendratvam; and f. 232r4: siddhyate caiva samrājyaṃ.*

<sup>185</sup>REGMI 1965–1966, Part 3, p. 27 (No. 31), ll. 25–26: *śrīmanmāneśvarīvaralabdhakṛpāṇasāsītānyamahīpālaśrīśrījayasthitimallarājyamalladevena śrībhāṭṭārakebhya iyaṃ pranālikā pradatteti*. This is a variant of a common epigraphical formula in which a king is described as having obtained his sovereignty as the boon of this or that goddess. Thus the Malla kings of Nepal from the time of Jayasthitimalla are described as *-śrīmanmāneśvarīśṭadevatāvaralabdhaprasāda-* (VAJRĀCARYA 1976, *passim*), Ratnajyotideva of Noakoṭ in Nepal as *-śrīgaṇḍaktvaralabdhaprasāda-* (REGMI 1965–66, Part 1, pp. 365–366), Rāṇaka Puñja, a vassal of Mahābhavagupta II of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, as *-kāleśvarīvaralabdhaprasāda-* (SHASTRI 1995, Part 2, p. 264, l. 8), two other vassals of the same as *-khambeśvarīvaralabdhaprasāda-* (SHASTRI 1995, Part 2, p. 343, l. 6; p. 363, l. 10), Raṇabhañja I of Kṣiṅjalimaṇḍala as *-stambheśvarīlabdhavaraprasāda-* (SINGH 1994, p. 101), and the Hoysala kings as *-vāsantikādevīlabdhavaraprasāda-* (e.g., *Epigraphia Carnatica* 4, Ng, no. 38 of c. AD 1125; Ng, no. 30 of AD 1164; and 12, Tp, no. 58 of c. AD 1120). On Māneśvarī see TOFFIN 1996, pp. 59–62.

<sup>186</sup>BHATTACHARYA 1981, p. 22.

<sup>187</sup>MALLEBREIN 1999, p. 152. According to the account of Śivājī's life in the Mārāṭhī *Śivādigvijaya* the sword was an embodiment of the famous Tulajā Bhavānī of Tuljāpur, one of the principal lineage-goddesses of the Deccan and that of Śivājī himself, spoke to him in a dream, promising him victory, and when acquired was given her name (transl. SEN 1920, pp. 181–182). GRIEVE (1909, p. 75) reports that this sword was kept in a small temple in the Rāṇī's palace in Sātāra and paraded there in a palanquin during Navarātra.

<sup>188</sup>MALLEBREIN 1999, p. 146. In a further variant of this tradition swords conferring invincibility on the founders of dynasties are sometimes said to have been received not directly from the deity but from a Siddha, Nātha, or Yogin whose supernatural intervention enables the king to conquer his territory. This is so, for example, in the legends of the kingdom of Gorkha, in which it is said that a Siddha gave such a sword to Pṛthivīnārayaṇ Śāh, the founder of the

There are also three tales of such swords given to heroes by the goddess in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the vast collection of narratives redacted from earlier materials by the Kashmirian poet Somadeva at a date between 1063 and 1081/2.

Now in two of these tales the goddess is Vindhyaśinī,<sup>189</sup> but in the third it is none other than our Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī, thus providing further evidence that this goddess for all the soteriological emphasis of her cult in the learned liter-

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Shah dynasty of Nepal, before he began his conquests. On this and on the role of Siddhas in the ideology of kingship in the numerous small kingdoms established in the Himalayan region between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries see BOUILLIER 1989 *passim* and p. 201. In yet other cases we encounter no such myths but only the idea that the royal sword is a sacred object empowering rule and securing victory. Indeed this idea appears to be universal in the Indic world and to be independent of any Śākta reading. It appears not only in India but also in the kingdoms of South East Asia. We see this in the case of the royal sword of the Khmer kings. This was named Jayaśrī (K. 736, v. 5; K. 806, v. 6; K. 905, l. 12) and the temple-complex Jayaśrīnagara built by Jayavarman VII on the site of his bloody victory over the Chams (K. 908, v. 32) is known in Khmer as Preah Khan (Old Khmer *vrah khān*), ‘The Sacred Sword’. The Chinese memoir on the customs of Cambodia written in 1296–97 by Zhou Daguan, who had spent eleven months in Angkor with the embassy sent by the Yuan emperor Chengzong (Temür Öljeitü), reports that the king, Śrīndravarman, held “the precious sword”, no doubt this Jayaśrī, when he gave his twice-daily audience and when he went forth in court parades riding an elephant, and also that the daughter of the preceding king (Jayavarman VIII), the father-in-law of Śrīndravarman, had secured her husband’s position as his successor by stealing “the golden sword” from her father and giving it to him, thus depriving Jayavarman’s son of the succession (PELLIOT 1951, pp. 34–35). This sword, or rather a copy of it with the same name, was in the care of the brahmins of the royal palace in Phnom Penh until recent times (CÆDÈS 1941, p. 257). In the thirteenth century, during the period when the Thai of Sukhothai were asserting their independence, the Khmer sovereign gave it, together with the royal title Kamrateñ añ śrī Indrapatīndrāditya, and his daughter Sikharamahādevī to the Thai prince Pha Muang of Muang Rat (CÆDÈS 1941, p. 256). In the triumphal procession depicted in relief in the “historical gallery” of Angkor Wat Sūryavarman II is shown standing on his elephant and holding a sword with the blade resting on his shoulder (GITEAU 1976, p. 195a). Belief in the supernatural power of the royal weapons is also an important part of the Śaiva palace culture of Bali, where crises, lances and other martial heirlooms were brought out for annual worship; see GEERTZ 1980, pp. 115 and 229. It was evidently general in the kingdoms of Java; see HEADLEY (2004, pp. 209 and 214) on the sacred kris and spear of Surakarta and the Black Stork kris given to the Javanese national hero Dipanagara by Paku Buwana VI of Surakarta (r. 1823–30) at the beginning of the Java War against the Dutch (1825–30). The kings of this principality, though converts to Islam, preserved the annual practice of sacrificing wild buffaloes to the goddess Durgā (*sang hyang bhaṭāri Durgā*) in the Krendhawahana grove near Kalioso village, in order to ensure their well-being and the protection of the realm against all dangers, remembering this as part of the customary law (*adat*) of the pre-Islamic court of Majapahit (HEADLEY 2004, pp. 59, and 282–329; and BRAKEL 1997, pp. 257–263). BRAKEL reports (1997, p. 260) that it was said to have been common practice for people to bring their weapons to this place in order to make them more powerful and that in the performance of the ceremony that she witnessed in 1983 a sacred heirloom (*pusaka*), the weapon Muliadipura belonging to the heroine R.A. Sumirah, had been present, wrapped in a yellow cloth, looking like a sword and resting against the tree near the offerings. The antiquities of Java photographed by Isidore VAN KINSBERGEN (1821–1905) include an 18<sup>th</sup>-century kris ornamented with a veiled Durgā and inscribed in Arabic (reproduced in THEUNS-DE BOER and ASSER 2005, p. 230 [37A-B]).

<sup>189</sup> *Kathāsaritsāgara* 42.117–18 and 52.168–84.

ature of the Kashmirian Śāktas, was indeed associated with royal power and rites of war. A certain Vāmadatta of Kānyakubja receives with his wife the initiation (*dīkṣā*) and Vidyā of this goddess from his wife's mother, a great Yoginī (*siddhayoginī*, *yogeśvarī*). He then goes to Śrīparvata to perform the postinitia-tory observances that are the means of achieving mastery over this Vidyā-deity (*vidyāsādhanam*). Once mastered (*siddhā*) she appears before him and grants him a magnificent sword (*khadgottamaṃ dadau*). With this in his possession he becomes king of the Vidyādharas, builds a city in the Malaya mountains, and fathers on his co-initiated wife a daughter who is predicted to become the wife of the future emperor of all the Vidyādharas.<sup>190</sup> The same story is included in the *Br̥hatkathāmañjarī*, a briefer redaction of the same materials composed by the Kashmirian Kṣemendra between 1028 and 1063.<sup>191</sup>

The evidence of the association of the Kālīkula's Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī with swords seen in the *Jayadrathayāmala* and this mythical narrative is confirmed at the end of an account of the worship of a form of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī in the *Ekāntavāsinīdevatāyāga* found in a birch-bark manuscript of the *Kāśmīrikakarmakāṇḍapaddhati*, a compendium that sets out the rituals of the brahmins of Kashmir:

1 śṛṇu deveśi tattvena rahasyam paramadurlabham |  
ekāntī devatā ⟨yā sā⟩ kālasaṃkarṣaṇī parā |  
2 sutānāṃ jīvitārthe ca pūjayet parameśvarīm |  
purā tu devadeveśi gauryāḥ putro na jīvitaḥ |  
3 divyaṃ varṣasahasra ⟨ṇ⟩ ca tapas taptam mayā priye |  
jīvitārthena putrāṇāṃ kṛtam vratam abhīpsitam |  
4 aśarīrā tadā vāṇī hy abravīn madhurā girā |  
saṃkarṣaṇī nāma devī ekāntī hy atha yocyate |  
5 pūjayet parayā bhaktyā sutānāṃ jīvitārthataḥ |  
sā śaktiḥ paramā devī dīrghajīvoas suto bhavet |

śrīdevy uvāca:

6 sarvasaṃśayacchettāra sarvajña parameśvara |  
vidhānaṃ brūhi me tasyā yadi tuṣṭo 'si me prabho |

īśvara uvāca:

<sup>190</sup>Kathāsaritsāgara 68.64–71b: athāasmād gṛhāyātāṃ śvasrūṃ tām siddhayoginīm | anugrahārthī so 'bhyarcya prārthayām āsa yatnataḥ | 65 sātha yogeśvarī tasmai sabhāryāya yathāvidhi | kālasaṃkarṣiṇīm vidyāṃ dīkṣāpūrvam upādiśat | 66 tataḥ śrīparvataṃ gatvā sa vidyāṃ tām asādhyat | sā ca siddhā satī sāksāt tasmai khadgottamaṃ dadau | 67 prāptakhadgāś ca saṃpannaḥ sa tayā bhāryayā saha | kāntimatyā kṛtī vāmadatto vidyādharaṭṭamaḥ | 68 tato rajatakūṭākhye śṛṅge malayabhūbhṛtaḥ | kṛtam puravaram tena nijasiddhiprabhāvataḥ | 69 tato vidyādharendrasya tatra kālena kanyakā | tasyāṃ patyāṃ samutpannā nāmnā lalitalocanā | 70 jātamātraiva sā vidyādharasaccakravartinaḥ | bhāryā bhavitrī nirdiṣṭā gaganodbhāvayā girā.

<sup>191</sup>Br̥hatkathāmañjarī 9.52–54, reading in 53 tacchikṣayā vāmadattaḥ \*kālasaṃkarṣiṇīm śritaḥ (em. : kāle saṃkarṣiṇīm śritaḥ Ed.'s MS KHA : kālasaṃkarṣaṇo 'sinaḥ Ed.) | vidyāṃ śrīparvate dhyātva khadgavidyādhara 'bhavat.

7 śṛṇu devi pravakṣyāmi tantraṃ trailokyadurlabham |  
 vedādyam pūrvam uddhṛtya mahāpāpāntam uddharet |  
 8 pānujaṃ repham ārūḍham agnidhāmnaiva bhūṣitam |  
 ardhendubindusahitaṃ mantraṃ tridaśaḍāmaram |  
 9 svanāmasahitā devī namaskārāntayojitā |  
 karādidehanyāsaṃ ca ekoccareṇa kārayet |  
 10 svagrhe pūjayet devīm bhogair nānāvidhaiś śubhaiḥ |  
 padmaṃ cātra surekhaṃ tu caturasraṃ tu pṛṣṭhataḥ |  
 11 dvāraiś caturbhis saṃyuktaṃ nānāraṅgais tu rañjitam |  
 ādau snātvoā suvastrā ca bhaktyā pūjyā maheśvari |  
 12 pūjitā varadā devī śuklapakṣe dine tithau |  
 trayodaśyām arkadine caturthyām ca varānane |  
 13 mārgaśīrṣe tathā jyaiṣṭhe pratisaṃvatsaram punaḥ |  
 grhe bhartuś ca putrārthe śāntyarthe pūjayet sadā |  
 14 devaveśmapratiṣṭhādau sutakanyāvivoāhayoḥ |  
 ṣaṣṭhyā yāge tathā **khadge** jantau jāte prapūjayet |  
 15 rājakāryeṣu sarveṣu yajñe devīm prapūjayet |

*Kāśmīrikakarmakāṇḍapaddhati*, f. 35v (*Ekāntavāsīnīdevatāyāgaḥ*)

**4d** *yocyate* conj.: *śocyate* Cod. **6c** *tasyā* em.: *tasya* Cod. **6d** *prabho* conj.: *śṛṇu* Cod. **7d** *mahāpāpāntam uddharet* conj.: *mahāpāpānta coddharet* Cod. **8a** *pānujaṃ* em. (cf. *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 230r2: *pānujaṃ proccaret*): *sānujaṃ* Cod. **8b** *agnidhāmnaiva* em.: *agnidhāstraiva* Cod. **8d** *tridaśaḍāmaram* em. [cf. *Nityākāula*, f. 4v3–4: + *ntraṃ tridaśaḍāmaram*): *didaśaḍāmaram* Cod. **9c** *nyāsaṃ ca* conj.: *nyāsenā* Cod. **10d** *pṛṣṭhataḥ* conj.: *pṛṣṭatām* Cod. **14a** *devaveśmapratiṣṭhādau* conj.: *pratiṣṭhādevaveśmādau* Cod. **15b** *devīm* conj.: *dīkṣām* Cod.

Hear, Deveśī, in truth the secret supremely difficult to acquire. The goddess Ekāntī is the supreme Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī.<sup>192</sup> One should worship [this goddess] Parameśvarī for the [long] life of one’s sons. In the past, Devadeveśī, a son of Gaurī did not survive and I, beloved, [therefore] practised celestial penance for a thousand years. I performed the desired ascetic observance to secure the longevity of my sons. Then a disembodied, sweet-toned voice addressed me and said: “For the long life of one’s sons one should worship with total devotion the goddess [Kāla]saṃkarṣaṇī known as Ekāntī. This goddess is the supreme Śakti. [By her favour] one’s son will be long-lived”. The goddess said: “Omniscient Parameśvara, resolver of all doubts, if you are pleased with me, my master, tell me her rite”. Īśvara replied and said: “Hear, Devī. I shall teach you the most precious ritual in all the three worlds. One should extract the first [sound] of the Veda [OM], then the [letter] after the Great Sin [KH(A)]<sup>193</sup> and the younger sibling of P[A] on R[A] adorned

<sup>192</sup>On the iconographic evidence of the identity of Ekāntavāsīnī / Ekāntī with Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī in this text see SANDERSON 1990, pp. 61–63.

<sup>193</sup>That ‘the great sin’ (*mahāpāpam*) is K[A] so that the letter which follows it (*mahāpāpāntam*) is KH[A] may be inferred from the *Varṇanāmapaṭala*. For that lists ‘the cutting’, ‘Brahmā’ and ‘the

with the fire-pit [E] and accompanied by the half-moon and the dot[, namely] the Tridaśaḍāmara Mantra [KHPHREM]. The goddess [that is this Vidyā] should be accompanied by her name [in the dative case] and have NAMAḤ added at the end.<sup>194</sup> One may accomplish the installation [of the Mantra] on the hands and body [simply] by reciting it once. One should worship the goddess in one's home with fine foods of many kinds and there should be a lotus for her with well-drawn lines and a square behind it, provided with four gateways, and coloured with powders of various hues. First one should bathe, Maheśvarī, and then after putting on a fine garment worship her with devotion. The goddess grants boons when worshipped every year on the thirteenth lunar day, if it is a Sunday, and the fourth, of the bright halves of the months Mārgaśīrṣa and Jyaiṣṭha, in the home of [one's] husband, in order to obtain male offspring, and to quell [all dangers]. One should [also] worship her in such [ceremonies] as the consecration of [an image of] a god or a [new] house, or on the occasion of the marriage of a son or daughter, when one performs worship of [the goddess] Ṣaṣṭhī, **on the sword**, and whenever a person is born. [Moreover,] one should worship the goddess in a fire sacrifice (*yajñe*) on the occasion of any undertaking on behalf of the king.<sup>195</sup>

Since this reference to the sword occurs as an item in a list of irregular or special occasions requiring worship, we may infer that the text has in mind a special

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head' among the code-names of KA (vv. 20c–21b): *yonyādyam kartanam caiva kalaśam parikīrtitam | brahmānam śīrśakam caiva kakāram paripaṭhyate*. The expression *mahāpāpam* evidently conveys the same sense, referring to the great sin (*mahāpātakah*) of brahminicide committed by Śiva when he cut off the fifth head arrogantly sprouted by four-headed Brahmā and then performed penance by carrying the skull, the embodiment of that sin, in his left hand as his begging bowl. The myth is already told in chapters 5 to 7 of the original *Skandapurāṇa*, which holds that the decapitation took place in Kashmir (7.33), and in 78.210–217 of the *Picumata* (f. 311r2–4), which locates the events by the bank of the Gandhavatī (f. 311r2 [210c]: *gandhavatyā taṭe ramye*), that is to say, in the cremation ground of Ujjain (*Kathāsaritsāgara* 102.6–7 and *Picumata* 3.97c–99b [f. 7v1–2]: *paścime kalpayed devi ujjenīksetram uttamam | pāśam tatra samālikhya aśvattham vṛkṣam uttamam | tasyādhaṣṭālikhen mantrī nāmnā gandhavatīnadī(m) | tasya dakṣiṇatīre tu śmaśānām cālikhed budhaḥ*). There are striking affinities between these two early versions, notably in the detail that Viṣṇu offers his own blood when Śiva holds out the skull to him for alms, with the difference that in the *Ur-Skandapurāṇa* Viṣṇu opens a vein in his forehead for this purpose (6.4–6b), whereas in the *Picumata* he holds out his arm, from which Śiva then extracts the blood by piercing it with his trident (78.214c–216 [f. 311r3–4]: *kapālamālinam drṣṭvā jñātvā ca puruṣottamaḥ | svabhujam darśayām āsa mahāsattvo mahābalaḥ | tato mayā trīśūlena hatas tu śubhalocane | śronitasyātivegena tato dhārā vinirgatā | mahāghoṣeṇa patitā kapāle cātibhāsvare*).

<sup>194</sup>Thus KHPHREM KĀLASAMKARṢANYAI NAMAḤ or KHPHREM EKĀNTAVĀSINYAI NAMAḤ.

<sup>195</sup>I have emended the manuscript's reading *dīkṣām* to *devīm* here. The reading is not impossible. For there is a Dīkṣādevī in the Kashmirian Śākta pantheon, this name being an alias of the goddess Bhuvanamālinī taught in the *Jayadrathayāmala*. However, that goddess has a very specific application both there and in the Kashmirian rituals, namely, as her alias indicates, initiation (*dīkṣā*); see SANDERSON 2007, p. 253–255. It is in any case implausible that the identity of the goddess would change at this point.

ritual (*naimittikaṃ karma*) for the empowerment of the sword, either before battle or in the context of the calendrical worship of the royal sword during the annual Navarātra festival.<sup>196</sup>

Finally, Abhinavagupta reports in his *Tantrāloka* that the *Kāṭimukha*, evidently a text of the Kāṭikula, specifies a sword, a dagger, or a knife as suitable substrates for the worship of this goddess;<sup>197</sup> and we find the same in the Krama's *Kāṭikulapañcaśataka*. That says that Saṃhārabhairavī, the eleven-syllable Vidyā for the worship of Kālī in the phase of withdrawal (HŪṢ PHAṬ KHPHREM MAHĀCANḌAYOGĒSVAṚ), may be worshipped internally as a brilliant light ascending from the point between the brows or externally on the surface of a large mirror in front of a dagger or “most fearsome knife” set up for this purpose.<sup>198</sup> The same source prescribes that the thirteen Kālīs may be worshipped in the fourth and final phase of Krama worship, here called the *kālikākramaḥ* and elsewhere the *anākhyakramaḥ*, either within consciousness in the lotus of Brahmā above the head or, in the option of external worship, on a Maṇḍala of twelve circles surrounding a circle at the centre, or on the central tip of a sharp trident, a red cloth, a lamp, or the tip of ‘a king among swords’ (*khaḍgeśaḥ*),<sup>199</sup> which may well be the royal sword itself.

<sup>196</sup>Procedures for worshipping and parading the royal sword during the Navarātra festival are taught in Purāṇic accounts of this festival (EINOO 1999). On the worship of the royal weapons in this context see also SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 255–256 and n. 66, citing the Kashmirian *Ne-tratantra*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, and *Nilamata*, and the recorded traditions of the courts of Mysore and Jaipur. See also TOFFIN 1996 and LEVY 1990, pp. 523–563 on Navarātra in the Newar royal cities of Patan and Bhaktapur; TANABE 1999 on Navarātra in the village Garh Manitri, the site of one of the forts of the Khurda kingdom (1572–1804) in Orissa.

<sup>197</sup>*Tantrāloka* 27.44: *khaḍgaṃ kṛpāṇikāṃ yad vā kartarīm makuraṃ ca vā | vimalaṃ tat tathā kuryāc chrīmatkāṭimukhoditam.*

<sup>198</sup>*Kāṭikulapañcaśataka* N<sup>1</sup> f. 18r3–5, N<sup>3</sup> f. 43v6–44r3 (N<sup>2</sup> lacks the folio that contained this portion): 4.71 *pūjayed bindumārgordhvaṃ mahātejaḥsoarūpiṇīm | bhāvābhāveṣu sarveṣu saṃhāra-cakranāyikām | 72 mahātejovatīm dīptām bindūrdhvapathagāminīm | tatra pūjyā prayatnena svasaṃvedanatatparaiḥ | 73 athavā cchurikāṃ \*sthāpya (N<sup>1</sup> : sthāpyā N<sup>2</sup>) kartarīm vā sudārunām | \*mahāmukuraprṣṭhe (mukura conj. : mukuta Codd.) tu pūjyā saṃhārabhairavī. The Vidyā is extracted in 4.64–69. I have emended the reading of the manuscripts *mahāmukutaḥprṣṭhe* ‘on a large crown’ to *mahāmukuraprṣṭhe* ‘on a large mirror’ because I know no instance of worship on crowns, because the related passage cited above from the *Kāṭimukha* also mentions mirrors as an optional substrate, and because the use of a mirror as a substitute for an image of the goddess is independently attested. Thus in the survey of temples in the Kannur district of Kerala carried out by the Census Organization of India (JAYASHANKER 1999) 10 of the idols of the presiding deities in the 38 major temples of the goddess for which data were collected were reported to be in the form of mirrors (mostly made of the five metals [*pañcaloha*–], namely copper alloyed with small quantities of tin, silver, gold, and iron, or of bell-metal), and in 8 out of 16 others in which it was said that the main image is anthropomorphic with a secondary goddess on site, commonly Bhadrakālī, the same was reported of the latter. Nearly half, then, have a mirror in place of a conventional idol, either of the main or of the secondary goddess.*

<sup>199</sup>*Kāṭikulapañcaśataka* N<sup>1</sup>, ff. 21v5–22r4 and 23v2–3; N<sup>2</sup>, f. 58r1–4 (5.48c–50c lacking through loss of folios) and 60v2; N<sup>3</sup>, f. 49r4–v4 and 51v4–5; 5.52 quoted without attribution in *Tantrāloka*viveka on 29.25–27b (J): *pūjyam etad brahmapadme nirākhyam ca nirāmaye | 5.49 ṣoḍaśānte navānte vā cidantaḥ parameśvara | svasaṃvittikrameṇaiva \*bāhye (N<sup>1</sup> : bāhya N<sup>3</sup>) vātha trilocana | 5.50*

Nor is the evidence of this association of the goddess of the Kālīkula with swords restricted to Kashmir. For in the Paddhatis of the Newar Śākta brahmins the closely related Siddhilakṣmī/Pratyāṅgirā, whose cult is taught in the second Śaṭka of the *Jayadrathayāmala*,<sup>200</sup> is summoned into her Maṇḍala for worship as ‘the goddess of the king’s Mantra<sup>201</sup> present in and as the sword’ (*khadḡasthā khadḡgarūpiṇī*).<sup>202</sup> This is in all probability the sword of the Malla kings of Bhaktapur, which is still kept alongside the statue of the royal tutelary goddess Taleju in the palace temple.<sup>203</sup>

### Mystics and Sorcerers

There are, then, good reasons to think that the Paippalādins of Orissa did not commit a category mistake when they adopted the Kālīkula’s Mantras as the basis for these rituals but merely adapted an existing association between Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī and martial might to the more exoteric identity of the goddess Bhadrakālī with her established position in royal and civic religion. Indeed the evidence that they looked for the Mantras of these rituals to the Kālīkula, a system whose exegetical literature has adopted such a high soteriological tone, is a

\*rājavartena (N<sup>1</sup>: rājavattena N<sup>3</sup>) rajasā vyomabimban tu kārayet | bimbadvādaśakaṃ bāhye tadrūpam avatārayet | 5.51 \*lohitam (em. [= J]: lohitam Codd.) vyomarekhāṃ tu (rekhāṃ tu em. [= J]: rekhānta Codd.) dadyāt sindūrakena \*ca (Codd.: tu J) | viparyayaṇa vā kāryā śuklā vā vyomarekhikā | 5.52 niśite sūlacakre vā pūjayet tat \*svadehajaiḥ (em.: svadehaje Codd.) | pañcāsītis tu devīnāṃ koṭayas tatra nityasaḥ | 5.53 vyomarūpās ca tiṣṭhanti mahāsiddhipradā yataḥ | madhye pūjyā mahākālī bāhye ’nyā dvādaśa kramāt | 5.54 pūrvād ārabhya sarvās tāḥ pūjayed yoginandana; and 5.78: pūjayed raktavastre vā dīpe *khadḡgeśamūrdhani* | \*madhye (N<sup>2</sup> N<sup>3</sup>: + dhye N<sup>1</sup>) pūjyā punar devī vidyeśāni navākṣarā.

<sup>200</sup>On the place of this goddess in the *Jayadrathayāmala*, called there Siddhalakṣmī rather than Siddhilakṣmī as in Nepalese sources, see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 256–257 and n. 77, citing the view of the *Tantrarājantrāvatārasotra* of Viśvāvarta, according to which Siddhalakṣmī is the principal deity of the second Śaṭka. Her Vidyā and its worship are taught at its end (ff. 129r1–132v3).

<sup>201</sup>*Navarātrapūjā*, f. 5r6: śrī 3 rājamantrabhātṭārikāśrīsiddhilakṣmīdevārcanaṃ kārayet ‘[Next,] the worship of the deity Siddhilakṣmī, the thrice venerable goddess of the king’s Mantra’; and *Navarātrapūjāvidhi*, f. 15v11: śrīrājakulabhātṭārakapāraṃparāyakraṃeṇa śrīsiddhilakṣmīdevīthaṇḍilyarcanam ‘[Next,] the worship of Siddhilakṣmīdevī in the vase (Newari *thaṇḍili*) in accordance with the tradition of the venerable royal palace’. On the role of Siddhilakṣmī in the royal ritual of the Kathmandu valley see SANDERSON 2003–04, pp. 366–372.

<sup>202</sup>E.g. *Navarātrapūjāvidhi*, f. 17r1–2 (in the worship of Siddhilakṣmī): yā sā parāparā sūkṣmā khadḡasthā khadḡgarūpiṇī | suralokagatā devī \*sāyātu (em.: sāyāntu Cod.) iha maṇḍale; *Pratyāṅgirā-paddhati*, f. 15v–16r: yā sā parāparā devī khadḡasthā kha(d)garūpiṇī | suralokagatā \*yāsti (conj.: yānti Cod.) \*āyātu (conj.: āyāntu Cod.) iha maṇḍale; *Uttarāmnāyapavitārōhaṇavidhi*, f. 4v6 (in which the Yajamāna is identified as the Malla king Jayasthiti [r. 1382–1395]): yā sā parāparā devī khadḡasthā \*khadḡgarūpiṇī (em.: khasvarūpiṇī Cod.) | suralokagatā saumyā \*āyātu (em.: āyāntu Cod.) iha maṇḍale.

<sup>203</sup>VERGATI 1995, p. 94. See also LEVY 1990, pp. 469–492. On the Tantric identity of the goddess Taleju see SANDERSON 2003–04, pp. 372–373, n. 74.

salutory reminder of the danger of being seduced by elevated Tantric exegesis into forgetting that it glosses traditions of practice that will generally have been much more diverse in their repertoire, offering services vital to the continuing royal patronage that could create the infrastructure that could in time give rise to and support the high theory that turned its attention away from these more mundane and professional aspects of the tradition.

Nor should we assume that those who produced the high-level theory with its soteriological emphasis, as exemplified in the learned works of the Kashmirian authorities of the Krama, were necessarily disengaged in their own practice from involvement in the more instrumental aspects of the ritual systems into which they had been initiated. For, as I have shown elsewhere, the Kashmirian Krama was not as exclusively otherworldly as one might expect from its emphasis on its system as a means of contemplative self-realization. The Kashmirian historian Kalhaṇa reports the boast of the followers of the Kālīkula that their Guru Vīranātha successfully performed a seven-day ritual of chastisement (*nigrahakarma*) to bring about the death of king Yaśaskara (r. 939–948) while he held office as his minister of war and peace; and the anonymous Kashmirian *Mahānayaṅprakāśa*, perhaps the most elevated of the Krama's texts on its form of worship as the means of liberation, reports that the same Guru had employed this system to accomplish hostile rituals for such purposes as immobilizing (*stambhanam*) and causing dissension (*vidveṣaṇam*). The text does not specify the targets of his rituals but this very silence suggests that they were rituals aimed against the enemies of Kashmir, immobilization, that is, of the army of an invader (*parasainyastambhanam*), and the protection of the country by bringing about dissension between an enemy and his allies, these being the usual meanings of the terms *stambhanam* and *vidveṣaṇam*.<sup>204</sup> Finally, just as a strong emphasis on the salvific style of Tantric worship did not preclude involvement in hostile rites, so a strong emphasis on hostile rites did not necessarily entail disengagement from the more esoteric domain of Tantric ritual for liberation. For we have in the *Āṅgīrasakalpa* corpus the literature of a group of ritualists to whose identity as holders or seekers of office as the Atharvavedic priests of royal patrons expertise in rites for hostile purposes was fundamental. Yet, as we have seen, this professional specialization did not preclude their including in their corpus a form of esoteric Trika ritual that aims at liberation alone, serving the needs of the ritualists themselves rather than their patrons.

<sup>204</sup>The textual evidence for the identity of Kalhaṇa's Vīranātha with the Krama Guru Hrasva-nātha and his performing hostile rituals of chastisement, immobilization, and dissension is presented in SANDERSON 2007, pp. 280–291.

## Sigla and Abbreviations

- As = Asimilā manuscript of the *Āṅgirasakalpa*  
 ASB = Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta  
 BEFEO = Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient  
 BORI = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune  
 Cod. = The reading of the manuscript  
 Codd. = The reading of all the manuscripts  
 conj. = My conjectural emendation  
 corr. = My correction  
 Ed. = The reading of the edition  
 Ed<sup>P</sup> = *Paippalādavaśādiṣatkarmapaddhati*  
 EFEO = École française d'Extrême-Orient  
 em. = My emendation  
 GOML = Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras  
 IFI = Institut français d'Indologie  
 IFP = Institut français de Pondichéry  
 K = Khmer inscription, numbered as in CÉDÈS 1937–1966  
 KBC = The Korean Buddhist Canon  
 KSTS = Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies  
 NAK = National Archives, Kathmandu  
 NGMPP = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project  
 OSM = Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar  
 P<sub>1</sub> = BORI MS 960 of 1887–91 (*Āṅgirasa*)  
 P<sub>2</sub> = BORI MS 959 of 1887–91 (*Āṅgirasa*)  
 SRPD = Srinagar, Manuscript Collection of the Research and Publication Department of the Jammu and Kashmir Government  
 T/121 = OSM MS T/121 (*Āṅgirasakalpa*)  
 T/187 = OSM MS T/187 (*Āṅgirasakalpa*)  
 Taishō = *Taishō shinshū daizokyo* (The Tripitaka in Chinese)

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*Kālarudratāntra*. ASB MS 10389 (G). Paper; Devanāgarī.

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## Was Bhaṭṭa Jayanta a Paippalādin?\*

Kei Kataoka

### Introduction

As RAGHAVAN (1964) and DEZSŐ (2004) explain in their introductions, Bhaṭṭa Jayanta,<sup>1</sup> the ninth century Kashmirian scholar famous for his *Nyāyamañjarī*, was a contemporary of King Śaṅkaravarman (883–902), because in his play *Āgamaḍambara* he refers to himself as a minister of that king (ĀD<sub>1</sub> 46.19: *taśśa amacce dulāālayamṭe*). He also depicts the king, both in the *Āgamaḍambara* (ĀD<sub>1</sub> 46.19–20) and the *Nyāyamañjarī* (NM I 649.4–7), as having banned the corrupt Nīlāmbara sect.

Raghavan and Dezső investigate Jayanta's genealogy mainly on the basis of the introductory verses in the *Kādambarīkathāsāra* of Abhinanda, Jayanta's son, together with scattered pieces of information gathered from Jayanta's own works, i.e. the *Āgamaḍambara* and the *Nyāyamañjarī*. DEZSŐ (2004: v–vi) gives the relevant text of the *Kādambarīkathāsāra* and its translation as follows:

*śaktināmābhavad gauḍo bhāradvājakule dvījah |*  
*dārvābhisāram āsādyā kṛtadāraparigrahaḥ ||5||*  
*tasya mitrābhīdhāno 'bhūd ātmajas tejasām nidhiḥ |*  
*janena doṣoparamaprabuddhenārcitodayaḥ ||6||*  
*sa śaktiśvāminam putram avāpa śrutaśālinam |*  
*rājñāḥ karkoṭavaṃśasya muktāpīḍasya mantriṇam ||7||*  
*kalyāṇasvāmināmāsya yājñavalkya ivābhavat |*  
*tanayaḥ śuddhayogarddhinirdhūtabhavakalmaṣaḥ ||8||*  
*agādhahrdayāt tasmāt parameśvaramaṇḍanam |*  
*ajāyata sutaḥ kāntaś candro dugdhodadher iva ||9||*  
*putram kṛtajanānandaṃ sa jayantam ajījanat |*  
*āsīt kavītvavakṛtvaphalā yasya sarasvatī ||10||*  
*vṛttikāra iti vyaktaṃ dvitīyaṃ nāma bibhrataḥ |*  
*vedavedāṅgaviduṣaḥ sarvaśāstrārthavādinah ||11||*  
*jayantānāmnaḥ sudhiyaḥ sādhusāhityatattvavit |*  
*sūnuḥ samudabhūt tasmād abhinanda iti śrutaḥ ||12||*

There was a Gauḍa Brahman by the name Śakti, [born] in the Bhāradvāja family, who moved to Dārvābhisāra and married [there]. He had a son called Mitra, a treasury of majestic luster, whose rise was hailed by the people, roused due to the cessation of dangers, *like the sun [Mitra] whose rising is*

\*I thank Prof. Shingo Einoo, Prof. Harunaga Isaacson and Dr. Helmut Krasser for comments.

<sup>1</sup>In the *Āgamaḍambara* (ĀD<sub>1</sub> 2.23) he calls himself Bhaṭṭa Jayanta and not Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.

worshipped by the people who have woken at the end of the night. He obtained a son, Śaktisvāmin, versed in the Vedas, the minister of King Mukṭāpīḍa of the Karkoṭa dynasty. He had a son called Kalyāṇasvāmin, who shook off the dirt of existence with wealth acquired by pure means, like Yājñavalkya, *who destroyed the stains of existence with the accomplishment of pure Yoga*. From that man of profound heart a beautiful son was born: Candra, an ornament of the Supreme Lord, *as the lovely moon [Candra], Śiva's ornament, was produced from the milk-ocean of unfathomable depth*. He begot a son, Jayanta, who made people happy, and who became poet and teacher as a result of his eloquence. Then to that wise man named Jayanta, who had a well-known second name 'The Commentator', was learned in the Vedas and the ancillary Vedic sciences, and expounded the meaning of all *śāstras*, a son was born, known as Abhinanda, conversant with the true nature of good literature.

Jayanta's ancestor, Śakti, a Gauḍa (Bengali)<sup>2</sup> brahmin belonging to the Bhāradvājagotra (*gauḍo bhāradvājakule dvijaḥ*), moved to Dārvābhisāra<sup>3</sup> in Kashmir. Śakti's grandson, Śaktisvāmin, was a minister of King Lalitāditya-Mukṭāpīḍa of the Karkoṭa dynasty (c. 724–761).<sup>4</sup> According to Jayanta, his grandfather, Kalyāṇasvāmin, obtained the village of Gauramūlaka<sup>5</sup> as the result of a Sāṃgrahaṇī sacrifice. Jayanta's family history is summarized in the following chart.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup>No one has raised questions about the interpretation of *gauḍo ... dvijaḥ* as implying that Śakti hailed from Gauḍa, i.e. Bengal. It is unlikely that Abhinanda, in describing his family history, used such concrete words in a secondary sense, for example, 'a brahmin who has some connection with Gauḍa' without actually living or having lived there, or that he intended some reference to the 'Gauḍa' subdivision of brahmins, on which, see DESHPANDE (2002).

<sup>3</sup>For Dārvābhisāra, see RAGHAVAN (1964: i, n. 3) and DEZSŐ (2004: vi). They refer to Stein's note ad *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 1.180, where Dārvābhisāra is said to have "comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Vitastā and Candrabhāgā."

<sup>4</sup>Cf. DEZSŐ (2004: vi, n. 6): "On the chronology of the Karkoṭa dynasty see RT(S), vol. I, pp. 66ff. Kalhaṇa does not mention Śaktisvāmin. He does however mention a minister of Lalitāditya called Mitraśarman (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 4.137f.)."

<sup>5</sup>NM I 653.11–12: *asmatpitāmaha eva grāmakāmaḥ sāṃgrahaṇīm kṛtavān. sa iṣṭisamāptisamantaram eva gauramūlakam grāmam avāpa*. "My own grandfather, desiring a village, performed the *sāṃgrahaṇī* sacrifice. Immediately after the completion of the sacrifice he obtained the village of Gauramūlaka" (Tr. by DEZSŐ [2004: vii]).

For Gauramūlaka, see RAGHAVAN (1964: ii, n. 1) and DEZSŐ (2004: vii). They refer to Stein's note ad *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* ad 8.1861: "*Ghoramūlaka*, which is only here mentioned, was probably situated to the north of Rajaurī in the direction of the Rattan Pīr range. ... We have shown in note i. 180 (comp. also vii. 1531), that the geographical term Dārvābhisāra included the territory of Rājapurī. And in the latter the Ghoramūlaka of our own passage was evidently situated. The phonetic difference between the forms *Gauramūlaka* and *Ghoramūlaka* is easily accounted for. It is *á priori* probable that we have in both forms attempts to sanskritize a Kaśmīrī (or Pahārī?) village name, which in its Apabhraṃśa form may have sounded \**Gōramul*, \**Gauramul*, or something similar. ... Whereas Abhinanda transcribed the name of his grandfather's Agraḥāra by *Gauramūlaka*, perhaps with an intentional approximation to his own surname 'the Gauḍa,' Kalhaṇa reproduces three centuries later the local name in a proper and intelligible Sanskrit garb as *Ghoramūlaka*."

<sup>6</sup>See also HEGDE (1984) for a detailed chronology.

|   |               |  |
|---|---------------|--|
| 1 | Śakti         | Gauḍa brahmin of the Bhāradvājagotra who moved to Dārvābhisāra in Kashmir  |
| 2 | Mitra         |  |
| 3 | Śaktisvāmin   | Minister of King Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa (c. 724–761) of the Karkoṭa dynasty |
| 4 | Kalyāṇasvāmin | obtained the village of Gauramūlaka  |
| 5 | Candra        |  |
| 6 | Jayanta       | Minister of King Śaṅkaravarman (883–902)                                   |
| 7 | Abhinanda     | Author of the <i>Kādambarīkathāsāra</i>                                    |

### Jayanta's discussion on the authoritativeness of the Atharvaveda

Jayanta's unique doctrine of 'authoritativeness of all scriptures' (*sarvāgamaprāmāṇya*) is a topic common to both of his most important works, i.e. the *Nyāyamañjarī* and the *Āgamaḍambara*.<sup>7</sup> There he presupposes a hierarchy of various scriptures mainly based on the classification of 'the fourteen branches of science' (*caturdaśavidyāsthāna*).

|                                      |               |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1–4                                  | 4 Vedas       |
| 5                                    | Smṛti         |
| 6                                    | Itihāsapurāṇa |
| 7–12                                 | 6 Aṅgas       |
| 13                                   | Mīmāṃsā       |
| 14                                   | Nyāya         |
| <hr/>                                |               |
| Śaiva, Pāśupata, Pañcarātra          |               |
| <hr/>                                |               |
| Bauddha, Ārhata                      |               |
| <hr/>                                |               |
| Lokāyata, Nīlāmbara, (Samsāramocaka) |               |

He accepts that all scriptures, except those of extreme sects such as Lokāyata, Nīlāmbara and Samsāramocaka, are authoritative because they fulfill the condition either 'being based on the Vedas' or 'being composed by a reliable person'. This view is adopted also in his shortest work, the *Nyāyakalikā* (4.12–14: *vedavad āgamāntarāṇy api tanmūlatvād āptapraṇītātvaḍ vā pramāṇam iti veditavyāni*). The section on 'the authoritativeness of the Atharvaveda' (*atharvavedaprāmāṇya*),<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup>For Jayanta's unique view of *sarvāgamaprāmāṇya* and a discussion of the religious and political situation of his day, see WEZLER (1976).

<sup>8</sup>For this section, there is an English translation by BHATTACHARYYA (1978), a Gujarati translation by SHAH (1989), and two summaries by NARAHARI (1940) and SHAH (1997).

which is relevant for our present concern about the Paippalāda school,<sup>9</sup> is located in the *Nyāyamañjarī* immediately before the section on ‘the authoritative-ness of all scriptures’.

After having proven the authoritative-ness of the Vedas with the Naiyāyika argument that they are composed by a reliable person (NM I 610.11: *tasmād āptoktatvād eva vedāḥ pramāṇam iti siddham*), and shown as well the Mīmāṃsaka reasoning (610.12–613.8) and a modified Naiyāyika one both of which presuppose the beginningless *saṃsāra* (613.9–614.4), Jayanta refers to someone (*kaścit*), either Naiyāyika or Mīmāṃsaka as is indicated by two different positions (614.6–9, 11–14), who raises an objection about the authoritative-ness of the Atharvaveda (614.6–14): one can say that the three Vedas are authoritative because they teach ritual elements which are mutually connected; but the Atharvaveda is not, because it does not teach such matters and thus is separate in activity (*prthagvyavahāra*) and outside the three Vedas (*trayībāhya*).

As will be made clear later, this objection is motivated by a Mīmāṃsā maxim that various elements of a single ritual are known collectively from all the branches of the Vedas (621.4: *sarvaśākhāpratyayam ekaṃ karma*).<sup>10</sup> Thus, according to this exegetic rule, it is clear that the Atharvaveda is ‘outside the three Vedas’, because it teaches *śānti*, *puṣṭi* and *abhicāra*, which are performed by a single Brahman priest, as Kumārila points out even while defending its authoritative-ness,<sup>11</sup> and thus does not contribute to Vedic sacrifices (615.16–19).

Jayanta replies to the objection by following the same exegetic rule. He explains how the Atharvaveda contributes to Vedic sacrifices and therefore has connection with the three Vedas: it teaches ritual actions such as *iṣṭi*, *paśu*, *ekāha*, *ahīna* and *sa[t]tra* (620.17–18) and it prescribes the office of a Brahman priest

<sup>9</sup>Cf. GRIFFITHS (2004: 51–52, n. 10): “... because it is precisely this 9th century Kashmirian author whose detailed discussions regarding the status of the AV and whose particular mentioning of the Paippalāda Śākhā render BHATTACHARYA’S attempts to disprove Paippalāda presence in Kashmir before ‘Yuddhabhaṭṭa’ (cf. GRIFFITHS 2002: 42f.) in the 15th century rather doubtful: cf. e.g. *Nyāyamañjarī*, Mysore Ed. vol. I p. 5, l. 3; 552, 8 (!); 589, 2–3; 614, 12; 619, 19 through 620, 2; 623, 10.”

<sup>10</sup>Cf. *Śābarabhāṣya* ad 2.4.9, ŚBh 635.4–5: *yad uktam “śākhāntareṣu karmabhedah” iti. sarvaśākhā-pratyayam sarvabrāhmaṇapratyayam ekaṃ karma* ‘It is said that ritual actions are distinguished [from each other] when the [Vedic] branches are different. [But it is not the case.] A single ritual is known from all branches and all Brāhmaṇas.’

<sup>11</sup>*Tantravārttika* 189.3–6 ad 1.3.4 (quoted in NM I 615.16–19): *yadi yajñopayogitvam nehasty ātharvaṇaśruteḥ | arthāntarapramāṇatvam kenāsyāḥ pratihanyate || śāntipuṣṭyabhicārārthā hy ekabrahmartvīgāśrītāḥ | kriyās tayā pramīyante \*trāpy evātmīyagocarāḥ ||* (NM reads: *trayīvātmīyagocarāḥ*; but NMGBh 101.14–15 supports *-gocarāḥ*) ‘With regard to this, [even] if the Atharvanic revelation does not contribute to a sacrifice, why is it denied that it is authoritative [at least] with regard to other things? For in this case, too, ritual actions relying on a single Brahman priest which aim at propitiation, prosperity or black magic are known from the [Atharvanic revelation] as constituting its [i.e., the revelations’s] special domain’ (Cakradhara in NMGBh 101.15–18 interprets *ātmīyagocarāḥ* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound: ‘[ritual actions] which have [the revelation’s] own [ritual elements] as [their] targets’, i.e. ‘containing its own ritual elements’).

who takes part in a Vedic sacrifice taught by the three Vedas (621.7). For this last point, he quotes evidential passages from the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa* (621.8–19). Thus an Atharvavedin alone can be a Brahman priest (624.11: *tasmād ātharvaṇa eva brahmeti*).

With regard to a *Manusmṛti* passage (3.1ab) which prescribes the learning of the three Vedas for 36 years (615.5–7), Jayanta first confirms the equality of the four Vedas in Vedic education (626.5–12). He goes even further and says that the Atharvaveda is the first among the four Vedas (626.14–15: *atharvaveda eva prathamah*). Then he accepts as an option the possibility of learning the four Vedas, which lasts 48 years (627.9–11).

Finally, Jayanta replies to Kumārila, who said ‘as if out of fear, hatred, ignorance or pity’ (628.9–10) that the Atharvaveda, though it does not contribute to Vedic sacrifices, is nonetheless authoritative at least with regard to its own objects such as *śānti* etc. (615.16–19). To this, Jayanta repeats his points already made in the preceding discussions: the Atharvaveda too teaches *iṣṭi* etc. (628.11–12≈620.17–18); Kumārila’s critique is pointless, because authoritativeness of the Vedas depends on either eternity or God (628.16–17≈615.21–616.9). He also confirms the existence of *śānti* etc. in the other Vedas (628.18–19); and he negates Kumārila’s claim that rituals enjoined by the Atharvaveda are always performed by a single priest (628.21–24).

These repetitions strengthen the impression that Jayanta’s opponent is mainly Kumārila, as is often the case elsewhere in the *Nyāyamañjarī*, and that the preceding multi-layer arguments, including overly simple-minded ones (620.7–13), which target unspecifically either Mīmāṃsaka or Naiyāyika opponents, are in fact postulated by Jayanta as preparatory to refutation of Kumārila’s sophisticated critique ‘which separates one Veda from all the other Vedas’ (629.4: *sarvavedānām ekasya tataḥ pṛthakkaraṇam*). Then it will make better sense that Jayanta honestly follows the Mīmāṃsā exegetic rule and thereby tries to refute a Mīmāṃsaka opponent on his own terms.

## Text-analysis of the *Atharvavedaprāmāṇya* section

- |   |              |
|---|--------------|
| 1 Objection: the Atharvaveda is not authoritative   |              |
| 1.1 Because it is outside the 3 Vedas   | 614.5–14     |
| 1.2 Supporting evidence   |              |
| 1.2.1 Worldly usage and conduct   | 614.15–17    |
| 1.2.2 Śruti passages  | 614.17–615.3 |
| 1.2.3 Smṛti passages  | 615.4–13     |
| 2 Kumārila’s view: the Atharvaveda is authoritative with regard to its own rituals and not Vedic sacrifices | 615.14–19    |
| 3 Reply: the Atharvaveda is authoritative with regard to Vedic sacrifices                                   |              |

|   |               |
|---|---------------|
| 3.1 Being outside the 3 Vedas is not a reason for unauthoritativeness | 615.20–616.9  |
| 3.2 Supporting evidence   |               |
| 3.2.1 Worldly usage and conduct                                       | 616.10–12     |
| 3.2.2 Śruti passages  | 616.13–618.13 |
| 3.2.3 Smṛti passages  | 618.14–619.17 |
| 3.2.4 Śāstric passages  | 619.18–620.5  |
| 3.3 Reply to the Atharvaveda's being outside the 3 Vedas              |               |
| 3.3.1 Being outside the 3 Vedas is not problematic                    | 620.6–13      |
| 3.3.2 The Atharvaveda contributes to Vedic rituals                    | 620.14–621.2  |
| 3.3.3 The Atharvaveda qualifies the Brahman priest                    | 621.3–624.12  |
| 3.4 Reply to the problematic evidence                                 |               |
| 3.4.1 Smṛti   | 624.13–18     |
| 3.4.2 Śruti   | 624.19–625.16 |
| 3.4.3 Worldly usage and conduct                                       | 625.17–626.3  |
| 3.5 Vedic study   |               |
| 3.5.1 Equality of the four Vedas                                      | 626.4–12      |
| 3.5.2 Priority of the Atharvaveda                                     | 626.13–20     |
| 3.5.3 Study of the four Vedas   | 626.21–627.19 |
| 3.5.4 On the problem of <i>śrāddhabhojanādhikāra</i>                  | 627.20–628.7  |
| 4 Reply to Kumārila: the Atharvaveda contributes to Vedic sacrifices  | 628.8–629.6   |
| 5 Conclusion  | 629.7–15      |

## Was Jayanta an Atharvavedin?

It is most likely that Jayanta himself was an Atharvavedin.<sup>12</sup> Otherwise his whole argument and passionate or ironical expressions of mixed feelings against Kumārila (628.9–10, 629.2–6) would be difficult to explain.

One might object that Jayanta defends the Atharvaveda on neutral grounds though he himself is not an Atharvavedin; that Jayanta just corrects Kumārila's biased view from his liberal viewpoint as seen in his unique theory of 'authoritativeness of all scriptures' (*sarvāgamaprāmāṇya*); that he automatically extends the same reasoning to the Atharvaveda, too, just as he does to the Pāñcarātra and the Buddhist scriptures.

But this view of an 'unbiased Jayanta' cannot explain Jayanta's granting the Atharvaveda priority among the four Vedas (626.14–20). One may think that Jayanta's view of 'Atharvaveda First' is presented tentatively for argument's

<sup>12</sup>Cf. RAGHAVAN (1964: iii): "In his discussion of Veda-prāmāṇya in the *NM.*, Jayanta not only puts up an elaborate defence of the *Atharvaveda* but even holds it as the foremost Veda (pp. 253–260) and finds fault with Kumārila for his attitude of hesitation in regard to this Veda. We may surmise from this that Jayanta belonged to the Atharvaveda."

sake as is indicated by his hypothetical words: ‘Furthermore, if one is not satisfied without a rank relationship, the Atharvaveda is the first’ (626.14–15: *yadi punar auttarādharyeṇa vinā na parituṣyate tad atharvaveda eva prathamah*). But, actually, Jayanta had already adopted the present view in the opening section of the *Nyāyamañjarī*, where he enumerates 14 branches of science (5.2–5: *vidvāmsaś caturdaśavidyāsthānāny ācakṣate. tatra vedāś catvāraḥ. prathamō ’tharvavedah*). Similar is the case of his quoting the beginning portion of the Atharvaveda as an example of a Vedic composition (573.11–12: “*śan no devīr abhiṣṭaye*” *ityādiṣu vedavākyaśandarbheṣu*). These facts suggest that ‘Atharvaveda First’ is his final view. Thus it is unlikely that Jayanta would not have been affiliated specifically with the Atharvaveda.

### Was Jayanta a Paippalādin?

Jayanta’s quotation of the *pratīka* of the Paippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda, *śan no devīr abhiṣṭaye*, may well be from Patañjali’s *Mahābhāṣya* as is indicated by his way of quotation (619.20–21: *mahābhāṣyakāro bhagavān patañjalir atharvavedam eva prathamam udāhṛtavān “śan no devīr abhiṣṭaye” iti*), and may therefore not necessarily reflect his affiliation with the Paippalāda school.<sup>13</sup>

With regard to his general Vedic, and his specific school affiliation, however, we must also note the fact that Jayanta affirms that the office of a Brahman priest is to be performed with the Atharvaveda. In order to demonstrate this, he quotes from the Atharvavedic *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*.

NM I 621.7–19: *tad*<sup>14</sup> *ayuktam. atharvavedena brahmatvasya karaṇāt. tathā*<sup>15</sup> *ca gopathabrāhmaṇam—*

(1) *prajāpatis somena yakṣyamāṇo vedān*<sup>16</sup> *uvāca kaṃ vo hotāraṃ vṛṇīyam*<sup>17</sup>

*iti prakramya*

(2) *tasmād ṛgvidam eva hotāraṃ vṛṇīṣva sa hi hautraṃ veda*, (3) *yajurvedam evādhvaryuṃ*<sup>18</sup> *vṛṇīṣva sa hi ādhvaryavaṃ veda*, (4) *sāmavidam evodgātāraṃ*<sup>19</sup> *vṛṇīṣva sa hi audgātraṃ veda*, (5) *atharvāṅgirovidam eva brahmāṇam vṛṇīṣva sa hi brahmatvaṃ veda*

<sup>13</sup>But it is also noteworthy that Jayanta quotes it elsewhere in order to give an example of a Vedic passage, as was mentioned just above: NM I 573.11–12, 580.3.

<sup>14</sup>*tad*] MVL; *tad etad* K

<sup>15</sup>*tathā*] MVK; *yathā* L

<sup>16</sup>*vedān*] MVL; *devān* K

<sup>17</sup>*vṛṇīyam*] VL; *vṛṇīyam iti* M; *vṛṇayām* K

<sup>18</sup>*evādhvaryuṃ*] MV; *evādhvaryavaṃ* L; *evādhvaryavaṃ* K

<sup>19</sup>*evodgātāraṃ*] MVK; *evodgāraṃ* L

*ity evam*<sup>20</sup> *abhidhāya punar āha*

(6) *atha cen naivam**vidham* *hotāram adhvaryum udgātāram brahmāṇam vā*<sup>21</sup> *vr̥ṇute purastād evaiṣām*<sup>22</sup> *yajño ricyate*<sup>23</sup> *iti (7) tasmād ṛgvidam eva hotāram kuryād yajurvedam*<sup>24</sup> *evādhvaryum*<sup>25</sup> *sāmaavidam evodgātāram atharvāṅgirovidam*<sup>26</sup> *eva brahmāṇam*

*iti. tathā yajñe*<sup>27</sup>

(8) *yad ūnam ca viriṣṭam ca yātayāmaṃ ca karoti tad atharvaṇām*<sup>28</sup> *tejasā pratyāyayati*

*iti.*<sup>29</sup> *tathā*

(9) *na rte*<sup>30</sup> *bhṛgvaṅgirovidbhyaḥ*<sup>31</sup> *somaḥ pātavyaḥ*

*iti.*

These passages correspond to the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*, in GAASTRA's edition, as follows (peculiar differences are underlined in the above text):<sup>32</sup>

- (1) GB 1.2.24:61.11–12<sup>33</sup>
- (2) GB 1.2.24:62.2–3
- (3) GB 1.2.24:62.11–12
- (4) GB 1.2.24:63.1
- (5) GB 1.2.24:63.5–6<sup>34</sup>
- (6) This is a summary of GB 1.2.24:62.10–11, 62.14–15, 63.4–5, 63.13–15<sup>35</sup>

<sup>20</sup>*ity evam*] LVK; *ity* M

<sup>21</sup>*vā*] MVL; om. K

<sup>22</sup>*evaiṣām*] LK (supported by NMGBh 104.1); *eva vaiṣām* MV

<sup>23</sup>*ricyate*] MK (supported by NMGBh 104.1); *riṣyate* L; *riṣyati* V

<sup>24</sup>*yajurvedam*] MVK; *yajurvedam* L

<sup>25</sup>*evādhvaryum*] MVK; *evādhvaryaṃ* L

<sup>26</sup>*atharvāṅgirovidam*] MLK; *atharvāṅgirasovidam* V

<sup>27</sup>*yajñe*] LVK (supported by NMGBh 104.1); om. M

<sup>28</sup>*tad atharvaṇām*] MVL; *tātharvaṇām* K

<sup>29</sup>*tejasā pratyāyayati iti*] LK; *tejasāpyāyayatīti* V; *tejasā pratyāpyāyayet iti* M

<sup>30</sup>*tathā na rte*] LK; *na rte* M; *athānante* V

<sup>31</sup>*-girovidbhyaḥ*] K (supported by NMGBh 104.3); *-girobhyaḥ* MV; *-girebhyaḥ* L

<sup>32</sup>I thank Arlo Griffiths for the references to GAASTRA's edition of the GB and his comments, on which the following notes concerning GB are based in the main.

<sup>33</sup>GAASTRA emends *vr̥ṇīya*, but her mss. read *vr̥ṇīyām*.

<sup>34</sup>Notice that these sentences (2–5) are not contiguous in the source text as we know it.

<sup>35</sup>But note that the summary gives only *purastād*, whereas GB (as known to us) gives ... *purastād* ..., ... *paścād* ..., ... *uttarata* ..., ... *dakṣiṇata* .... The GB text has 4 times *-vidam* and not *-vidham* (underlined).

- (7) This corresponds to GB 1.2.24:62.2–3 for the Hotṛ (*tasmād ṛgvidam eva hotāraṃ vṛṇīṣva*), but for the other priests the GB has 3 times *tasmāt tam eva ... vṛṇīṣva*, and the NM quote rather resembles GB 1.3.1:65.1–3 (*tasmād ṛgvidam eva hotāraṃ vṛṇīṣva yajurvedam adhvaryuṃ sāmavidam udgātāram atharvāṅgirovidam brahmāṇam*)<sup>36</sup>
- (8) GB 1.1.22:15.6–7
- (9) GB 1.1.28:20.15

It is not certain that what Jayanta quotes as the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa* is the same *Gopathabrāhmaṇa* as we have, but the differences — often abbreviated forms which seem to have been introduced by Jayanta in order to avoid repetition — between his readings and those of the known GB are not enough reason to assume that he knew a recension of that text different from the one transmitted by Śaunaka-Atharvavedins and edited by GAASTRA.<sup>37</sup> Anyhow, as the drawn-out debate between Maurice Bloomfield and Willem Caland shows, it is not certain to which of the two extant schools, Paippalāda or Śaunaka, the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa* belongs, although Caland's arguments for Paippalāda-affiliation are weighty.<sup>38</sup> Thus Jayanta's quotations of the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*, though suggestive, are not themselves definite evidence for his affiliation to the Paippalāda school, but do seem to add to the weight of evidence discussed above for his Atharvavedic affiliation.

However, Jayanta's affiliation with the Paippalāda school is unambiguously hinted at by his peculiar way of reference.

NM I 589.1–4: *tatra hi hautram ṛgvedena yajurvedenādhvaryavam audgātraṃ sāmavedena brahmatvam atharvavedena*<sup>39</sup> *kriyate. paippalādiśākhābhedopadiṣṭam*<sup>40</sup> *ca tattadaṅgajātam tatra tatrāpekṣyate. tatra sarvaśākhāpratyayam ekam karmety āhuḥ.*<sup>41</sup>

To explain, among these [four Vedas], the Ṛgveda prescribes the Hotṛ-office, the Yajurveda prescribes the Adhvaryu-office, the Sāmaveda prescribes the Udgāṭṛ-office, and the Atharvaveda prescribes the office of the Brahman. And each and every [ritual] element which is taught in various

<sup>36</sup>The known GB text has *vṛṇīṣva* everywhere, but nothing corresponding to *kuryāt* in NM (underlined).

<sup>37</sup>Though further research should be done, it seems certain that Jayanta did not necessarily quote Vedic passages verbatim. See, e.g., his quotation of the *Kāṭhakaśatādhyayanabrāhmaṇa* in NM I 623.21–624.4, where a passage from the *Agnyādheyabrāhmaṇa* (*Kāṭhakaśaṃkalana*, p. 3f. with n. 10 on p. 4) is represented in quite an elliptic way. Cf. GARGE (1952: 39–45) on Śabaravāmin's often imprecise manner of quoting Vedic passages.

<sup>38</sup>For a summary of the debate, see GAASTRA's introduction to her GB ed., pp. 14–15.

<sup>39</sup>*atharvavedena*] VLK; *atharvavedena ca* M

<sup>40</sup>*-śākhābhedopadiṣṭam*] MVL; *-śākhopadiṣṭaṅ K*

<sup>41</sup>*āhuḥ*] MVL; *āha* K

Vedic branches, [such as] Paippalādin,<sup>42</sup> is required for each [ritual]. In connection with this, they say that a single ritual is known from all branches.

Instead of Paippalāda(ka)/Paippalādin, Jayanta could have mentioned another name in order to give one example of a Vedic school. This would even have been more appropriate, because he enumerates the four Vedas in the order beginning with the Ṛgveda, as is normally expected.

Besides Paippalāda(ka)/Paippalādin, Jayanta knows that there exists another Atharvaveda school called Maudaka, while he nowhere mentions Śaunakīya. He quotes a *Śābarabhāṣya* passage (ad *Jaiminisūtra* 1.1.27) which refers to Vedic branches such as Kāṭhaka, Kālāpaka, Maudaka and Paippalādaka.<sup>43</sup>

NM I 619.22–620.3<sup>44</sup>: *mīmāṃsābhāṣyakāreṇāpi vedādhikaraṇe “kāṭhakaṃ kālāpakam<sup>45</sup> maudakam<sup>46</sup> paippalādakam” iti yajurvedādivad<sup>47</sup> atharvavede<sup>48</sup> ‘pi paippalādakam udājahre. sarvaśākhādhikaraṇe ‘pi<sup>49</sup> vedāntaraśākhāntaravan maudakapaippalādakākhye<sup>50</sup> atharvaśākhe apy udāhṛtya vicāraḥ kṛtaḥ.*

In the Vedādhikaraṇa [in particular ad 1.1.27], [Śābarasvāmin], the author of the *Mīmāṃsābhāṣya*, too, referred to the Paippalādaka with regard to the Atharvaveda as well, just as [he referred to some branches] with regard to the Yajurveda etc., when he said: “Kāṭhaka, Kālāpa, Maudaka and Paippalādaka”. In the *Sarvaśākhādhikaraṇa* [in particular ad 2.4.8], too, he quoted, just as [he quoted] other branches belonging to the other Vedas, two

<sup>42</sup>All the editions and manuscripts that I have consulted read *paippalādi-*. But it is possible to emend *paippalādādi-* (or possibly *paippalādakādi-* or *paippalādyādi-*). If one interpreted the sentence as it reads without *ādi*, then it would be translated as follows: ‘And each and every [ritual] element which is taught in a particular Vedic recension, Paippalādin, is required for each [ritual].’ But this is unnatural and does not fit the context, in which Jayanta emphasizes the point that all the elements taught by the four Vedas have organic unity. See the preceding passage in *Nyāyamañjarī* 588.19–589.1: *ekam eva hi karma vedacatuṣṭayopadiṣṭaiḥ pṛthagbhūtair apy ekārthasamavāyibhir aṅgair anvitam prayujyate* ‘For a single ritual is performed being accompanied by the constituents which are taught by the four Vedas, and which, though separate [from each other], belong to [and aim at] the same goal.’ While the emendations to *paippalādakādi-* and *paippalādyādi-* are less likely, it is clear that the change from *paippalādādiśākhā-* to *paippalādiśākhā-* could easily have happened. Still, I hesitate to accept this emendation, for I do not think that Jayanta expresses the ‘Paippalāda branch’ as *paippalādaśākhā*. Instead he would have expressed it as *paippalādiśākhā* or *paippalādakaśākhā* as is indicated from his usage in NM I 620.1–2: *paippalādakam . . . maudakapaippalādakākhye atharvaśākhe*. Therefore I retain the present reading *paippalādiśākhā* as original. For it is possible that Jayanta forgets to add *ādi*, though it is necessary and intended as is clear from the following words *-śākhābheda-*.

<sup>43</sup>This set of Vedic branches is referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya* ad 4.1.1(3):II 191.24–25; 4.3.101(3):II 315.15; 4.3.120(11):II 319.5–6.

<sup>44</sup>This corresponds to L (134v22–135r3), V (256.2–5), K (95r1–95r2).

<sup>45</sup>*kālāpakam*] LV; *kālāpaṃ* M; *kālādakam* K

<sup>46</sup>*maudakam*] L; *maudgalaṃ* MV; *modakam* K

<sup>47</sup>*yajurvedādivad*] LMK; *yajurvedādikavad* V

<sup>48</sup>*atharvavede*] LMV; *ātharvavedo* K

<sup>49</sup>*‘pi*] LMV; om. K

<sup>50</sup>*-śākhāntaravan maudaka-*] LV; *-śākhāntaravat maudgala-* M; *-śākhāvad audāla-* K

Atharvaveda branches called Maudaka and Paippalādaka, and investigated [them].<sup>51</sup>

There, with reference to the *Śābarabhāṣya* passage in the Vedādhikaraṇa, where Śabara refers to both Maudaka and Paippalādaka, Jayanta himself repeats only Paippalādaka (underlined).

His particular concern with the Paippalādaka is also indicated by another passage from the *Nyāyamañjarī* in which he refers in particular to Paiṭhīnasi-Paippalādins, i.e. Paippalādins of a Paiṭhīnasi subschool, or Paippalādins who follow the sūtra of Paiṭhīnasi,<sup>52</sup> in order to mention one example of a brahmin.

NM I 552.10–11: *na*<sup>53</sup> *caupādhikah paīṭhīnasipaippalādi*prabhṛtiṣu<sup>54</sup> *brāhma-  
ṇapratyayah, upādher agrahaṇāt, aupādhikatvasya ca*<sup>55</sup> *gotvādāv api vaktuṃ śak-  
yatvāt.*

And cognizing someone, such as a Paiṭhīnasi-Paippalādin, as a brahmin is not based on an additional condition, because an additional condition is not grasped, and because one could [equally] claim with regard to cowness etc., too, that [cognition of a cow as a cow] is based on an additional condition [and not a *jāti*].

Here Jayanta refers to a well-known fact that people recognize Paiṭhīnasi-Paippalādins as brahmins. This arbitrary exemplification does not make sense unless there existed Paiṭhīnasi-Paippalādins in ninth century Kashmir,<sup>56</sup> and will be better understood if we accept that Jayanta is specifically affiliated with this very Paiṭhīnasi-Paippalādin community.

## Conclusion

It is very likely that Bhaṭṭa Jayanta, the ninth century Kashmirian scholar, was a Paippalādin brahmin. Moreover, it results most naturally from the evidence

<sup>51</sup>In fact Śabarāsvāmin mentions in *Śābarabhāṣya* ad 2.4.8 only Kāthaka, Kālāpaka and Paippalādaka, and not Maudaka. Maybe Jayanta, without checking the original passage in *Śābarabhāṣya* ad 2.4.8, thought by analogy with *Śābarabhāṣya* ad 1.1.27 that Śabarāsvāmin enumerates all the four.

<sup>52</sup>Cf. §6 of Arlo Griffiths' contribution to in this volume.

<sup>53</sup>*na*] LMV; om. K

<sup>54</sup>*paīṭhīnasipaippalādi-*] LMV; *paīṭhīnasam pappalāda-* K

<sup>55</sup>*ca*] LK; om. MV

<sup>56</sup>In the discussion of 'brahminness' (*brāhmaṇatva*), it is not historically common to mention Paippalādins. In *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* vv. 3574–3578 and *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā* thereon, Śāntarakṣita (c. 725–788) and Kamalaśīla (c. 740–795) compare brahmins with *śūdras* without mentioning any particular group of brahmins. Neither does Karṇakagomin mention any such subcategory (PVSVT 10). Prajñākaragupta has a long discussion of brahminness (PVA 10.21–12.13). There he mentions a brahmin-subgroup Kauṇḍinya (PVA 10.25). In the *Nyāsa* (14.24–25), Jinendra refers to Māṭhara and Kauṇḍinya in connection with brahminness. Kumārila refers to Kauṇḍinya and Kāṭha. *Tantravārttika* 295.10 ad 1.3.30: *pumstovād brāhmaṇakauṇḍinyakāṭhatvōdi samāpyate* ||.

brought forward that already around 700 AD, at the time of his ancestor Śakti, there was a Paippalādin family in Bengal.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Cf. Annette Schmiedchen's contribution to this volume.

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- K A manuscript preserved in the Malayalam Department of the University of Calicut, No. 2602. Malayalam script. Palm leaf. 177 folios. Incomplete. [I thank Dr. Dominic Goodall for kindly making accessible to me his photographs of this manuscript.]
- L A manuscript preserved in the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, Serial No. 27E, Access No. 2381. Śāradā script. Paper. 138 folios. Incomplete.

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PVSVṬ *Ācārya-Dharmakīrteḥ Pramāṇavārttikam (Svārthānumānaparicchedaḥ) Svopajñāvrttyā Karṇakagomiviracitayā Tatṭīkayā ca Sahitam*. Ed. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana. Allahabad, 1943.

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*Śābarabhāṣya*

ŚBh *Śrīmajjaiminipraṇītaṃ mīmāṃsādarśanam*. Ed. Subbāśāstrī. 6 bhāgas. Poona: Ānandāśramamudraṅālaya, 1929–34.

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## Three Bhaṭṭas, Two Sultāns, and the Kashmirian Atharvaveda

Walter Slaje

In a recent paper, GRIFFITHS (2002) has touched upon the issue of a possible import of the Atharvaveda into Kashmir in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> A late medieval Kashmirian chronicle contains an account treating of such an import (Ps-JRT).<sup>2</sup> The problems related to this matter may be summarized by four major questions:

1. Is the account reliable at all?
2. What may have necessitated a textual import?
3. What is the role of the dated Tübingen Paippalādasamhitā manuscript in this process of transmission?
4. In what way might Sultān Zayn al-‘Ābidīn have been involved?

Here is a brief synopsis of the main textual sources at our disposal:

1. Jonarāja [JRT], a *contemporary eyewitness* of Zayn’s rule until AD 1458/59.
2. ‘Pseudo-Jonarāja’ [Ps-JRT], supplementary contemporaneous and retrospective accounts (from ca. 1413 until 1588).<sup>3</sup>
3. Śrīvara [ŚRT], another *contemporary eyewitness* of Zayn’s rule until AD 1486.

The first and third chronicles, JRT and ŚRT, are authored by court Paṇḍits of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, who were aiming at compiling a comprehensive, uninterrupted history in the line of Kalhaṇa’s Rājatarāṅgiṇī, updating the earlier chronicle(s) by their eyewitness accounts.<sup>4</sup> The relationship between the texts of the two chroniclers is, in short, the following: Jonarāja’s original text breaks off in AD 1458/59, the year of the author’s death. This is the so-called shorter, or Śāradā recension in 976 verses (JRT), published in the Calcutta edition (1835) of all the four Rājatarāṅgiṇīs. There is also a longer, Nāgarī-recension (Bombay 1896), enlarged by some 350 verses, which had been interpolated in the second

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<sup>1</sup>GRIFFITHS 2002: 42f.

<sup>2</sup>Ps-JRT \*121 (p. 173), B 1269–1272.

<sup>3</sup>Interpolated into JRT between AD 1561 and 1588.

<sup>4</sup>“This Kashmiri tradition of continual updating of earlier chronicles [...] seems to have been an old practice whose earlier examples are unfortunately now all lost” (SALOMON 1987: 152, comment on RT I 9–10).

half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. They seem to have been taken from independent and remarkably reliable Sanskrit sources, and should therefore be accorded serious weight. Since both recensions go by the same title under Jonarāja's authorship, it is advisable to differentiate between them appropriately by a telling designation. Therefore, I have conveniently attributed the interpolated passages to a fictitious 'Pseudo-Jonarāja', although we have to reckon with more than only one author responsible for the various interpolations. Śrīvara continued Jonarāja's account until the year 1486 (Muḥammad Šāh). Thus, his text<sup>5</sup> was completed well a hundred years earlier than Pseudo-Jonarāja's interpolations to Jonarāja's work. It is also worthy of note that in not a few instances Jonarāja, Śrīvara and Pseudo-Jonarāja supplement each other by way of their independent accounts given on specific events.<sup>6</sup>

Of the general reliability of the three medieval chronicles, I have treated elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> However, it is hoped that also the present paper will convey an impression of just what the historical importance of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī really is. Let it be noted first that Pseudo-Jonarāja has left us an account on an Atharvaveda import from *Karṇāṭa* during Zayn's reign, by a Kashmiri Paṇḍit. According to GRIFFITHS, in the late Middle Ages the name *Karṇāṭa* could theoretically have referred to Orissa as well as to the modern South Indian region of that name, and if this were indeed the case, it would leave us in doubt as to the particular region Pseudo-Jonarāja had had in his mind when he was using it.<sup>8</sup> Anyhow, GRIFFITHS considered it doubtful whether such a distant voyage might ever have taken place and emphasized that there was no obvious reason for undertaking it.<sup>9</sup>

The dating of the Tübingen Paippalādasamhitā manuscript raises closely related problems. Calculations carried out by Claus VOGEL and provided with

<sup>5</sup>On the genesis and character of Śrīvara's work, see SLAJE, forthc. (a).

<sup>6</sup>Cp. Śrīvara's programmatic statement on this issue: *kenāpi hetunā tena proktaṃ madguruṇā na yat | tac cheṣavartinīṃ vāṇīṃ kariṣyāmi yathāmati ||*.

<sup>7</sup>SLAJE 2004; 2005.

<sup>8</sup>As GRIFFITHS saw it, any part of the region ruled in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by king Kapilendradeva could have been referred to with *Karṇāṭa*. "By 1464, after conquering territories stretching from Bengal in the North, to the Kaveri in the South, including large parts of the Vijayanagara empire, which was at that period commonly referred to as *Karṇāṭa*, the Sūryavaṃśī ruler Kapilendradeva assumed the proud title 'Gajapati Gauḍeśvara Navakoṭi Karṇāṭa-Kālavargeśvara' [cf. PANIGRAHI 1981, p. 202], and his title has been used by Gajapati rulers in Orissa ever since" (GRIFFITHS 2002: 43). GRIFFITHS' observation is interesting in itself, but it does not carry much weight in the present issue of locating Pseudo-Jonarāja's 'Karṇāṭa'. The less so, since there is epigraphical evidence for the presence of Atharvavedic brahmins in 'Southern Karṇāṭa' (~ the Vijayanagara area) around AD 1430, approximately the time of the presumable dating of the Kashmirian codex (AD 1419): see reference no. 22 in Annette Schmiedchen's contribution to this volume. Furthermore, in Kalhaṇa's earlier Rājatarāṅgiṇī, *Karṇāṭa* is used clearly with reference to the South Indian region. Cp. the discussion of king Harṣa of Kashmir (r. 1089–1101) and his interest in the south by BASHAM 1948: 688–690.

<sup>9</sup>GRIFFITHS 2002: 43.

textual analyses by Michael WITZEL, resulted in the year AD 1419 (December 15, a Friday), as the only convincing date of the Codex ‘archetypus’, from which the Tübingen manuscript would have been copied together with the original dating.<sup>10</sup> Pseudo-Jonarāja’s record, according to which the Atharvaveda import had taken place during Zayn’s Sultanate could come into conflict with the accepted chronology. For Zayn al-‘Ābidīn’s reign is considered as settled and is generally, though not exclusively, given as from AD 1420 to 1470.

In consequence of this, and on account of the evidence we possess for a presence of the Atharvaveda in Kashmir already from the 7<sup>th</sup> century on,<sup>11</sup> we should rather consider re-import than import and ask ourselves whether there might really be a connection between the interpolated Ps-JRT account and the Kashmirian Paippalāda tradition.

Let us tackle the matter from GRIFFITHS’ choice of words first. He calls into question whether one may take the Rājataranḡiṇī passage dealing with the import into Kashmir of the Atharvaveda “serious as evidence for the history of the Paippalāda śākhā”, pointing out that is it couched in “rather mythological terms”.<sup>12</sup> There is, however, good reason to accept the medieval Rājataranḡiṇīs as what they are, namely veritable historical accounts. On the other hand, it is true that all our ‘Histories of India’ as well as the ‘Handbooks’ at our disposal would fully subscribe to GRIFFITHS’ characterisation — despite the fact that no scholar ever has furnished proof to justify dismissing the later Rājataranḡiṇīs as mere ‘stories’ or even ‘fairy-tales’. By using the words “mythological terms”, GRIFFITHS, it must be assumed, would have had in mind the first two Ślokas only of the relevant passage:

*tripañcāṅgamīte varṣavṛnde yāte kaleḥ kila |  
atharvakausalād droṇo raṇaṃ kurubalair vyadhāt ||  
kurubhir nihate droṇe tadātharvā nirāśrayaḥ |*

*śaraṇīkṛtavān vedāḥ karṇātān paṭucetanān ||* Ps-JRT 121\* (p. 173), B 1267–1268

When 653 years of the Kali[yuga] had passed, Droṇa waged war against the Kuru forces on account of [his] Atharvanic skills. After Droṇa had been slain by the Kurus, the Atharvaveda had lost support [and] sought the protection of the quick-witted Karṇātas.

<sup>10</sup>Cp. WITZEL 1985: 257 and 1994a: 11f.: “The MS is dated, according to the *amānta* scheme: Friday, December 15, 1419, when the 13<sup>th</sup> lunar day of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa ended about 2 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise at Lankā. This fits all criteria. [. . .] The PS MS was copied in the famous *Ahalyā Maṭha* of Srinagar, by a member of the Mera [*Mīra*] clan already mentioned in the later Rājataranḡiṇīs.” [Note of the editors: see now also the postscript at the end of this paper.]

<sup>11</sup>Cp. the paper by Kei Kataoka in this volume; Annette Schmiedchen’s paper, also in this volume, refers as no. 11 to an inscription from 7<sup>th</sup> century Himachal Pradesh, indicating the presence of such Brahmins in that part of northern India in the same period.

<sup>12</sup>GRIFFITHS 2002: 43 and 42.

This is not as far-fetched as it might possibly appear at first sight. The 653 years referred to by Pseudo-Jonarāja had already been mentioned previously by Kalhaṇa (RT I 51) as the time having elapsed between the beginning of the Kaliyuga and the Mahābhārata war. Kalhaṇa regarded this date as coinciding with the first Kashmirian ruler, king Gonanda I.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, tradition would have derived a close relationship of Droṇa with the Atharvaveda from some statements on the matter in the Jayadrathavadhaparvan. There, Droṇa identifies himself and his knowledge of protective and healing magic, which he displays by reciting a series of characteristic *mantras*,<sup>14</sup> as standing in the tradition of Aṅgiras and the Atharvaveda.<sup>15</sup> Thus, ‘mythological’ as the Mahābhārata passage *qua* Mahābhārata may — though not necessarily needs to — seem to us, Pseudo-Jonarāja’s account has to be assessed as an attempt at ‘being historical’. As is well known, his famous predecessor in historiography, Kalhaṇa, in the absence of any other historical evidence, was forced to reconstruct ‘pre-history’ largely from the Mahābhārata.<sup>16</sup> To him, and to his successors in this discipline, the Mahābhārata was a history book, a textual *source for knowledge of the remote past*. Thus, Pseudo-Jonarāja would have drawn entirely on such ‘source material’, on historical evidence in his understanding. This, I feel, should be emphasized, since it sheds light on the Kashmirian historiographers’ scholarly approach to past events. Even in this — apparently — mythological passage there is thus no fancy, at least not on the part of the author of the Rājatarāṅgī.

### Three Bhaṭṭas

Three Bhaṭṭas,<sup>17</sup> called Sūha-, Yuddha-, and Śiryabhāṭṭa respectively, had directly or indirectly been involved in the re-import of the Atharvaveda into Kashmir. These three figures must now be brought into play.

#### Sūhabhaṭṭa (Mallīk Saif ad-dīn)

We have to start with Sūhabhaṭṭa. He has played an extraordinarily influential role in the early Islamization of Kashmir and has unintentionally caused the events that later seem to have necessitated a re-import of the Atharvaveda and of many more texts of ‘Hindu’<sup>18</sup> origin. Sūhabhaṭṭa, a Brahmin convert elevated to the rank of a general under Sulṭān Sikandar (r. AD 1389–1413) and to that of a

<sup>13</sup>STEIN 1900 (I): 11 on RT I 50f and chart on p. 134. Cp. also WITZEL 1990: 31ff.

<sup>14</sup>MBh VII 69, 41 ff.

<sup>15</sup>MBh VII 69, 65–67.

<sup>16</sup>STEIN 1900 (I): 11 (Introduction).

<sup>17</sup>On the significance of the appellative ‘Bhaṭṭa’ added to a personal name, i.e. pointing to a (ritually active) Brahmin householder, see SLAJE 2006.

<sup>18</sup>On the usage of this term in the Kashmirian cultural context, see SLAJE 2004: 2ff; 2005: notes 36ff.

prime minister under ʿAlī Šāh (r. AD 1413–1418/1420), had adopted the Muslim name of Mallīk Saif ad-dīn. According to the Sanskrit chronicles, he was one of the cruellest instigators of Hindu persecution that Kashmir ever suffered. Over a period of almost thirty years, from ca. 1390 to 1417, he relentlessly persecuted the Hindu community, aiming at a total abolition of Hindu creed, customs, and learning. Most important in the present regard, however, are some measures he took against traditional learning. By its suppression, Sūhabhaṭṭa not only deprived the Brahmins of their traditional basis for earning themselves a living, but also caused a break in the chain of the tradition of learning.<sup>19</sup> The ban on public Hindu religious practice caused innumerable Brahmins to leave their country (*videśagamana*) trying to maintain the purity of their caste outside Kashmir (*jātirakṣā*). There is no need to go into further details here. The majority of those who for various reasons could not go into exile or were prevented from doing so by Sūhabhaṭṭa’s forces, and who had not yet committed suicide, would have only survived by putting up a Muslim disguise (*mlecchaveṣa*). Even today, tradition still has it that only 11 Hindu families in the country survived the atrocities of those days.<sup>20</sup> The Hindu emigration saw the exodus of scripture, learning and literature as concomitant circumstances. The Paṇḍits tried to rescue their manuscripts from Sūhabhaṭṭa’s actions, which, besides the demolition of shrines, had also been extended to the burning of manuscripts. Therefore, the Paṇḍits took them along to their places of exile. Whatever Atharvaveda tradition there may have been in Kashmir before Sūhabhaṭṭa’s persecutions commenced, would certainly have been in danger of extermination as their result.

### Yuddhabhaṭṭa

The chroniclers emphasize the costly efforts Sulṭān Zayn subsequently took, after 30 years of ongoing persecution of Hindus under his predecessors, with a view to having the Paṇḍits resettle. Zayn spent large sums of money on the re-import of much of their lost literature.<sup>21</sup> As might be expected, it is precisely

<sup>19</sup>See Ps-JRT 115\*, p. 149 (B 1082 ab): *śiśūnām śāstrapāṭhādi sūhabhaṭṭena nāśitam*.

<sup>20</sup>Cp. SLAJE 2005: 21 (n. 93). See also CHI p. 281; MAJUMDAR 1990: 431 (n. 30); WITZEL 1994b: 238; DHAR 1994: XIV, n. 24.

<sup>21</sup>See Ps-JRT 113\*, p. 146: ... *kṣmāpas tadvidyāpratyayotsukaḥ | ānāyayat sa tān sarvān paṇḍitān nijamaṇḍalam || B 1047 | ... | ... tatra yathāyogaṃ nyavīśat || B 1048 ||* ‘The Sulṭān was eager to acquaint himself with their knowledge [and so] he made all the Paṇḍits return to their home country, [...] where he made them settle down in a befitting manner’. Cp. also ŚRT I 5, 79: *purānatarkamīmāṃsāpustakān aparān api | dūrād ānāyaya vittena vidvadbhyaḥ pratyapādayat ||*. Śrīvara’s enumeration (*pāda a*) gives the impression of representing in curtailed form a Śloka found cited in full in his fellow countryman Bhaṭṭa Jayanta’s Nyāyamañjarī. There, fourteen knowledge systems are specified, among them also the four Vedas: *tānīmāni caturdaśa vidyāsthānānīty ācakṣate | yathoktam: purānatarkamīmāṃsādharmaśāstrāṅgamīśritāḥ | vedāḥ sthānāni vidyānām dharmasya ca caturdaśa iti* (NM I 8, 4ff, see also Kei Kataoka’s paper in this volume, p. 315). Thus, it is not at all improbable that Śrīvara would by his partial quotation have alluded to an import of *all* recognized Śāstras, including thereby also the (Atharva-)Veda.

in connection with Zayn's rulership that the (re-)import of the Atharvaveda is given considerable attention by Pseudo-Jonarāja. The reason for doing so clearly derives from the following:

*śāstreṣv atharvavedasya mähātmyaṃ paripaśyatām |*  
*kāśmīrikāṇaṃ tatprāptyai ciram āsīn manorathaḥ || 1269 ||*  
*kāle 'tha vipule yāte sūhabhaṭṭabhayākulaḥ |*  
*yuddhabhaṭṭābhīdho mānī deśāntaram agād guṇī || 1270 ||*  
*yajusaḥ paṭhanāt prītaiḥ karṇātaiḥ so 'tha pāṭhitah |*  
*sarahasyam atharvāṇaṃ nijāṃ pratyāgato bhuvam || 1271 ||*  
*śrījainollābhadenasya guṇino guṇarāgīnaḥ |*  
*upadīkrtya taṃ vedam parāṃ tuṣṭim ajījanat || 1272 || Ps-JRT \*121 (p. 173), B*  
 1269–1272

The people of Kaśmīr, being fully aware of the Atharvaveda's great impor-

Śrīvara may even have taken his partial citation directly from Jayanta's Nyāyamañjarī, since, according to Śuka (c. AD 1513), a good history-writer should be familiar with (typically Nyāya) issues of reasoning and raising doubts (*tarka, vitarka*), and should base his work on valid means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*), etc.: *vandyam tarkavitarkakausalamater vākyaṃ pramāṇānavitam yatkāntya nṛpakīrtivasturacanā dedīpyate sarvataḥ |* (ŚuRT I 4ab).

As to the source of Jayanta's Śloka, it is almost identical to YājñSm 1.3 (cp. GERSCHHEIMER forthc., notes 18 and 34). The Mitākṣarā there explains *-nyāya-* (for Jayanta's *-tarka-*) as *tarkavidyā*, so Jayanta's quote of the passage appears to be related to the Yājñavalkya-smṛti as handed down by this commentatorial tradition. Jayanta (*loc. cit.*) makes a further reference to the fourteen knowledge systems by quoting from a second source, identified as Viṣṇupurāṇa III 6, 26ff by GERSCHHEIMER (forthc., n. 34): *aṅgāni vedāś catvāro mīmāṃsā nyāyavistarāḥ | purāṇaṃ dharmasāstraṃ ca vidyā hy etāś caturdaśa ||*. However, the Viṣṇudharmottara, of Kashmirian origin, transmits the same verse (VDhP I 74, 32). Therefore, one cannot be absolutely sure from which Purāṇa Jayanta was actually citing, if he was citing from a Purāṇa at all. Interestingly, in another passage, also referred to by GERSCHHEIMER (forthc., n. 33), Jayanta categorizes the source of this very quote as 'another Smṛti' (*smṛtyantare ca spaṣṭam evoktam*, NM I 618, 21–619, 2). The immediately preceding Smṛti, directly referred to by Jayanta, is the same verse from Yājñavalkya's. In light of the clear distinction between the two categories made in this second quote (*purāṇaṃ dharmasāstraṃ ca*), it is impossible that Jayanta would himself have classed the Purāṇas with the Smṛtis. Accordingly, it is obvious that Jayanta's source must be searched for elsewhere, in fact among works classified as Smṛti, as are the Dharmasāstras and the Mahābhārata. The passage does indeed occur repeatedly in the Mahābhārata, although each occurrence has been relegated to the critical apparatus by the editors (cp., e.g., MBh I App. 66.7 pr.; XII App. 13.7 pr.). Furthermore, in the opening section of his commentary on the Mahābhārata, Nīlakaṇṭha deals with knowledge systems, the number of which he, too, considered to be fourteen (BhD p. 1, column 2, 2). We must note that at the end of his *pramāṇa* section, Jayanta, again treating of the fourteen *vidyāsthānas*, lends still more weight to this passage by citing it even a third time (NM II 258, 7f). In this connection, a reference to Kumārila's discussion of the fourteen knowledge systems (TV on I 3, 4–6) may also be of some interest. Certain traditions referred to by him (*sāṃkhya-yoga-pāñcarātra-pāśupata-śākya*, TV 112, 19f), as well as the sequence of their enumeration, undeniably have much in common with the Mahābhārata and the Viṣṇudharmottara. The enumeration in the Mahābhārata is as follows: *sāṃkhyaṃ yogaṃ pañcarātraṃ vedāḥ pāśupataṃ tathā* (MBh XII 337, 59ab; cp. also 337, 1). In the Viṣṇudharmottara, expressly in the context of a *vidyāsthāna* discussion, we find: *sāṃkhyaṃ yogaṃ pañcarātraṃ śaivaṃ pāśupataṃ tathā* (VDhP I 74, 34ab).

tance among the Śāstras, had since long desired to obtain it. After a considerable period had elapsed, the virtuous [and] respected Yuddhabhaṭṭa *emigrated, out of fear from Sūhabhaṭṭa*. As they were pleased by [his] recitation of the Yajurveda, the Karṇāṭas taught him reciting the Atharvaveda along with its secret texts. [Having mastered it, Yuddhabhaṭṭa] returned to his home country. The virtuous [and] glorious Zayn al-‘Ābidīn took delight in the meritorious. *By presenting him with this Veda*, [Yuddhabhaṭṭa] fully satisfied [the Sultān].

Clearly, Sūhabhaṭṭa’s persecutions, most probably having also brought in their wake the disappearance of the Atharvaveda, had caused Yuddhabhaṭṭa to flee from Kashmir. He returned only when Sūhabhaṭṭa was no longer a threat for Paṇḍits, after Sultān Zayn had come into power.<sup>22</sup> Sūhabhaṭṭa died during the rule of Zayn’s brother ‘Alī Šāh. Terminally ill, he passed away in AD 1417 at the latest.<sup>23</sup> From this it may safely be inferred that Yuddhabhaṭṭa did not return to the court before 1418.<sup>24</sup>

### Śiryabhaṭṭa

The account of Pseudo-Jonarāja continues by introducing another outstanding personality connected with the renewal of the Kashmirian Atharvaveda tradition, called Śiryabhaṭṭa:

*dattasvakīyavastrānnah śiryabhaṭṭo ’tha dharmavit |*  
*tenaivātharvavedam tam dvijaputrān apāṭhayat ||*  
*sā dharmiṣṭhā tu śālāsya śiryabhāṭṭasya dhīmatah |*  
*karṇāṭānām api param agamat sprṇaṇīyatām ||* Ps-JRT \*121 (p. 173), B 1273–1274  
 Thereupon the law scholar Śiryabhaṭṭa [started] teaching the sons of the twice-born *reciting the Atharvaveda by [using] exactly that [Veda copy]*<sup>25</sup> Zayn

<sup>22</sup>As long as Sūhabhaṭṭa was holding his influential position, Zayn was unable to do anything in support of the Hindus (JRT 678).

<sup>23</sup>Thus no longer than four years after ‘Alī had come to power, cp. JRT 679–680; 684d. Also from the sequential account of events in Ps-JRT p. 180f, 122\* (B 1317–1321), it becomes clear that Zayn came to power only after Sūhabhaṭṭa’s death (B 1322ff). See also HABIB / NIZAMI 1993: 751.

<sup>24</sup>There is only one more passage in the Rājataranṅiṇīs, which is likely to refer to Yuddhabhaṭṭa by the name of Yodhabhaṭṭa. According to Śrīvara, a certain Yodhabhaṭṭa had been living at Zayn’s court, who had composed a perfect play mirroring the Sultān’s life, which went by the title of Zayn-Prakāśa: *deśabhāṣākavir yodhabhaṭṭaḥ śuddham ca nāṭakam | cakre jainaprakāśākhyam rājavṛttāntadarpaṇam ||* (ŚRT I 4, 38). In his *Rājānakavamaṣastuti* (composed not before AD 1471), Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha (latter half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century) refers to his grandfather Yodha as one of the former Rājānakas of Padmapura: cp. SANDERSON forthc., footnote 244. Whether or not Śitikaṇṭha’s grandfather was identical with the Yuddha-/ Yodhabhaṭṭa under consideration, they at least must have been contemporaries living in the same region.

<sup>25</sup>Anaphoric use of *tenaiva*, referring back to the Veda mentioned immediately before in B 1272c (*upadikṛtya tam vedam*), or back to Yuddhabhaṭṭa of B 1270c (‘Śiryabhaṭṭa made him teach

had been presented with by Yuddhabhaṭṭa]. He was provided with garments and food as his privately owned property. This most excellent Dharma-School of the learned Śīryabhaṭṭa later on (*param*) became attractive even to the Karṇāṭas.

From this passage, too, some important facts can be gathered, apart from the obvious impact Śīryabhaṭṭa in turn seems to have exercised on the Karṇāṭas. First, it was under Sultān Zayn that the Atharvaveda returned to Kashmir and its study had been resumed. Second, the very codex Yuddhabhaṭṭa had presented Zayn with became the basis for the instructions given by Śīryabhaṭṭa and — most likely — for subsequently copied apographs. Furthermore, compared to the preceding rulers, the situation must have had improved considerably under Zayn. The Brahmins' earlier struggle for survival had given way to traditional forms of making their living through teaching; their basic needs were satisfied by the supply of food and garments.

There are also some revealing references to Śīryabhaṭṭa in Jonarāja's and Śrīvara's contemporary chronicles. By piecing them together, we get a more comprehensive picture of Śīryabhaṭṭa's personality and fate.

At the time when Jonarāja lived at Zayn's court, Śīryabhaṭṭa was holding the highest judicial position.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, it was Śīryabhaṭṭa, who — on behalf of Zayn — commissioned Jonarāja to continue Kalhaṇa's work. Says Jonarāja himself:

*sarvadharmādihikāreṣu niyuktasya dayāvataḥ |*  
*mukhāc chrīśīryabhāṭṭasya prāpyājñām 'anavajñayā ||*  
*rājāvaliṃ pūrayituṃ samprati' ... | JRT 11–12b*

I had received orders [of the Sultān that] 'without disregard the lineage of kings had now to be completed' from the mouth of the merciful Śīryabhaṭṭa, who had been entrusted with the administration of all legal matters [...].

Thus, Śīryabhaṭṭa must have been senior to Jonarāja. Separated by some 800 Ślokas from his introductory remarks just cited, Jonarāja has left us a more detailed account of Śīryabhaṭṭa's earlier fate. It perfectly ties in with our general knowledge of the religious policy pursued by Sūhabhaṭṭa under Sikandar and 'Alī Šāh: Zayn had been suffering seriously from what appeared to be an incurable boil, and because of the oppressions by the Mlecchas no medical expert

the sons ... and provided him with his own garments ...'). The choice of words in the given context (*upadīkṛ – tena apāṭhayat*) points to a gift in physical shape, i.e. a *manuscript copy* of the Atharvaveda. Had Yuddhabhaṭṭa recited it to Zayn *only* from memory, we would not expect a causative form of the verb *paṭh*. Moreover, mere recitation could hardly have been considered a 'present'. Cp. also ŚRT I 5, 79 (quoted above in footnote 21), according to which Zayn procured *manuscripts* (*pustaka*) from abroad.

<sup>26</sup>Cp. also Ps-JRT 113\*, p. 148: *bhūpateḥ prāḍvivoākatvaṃ sa prāpad bhāṭṭaśīryakaḥ || B 1073cd ||* ('Śīryabhaṭṭa was promoted to the office of Sultān's chief judge').

had remained in the country — except for Śiryabhaṭṭa.<sup>27</sup> The latter, however, had been hiding himself:

*yajvā gārudaśāstrajñāḥ śiryabhaṭṭo nr̥pānugaiḥ |*  
*atrānviṣadbhir āpto 'tha ... ||*  
*cikitsāyām vidagdhaḥ sa mlecchabhītyā vyalambata |*  
*sphuliṅgadagdhaḥ puruṣaḥ spr̥śaty api maṇim cirāt ||*  
*svayam dattābhayo rājñā prāptas tam udamūlayat |*  
*śiryabhaṭṭo viśasphoṭam ... || JRT 812–814*  
*tuṣṭena bhūbhujā dattām yatheṣṭam api sampadam |*  
*naikṣiṣṭa śiryabhaṭṭaḥ sa ... || JRT 816*

The Sultān's servants, who had been searching there for Śiryabhaṭṭa, eventually found him, a sacrificing expert in the science of antidotes. Skilled in the science of healing, he hesitated [to come along with them], for *he feared the Mlecchas*. Having been burnt by sparks of fire, a man would even touch a jewel only after a long time. After the ruler himself had guaranteed him safety, Śiryabhaṭṭa came to him, [and] removed the malignant boil [...]. The satisfied ruler offered him riches in full accordance with his wishes. Śiryabhaṭṭa, [however], refused them [...].

Like Pseudo-Jonarāja, who had noted down that 'Yuddhabhaṭṭa emigrated *out of fear from Sūhabhaṭṭa*', so also Jonarāja refers to the all-pervasive terror of Sūhabhaṭṭa's persecutions, which had led to the expulsion of medical experts from the country:

*... mleccha[... ]bādhayā |*  
*na lābho viśavaidyānām deśe 'sminn abhavat tadā || JRT 811b–d*  
*Due to the oppression of the [...] Mlecchas, no medical experts in antidotes were available at that time in this country.*

Śiryabhaṭṭa, too, had '*feared the Mlecchas*'. From evidence of that sort, preserved by different sources, it is obvious that the Paṇḍits had only had the choice between emigration and hiding themselves. Of interest in the present Atharvaṇic context, however, is Śiryabhaṭṭa's expertise in the science of antidotes and healing, as emphasized by Jonarāja, who never mentions the Atharvaveda by name. The name of the Veda is expressly referred to only by Pseudo-Jonarāja. Anyhow, Śiryabhaṭṭa's medical expertise recommended him for Zayn's court. Given the circumstances, a general desire for a re-import of the Atharvaveda<sup>28</sup> would thus come no less as a surprise to us than finding Śiryabhaṭṭa, the medical expert, mentioned as eventually teaching this Veda by using the copy Yuddhabhaṭṭa had presented to Zayn after his return from Kaṛṇāṭa, or by having him recite from it.

<sup>27</sup>JRT 810–811.

<sup>28</sup>Ps-JRT \*121 (p. 173), B 1269, cp. the quote above.

From the many passages dealing with Śiryabhaṭṭa in Pseudo-Jonarāja's text, it would appear that Śiryabhaṭṭa's refusal of the riches offered by Zayn was no exaggeration. One passage, already cited, should be recalled in this context, according to which he had been teaching the Atharvaveda expecting only supply of basic needs such as garments and food in return. Furthermore, serving under Sulṭān Zayn as a chief judge, Śiryabhaṭṭa is praised for having repaired damages and having remedied abuses caused by Sūhabhaṭṭa. Pseudo-Jonarāja depicts Śiryabhaṭṭa as the true antagonist of Sūhabhaṭṭa. By his unremitting efforts, he, however, incurred the anger of the Muslims (*yavana*):

*nāśitaṃ sūhabhaṭṭena yadyat kaśmīramaṇḍale |  
yojitaṃ śiryabhaṭṭena rājaprārthanayātha tat ||  
pravartya yāgayātrādi nāgānāṃ bhāṭṭaśiryakah |  
turuṣkāpahṛtāṃ bhūmiṃ vidagdebhyo nyadāpayat ||  
udaye dāpīte tena hindukānām akhaṇḍite |*

*śiryabhaṭṭāya cukupuḥ sarve yavanadānavāḥ ||* Ps-JRT 113\* (p. 146), B 1051–1053  
From that time on (*atha*), Śiryabhaṭṭa, at the request of the Sulṭān, restored again whatever had been destroyed [before] in the country of Kashmir by Sūhabhaṭṭa. Śiryabhaṭṭa first set in motion [the performance of] Nāgasacrifices, pilgrimages, etc., [and] then retransferred to the educated [Hindu community] the [ownership of the] land stolen by the Turks. After he had [their land] revenue transferred [back] in its entirety to the Hindu people (*hinduka*), all 'enemies of the gods', as were the Muslims (*yavana-dānava*),<sup>29</sup> became angry with Śiryabhaṭṭa.

In connection with Śiryabhaṭṭa's restoration of Hindu culture in the valley of Kashmir, some of the additional efforts taken by him with the approval of, or rather, by Zayn's explicit order given 'through the mouth of Śiryabhaṭṭa' (*°mukha*)<sup>30</sup> deserve note:

- Reduction of the *Āizya*, a heavy tax levied on members of the Hindu class, to the symbolic amount of 1 silver *māṣa* only, tantamount to almost a complete abolishment of the tax.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup>There is a pun inherent here on the Brahmins as 'earthly gods'. At the same time, it may also refer to the Muslims' iconoclastic activities.

<sup>30</sup>See Ps-JRT 114\*, p. 149 (B 1078); Ps-JRT 115\*, p. 150 (B 1089); for another example of a similar expression see also JRT 11; 972.

<sup>31</sup>JRT 817cd; Ps-JRT 114\*, p. 149, B 1077f. The relevant Śloka of the shorter Śāradā version is incomplete (817a is missing). From Pāda b, with *trayadaṇḍaṃ nivārya* occurring, KAUL has inferred a tax of 3 *palas* (= 192 *māṣas*), and has therefore calculated a reduction of 99.5%. Following STEIN's note on RT IV 201–203, KAUL took 1 *pala* as equivalent to 64 *māṣas* (KAUL 1967: 105, n. 6). This ratio corresponds with the general Indian standards as given by KIRFEL (1920: 332). However, according to KIRFEL, a difference should be made between *māṣas* and silver *māṣas* (*rūpyamāṣa*). If we adapt the *raupyamāṣa* of our texts to KIRFEL's system, and accept with Pseudo-Jonarāja a *Āizya* of 2 silver *palas* instead of three (with Jonarāja), the ratio would

- Prohibition of cattle slaughter (JRT 115\*, p. 149, B 1079).
- Restoration of traditional learning by providing a livelihood for teachers (JRT 115\*, p. 149, B 1082).
- Foundation of Colleges (*maṭha*) and Dharma-Schools (*dharmasālā*) all over the country (JRT 889).
- Bank reinforcement and regulation of the river Ledarī (JRT 121\*, p. 171, B 1245ff).

Among Śiryabhaṭṭa's moral qualifications the one of being 'a righteous person' (*dhārmika*) is most frequently emphasized. This not only ties in with the position he was holding as a chief judge, but also with his reputation of lacking greediness (*nirlobha*)<sup>32</sup> and of being incorruptible.<sup>33</sup> Still today, the name of Śiryabhaṭṭa is held in great esteem in Śrīnagar. So much so that "a locality in Zayn's capital even now bears the physician's name. 'Shiryabhata Day' is celebrated on the dark 15<sup>th</sup> of Chaitra."<sup>34</sup> Śiryabhaṭṭa had become very influential at Zayn's court. Together with him, also the Buddhist Tilakācārya had been holding a high executive post at the court, as it was the case, too, with Siṃha, the Sultān's chief auditor. In this context, it is worthy of note that influential Buddhists were still present in Kashmir in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>35</sup> Together, all three were supporting the promotion of Brahmins to the highest positions.<sup>36</sup>

At the end of his Rājatarāṅgiṇī (JRT 970f), Jonarāja sadly commemorates Śiryabhaṭṭa's death. In doing so, he emphasizes again the lasting impact Śiryabhaṭṭa had exercised on Zayn's 'righteousness' in his capacity of an 'administrator of the law'.<sup>37</sup> Only six Ślokas further Jonarāja's chronicle breaks off. We know from his disciple Śrīvara (ŚRT I 1, 6) that this interruption had been caused by Jonarāja's unexpected death in AD 1459. So there is reason to assume that Śiryabhaṭṭa died only shortly before Jonarāja, in the late fifties of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Let us now briefly turn to the Veda copy Yuddhabhaṭṭa had presented to Zayn,<sup>38</sup> who himself in turn placed it at Śiryabhaṭṭa's disposal, and ask ourselves, in

be 160 (*rūpyamāṣas*): 1 (*pala*). In this case, the reduction would have been from 2 silver *palas* (= 320 *rūpyamāṣas*) to 1 *rūpyamāṣa* a year.

<sup>32</sup>See Ps-JRT 121\*, p. 171, B 1245d–1246b.

<sup>33</sup>Ps-JRT 115\*, p. 149, B 1087b: *notkocaphalam ādita* ('did not accept bribe money').

<sup>34</sup>S.L. SADHU on DUTT 1898 (p. 86, n. 189).

<sup>35</sup>On Tilakācārya see SLAJE forthc. (b).

<sup>36</sup>*sa śiryabhaṭṭas tilakah sa siṃhagaṇanāpatih | sopānāny abhavann uccapādārohe dviṅjanmanām || 824 ||.*

<sup>37</sup>*rājño dharmādhikāreṣu pratyavekṣāparaḥ sadā | mahāśrīśiryabhaṭṭo 'pi tasmin kāle divaṃ yayau || 970 || gatesv apy eṣu dharmo 'sya rājño naiṅāpatām gataḥ | 971ab |.*

<sup>38</sup>See above, footnote 25.

what way the Tübingen Paippalādasamhitā copy dated December, 1419 AD could be related to it.

The beginning of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn’s sultanate is conventionally given as AD 1420, thus one year *after* the dating in the manuscript’s colophon. Some confusion prevails about Zayn’s reign, mainly due to DUTT’s English translation of the later Rājatarāṅgiṇīs and to the Muslim conversions of the local Kashmiri calendar. The dates given thus differ from AD 1419, 1420, 1422 until 1470, 1472 or even 1475, as the case may be.<sup>39</sup> For achieving reliable results, it is therefore essential to turn directly to the primary Sanskrit sources.

## Two Sultāns

According to the eyewitness Śrīvara, who left us a detailed account of Zayn’s death and burial, Zayn died at the age of over 69,<sup>40</sup> in the year AD 1470,<sup>41</sup> shortly before or on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May,<sup>42</sup> after a rule of altogether 52 years.<sup>43</sup>

This account would yield the year AD 1401 for Zayn’s birth and the year AD 1418 for his accession to the throne.<sup>44</sup> Accordingly, he would have been 17 years of age when he became Sultān. The details of Zayn’s seizure of power as rendered by Śrīvara and Pseudo-Jonarāja, however, yield April 29 or May 13, 1420.<sup>45</sup> Zayn would thus have been of the age of 19 when he became Sultān.

<sup>39</sup>Muslim sources yield the year 1422 for Zayn’s accession; see KHAN 2004: 130 (AD 1422–1472). The Persian historiographers were basing themselves on the regional Kashmiri calendar, i.e. on the Laukika era, and converted the luni-solar Laukika years into lunar Hijra years, which may account for uncertain spaces of time, cp. HASAN 2002: 477. SCHWARTZBERG, also relying on like sources, dates Zayn’s reign as from 1420 to 1475.

<sup>40</sup>*atītagaṇitaikonasaptatyabdāyusaṃ nṛpaṃ* | ŚRT I 7, 225ab (‘[The ministers mourned over (226c)] the Sultān, [whose] life-span had exceeded altogether 69 years’).

<sup>41</sup>*śaṭcatoāriṃśavarṣe ’gād divaṃ śrījainabhūpatiḥ* || ŚRT I 7, 221cd (‘Sultān Zayn ascended to heaven in the [Laukika] year [4500 and] 46 [= AD 1470]’).

<sup>42</sup>ŚRT I 7, 224d; for the quote and its translation cp. footnote 45. According to Śrīvara, Zayn’s son Hāji Khān ascended the paternal throne on May 2, 1470 AD (*hājyikhāno ’grahīd rājyaṃ sa jyaiṣṭhapratipaddine* | ŚRT II 3cd). Calculated by Karl-Heinz Golzio, letter dt. March 2, 2004.

<sup>43</sup>*dvāpañcāśatam abdān sa rājyaṃ kṛtvā sukhapradam* | ŚRT I 7, 221ab; so also *Bahāristān*, p. 59.

<sup>44</sup>Cp. also DHAR 1994: 316; 318; notes on ŚRT 223 and 227.

<sup>45</sup>Śrīvara says: *rājyaṃ śaṇṇavate varṣe jyēṣṭhe māsy agrahīn nṛpaḥ* | *uttarāyaṇakālānte tenaivāntardhim āsadat* || ŚRT I 7, 224 || (‘The Sultān had seized power in the month of Jyēṣṭha in the [Laukika] year [44]96 (= AD 1420). Towards midsummer [of the Laukika year 4546 (= AD 1470)], he passed away in the same [month of Jyēṣṭha]’). Ps-Jonarāja (Ps-JRT 122\*, p. 181) indicates the date of Zayn’s triumphal procession more precisely: *śukle śukle brahmaṇo ’hni rasāṅke ’bde śaśāṅkage* | *jayanollābhadenō ’sau rājadhanīm viveśa saḥ* || B 1324 ||. Except for the year specification *rasāṅka* ([44]96), the meaning of *pādas* ab (doubled *śukla*, *brahman* and *śaśāṅkaga*) remained opaque to me for almost two years after submission of my paper. I am very grateful to Arlo Griffiths for his determination to finding a solution. He found it himself on August 28, 2006, as the outcome of a lengthy discussion, in which Gerdi Gerschheimer participated, kindly bringing in also his expertise. In summary: *śukla* (1) equals the month’s name *śukra* (=

The year 1420 has more or less been taken for granted by historians, disregarding the discrepancy of two years. Srikanth KAUL and Kashi Nath DHAR, in 1967 and 1993 respectively,<sup>46</sup> however, became suspicious and conjectured the difference of two years might be due to an interregnum of Zayn's elder brother 'Alī Śāh, who had resigned in favour of Zayn. I think that KAUL and DHAR were right in their assumption, at least basically,<sup>47</sup> and would like to take up the matter from there, because this starting point is most promising for bringing about a solution to the problem.

It is important to note that both Jonarāja and Śrīvara regarded Zayn as the legitimate ruler of Kashmir from the time of his first succession onwards. Śrīvara refers twice to Zayn's full period of rulership. He uses the words *rājyaṃ kṛtvā* (ŚRT I 7, 221b) when speaking about Zayn's sultanate of altogether 52 years, and *prāpte rājye* (ŚRT I 7, 263b) in a verse summarizing Zayn's life. These passages are entirely unambiguous. The second reads thus:

[Although] the kingdom had become his, [he had to live in] exile outside [it]. [And had] then to wage a horrible war against [his] elder brother ['Alī Śāh].<sup>48</sup>

Jonarāja's account makes it clear that 'Alī Śāh, as he was preparing for a pilgrimage (to Mecca),<sup>49</sup> had indeed formally conferred the sultanate on his younger brother, then still bearing the name of Śāhi Khān, who initially had refused to take on the burden.<sup>50</sup>

The king ['Alī Śāh] blessed him thus: 'May you rule the kingdom for a long

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*jyeṣṭha*). *śukla* (2), by force of sandhi, could as well stand for *aśukla*, so we would get a 'bright' or a 'dark' half of the month, as the case may be. The day of Brahmā (*brahmaṇo 'hni*) yields 'the first *tithi*', as Brahmā would preside over it as the Tithipati. If, moreover, we make the assumption that *śaśāṅka* denotes 'Monday', two dates emerge as fitting all criteria: Monday, the 29<sup>th</sup> of April (*pūrṇimānta*, *kṛṣṇapakṣa*), or the 13<sup>th</sup> of May (*amānta*, *śuklapakṣa*). Both dates have been confirmed by an independent calculation of K.-H. Golzio, based on the assumptions as above. The latter points out (letter dt. August 28, 2006) that usage of *aśukla* would strike him as rather unexpected. He would therefore be inclined to give preference to May, 13. Anyway, both dates are quite close to Zayn's day of death (2<sup>nd</sup> May), and all three may be seen as tolerably close 'towards midsummer'. Here is Griffiths' convincing translation proposal: 'In the year [numbered by] (6) flavours and (9) numerals (= [44]96), when the bright/dark [half] in [the month] Śukla (= Jyeṣṭha) had come to a Monday (*śukle [a]śukle ... śaśāṅkage*), the day of Brahmā (= 1<sup>st</sup> *tithi*), that Zayn al-'Ābidīn entered the capital.'

<sup>46</sup>KAUL 1967: 47; DHAR 1994: 317f; notes on ŚRT 226.

<sup>47</sup>KAUL's calculation of Zayn's first accession, by which he arrived at the year 1419 AD is untenable.

<sup>48</sup>*prāpte rājye pravāso bahir atha samaro 'py agrajenātikaṣṭaḥ* | ŚRT I 7, 263b.

<sup>49</sup>Mecca is indicated by the Muslim historiographers only, see Bahāristān, p. 57, n. 72; p. 59; cp. also HASAN 2002: 111, note 143.

<sup>50</sup>JRT 706.

time, being Sulṭān under the name of glorious Zayn al-‘Ābidīn.<sup>51</sup>

Having done this, ‘Alī left Kashmir, escorted by Zayn.<sup>52</sup> In fact, ‘Alī never reached his destination. Jonarāja explains that he, dissuaded on the way by advisers and affected by the inconveniences (of the *hajj*), broke off his pilgrimage, giving in to the will of his father in law, king Billadeva of Jammu.<sup>53</sup>

We do not know how long ‘Alī had really been on his way until he decided to break off the journey. However, this much is sure that in autumn of 1419, Billadeva made his son in law return to Kashmir, protected by his Jammu troops.<sup>54</sup> Zayn resigned without resistance, leaving Kashmir together with the landholding small nobility (*ṭhakkura*).<sup>55</sup> Jonarāja unmistakably says: *rājyatyāgam . . . vyadhāt* (714d), which cannot but mean that Zayn had indeed been considered the legitimate ruler. Thereupon the Jammu army invaded the country and although ‘Alī ascended the paternal throne, the righteous people disapproved, as Jonarāja emphasizes.<sup>56</sup> However, the weak and timid Sulṭān could not gain control over his country. In broad daylight, warlords terrorized and ransacked the people, raping the citizens’ women.<sup>57</sup> The situation became all-out anarchy. ‘Better a kingdom without a ruler, but never again such a one’ was Jonarāja’s judgement in view of the fact that the unleashed Yavanas would not even stop at the Sulṭān’s property.<sup>58</sup> Under these circumstances,

this stupid lord ruled [only] five or six months.<sup>59</sup>

Because the invasion started from Jammu in autumn 1419, and resulted in the occupation of Kashmir, the present statement allows to settle the date of the termination of ‘Alī’s reign as in spring of the following year, i.e. between March and April, 1420.

As will be recalled, Zayn had gone into exile.<sup>60</sup> Mallīk Jasrath, a Panjābī ruler who felt obliged to Zayn’s father Sikandar and who, incidentally, was the arch-

<sup>51</sup>*śrījainollābhadinākhyah suratrāṇo bhavan bhavān | ciram rājyam kriyād evam rājasyāśiṣam abhyadhāt* || JRT 707.

<sup>52</sup>JRT 708f.

<sup>53</sup>JRT 710f. For Billadeva, cp. KAUL 1967: 102, n. 7.

<sup>54</sup>JRT 712.

<sup>55</sup>JRT 713–716. According to KAUL (1967: 103, n. 3), the ṭhakkuras were Kashmiri Muslims. In Kalhaṇa, STEIN remarks, “ṭhakkura is a title which is applied [...] to the small nobility, presumably Rājput̃s, from the hill territories to the south of Kashmir; [...] At present the name of ṭhākur is borne in those regions by the chief cultivating class, which ranks next below the Rājput̃s” (1900: I, p. 292 ad RT VII 290).

<sup>56</sup>JRT 717–718.

<sup>57</sup>JRT 720–724.

<sup>58</sup>*arājakaṃ varam rājyam, na svāmī tādṛśah punah* | JRT 725f.

<sup>59</sup>*akārṣṭi pañcaśān māsān rājyam sa jaḍanāyakah* | JRT 727ab.

<sup>60</sup>It should be noted that Jonarāja narrates simultaneous events one after the other (possibly marked by a change of metre, see e.g. 728). Precisely this is also the case here: the account of Zayn’s fate during ‘Alī’s unhappy reign starts with Śloka 729.

enemy of ‘Alī’s protector Billadeva from Jammu, had offered shelter to Zayn.<sup>61</sup> He intended to lure ‘Alī out of Kashmir in order to defeat on him.<sup>62</sup> That it was Jasrath of all people with whom Zayn had found shelter made ‘Alī fly into a rage, quite as one would have expected. ‘Alī, flattered and spurred on by his entourage, disregarding the warnings of his frightened army, marched up.<sup>63</sup> He also neglected an urgent message from his Jammu relative who strongly advised ‘Alī not to move from his uphill position until he himself would join up with his forces, explicitly pointing to the deceitful strategies of Jasrath.<sup>64</sup> However, to no avail. All warnings cast to the winds, ‘Alī, the foolish,<sup>65</sup> took the offensive, descended with his cavalry and suffered defeat at the hands of Jasrath.<sup>66</sup> It was Jasrath himself who eventually slew ‘Alī Śāh,<sup>67</sup> capturing him directly from the battlefield.<sup>68</sup>

Having gained victory, Zayn marched back to Kashmir.<sup>69</sup> He entered Śrīnagar in triumphal procession, ‘with the approval of the righteous’.<sup>70</sup> It is precisely this second accession to the throne which can be dated exactly by the help of Śrīvara’s and Pseudo-Jonarāja’s accounts as April 29 or May 13, AD 1420.<sup>71</sup>

## Synopsis

Counting back, the chronological order of events can now be reconstructed as follows from the Sanskrit sources.

- 1470 (End of April/before 2<sup>nd</sup> May): Zayn’s **death** (at the age of over 69 years)
- ↓↓ (reign of 52 years) ↓↓
- 1420 (29<sup>th</sup> April/13<sup>th</sup> May): **2<sup>nd</sup> accession** of Zayn (procession into Śrīnagar)

<sup>61</sup>JRT 729f. Jasrath was chief of the Khokhar / Ghakkhar tribe (*khuhkara*, JRT 730b). On their terror, which has become proverbial in Kashmir, see DHAR 1994, note 1 on ŚRT I 3, 107.

<sup>62</sup>JRT 731.

<sup>63</sup>JRT 732–737.

<sup>64</sup>JRT 738–744. He seems to have taken up his position on a hill in the territory of Rājapurī / Rajaurī (STEIN note on RT VI 286); MAK No 203. Jonarāja calls the place *mudgalavyāla* (JRT 740ab), identified as Rajaurī by SADHU (note 181 in DUTT 1898: 85); see also R. SINGH (1972: 424f, note 1) on JRT 740.

<sup>65</sup>*jaḍa* (JRT 727b); *mūḍha* (JRT 746a).

<sup>66</sup>JRT 745–749.

<sup>67</sup>*baddhvā mallikajasrathena sa yadā rājāliśāhir hato ...* (ŚRT I 3, 107a).

<sup>68</sup>*baddhe raṇād āliśāhe* (ŚRT IV 142a).

<sup>69</sup>*śrījainollābhādīno ‘tha kaśmīrān ... | ... prāvīśad ...* || JRT 751.

<sup>70</sup>*satām stutyā diśām bheryā mukhāni dhvanayann ayam | paurāṇām prāṇ manaḥ paścād rājadhānīm nṛpo ‘viśat* || JRT 752.

<sup>71</sup>See above, note 45.

- 1420 (End of April/Beginning of May): ‘Alī slain in battle
- 1420 (Spring): ‘Alī leaves Śrīnagar, setting off for Rājapurī
- 1419 (Autumn): Zayn in exile      ↑↑ (6 months of ‘Alī’s interregnum) ↑↑
  - 1419 (Autumn): From Jammu to Śrīnagar, recapture of power
  - 1418/1419: Interruption of *hajj*; ‘Alī in Jammu with Billadeva
  - 1418: ‘Alī setting off for a pilgrimage to Mecca
- ↑↑ (reign of 52 years) ↑↑
- 1418 (April/May): **1<sup>st</sup> accession** of Zayn (sultanate conferred on him by ‘Alī)
  - 1417: Sūhabhaṭṭa’s death
  - 1413: ‘Alī’s accession
- 1401 (Before end of April): Zayn’s **birth**

From this reconstruction it becomes clear that Zayn had been ruling the country legitimately as Sultān *from spring 1418*, maintaining his court in Śrīnagar *until autumn 1419*, interrupted only by the 6 months of ‘Alī’s interregnum *from autumn 1419 to spring 1420*. By *May 1420 at the latest*, Zayn had already recaptured his throne. From his first accession, Zayn was considered the legitimate Sultān of Kashmir.

Thus, a Kashmirian Atharvaveda codex dating from December 1419 may absolutely be linked to Zayn as a ruler. Moreover, making such a connection is also consonant with a palaeographic development characteristic of that time. The final decline of *pr̥ṣṭhamātrā* diacritics in favor of only the *śīromātrā* manner of writing diphthongs happened in Kashmir between the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, that is, mainly in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This chronological determination of the predominance of vowels written in the *śīromātrā* manner is of some relevance for the dating of manuscripts. Any Kashmirian codex displaying such a change will have to be dated by considering this period as the earliest possible date of its writing. The same applies to the Tübingen Atharvaveda codex, since it does reflect such a change in the writing of diphthongs. According to the colophon of the Tübingen Codex, Paṇḍit Praśastabhava would have finished his copy on a Friday, December 15, 1419, in the Ahalyā Maṭha of Śrīnagar.<sup>72</sup> Thus it was completed only three months after the beginning of ‘Alī’s short interregnum of altogether six months, during which time Zayn had been staying abroad in exile. In all likelihood, copying the full codex would have taken more than only three months, so that we must

<sup>72</sup>See WITZEL 1994a: 11f., partially quoted in footnote 10 above.

assume Praśastabhava to have started working on it when Zayn was on the throne, i.e. any time between spring 1418 and autumn 1419.

In this regard, it should be emphasized that it remains unclear whether the Tübingen codex and its colophon represent the original or rather a copy thereof. For the present concern, however, it would not make much of a difference. It is difficult to judge, and more a matter of speculation, whether Praśastabhava's manuscript was an apograph copied from, e.g., Yuddhabhaṭṭa's archetype, which the latter might have prepared himself in Śrīnagar or even brought along with him from Karṇāṭa. Yuddhabhaṭṭa's manuscript, as will be recalled, was directly handed over to the Sultān as a present. It was certainly deposited in the royal library, which was destroyed by fire decades later.<sup>73</sup> It is unlikely that an otherwise unknown Paṇḍit would have got access to that manuscript as early as 1419. Only Śīryabhaṭṭa, high-ranking as he was, was given permission to use it as a basis for teaching. I am rather inclined to assume Praśastabhava's Atharvaveda copy would indeed manifest in written form what he and his fellow students had been orally taught by Śīryabhaṭṭa in his Dharmasālā. This assumption would perhaps also better account for the innumerable problematic readings of the Tübingen codex.

However this may have been, the necessity of a re-import of the Atharvaveda into Kashmir comes as no surprise, in light of the country's late medieval history. Its presentation to Sultān Zayn by Yuddhabhaṭṭa, in the material form of a (Śāradā birch-bark) manuscript, and Śīryabhaṭṭa's post at Zayn's court as a law scholar and teacher of this very Atharvaveda, can also plausibly be explained. All these events happened in connection with the stopping of the Hindu persecutions (after Sūhabhaṭṭa's death in AD 1417) by Zayn in AD 1418, leading to the Sultān's balanced rule, uncontested from 1420 onwards.

## Postscript

Up to this point, my conclusion reached had been centred on a seemingly hard fact consisting in the dating of the Tübingen Paippalādasamhitā manuscript, which was considered unshakable.<sup>74</sup> After completion of the present article, however, substantial doubt arose about the reliability of the calculations carried out so far, as their very basis appeared to be far from secure. Briefly, two main points are at issue in this regard. One is the actual reading of the colophon, and the second is the system of reckoning used by the scribe.

Let us look at the colophon first. The decisive passage can be verified in the facsimile reproduction of BLOOMFIELD / GARBE (1901: III) on folio 287b, lines 8–10. BARRET (1940: 152f) transcribed the lines as follows:

<sup>73</sup>WITZEL 1994a: 16.

<sup>74</sup>See above, p. 330 (note 10).

*ahlāmaṭṭheyamayāpaṃ praśastabha[9]vena merabhavaputreṇotsabhavapāutrena atharvaṇavedaṃ likhitam. z z [10] saṃvat 95 [remarks and notes by BARRET] mārg\*\*\*ati trayodaśāṃ śukravāsare \*\*\*\*\* [11]*

WITZEL's transcription (1994a: 11f.) and separation of words differ in some parts from that of BARRET:

*ahlāmaṭṭheya mayā paṃ praśasta-Bhavana Merabha-putreṇOtsava Bhava-pautreṇā atharvaṇavedaṃ likhitam. z z saṃvat 95 mārga [ś]uti trayodaśāṃ śukravāsare z [\*\*\*\*\*]*

Below his transcription, WITZEL added a "slightly 'corrected' reading", thus aiming at making the lines intelligible:

Ahlamaṭṭheya- (mayā) Paṃḍita-Praśasta-Bhavana Mīra-Bhava-putra-Utsava-Bhava-pautreṇa-Atharvaṇavedaṃ likhitam || Saṃvat 95 Mārga-śukla-tithau trayodaśāyāṃ śukravāsare |

The only major difference between BARRET's and WITZEL's transcriptions, as far as the dating of the manuscript is concerned, is \*ati (BARRET) against \*uti (WITZEL), resulting in [v]ati or [ś]uti, as the case may be. The asterisks indicate that the brittle birch-bark has peeled off and the syllables written on it have become irretrievably lost. From an inspection of the facsimile edition, it would appear that WITZEL's reading [ś]uti is perhaps more accurate, for at the bottom of the line there has indeed remained something like a hook pointing to the left, the common diacritic sign representing a subscribed -u. Neither of the transcriptions is, however, absolutely faithful to the manuscript. The actual reading of the two lines (with a tentative word separation) is this:

[8] ... *ahlāmaṭṭheya mayā paṃ praśastabha[9]vena merabhavaputreṇotsabhavapautreṇa atharvaṇavedaṃ likhitam. z z [10] saṃvat 95 mārg\* \*ti trayodaśāṃ śukravāsare \*\*\*\*\**

Largely following WITZEL's proposal, the meaning underlying this wording may perhaps be recognized by the following reconstruction:

*ahlāmaṭṭha iya[m]<sup>75</sup> mayā paṃ[ḍitena] praśastabhavena mīrabhavaputreṇotsabhavapautreṇa [ā]tharvaṇavedaṃ likhitam. z z [laukika]saṃvat 95 mārga[śīrṣe] [ś](u)[kla]ti[thau] trayodaś[y]āṃ śukravāsare.*

The present Atharvaveda was written by me, Paṃḍit Praśastabhava, son of Mīrabhava, grandson of Utsabhava, in the Ahalyā College on a Friday, the thirteenth lunar day of the bright half in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa of the common local year 95.

<sup>75</sup> Assuming irregular double sandhi (°maṭṭha [locative] + i°) and gender confusion (iyam, fem. + °vedaṃ likhitam, irregular neuter).

Alternatively, when reading [*va*]ti (= *vahula-tithau*) instead of [*śu*]ti (= *śukla-tithau*), which, however, means ignoring the possible fragment of a left-hand hook below a lost syllable, we would get the meaning 'dark fortnight'.

All previous calculations carried out by Claus VOGEL had taken *vati* ("dark fortnight") as their starting-point and thus resulted in Friday, December 15, 1419, as the only possible dating. In fact, as WITZEL himself again confirmed in 1994, only *vati* would "fit all criteria". Therefore, it must be assumed, he kept to "dark fortnight" in discussing this colophon, the reading of which he had reconstructed as [*ś*]uti. Accepting the newly proposed reading *śuti* would indeed create an almost insoluble problem. The implausibility of *śuti*, from the point of view of calculation, has become clear from a private discussion investigating the consequences of such an assumption, as well as from a further remark made by WITZEL, according to which the dating in the manuscript follows the *amānta* scheme. Summarizing the fresh calculations experts on Indian calendar reckoning (J.C. Eade, K.-H. Golzio and Michio Yano) were kind enough to carry out, by way of trial, the matter now presents itself as follows.

In Kashmir, both methods of counting the lunar months were in use, one system beginning with the full moon (*pūrṇimānta*), and the other one beginning with the new moon (*amānta*). This fact should be emphasized, as it stands in sharp contrast to the general opinion, according to which in Kashmir, as a northern area, the *pūrṇimānta* scheme alone would have prevailed.<sup>76</sup> Thus, WITZEL's statement that the Atharvaveda dating was based on the *amānta* reckoning is plausible. On the other hand, there would be no difference between the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* reckonings in case a lunar day of the bright fortnight (*śuti*) was indeed concerned.<sup>77</sup> Therefore, WITZEL's remark on the *amānta* use makes sense only if a dark fortnight (*vati*) was considered by him.

Test calculations carried out by K.-H. Golzio on the basis of *pūrṇimānta* and a Friday as a thirteenth waxing day (*śuti*) yielded AD 1719, 30 October (Old Style) = 10 November (New Style) as the only result; *śuti* on the basis of *amānta* resulted in Friday, 13 November 1019. As neither the 11th nor the 18th centuries appear to be reasonable alternatives, *śuti* should indeed be ruled out as a possible reading. The issue turned out to become much more convincing as soon as a Friday as thirteenth waning day (*vati*) according to *amānta* reckoning was taken as the starting-point for another series of calculations. Two matching results could be achieved by M. YANO: Friday, 6 December 1219 and Friday, 15 December 1419. However, the mentioned Maṭha on the bank of the Vitastā, ru-

<sup>76</sup>Cp. SALOMON (1998: 177): "[...] months [...] counted as ending with the full moon (*pūrṇimānta*, the "northern" system) or the new moon (*amānta*, the "southern" system)"; (1998: 197): "Years of the Saptarṣi cycle are usually denoted as current and *caitrādi*; the months are *pūrṇimānta*." For evidence clearly contradicting this statement and testifying to the use also of the *amānta* system in Kashmir, see KIELHORN (Kleine Schriften II [1969]: 619; 621) and YANO 1994: 223ff; 230 (*amānta* in use, e.g., in the *Nīlamatapūrāṇa*, by Bhaṭṭotpala, the astronomer; *pūrṇimānta* used by Kalhaṇa).

<sup>77</sup>See table 3 of YANO 1994: 227.

ined during Raṅjit Singh's Sikh rule by the conflagration of AD 1833/34,<sup>78</sup> was founded by King Lakṣmadeva's queen Ahalā only some time between AD 1273 and 1286.<sup>79</sup> Therefore, the year 1219 can safely be ruled out. Considering the additional evidence externally supplied from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, strongly supporting the 15<sup>th</sup> century, I think it is absolutely justified to suggest the reading *vati*, accept *amānta* as the scheme of reckoning, and maintain Claus VOGEL's original calculation as the safest of all hypotheses: Friday, 15 December 1419.

## Post-Postscript

Of late, I chanced upon two stanzas by Pseudo-Jonarāja, which may be considered another piece of evidence supportive of the year 1419. As will be recalled, Praśastabhava, the scribe of the Tübingen codex, has left us the name of his grandfather in the colophon as Utsabhava (see above, p. 346), which is certainly no frequent proper name and also no familiar short form of Utsava. It turns out that Pseudo-Jonarāja knew of a Brahmin (*bhaṭṭa*) namesake, who was one of Sūhabhaṭṭa's henchmen. The event related by Pseudo-Jonarāja happened shortly after 'Alī Śāh's succession in 1413, approximately six years before Praśasta-bhava's copying of the codex was completed. In light of the cumulative evidence collected so far, Praśasta-bhava's grandfather and Bhaṭṭa Sūha's cunning follower may indeed have been one and the same person.

This is the background of the event. Immediately after 'Alī's accession to the throne (1413), Bhaṭṭa Sūha ensured his promotion to the position of Prime Minister (JRT 816). Having achieved this, he set himself to the elimination of his former fellow ministers, who had served together with him under 'Alī's father Sulṭān Sikandar as close confidants, Laddarāja and Śāṅkara, the physician (JRT 585). Laddarāja held the position of *mārgapati*, a commander-in-chief of the mountain passes. Arresting him publicly was out of the question, as Sūha had drunk the peace cup with Ladda (*kośapāna*).<sup>80</sup> To the public, he was bound to stand by his oath unswervingly. Moreover, Sūha was a coward shying away

<sup>78</sup>*ahalyāmaṭhe 'gnidāhaḥ saṃpannaḥ sahasraśaś ca gṛhā [...] dagdhā abhūvan [...] saṃvat 1890. Sāhibrām, Rājatarāṅgiṇīsaṅgraha, Ms Stein no 130, fol. 54<sup>r</sup> (original numbering: 12<sup>v</sup>), ll. 2–6. See CLAUSON 1912: 598. On fol. 41<sup>v</sup>, STEIN notes: "Miscellaneous Notes and Verses composed by Pt. Sahibram, possibly for his continuation of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Copied in August 1891 from the author's autograph through Pt. Sahajabhaṭṭa. Lahore: 3.1.1891. M. A. Stein."*

<sup>79</sup>*vīṭastāyās taṭe śvaśrūmaṭhopānte maṭhaṃ navam | niṣpaṅkā nījanāmāṅkam ahalāmahiṣī vyadhāt ||* JRT 115.

<sup>80</sup>Drinking the water of a peace cup was to the (Kashmiri) Indians what smoking the peace pipe was to the American Indians. Kalhaṇa's references to this custom have been exhaustively treated by KÖLVER (1971: 175ff). In the present context the following passage is of relevance: *adrohārthitatatsaṃvoitpītakośodako 'pi san || laddamārgapatiṃ sūhabhaṭṭo roddhum acintayat || tena hy aśāṅki sa svasmin svātmevāsmīn hy aviśvasan | mahātmanām bhavet kośaḥ kośo vāri tu pāpinām ||* Ps-JRT 98\* (p. 114), B 793–794 ('Although Bhaṭṭa Sūha had drunk the peace cup [with him], well aware that trustworthiness was the aim [of the oath], he plotted to take him into captivity. For,

from face-to-face fighting.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, he sent a henchman, Utsa, to Ladda's palace chamber, under a pretext. And while Utsa was inside, he had the building surrounded by assassins (*tīkṣṇa*).

This is Pseudo-Jonarāja's account of Bhaṭṭa Utsa(va):

*śrutvā tadgamanam dūtān mantranirbhedaśaṅkitaḥ |*  
*laddamārgapatim roddhum sahasā samacintayat ||*  
*rujaḥ saṃvīkṣaṇavyājān mārgeśasya śayāptaye<sup>82</sup> |*  
*viśvāsanāya ca prāsyad bhaṭṭotsam tasya sadmani ||*  
*cikitsakauṣadhāhārī mārgeśatimināḍṛtaḥ |*

*nābodhi piṇḍīnirgūḍhabaḍīsam punar utsavaḥ ||* Ps-JRT 99\* (p. 116), B 816c–818  
 [...] When [Sūha] had learned from [his] messenger that [Ladda's son Muḥammad] had disappeared, he suspected his scheme might have been exposed [and] immediately decided to imprison Ladda. He sent Bhaṭṭa Utsa to [Ladda's], the Mārgapati's house under the pretext of looking after [his] poor health.<sup>83</sup> This should get [Utsa] close to [Ladda's] bed and [at the same time] inspire confidence [in him]. [Utsa was a] cautious [man and so, to arouse as little suspicion as possible,] brought medicaments along with him. The Mārgapati, [like a] *timi* fish, neither recognized [the] fish-hook inside the pill nor<sup>84</sup> did he see through Utsava, [the angler].

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he was suspicious about Ladda. [Sūha] distrusted him quite as he would [have distrusted] himself. A peace cup is a peace cup for noble souls [only]. It is water, however, to the depraved').

<sup>81</sup>*kātaro vīravīdveṣī nirguṇo guṇimatsaraḥ | dūḍhaḥ kulīnaḥ kaulīno vidhātraiva hi nirmitaḥ ||* [Ps-JRT 98\* (p. 114), B 795] ('The creator has created the cruel, high-born Kaula Brahmin [Sūha] as cowardly, averse to bravery, destitute of virtues, and envious of the meritorious').

<sup>82</sup>*mārgeśasya śayā° D B] mārgeśasyāśayā°* (Ed.)

<sup>83</sup>Ladda must have suffered from a disease at that time, or else this remark is to be understood with reference to Ladda's infirmity, see above Ps-JRT 98\* (p. 115), B 809b: *mantrī mārgapatir jaran* ('The counsellor, chief commander of the mountain passes, has grown old').

<sup>84</sup>Construe *nābodhi* ... [*nābodhi*] *punar* (SPEIJER §§ 407, 448).

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# Epigraphical Evidence for the History of Atharvavedic Brahmins

Annette Schmiedchen

This paper is intended to provide an analysis of the epigraphical evidence for Atharvavedic Brahmins in general and for experts of the Paippalādaśākhā in particular. In the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* for the years 1959/60, DISKALKAR listed a number of relevant inscriptions in his article 'Atharvaveda and Epigraphi (sic!)'.<sup>1</sup> I endeavoured to complete his collection through a specific search in various epigraphical journals and dynastic corpora of inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> Due to the extreme scantiness of the sources, however, the attempt to find more material than that gathered by DISKALKAR some forty years ago did not bear rich fruit.

The list and the table given in the appendices I and III are certainly far from being complete. But even from this limited number of references, it is apparent that the information available mainly comes from the so-called copper-plate grants, that is to say, from the 'classical' Indian medium for the recording of royal endowments in favour of religious donees.<sup>3</sup> Hence, most of the evidence refers to Atharvavedic Brahmins as recipients of donations of villages and land.<sup>4</sup> Atharvavedins only very rarely occur in other epigraphical contexts, for instance, as scribes of such inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> One of the rather vague references to the activities of Atharvavedic communities, which also might have

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<sup>1</sup>In the table of contents given in *JASBom*, N.S., 34/35 (1959/60, published 1962), the title of the article is printed correctly. For material on Atharvavedins, see besides DISKALKAR 1959/60 also DISKALKAR 1962.

<sup>2</sup>I owe an extensive collection of data in primary and secondary sources to Arlo Griffiths.

<sup>3</sup>These copper-plate charters are mostly written in Sanskrit. Some early examples (such as no. 1 of the list and the table in appendices I and III) show Prakritic influence, while the medieval ones often contain portions in the proto-regional languages. It is remarkable that the search for relevant material has brought to light only one stone inscription; see no. 20 of the list and the table in appendices I and III. This Tamil stone epigraph has not been properly edited yet.

<sup>4</sup>A royal grant of a village to a religious donee meant that a king had a village converted into a permanent holding exempted from royal revenue demands, and that he transferred the taxes, services, and other liabilities of the village to the donee. The privileges and immunities usually granted in a specific region at a certain time were mostly the same, regardless whether a whole village or a plot of land was donated. Therefore, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the conditions associated with the conveyance of a village and those associated with the endowment of a clearly defined piece of cultivable land. It is possible that some royal families "held extensive private property rights which they bestowed upon religious persons rather than making assignments on the revenue due to the ruler" (MORRISON 1970: 99). Under many dynasties, royal grants of entire villages were more frequent than those of plots of land, one exception being, for instance, the **Maitrakas**.

<sup>5</sup>See, for instance, HULTZSCH 1905/06, p. 240, text l. 41 (fifth plate): ... *pāṃbeyena sarvottamenādhavvanena likhitam* ||. This set of copper plates from the Nellore District in south-eastern Andhra Pradesh records the grant of a village by the Eastern **Calukya** king Sarvalokāśraya, who

been connected with the writing of documents, is provided by a piece of glyptic evidence. The legend of a sealing found during excavations at Rajghat in 1961 reads *atharvvanīkacarāṇa*.<sup>6</sup> Because of its physical features, it seems reasonable to suppose that this sealing had once been attached to a letter or another kind of document for the purpose of authorization by the sender or issuer, that is, the Atharvavedic community of a place not mentioned in the legend.

The inscriptional sources for grants in favour of Atharvavedic Brahmins are widely spread, both in terms of geography<sup>7</sup> and of chronology. The relevant material mainly dates from a period beginning in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and ending in the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Furthermore, the data indicate a certain concentration between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries and once again in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although the chronological order of the references has been taken into account, chronology has not been made the only organizing principle for the list and the table in appendices I and III. On the one hand, many of the relevant epigraphs do not contain any date (or at least none that could be definitely verified), but give only indirect indications of the period they belong to. On the other hand, it seemed appropriate to group the charters according to the royal dynasties having issued them, even if this grouping should violate the strict chronological order.

The earliest inscriptional references to Atharvavedins clearly come from central and southern India, but it has turned out to be rather difficult to draw any definite conclusion regarding the particular ways of dissemination of the Atharvavedic tradition from this geographical setting. The spread of the early inscriptional evidence for Atharvavedic Brahmins appears to coincide with the emerging epigraphical tradition of issuing royal grants of villages and land in favour of Brahmins in some parts of central and southern India in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. During the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries this epigraphical tradition, which was strongly linked to the use of copper plates as the major medium for registration, developed into a supra-regional phenomenon. Thus, relevant title deeds mentioning Atharvavedins have been found almost everywhere on the Indian subcontinent: in central Indian Madhya Pradesh (1) and Maharashtra (1), in western Indian Gujarat (5) and Goa (1), in northern Indian Uttar Pradesh (2) and even as far as Himachal Pradesh (1), in eastern Indian Orissa (2) and in Bangladesh (5) as well as in southern Indian Karnataka (3), Andhra Pradesh (1) and Tamilnadu (1).

However, these donative epigraphs contain only highly sporadic evidence; that is to say, the percentage of donees clearly labelled as Atharvavedins is rather low, judging by the total number of Brahmins who in their thousands re-

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reigned in the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, to six Brahmins who were Chandogas, that is, Sāmavedins.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. PATHAK 1964: 214–217 and THAPLYAL 1972: 248–256. THAPLYAL ranks this specimen among the seals of Brahmanical educational institutions and also refers to sealings of the *bahvṛccarāṇa* and the *chandogacarāṇa*.

<sup>7</sup>See the map in appendix IV.

ceived villages and plots of land after the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup> This meagre result is not exclusively due to a possibly weak influence of Brahmins of the Atharvaveda, but can at least partly be explained by the specific source material. Especially in the early period, many title deeds, for instance, those of the **Vākātakas**, the **Kadambas**, and their contemporaries, contain only very little information. This also applies to the description of the donees in the grant sections proper of the texts. In the case of donations to Brahmins, their names and their *gotras* were mostly registered. But very often any indication of their Vedic affiliation is totally missing, and even if it is mentioned, the specific school or branch is extremely rarely recorded. Out of the twenty-three references to Atharvavedins listed in appendix I, only six explicitly specify the particular *śākhā* those Brahmins belonged to. In all the six instances (nos. 10, 13, 15a, 15b, 16, and 18), it is the Paippalādaśākhā that is referred to; there is not a single piece of epigraphical evidence for the Śaunakaśākhā as already DISKALKAR (1959/60: 80) had observed.

Particular in epigraphs in favour of large groups of Brahmins, the details given frequently do not go beyond a registration of names; but sometimes not even the individual names are mentioned. It is, however, precisely this donative category where one would expect more Atharvavedins to occur if the recording were more comprehensive, because large Brahmin communities tended to be grouped highly heterogeneously, as revealed by better documented examples. Nevertheless, it remains a striking feature of the relevant data that, although almost all Indian dynasties that ever issued copper-plate charters between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries endowed first and foremost Brahmins and only secondly Buddhist and Jain monasteries or Hindu temples, just a minority of them seem to have supported Atharvavedic Brahmins.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the limitations of the epigraphical sources, the inscriptions offer very interesting evidence for the spread of Atharvavedic Brahmins, for their individual names, and for their *gotra* affiliation (RENOU 1950 and WITZEL 1985). Thus, for instance, the occurrence of the Paippalādi-/Pippalādagoṭra in nos. 1 and 19 of appendices I and III seems to be of particular interest.

The material listed comprehends references to royal endowments for individual Atharvavedic Brahmins (eleven instances), as well as for groups exclusively consisting of Atharvavedins (six instances). Furthermore, there are, among the donations recorded in favour of larger Brahmin communities of mixed Vedic affiliation, some that also mention Atharvavedic Brahmins (six instances). These three different categories of evidence for Atharvavedins will be

<sup>8</sup>The twenty-three grants given in appendix I list altogether more than three hundred and sixty Atharvavedins; but this figure is to some extent misleading as no. 19 alone mentions one hundred and ninety-nine.

<sup>9</sup>The **Rāṣṭrakūṭas**, for instance, who ruled over a large territory in the Deccan (Maharashtra and northern Karnataka) from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, granted dozens of villages to Brahmins, but there is not a single Atharvavedin explicitly mentioned in their epigraphical records known so far.

examined, and a few noteworthy cases will be presented in more detail. Besides, the specific grants of individual kings in favour of Atharvavedic Brahmins will be contextualised by viewing the general patronage pattern of the whole dynasty the particular kings belonged to.

## I. Grants in favour of individual Atharvavedins

Individual Atharvavedins were endowed with villages and land according to the testimony of the inscriptions nos. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15a, 15b, 16, and 18 of the list and the table given in appendices I and III.

Grant no. 2 from Madhya Pradesh, the 5<sup>th</sup>-century Tirodi copper-plate grant of Pravarasena II, who issued most of the **Vākāṭaka** title deeds, was given to the Brahmin Varuṇārya. This Atharvavedin, who received a village not far from his place of residence, is described as a *triveda*, an expert in three Vedas.<sup>10</sup>

Approximately thirty copper-plate inscriptions of the **Vākāṭakas** (5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> centuries) are known so far (MIRASHI 1963, SHRIMALI 1987 and SALOMON 1998: 146). These epigraphs from central India mainly record grants to Brahmins; only in a few cases donations in favour of temples are recorded. The beneficiaries of the Brahmanical grants often were individual Brahmins and small groups (if indicated, almost exclusively Yajurvedins, except for the two inscriptions referring to Atharvavedins). The most prominent example for one of the rare bestowals on large Brahmin communities under the **Vākāṭaka** dynasty is provided by the famous Chammak copper-plate charter of Pravarasena II allegedly in favour of one thousand donees belonging to different *gotras* and *caraṇas*. Only forty-nine names of recipients are listed — and this without specifying their *gotra* or Vedic affiliation.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, it is not clear whether any Atharvavedins belonged to that group.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Cf. no. 2 = EI 22, no. 27, p. 172 = MIRASHI 1963 (CII 5), no. 11, p. 50, text l. 18 (second plate, second side): ... *cāddha(?)purava(vā)stavya-atherovāṇaharkkarisagotravaruṇāryyāya trivedāya* ... PATHAK's statement (1964: 218) regarding the Rajghat sealing which bears the legend *atharvvaṇikacaraṇa* (see above, fn. 6) appears to refer to the **Vākāṭaka** environment, too: "The seal seems to have been prepared sometime in the 6th century A. D. to the south of the Vin-dhyas."

<sup>11</sup>Cf. V.V. Mirashi. Chammak Plate of Pravarasena II. In: MIRASHI 1963 (CII 5), no. 6, pp. 22–27.

<sup>12</sup>It is remarkable that one of the privileges granted in many **Vākāṭaka** donative records refers to the ideal Brahmin community consisting of experts in the four Vedas. The relevant text reads in the Tirodi plates, for instance: *ucitāṃś cāsya pūrvarājānumatā[ṃś\*] cāturovaidyagrāmamaryyā-dāparihārān vitarāmaḥ* ... , 'and we confer on him the [following] exemptions from restrictions [connected] with villages of Brahmin communities of the four Vedas that are customary and approved by former kings ...'; cf. no. 2 = EI 22, no. 27, p. 173 = MIRASHI 1963 (CII 5), no. 11, p. 50, text ll. 19–20 (third plate, first side).

The Atharvavedic beneficiary of inscription no. 3 in appendices I and III, issued by **Kadamba** Mrgeśavarman from southern Karnataka (Mysore District) in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century, was also presented with a whole village as *brahmadeya*. He was called Sarvasvāmin and was an expert on Vedic literature (*vedavedāṅgavid*).<sup>13</sup>

A total of approximately thirty-five records issued by different **Kadamba** kings (4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries) testifies that the rulers of this dynasty and their vassals granted land to many Brahmins as well as to a number of Jain institutions (GAI 1996). In the Brahmanical donations of the **Kadambas**, there is hardly any information available regarding the Vedic affiliation of their recipients. Only very few inscriptions explicitly mention that the donees were individual Yajurvedins (three instances), Ṛgvedins (one example), Sāmavedins (one reference), or Atharvavedins (no. 3 of appendices I and III; for no. 4 mentioning twenty-three beneficiaries see below).

According to nos. 6 to 9, villages and land were bestowed on Atharvavedins by four different **Maitraka** rulers, namely, by king Dhruvasena I, a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu (*paramabhāgavata*), and by the three Śiva devotees (*paramamāheśvara*) Dharasena II, Dharasena III, and Śilāditya V. Two of the altogether four Atharvavedic Brahmins (see nos. 6 and 8) were living in the city of Hastakavapra (modern Hathab in the Bhavnagar District of Gujarat) when they received certain plots of land in some villages belonging to the district (*āhāra*) of Hastakavapra.<sup>14</sup> Besides, the donee in no. 9 of appendices I and III, the Lunavada<sup>15</sup> charter, might be of particular interest. Śilāditya V granted an entire village to him for performing the so-called five great sacrifices (*bali, caru*, etc.), a purpose very often stated in Brahmanical title deeds. This Brahmin is explicitly described as the member of the *cāturvidya* community of his place of residence, that is to say, of a local group of experts in the four Vedas.<sup>16</sup>

With these four relevant title deeds, the **Maitraka** royal family of Valabhī, who ruled in Kathiawar (Gujarat) from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, contributed the largest dynastic sub-group of references to Atharvavedins (here *atharvaṇasabrahmacārīn*) known so far. The comparatively high density of evidence for Atharvavedic Brahmins is perhaps not too surprising in view of the large number of land grants under the **Maitraka** dynasty in general, but still it seems sig-

<sup>13</sup>Cf. no. 3 = GAI 1996, no. 9, p. 80, text ll. 14–16 (third plate, first side): ... *brāhmaṇāya ātharvaṇikāya aupagahanisagoṭrāya vedavedāṅgavide piṅgalasvāmiputrāya sarvasvāmine* ...

<sup>14</sup>These two grants belong to the few examples where plots of land were allotted to Atharvavedins. The majority of the Brahmanical **Maitraka** charters, however, comprise such endowments of pieces of land and not of villages.

<sup>15</sup>Still in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were Atharvavedins at Lunavada and Bhavnagar; cf. DISKALKAR 1962: 2.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. no. 9 = IA 6 (1877), p. 21, text ll. 59–60 (= ll. 23–24 of the second plate): ... *ḍahakavāstavya-taccāturvidyasāmānyapārāśarasagoṭrāyātharvaṇasabrahmacārībrāhmaṇasambhullāya brāhmaṇaḍāṭṭallaputrāya* ... For the terms *cāturvidya* and *cāturvaīdya*, see above, fn. 12, and SCHMIEDCHEN 2001: 66–67, respectively.

nificant in the light of the present-day distribution of Atharvavedins.<sup>17</sup> There are available now more than one hundred title deeds issued by sixteen **Maitraka** kings in favour of different religious recipients.<sup>18</sup> According to their own testimony, most of the **Maitraka** rulers were devout worshippers of Śiva (*paramamāheśvara*). Some of the early kings, however, were called either a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu (*paramabhāgavata*, Dharasena I, mentioned above), a devotee of the sun god (*paramādityabhakta*, Dharapaṭṭa, successor of Dharasena I, who has not left any known record), or a devout lay disciple of the Buddha (*paramopāsaka*, Guhasena, Dharapaṭṭa's successor) (SCHMIEDCHEN 1993: 84). Approximately three quarters of the land-grant documents of the **Maitraka** dynasty that have come down to us record donations to one or more Brahmins, almost one quarter was given to Buddhist monasteries, and, despite their documented religious denomination, only very few endowments of the **Maitrakas** (in total numbers: merely four) were received by local Hindu shrines. Among the Brahmanical grants, those in favour of individual beneficiaries by far predominate over those in favour of groups (frequency: firstly Yajurvedins, secondly Sāmavedins, thirdly Ṛgvedins, fourthly Atharvavedins — NJAMMASCH 2001: 313). There is only one single piece of clear evidence for the bestowal of a village on a medium-sized group, namely, forty-four Brahmins, dating from the year 286 of the Gupta-Valabhī era (= 605 AD). In this Navalakhi copper-plate charter of **Maitraka** king Śilāditya I, only the names of the donees are listed, and it is reported that they belonged to different *gotras*, Vedic schools, etc.<sup>19</sup> As in the Chammak inscription of the **Vākātakas**, however, it remains unclear whether or not this group also included some Atharvavedins.

The exact findspot of the so-called Bengal Asiatic Society plate of the **Gurjara-Pratihāra** ruler Vināyakapāla, a devout worshipper of the sun god (*paramādityabhakta*) dated in the Vikrama year 988 (= 931 AD) — no. 14 of appendices I and III — is not known. But the epigraph records that the donee, an Atharvavedin called Bhaṭṭa Bhullāka and belonging to the Darbhigotra (see also the Darbhagotra in no. 19 and appendix II), received a village in the district of Vāraṇasī.<sup>20</sup>

Only very few copper-plate grants issued under the **Gurjara-Pratihāra** kings, who controlled huge territories from Gujarat in the west to Bihar in the east, are available now.<sup>21</sup> The eight relevant epigraphs (9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries) listed

<sup>17</sup>For the distribution of Atharvavedic Brahmins (of the Śaunakaśākhā) in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, see also the “prefatory addenda” in VISHVA BANDHU 1960: XIII–XXXII.

<sup>18</sup>See, for instance, NJAMMASCH 2001: 279–280.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. BHANDARKAR 1911/12, pp. 179–180, text ll. 19–25: ... *saṃgapurṭvīnirggatanānāgotraranaṭapassva(svā)ddhyāyopetabrāhmaṇa° ... evaṃ catuścatvāriṅśate brāhmaṇebhyaḥ* .... The phrase has been misinterpreted by NJAMMASCH (2001: 286) as defining the purpose of the grant.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. no. 14 = IA 15 (1886), p. 141, text l. 13: ... *darvbi(rbbhi)sagottra-atharvasaora(bra)hma-cāribhaṭṭabhullākāya* ....

<sup>21</sup>The **Gurjara-Pratihāras** seem to have issued considerably more stone inscriptions than copper-plate records.

by MISHRA (1966: 128–129) for the reign of this famous north Indian dynasty certify donations of villages in favour of individual Ṛg-, Yajur-, Sāma-, and Atharvavedins as well as in favour of a temple of the sun god (two endowments), a Śaiva called Maheśvarācārya, and an extremely large group of six thousand Brahmanical donees. The **Gurjara-Pratihāra** genealogy of the Bengal Asiatic Society plate (no. 14), not only engraved on the plate itself, but also repeated on the attached seal, refers to these monarchs either as worshippers of Viṣṇu (*paramavaiṣṇava*), of Śiva (*paramamāheśvara*), of the sun god (*paramādityabhakta*), or of the goddess Bhagavatī (*paramabhagavatībhakta*).

The two 9<sup>th</sup>-century copper plates of king Gopāla II and the 11<sup>th</sup>-century Belwa grant of king Vighrahapāla III from Bangladesh — nos. 15a, 15b, and 16 of appendices I and III — provide three of the rare pieces of evidence for Paippalādins. The hitherto unknown Pāla ruler Gopāla II, son of Śūrapāla I (BHATTACHARYA 1996: 194), seems to have granted some land in Suvarṇakārikādaṇḍa belonging to the famous ancient northern Bengal province (*bhukti*) of Puṇḍravardhana to two Paippalādins, uncle and nephew, with separate plates (15a and 15b) at the same date. The two Brahmins named Bhaṭṭaputra Līlākara and Bhaṭṭaputra Atthakara, who themselves, or whose ancestors, had originally hailed from Campā, belonged to the Kauṭharigotra and were *śāntivārikas*.<sup>22</sup> This or similar designations as, e.g., *śāntyāgārika* also appear in other contemporary epigraphical records of Bengal (by the **Candras**, **Varmans**, and **Senas**) as epithets of Brahmin donees (for Yajurvedic, Ṛgvedic, and Atharvavedic Brahmins) and probably indicated a certain function of their bearers in expiation rituals (*śānti*) being held in a house for expiation rituals (*śāntyāgāra* or *śāntigrha*).<sup>23</sup> These “buildings dedicated to the performance of [Vedic] apotropaic rites of appeasement”<sup>24</sup> are also mentioned in some of the Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas (AV-

<sup>22</sup>As the copper plates were issued on the very same day in the 4<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Gopāla II and have been found together, they are treated here as 15a and 15b. According to information communicated by Ryosuke Furui, who is preparing a fresh and complete edition of these two grants, in an e-mail dated 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2007, they were not meant for the same donee (Līlākara) as MUKHERJI believed; cf. no. 15a = JBA 5 (2000), p. 62. For MUKHERJI’s (partly incorrect) readings of the relevant passages, see no. 15a = JBA 5 (2000), p. 63f., text ll. 40–43 and no. 15b = JBA 5 (2000), p. 64, text ll. 39–41. In the same e-mail mentioned above, Ryosuke Furui writes: “The donee of Plate 1 is *śānti-gṛha-pratiṣṭhā(ba)ddha-śāntivārika-bhaṭṭaputra-śrī-Līlākara*, grandson of *bhaṭṭa-Dinakara*, son of *bhaṭṭa-Yaśaskara*. The donee of Plate 2 is *śānti-gṛha-pratiṣṭhā(ba)ddha-śāntivārika-bhaṭṭaputra-śrī-Atthakara*, grandson of *bhaṭṭa-Yaśaskara*, son of *bhaṭṭa-purohita-śrī-Śāntikara*.” Thus the two Paippalādins were *śāntivārikas* attached to a *śāntigrha*.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. SIRCAR 1966: 299. **Candra** dynasty: *śāntivārika*, cf. MAJUMDAR 1929: 1–9 (= MUKHERJI / MAITY 1967: 221–229); SIRCAR 1959/60 (= MAJUMDAR 1929: 165–166 [for a Yajurvedin]); **Varman** dynasty: *śāntyāgārādhikṛta* [for a Yajurvedin, too], cf. MAJUMDAR 1929: 14–24 (= MUKHERJI / MAITY 1967: 234–244); **Sena** dynasty: *śāntyāgārika*, cf. MAJUMDAR 1929: 106–117 (= MUKHERJI / MAITY 1967: 277–289 = no. 18 of appendices I and III); MAJUMDAR 1929: 169–172 (= MUKHERJI / MAITY: 290–294). In the last example the term *śāntyāgārika* is not only used to designate the Ṛgvedic donee, but also for the owners of the fields neighbouring the plot of land granted to him. See also the term *śāntikapauṣṭhika* in no. 21 of appendices I and III.

<sup>24</sup>I am grateful to Alexis Sanderson for drawing my attention to a number of passages on the

París 8.1.3 and 21.6.1) which contain material on the duties of the royal chaplain (*purohita*), and in Śaiva literature on Śaiva officiants (*guru*).<sup>25</sup>

The late Pāla ruler Vigrahapāla III (no. 16) endowed a *pippalādaśākhādhyāyin*, learned in Mīmāṃsā, grammar, and logic,<sup>26</sup> and belonging to the Bharadvāja-gotra with a part of a village which also lay in the famous Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti. The Paippalādin named Jayānandadevaśarman was a resident of the village of Vellāvā, which is identical with Belwa, the modern name of the grant's find-spot, but he or his family had migrated from a different place not yet identified.<sup>27</sup> Vigrahapāla III did not only call himself — as Gopāla II and other members of his dynasty did — a devout worshipper of the Buddha (*paramasaugata*), but he also made this Brahmanical grant 'in the name of the lord Buddhahattā-raka' (*bhagavantam buddhabhattarakam uddīśya*).<sup>28</sup>

On the basis of BHATTACHARYA (1994) and some recent discoveries, the number of the known copper-plate grants of the Buddhist Pāla kings, who ruled in Bengal and Bihar between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, can be estimated at some twenty charters. Approximately half of the donations were presented to individual Brahmins belonging to the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, or Atharvaveda. The second half of the total number includes some grants in favour of Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples as well as a few of unclear dedication.

Another Paippalādin received — according to no. 18 in appendices I and III, the Madhainagar charter — a whole village in the same northern Bengal province of Puṇḍravardhana from the 12<sup>th</sup>-century king Lakṣmaṇasena, who issued more than half of the known charters of the Sena dynasty.<sup>29</sup> This ruler was a Viṣṇu devotee (*paramanārasimha*) and made his Brahmanical grant 'in the name of lord Nārāyaṇabhattā-raka' (*bhagavantam śrīmannārāyaṇabhattarakam uddīśya*).<sup>30</sup> The beneficiary of the donation belonged to the Kauśikagotra and bore the title of *śāntyāgārika*.<sup>31</sup> In the Madhainagar grant a rite called *aindrīśānti*

*śāntiḡṛha* in an e-mail dated 8<sup>th</sup> February 2005, where he used the quoted paraphrase.

<sup>25</sup>According to the material collected by Alexis Sanderson, the *śāntiḡṛha* should be constructed in the north-east of the king's palace or the residence of his Śaiva guru. See also SANDERSON 2004: 261, fn. 79.

<sup>26</sup>In the two other known copper-plate grants of Vigrahapāla III, the same epithet is used to describe the donees, two individual Sāmavedins; cf. BANERJI 1919/20, p. 298, text l. 39 (reverse of the single plate), and SIRCAR 1951/52, p. 56, text l. 38 (reverse of the single plate).

<sup>27</sup>Cf. no. 16 = EI 29, no. 1B, p. 12, text ll. 41–43 (reverse of the single plate): ... *bharadvājasagotrāya* | ... *śrī-anantasavra(bra)hmacāriṇe* | *pippalādaśākhādhyāyine mīmāṃsāvya-karaṇa-tarkkavide* | *vaheḍāgrāma-vini[r]gga[tāya]* | *vellāvāgrāma-vāstavyāya* | *mitrakaradevaprapautrāya* | *hr̥ṣīkeśadevapautrāya* | *śrīpatidevaputrāya* | *śrījayānandadevasarmmaṇe* ...

<sup>28</sup>Cf. no. 16 = EI 29, no. 1B, p. 12, text l. 41.

<sup>29</sup>The size and the income of the village granted were — as in most other charters of Lakṣmaṇasena — precisely registered; cf. no. 18 = MAJUMDAR 1929, p. 112 = MUKHERJI / MAITY 1967, p. 281, text ll. 42–43.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. no. 18 = MAJUMDAR 1929, p. 112 = MUKHERJI / MAITY 1967, p. 281, text l. 48.

<sup>31</sup>Cf. no. 18 = MAJUMDAR 1929, p. 112 = MUKHERJI / MAITY 1967, p. 281, text ll. 45–48: ... *dā[modara]devaśarmmaṇaḥ prapautrāya śrīrāmādevaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya kumārādevaśarmmaṇaḥ*

is also mentioned in a badly preserved passage of the text.<sup>32</sup>

The 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup>-century **Sena** kings of Bengal and Bihar, who were the rulers of one of the successor dynasties of the **Pālas** and called themselves either devout worshippers of Śiva or of Viṣṇu, seem exclusively to have issued grants in favour of individual Brahmins of the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, and the Atharvaveda.<sup>33</sup>

## II. Collective grants to Atharvavedins

Small and large groups of Atharvavedins received land grants according to the testimony of nos. 1, 4, 5, 11, 13, and 21 of the list and the table in appendices I and III.

In his thirty-seventh regnal year, **Vākāṭaka** Vindhyaśakti II of the Vatsagulma branch bestowed — according to no. 1, the 4<sup>th</sup>-century Basim plates from Maharashtra — a village on altogether fourteen Atharvavedic Brahmins belonging to different *gotras*.<sup>34</sup> With regard to frequency, the Kauśikagotra came first (8 Brahmins), followed by the Bhālandāyanagotra (3 Brahmins), the Kapiñjalagotra (1 Brahmin), the Śrāviṣṭhāyanagotra (1 Brahmin), and — interestingly enough — the Paippalādigotra (1 Brahmin). The shares these fourteen Atharvavedins received were not equal.

In no. 4 from 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup>-century northern Karnataka (Belgaum District), **Kadamba** Harivarman, a devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamāheśvara*), granted a village to twenty-three Atharvavedins belonging to different *gotras*,<sup>35</sup> some of their designations being rather unusual. Besides the Kāśyapa-, Kautsa-, Garga-,

*putrāya kauśikasagotrāya +++°pravarāya atharvavedapaippalādaśākhādhyāyine śāntyāgārikaśrī-govindadevaśarmmaṇe . . . .*

<sup>32</sup>Cf. no. 18, text ll. 49–50, and, for the *aindrīśānti*, AVPariś 31.8.1. In SIRCAR 1959/60, pp. 137 and 140, text ll. 35–36, the *śāntivārīka*, who was a Yajurvedin, received several plots of land for performing four *homās* in connection with the rite called *adbhutaśānti*. AVPariś 67 describes this particular propitiatory rite and also pursues the question (AVPariś 67.8.1–2) of which rules should be observed if the officiating priest did not belong to the Atharvaveda but to a different Vedic branch (*anyaśākhā*). This passage perhaps explains the epigraphical reference to a Yajurvedin performing *adbhutaśānti*. Another possible explanation could be that the Atharvavedic theoretical claim regarding their leading role in (royal) propitiatory rites never remained uncontested in practice. On this issue, see also Alexis Sanderson's contribution to this volume.

<sup>33</sup>This assessment is based on the ten copper-plate inscriptions edited in MAJUMDAR 1929 and in MUKHERJI / MAITY 1967 as well as the two additional charters listed by MORRISON 1970: 166–169 and by Swapna BHATTACHARYA 1985: 127–128 and 158–161 (nos. 61–67, 69–70, 72–74). One of the records not included in MAJUMDAR 1929 and in MUKHERJI / MAITY 1967 is GANGULY 1931/32.

<sup>34</sup>Cf. no. 1 = EI 26, no. 20, p. 152 = MIRASHI 1963 (CII 5), no. 23, p. 97, text ll. 9–18. The grant contains a Prakrit version of the privilege mentioned above, fn. 12. The number of recipients is wrongly given in MIRASHI 1963: 94f.

<sup>35</sup>Cf. no. 4 = GAI 1996, no. 29, p. 125, text l. 9: *atharvavedapāragebhyah svadharmmakarmmaniratebhyah . . . .*

and Śrāviṣṭhagoṭras, one finds the Kālāśa-, Kaimbala-, Caūliya-, and Valandata-gotras.<sup>36</sup>

According to no. 5, Pṛthivīmūla, a 6<sup>th</sup>-century vassal-chief under the **Viṣṇukunḍins** in Andhra Pradesh, who also called himself a devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamāheśvara*), converted a whole village in the Godavari delta into an *agrāhāra* for a community consisting exclusively of Atharvavedins at the instance of a third party. The names of the forty-three Brahmins were not recorded, but they are said to have belonged to a group of teachers (*upādhyāyakula*)<sup>37</sup> and to have come from different, although not specified, *gotras*.<sup>38</sup>

The **Viṣṇukunḍins** and their vassals of Pṛthivīmūla's family seem to have issued some ten copper-plate inscriptions in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, the majority thereof recording Brahmanical grants, only very few of them referring to Buddhist donations (according to the data given by SANKARANARAYANAN 1977). The main line of the **Viṣṇukunḍins** bestowed land on individual Brahmins who belonged to Ṛgvedic, Yajurvedic, and Sāmavedic schools.

A copper plate probably dating from the 7<sup>th</sup> century — no. 11 of appendices I and III — that was “nailed up on one of the walls” (FLEET 1888: 287) of the Paraśurāma temple of Nirmand in Himachal Pradesh mentions the donation of a village to an Atharvavedic Brahmin group in the already existing *agrāhāra* of Nirmaṇḍa (= the find-spot) by Samudrasena, an otherwise unknown vassal-chief (*mahāsāmanta mahārāja*). The grant proper was obviously not intended to support the Brahmins themselves, as was the case in the examples hitherto discussed. The regulations regarding the purpose of the donation rather comprised the provisions for the regular cult of the god Mihireśvara installed by Samudrasena's mother Mihiralakṣmī at the (ancient Śaiva) temple of Kapāleśvara and the costs of any repairs of this temple.<sup>39</sup>

No. 13 of appendices I and III records the endowment of three Atharvavedins of the Paippalāda branch with the village of Vaṇḍāmurā in Orissa by king Śilābhañja, probably the first ruler of the **Bhañja** line of Khiñjalimaṇḍala and a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu (*paramavaiṣṇava*).<sup>40</sup> This incomplete 10<sup>th</sup>-

<sup>36</sup>For these *gotras*, see BROUGH 1953: 216–228 (index). The last four *gotras* are not listed in BROUGH.

<sup>37</sup>'Upādhyāya' is one of the most common surnames of Atharvavedins in modern Orissa; cf. WITZEL / GRIFFITHS 2002: 178.

<sup>38</sup>Cf. no. 5 = SANKARANARAYANAN 1977, no. 11, p. 183, text ll. 24–26 (fourth plate): ... *upādhyāyakulasambhūtebhyo nānāgotrebhyas tricatvāriṃśadātharvavaṇīkakulibhyo* ...

<sup>39</sup>Cf. no. 11 = FLEET 1888 (CII 3), no. 80, p. 289 = AGRAWAL 2001, no. 84, pp. 326–327, text ll. 5–11, esp. ll. 7–8: ... *kappāleśvaravva(ba)licarusatrasragdhūpadīpi(pa)dānāya satataṃ śrīṇṇakhaṇḍasphuṭitasādhanāya ca nirmaṇḍāgrāhārātharvavaṇāvṛā(brā)hmaṇastomāya* ...

<sup>40</sup>Cf. no. 13 = OHRJ 45 (2000), pp. 24–26, text ll. 11–18 (second plate). One of the donees belonged to the Bhānandanagoṭra, which can probably be connected with the Bhālandāyana- or Bhālandanagoṭra mentioned in nos. 1 and 21. It is confusing that, although the name of the *gotra* of the third beneficiary is given as 'Hastidāsa' in l. 15 of the edition, the editor speaks of the

century<sup>41</sup> copper-plate grant, which was published in 2000, does not differ much from the donations in favour of individual Brahmins mentioned under the first category of grants. It is, however, noteworthy from another perspective, as it provides an indication for the rarely documented migration of Atharvavedic Brahmins in general and of Paippalādins in particular into western Orissa, where Śilābhañja probably ruled. Two of the beneficiaries are said to have hailed from Oḍra, which is most likely identical with the Puri region, while the third donee came from Dakṣinarāḍha, which may be identified with southwestern Bengal.<sup>42</sup> At the time of the donation all the three Paippalādins already were inhabitants of Vaṇḍāmūrā, the village they are reported to have received by the title deed.

According to TRIPATHY (1974), no. 13 of appendices I and III, and some unpublished material,<sup>43</sup> more than thirty copper-plate inscriptions were issued by the **Bhañja** dynasty of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. At least ninety percent of these charters record donations in favour of individual Brahmins. Most of the donees were Yajurvedins, but also some Sāmavedins, a few Ṛgvedins, and the three Atharvavedins mentioned in no. 13 enjoyed the patronage of the **Bhañja** line of Khiñjalimaṇḍala. The **Bhañja** kings called themselves either devotees of Śiva (*paramamāheśvara*) or of Viṣṇu (*paramavaiṣṇava*). Sometimes even the very same rulers shifted from one religious denomination to the other during their period of reign.

The Goa copper-plate inscription of the reign of Tribhuvanamalla — no. 21 of appendices I and III — records that Gaṇḍagopāla Kelivarman, a courtier (*bhṛtya*) of this Late **Kadamba** king of Goa,<sup>44</sup> had bought several plots of land, namely, fields, gardens, and house-sites, and granted them to twelve Brahmins in Śaka 1028 (= 1107 AD).<sup>45</sup> The beneficiary and his ancestors mentioned first were called *atharvans* and ‘heads in promoting expiation rituals’ (*mukhyāḥ śāntikapauṣṭike*).<sup>46</sup> The second donee and his ancestors, experts in the Purāṇas (*paurāṇika*), are said to have belonged to the same *śākhā*.<sup>47</sup> Although for the re-

‘Haridāsagotra’ on p. 17 and of the ‘Hadidāsagotra’ on p. 19. BROUGH (1953: 133) mentions the Hastidāsagotra, but one could also expect a Haritas[y]agotra as in modern Orissa; see WITZEL / GRIFFITHS 2002: 179.

<sup>41</sup>For the period the **Bhañja** kings of Khiñjalimaṇḍala belonged to, see DAS GUPTA 1930/31: 231–245.

<sup>42</sup>For a discussion of this aspect of the grant, see also GRIFFITHS 2002: 41.

<sup>43</sup>One charter, published only in 1992, is: SUBRAMONIA IYER 1977/78.

<sup>44</sup>For the Late **Kadambas** of Goa, see FLEET 1882: 89–94.

<sup>45</sup>Cf. no. 21 = SMHD 4 (1951), no. 7, p. 56 = EI 30, no. 15, p. 77, text l. 35 (second plate, second side): *kelivarmmā dadau tāni kṣetrodyānagrḥāṇi ca | . . .* The character of this charter is different from those discussed above. It neither records the transfer of revenue rights nor does it register the donation of private property of a king.

<sup>46</sup>Cf. no. 21, text l. 8 (first plate, second side): *grāmāt kisūrād aṇṇayyabhaṭṭo smāt pommanāryakah | somāryo smād atharvāṇo mukhyāḥ śāntikapauṣṭike || [8\*] ||*. For *śāntikapauṣṭika* see also AVParīś 3.1.10. I owe this reference to Alexis Sanderson.

<sup>47</sup>Cf. no. 21, text l. 9 (first plate, second side; verse 9).

maining ten members of this group there is no information given, it cannot be ruled out that they, too, were Atharvavedins. But this group could have also been of mixed Vedic affiliation. The foundation of this Brahmanical settlement (*brahmapurī*) is remarkable, because most of the beneficiaries were courtly dignitaries, for instance, royal astrologers, judges (*dharmādhikārin*), teachers (*guru*), priests (*purohita*), etc.<sup>48</sup>

### III. Atharvavedins as members of mixed Brahmanical groups

References to Atharvavedins as members of mixed Brahmanical groups are mainly available from later times, namely, in the nos. 10, 12, 17, 19, 20, and finally 22 of the list and the table in appendices I and III.

No. 10, the so-called Kaira copper-plate grant of **Gurjara** Dadda II, records the donation of a village named Śirīṣapadraka in favour of forty Brahmins in the year 380 of the Kalacuri era (= 628/29 AD). In this earliest known copper-plate grant of the **Gurjara** dynasty of Gujarat, the group of beneficiaries was heterogeneously composed, and its members were generally described as *catuścaraṇabrāhmaṇa*.<sup>49</sup> The community is said to have consisted of eight Ṛgvedins (*bahvṛca*, *āśvalāyanasabrahmacārin*), nineteen Yajurvedins (*adhvaryuvājasaneya*, *kaṇvasabrahmacārin*), eight Sāmavedins (*chāndogya*, *kauthumasa-brahmacārin*), and also five Paippalāda-Atharvavedins (*ātharvaṇa*, *pippalādasabrahmacārin*).<sup>50</sup> At the time of the grant, thirty-five of the donees, that is to say, all the Ṛg-, Yajur-, and Sāmavedins, had already left their common place of origin — Jambūśaras (modern Jambusar) — and were living in Śirīṣapadraka, the future object of donation. The five Atharvavedins, however, had migrated from Bharukaccha (present-day Bharuch/Broach) and were residents of a place called Bherajjikā, that is, not of Śirīṣapadraka, when the grant was issued.<sup>51</sup> All these Paippalādins belonged to the Cauligotra (compare no. 4).

It is, however, highly unlikely that the five Atharvavedins, who were at least geographically outsiders of the group, ever enjoyed their share of the village of

<sup>48</sup>Cf. no. 21, text ll. 9–21 (verses 10–19). For textual sources prescribing that the royal chaplain should be an Atharvavedin or expert of the apotropaic and other rites of the Atharvavedic tradition, see SANDERSON forthcoming, fn. 12.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. no. 10 = MIRASHI 1955 (CII 4), pt. 1, no. 16, p. 62, text ll. 41–42 (second plate): *ebhyaś catuścaraṇabrāhmaṇebhyaś cāturvoidyaparikalpanāpūrvaṃ . . .*. The phrase *cāturvoidyaparikalpanāpūrvaṃ* seems to denote certain immunities, most probably similar to those in the **Vākāṭaka** grants; see above, fn. 12.

<sup>50</sup>Cf. no. 10, p. 62, text ll. 35–41 (second plate).

<sup>51</sup>This title deed of Dadda II was found in modern Kaira or Kheda, although it records the grant of a village more than a hundred kilometres further south, in the neighbouring Bharuch District. It is not known how the plates came from the Hansot/Ankleshwar region to Kheda. Jambusar (ancient Jambūśaras), the place of origin of the Ṛg-, Yajur- and Sāmavedins, is located in the north-western part of the Bharuch District, some forty kilometres north of Bharuch (ancient Bharukaccha) itself, where the Atharvavedins hailed from.

Śirīṣapadraka. The contents of another copper-plate inscription issued by the same **Gurjara** ruler five years later (Kalacuri year 385 = 633/34 AD) gives rise to doubts whether the intention declared in the earlier grant was fully implemented.<sup>52</sup> The later record, which was found together with no. 10 of appendices I and III, at least indirectly annulled the earlier princely decree. The object of the second donation was the very same village of Śirīṣapadraka that had already been allocated five years ago. This time, however, only thirty-four donees were mentioned, and the major change in the profile of the group consisted in the total absence of any Brahmin hailing from Bharukaccha, or — in other terms — of any Atharvavedin. Although it is not clear why the Paippalādins were excluded from the renewal of the endowment, the possibility of animosities among the different Brahmanical sub-groups cannot be ruled out. If the Atharvavedins had just not been willing to move to Śirīṣapadraka as the Ṛg-, Yajur-, and Sāmavedins had already done, the **Gurjara** court would probably not have felt the need to issue a new order, unless there had been some kind of interference by the beneficiaries of the future second set of Kaira plates.

The **Gurjaras** (to be distinguished from the later **Gurjara-Pratihāras**) were one of the minor dynasties that ruled over parts of southeastern Gujarat in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries and were thus contemporaries of the **Maitrakas** of Kathiawar (compare nos. 6 to 9 of appendices I and III). Some ten copper-plate grants issued by this royal line are known so far and, as they were probably dated in the Kalacuri era throughout, all of them have been included by MIRASHI (1955) in volume 4 of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Two of the **Gurjara** title deeds have already been mentioned, the remaining ones mainly record donations in favour of individual Brahmins, who were predominantly Yajurvedins. Only one **Gurjara** inscription records a temple endowment.

According to no. 12 of appendices I and III, **Bhaumakara** Śubhākaradeva, who ruled in the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century and called himself a devotee of the Buddha (*paramasaugata*), endowed two hundred Brahmins (two hundred and two were listed)<sup>53</sup> of a community of experts of the four Vedas belonging to different, unspecified, *gotras* and to different, later specified, Vedic branches (*nānāgotracaraṇa cāturovidyabrāhmaṇa*) with two villages. Regarding its Vedic affiliation, the composition of this group seems to have been equally balanced. It almost ideally consisted of fifty-one Ṛgvedins (*bahvṛca*), fifty-one Sāmavedins (*chāndasa*), fifty-one Atharvavedins (*atharva*), and ‘only’ forty-nine Yajurvedins (*vājasaneyin*). Not all the names of the fifty-one Atharvavedic Brahmins from Orissa have been listed in appendix I, but the *purohita* Bhavadeva is mentioned as one example.

<sup>52</sup>Cf. V.V. Mirashi. Kaira Plates of Dadda II (Prasantaraga): (Kalachuri) Year 385. In: MIRASHI 1955 (CII 4), pt. 1, no. 17, pp. 67–72.

<sup>53</sup>Cf. no. 12 = EI 15, no. 1, pp. 3–5 = TRIPATHY 2000, no. 4, pp. 111–113, text ll. 10–29. In EI 15, p. 2, BANERJI, by mistake, speaks of “hundred Brāhmans named in detail”. TRIPATHY (2000: 115, fn. 31) believes their number to be two hundred and four (apparently exactly fifty-one of each group). In fact, the names of only two hundred and two Brahmins are recorded in the charter.

Snigdha TRIPATHY (2000) collected some twenty 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup>-century copper-plate charters of the **Bhaumakara** kings of Orissa and their queens, who were either Buddhists (*paramasaugata*) or devotees of Śiva (*paramamaheśvara*, *paramamaheśvarī*) and — in the case of some of the females — of Viṣṇu (*paramavaiṣṇavī*). Approximately three quarters of them record grants to Brahmins and one quarter reports on Buddhist and Śaiva donations. Among the Brahmanical gifts of land, those in favour of individual Brahmins predominate (no. 12 of appendices I and III discussed just above is the single exception), and Yajurvedins constitute the majority of the donees. Individual Ṛgvedins and Sāmavedins are rarely attested, individual Atharvavedins are not referred to at all. In some of the epigraphs however, there is no indication of the Vedic affiliation of the beneficiaries.<sup>54</sup>

Listed as no. 19 of appendices I and III, another reference to a heterogeneously assembled group of Brahmanical donees comes from **Gāhaḍavāla** Candradeva, a devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamāheśvara*). The donative objects of this Chandravati charter dated in the Vikrama year 1150 (= 1093 AD) — several villages around Benares<sup>55</sup> — were bestowed on five hundred Brahmins of the four Vedas belonging to different, later specified, *gotras* and *caraṇas* (*nānā-gotracarāṇa cāturvidyabrāhmaṇa*). Out of the four hundred and ninety-five Brahmins actually listed, one hundred and twenty-four were experts in the Ṛgveda, ninety-six in the Yajurveda, seventy-five in the Sāmaveda, and, according to my interpretation of the text, no less than one hundred and ninety-nine of them studied the Atharvaveda.<sup>56</sup> Thus, we get — in terms of quantity — the re-

<sup>54</sup>In the **Bhaumakara** corpus, there is an interesting reference to a Brahmin who belonged to the Mādhyandinaśākhā of the Yajurveda, but who had also studied the Sāmaveda: *chāndogapāṭhaprāptamādhyandinaśākhādhyāyin*; cf. S. Tripathy. Taltali Plate of Dharmamahādevī. In: TRIPATHY 2000, no. 23, pp. 216–221, esp. p. 220, text l. 35.

<sup>55</sup>The text of this charter consisting of altogether five plates says that the district (*pattalā*) of Kaṭhehalī with the exception of certain villages, which were formerly given to temples, Brahmins, etc., and which are precisely listed in the charter, was conferred on the five hundred Brahmanical donees. Additionally, one village in another district was granted for the residence of this Brahmin community (*tadbrahmapurīnivāsāya*); cf. no. 19 = EI 14, no. 15 (A), p. 195, text l. 25 (second plate).

<sup>56</sup>Cf. no. 19 = EI 14, no. 15 (A), list on pp. 202–209. See text ll. 37–90 (third to fifth plates) on the facsimiles for all the Brahmins and ll. 73–81 (fifth plate) for the Atharvavedins in particular. It is quite common for grants in favour of large *cāturvidya* communities to group the donees according to their respective Veda and to mention the Vedic affiliation only once at the beginning of the sub-group. In the Chandravati plates the enumeration of the grantees starts with a person called *ācāryapaṇḍita Śrī-Vṛtikara*, apparently not belonging to one of the fractions, but perhaps responsible for allotting the individual shares (*vṛtti*). The list continues with the Ṛgvedic sub-group (*śrī-ṛgvedacarāṇe*), its first member being *caturvedin* Jāta of the Kāśyapagotra. With no. 126 (of the total number), the Yajurvedic sub-group starts (*śrīyajurvedacarāṇe*), its first representative being *caturvedin* Vilha of the Vasiṣṭhagotra. Next comes the Atharvavedic group (*śrī-atharvacarāṇe*) with no. 222, *dvivedin* Chihila of the Bhāradvājagotra, being its first member. The list is concluded by the names of the Sāmavedins (*śrīchandogacarāṇe*) starting with no. 421, *tripāṭhin* Śrī-Dedigra of the Vatsagotra.

markable result that the Atharvavedins formed the largest fraction of that huge community. The names of the almost two hundred Atharvavedic Brahmins are not listed in appendix I, but some examples are given and their *gotras* are registered in a separate table in appendix II. Among the *gotras* of the Atharvavedins, that of no. 347 (of the total number of donees), namely, Pippalāda, seems to be rather significant (also compare inscription no. 1 in appendices I and III).<sup>57</sup> We find one *purohita* (no. 344 of the total number of donees) and a *dvivedin* (no. 222) among the beneficiaries.

In another title deed found together with that one mentioned above, a subsequent grant dated Vikrama 1156 (= 1100 AD) was recorded. The second Chandravati epigraph begins with the remark that this grant was made after the *mahādāna* ceremonies of *tulāpuruṣa* and *gosahasra* celebrated by king Candradeva. Furthermore, it refers in general terms to the first grant as well as to the Brahmins benefiting from it, without listing them individually once again.<sup>58</sup> Although Atharvavedins are not explicitly mentioned, one might infer that they also benefited from the second grant,<sup>59</sup> which comprised another thirty-two vil-

<sup>57</sup>Some of the other *gotras* listed in appendix II are only attested for Atharvavedic Brahmins in this grant, as for instance Jātukarṇa, Maudgalya, and Hārīta. They also occur in Atharvavedic contexts elsewhere: for Jātukarṇa, see, e.g., GRIFFITHS 2003: 24, fn. 228 and AVPariś 43.4.40; for Maudgala as the name of an Atharvavedic *śākhā*, see, e.g., Kei Kataoka's paper in this volume, p. 322, fn. 46 and 50. On the other hand, epigraphical records of the **Rāṣṭrakūṭas**, for instance, testify that Ṛg-, Yajur-, or Sāmavedins could belong to the very same *gotras*; cf. SCHMIEDCHEN 2001: 65.

<sup>58</sup>Cf. SAHNI 1917/18 = EI 14, no. 15 (B), p. 199, text l. 19 (single plate): ... *kaṭhehalī-satkatāmrapatralikhitanānānamagotrebhyo brāhmaṇebhyaś catuścaraṇacā(ca)tu[ḥ\*]śrutipāṭakebhyah pañcaśatasamkhyebhyo* ...

<sup>59</sup>The purāṇic concept of the Great Gifts (*mahādāna*) has been expounded especially in the Matsyapurāṇa (chapters 274–289). The rituals of *tulāpuruṣa* and *gosahasra* are ranked among the most important ones of the altogether sixteen *mahādāna* ceremonies. According to MtP 274.36–39, eight Brahmins versed in the Vedas (two for each of the four Vedas) should be made the priests (*ṛtvij*), and a man who is accomplished in the Vedānta and knows the Purāṇas and Śāstras should be made the preceptor (*guru*); cf. SCHMIEDCHEN 2006: 145f. Some of the sixteen Great Gifts are described in the Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas: for instance, *tulāpuruṣa* in AVPariś 11 and *gosahasra* in AVPariś 16. The Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa texts, of course, lay claim to the authority of Atharvavedic royal chaplains to perform these rituals. The epigraphical evidence from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, however, mainly refers to Ṛg- and Yajurvedins as recipients of grants in the context of *tulāpuruṣa*; cf. the material in SCHMIEDCHEN 2006: 179–184 (list of inscriptions referring to the weighing ceremony), where the Vedic affiliation of the donees is not noted in particular. According to the numbers in SCHMIEDCHEN 2006, the grantees were Ṛgvedins in nos. 8, 9, 46, and 78, Yajurvedins in nos. 11, 12, 13, and 19, Ṛg- and Yajurvedins in no. 16 (four Ṛgvedins and four Yajurvedins). A group of thirty Brahmins consisting of twenty-three Ṛgvedins, five Yajurvedins, one Sāmavedin, and one Brahmin responsible for the writing down of the record is mentioned in no. 75 of that list. No. 18 refers to the mixed character of a group of altogether one thousand Brahmins in general terms (e.g., *catuścaraṇa*). No. 45 describes the recipients in a manner comparable to that prescribed in MtP 274.36–39 as one *ācārya-purohita* and eight priests (*ṛtvij*), but without specifying their Vedic affiliation. The only example for a group that most probably also included Atharvavedins is no. 42 of that list, which is SAHNI 1917/18 = EI 14, no. 15 (B), because of its referring to the donees of no. 19 in appendices I–III in

lages for the Brahmins<sup>60</sup> and one village for the cult (*pūjā*) in the temple of Candramādhava at ancient Candrāvati.

As there is no edited corpus of their numerous inscriptions available, it is difficult to assess the actual patronage pattern of the kings of the **Gāhaḍavāla** dynasty of Kanauj and Benares, who ruled in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. To judge from their almost seventy copper-plate inscriptions listed by NIYOGI (1959: 245–260) and the few grants published in later volumes of *Epigraphia Indica*, it seems that they — like many contemporary kings — mainly supported Brahmins, but did not have their Vedic affiliation registered very often. Most of the **Gāhaḍavāla** kings called themselves supreme worshippers of Śiva (*paramamāheśvara*), some of them were Viṣṇu devotees. Many of their records and also the Kamauli copper-plate hoard were found in the region of Benares. This hoard consists of more than twenty copper-plate charters containing grants of several villages by three successive **Gāhaḍavāla** rulers in favour of a line of their *purohitas*/*mahāpurohitas* who were Yajurvedins.<sup>61</sup>

No. 22 of appendices I and III, a copper-plate charter from the Karnataka part of the **Vijayanagara** empire,<sup>62</sup> can serve as a late epigraphical example for the existence not only of distinct experts in the Atharvaveda, but also of Brahmins who more or less equally studied the Sāmaveda and the Atharvaveda. In this grant of a village dated Śaka 1352 (= 1430 AD), the group of altogether thirty-nine donees, who did not receive equal shares, consisted of seventeen Yajurvedins, fourteen Ṛgvedins, four Sāmavedins, two Atharvavedins, and also of two Sāmātharvavedins.<sup>63</sup> As in the second Chandravati charter, the grant to this mixed group was associated with one of the so-called *mahādānas*, the donative ritual named *ratnadhenu*.<sup>64</sup>

The only stone inscription in appendices I and III — no. 20 — is written on the wall of a temple in south-eastern Tamilnadu and reports on a Vedic college. This 11<sup>th</sup>-century Tamil record from the reign of Rājendra **Coḷa** I registers several decrees of the local Brahmin community of Eṇṇāyiram (*rājarājacaturvedimaṅgalam*). Thus, for instance, every day a certain number of teachers and students had to be offered food. Among these students, there were also ten of the Atharvaveda (less than five per cent), along with seventy-five of

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the present paper = *EI* 14, no. 15 (A).

<sup>60</sup>Two of the villages were situated in the district (*pattalā*) of Kaṭhehalī already donated in the first grant.

<sup>61</sup>Cf. KIELHORN 1896/97: 97–129.

<sup>62</sup>This piece of evidence is particularly interesting as a link between the Karnataka empire of **Vijayanagara** and the Atharvavedic tradition was long missing; cf. DISKALKAR 1962: 2. See GRIFFITHS 2002: 42f. for a different interpretation of the term ‘Kaṛṇāta’ in a 15<sup>th</sup>-century context and BHATTACHARYA (2001: 10) as well as Walter Slaje in this volume for the ‘Atharvavedic’ connection between Kashmir and Kaṛṇāta.

<sup>63</sup>Cf. no. 22 = *EC*, N.E., vol. 6, Sr. 25, p. 366, text ll. 62–65 (second plate, second side). It appears that the donees are not listed in any particular order here; therefore, the respective school and *gotra* had to be repeated in each case.

<sup>64</sup>The *ratnadhenu* ritual is mentioned in AVParīś 9.3.2.

the Ṛgveda, hundred and five of the Yajurveda, and forty of the Sāmaveda. In the group of the teachers, however, no specialised expert of the Atharvaveda was listed, but only those studying one of the three other Vedas.<sup>65</sup> In this case it may be presumed that non-Atharvavedins were in charge of teaching the Atharvaveda as a subject in that particular Vedic college.

In this context, no. 17 of appendices I and III, the 10<sup>th</sup>-century donation of the Bengal king Śrīcandra, a devotee of the Buddha (*paramasaugata*), is worth mentioning. The complex grant<sup>66</sup> of the most important ruler of the **Candra** dynasty has been included in the third category of references to Atharvavedins here, despite its being a doubtful piece of evidence. In the famous Puṇḍravardhanabhukti (compare nos. 15a, 15b, 16 and 18), Śrīcandra founded and equipped a large Brahmanical settlement, which he named Śrīcandrapura. The title deed, although made ‘in the name of the lord Buddhahattāraka’ (*bhagavantam buddhabhattarakam uddīśya*)<sup>67</sup> (compare no. 16), specified separate land grants for individual Brahmanical colleges (*maṭha*) dedicated to certain gods and also for a large community of Brahmins. In connection with two compounds of four *maṭhas* each, one part of the donated land was meant to be used for altogether eight teachers of the four Vedas who were described as *ṛgyajussāmātharvopādhyāya*.<sup>68</sup> This phrase does not clarify whether there was any Atharvavedin in the strict sense of the term among these teachers and, hence, whether it is justified to accept this reference into the list. The term could also denote so-called *dvi-*, *tri-*, or *caturvedins* who had the Atharvaveda in their teaching ‘repertoire’, but who were not exclusively devoted to this particular subject. The grouping of the teachers seems to have followed rather their affiliation to particular colleges (*maṭhapratibaddha*), not their Vedic affiliation; there was one teacher per *maṭha* instructing five students each. Most of the land, however, was granted in favour of six thousand Brahmins headed by some donees whose names were listed. These six thousand Brahmins are said to have belonged to various, unspecified, *gotras* and *pravaras* (*nānāgotrapravara*) and to have studied different, unspecified, *śākhās* of the four *caraṇas* (*catuścaraṇanānāśākhādhyāyin*).<sup>69</sup>

Some ten copper-plate charters of the **Candras**, who ruled in eastern Bengal in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, have been edited (BHATTACHARYA 1985: 123–

<sup>65</sup>Cf. no. 20 = ARIE 1917 (published 1918–1921), no. B 333, pp. 145–146. As mentioned above, fn. 3, this Tamil stone epigraph has not been edited yet.

<sup>66</sup>Similar to no. 19, whole districts (here three *viśayas*) were conferred on the Brahmanical settlement.

<sup>67</sup>Cf. no. 17 = SIRCAR 1973, no. 2, p. 68, text l. 55 (reverse of the single plate).

<sup>68</sup>Cf. no. 17, p. 67, text ll. 42–44 (reverse of the single plate): ... *tathā deśāntarīyamaṭhacatuṣṭayasya | vaṅgālamaṭhacatuṣṭayasya ca | vaiśvānarayogeśvarajaimanimahākālebhyaś ca eṣām ubhayeṣām maṭhapratibaddha-ṛgyajussāmātharvopādhyāyānām aṣṭānām pratyekaṃ ... pratimaṭhapañcācchātrānām ...*

<sup>69</sup>Cf. no. 17, p. 68, text ll. 50–51 (reverse of the single plate): ... *ṣaḍbrāhmaṇasahasrebhyaś ca | nānāgotrapravarebhyaḥ | catuścaraṇanānāśākhādhyāyibhyaḥ | samavibhāgena śeṣabhūmiḥ | ...* See also MORRISON 1970: 98.

126), while at least five unpublished grants of these kings are deposited in the Dhaka Museum (BHATTACHARYA 1985: 129).<sup>70</sup> Only donations to individual Brahmins are known to have been made by the Buddhist king Śrīcandra who issued more than half of the epigraphs. Some records of several 11<sup>th</sup>-century **Candra** rulers, which seem to mark a shift in the patronage pattern towards temple endowments, were found in the Lalmai/Mainamati region of Bangladesh (MORRISON 1970).

## Conclusion

The epigraphical evidence for Atharvavedins shows, on the one hand, that adherents of this Veda, compared to Ṛg-, Yajur-, and Sāmavedins, were endowed rather in groups than as individuals. On the other hand, it is remarkable, although perhaps not too astonishing, that in heterogeneously assembled communities, Atharvavedins only occur if the three other Vedas are represented as well. The number of Atharvavedic Brahmins in homogeneous as well as in heterogeneous groups varies between a few and some fifty donees, the **Gāhaḍavāla** grant (no. 19) being the only exception with almost two hundred Atharvavedic beneficiaries.

For this paper, I have decided to concentrate on relatively unambiguous epigraphical evidence for Atharvavedic Brahmins. However, it should be mentioned that there are also quite a few indirect references to Atharvavedins. Besides those charters in favour of heterogeneous groups that specify the Vedic affiliation of the donees as, for instance, the **Gurjara** Kaira charter (no. 10), the **Bhaumakara** Neulpur grant (no. 12), and the **Gāhaḍavāla** Chandravati copper-plate inscription (no. 19), one comes across many references where the mixed Vedic affiliation of the group is only generally stated (with *cāturvidya* or *catuścaraṇa*) as, for example, in the 5<sup>th</sup>-century Chammak copper-plate charter of the **Vākātakas** (see above, fn. 11) or in the 7<sup>th</sup>-century Navalakhi grant of the **Maitrakas** (see above, fn. 19). Furthermore, in a number of copper-plate and stone inscriptions from Karnataka dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, middle-sized and large Brahmin groups were generally described as, for example, *ṛgyajussāmātharvaṇavedavedāṅgapārāga* (see also no. 17 discussed above).<sup>71</sup> This term and similarly constructed compounds seem to have been used as a kind of synonym for the *cāturvidya* or *catuścaraṇa* communities referred to in earlier grants.<sup>72</sup> At least theoretically, the Atharvaveda belonged to the corpus

<sup>70</sup>MILLS (1993) has recently edited one of the Dhaka Museum plates and compiled the results of the latest research on **Candra** epigraphy.

<sup>71</sup>See, e.g., SIRCAR / SANKARANARAYANAN 1961/62, p. 40, text ll. 41–42 (second plate): ... *rug(ṛg)ye(ya)ju[h]sāmātharvaṇavedavedāṅgapārāgebhyaḥ* ... This is a 13<sup>th</sup>-century charter of the reign of the **Yādava** dynasty from Karnataka recording a land grant by a local chief to fifty-six Brahmins of specified *gotra*, but unspecified Vedic affiliation.

<sup>72</sup>Sometimes this terminology was also applied to characterize individual *caturvedins* as in

of texts studied by these Brahmanical groups, too. But this does not necessarily mean that the Atharvaveda was taught by distinct experts in the fourth Veda. Brahmins who had also studied the Atharvaveda (as probably in no. 20 discussed above), although they belonged to a *śākhā* of a different Veda, might have been responsible for the teaching. It can certainly be expected that individual Brahmins who were labelled as *caturvedin* (and who rather frequently occur in the epigraphical material) also had knowledge of the Atharvaveda, and some of the *trivedins* and *dvivedins* might have belonged to this group as well. Usually a *dvi-*, *tri-*, or *caturvedin* was defined as belonging to a particular Veda, that is to say, he did not equally study two, three, or all the four Vedas as could be seen in the examples of the Ṛgvedin and the Yajurvedin mentioned above, fn. 56.<sup>73</sup> On the other hand, there are also a few instances of Atharvavedins who must have studied more than one Veda, such as the *triveda* in no. 2, the *dvivedin* in no. 19 (above, fn. 56), and the two Sāmātharvavedins (*sāmātharvajña*) in no. 22 (although these, of course, could also be interpreted as Sāmavedins knowing the Atharvaveda).

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the 13<sup>th</sup> century Kannaḍa stone inscription from Munavalli in the Belgaum District of northern Karnataka, where a Kālāmukha Śaiva priest is described as being well-versed in the Ṛg-, Sāma-, Atharva- and Yajurvedas; cf. PANCAMUKHI 1941, no. 31 of 1939–40, pp. 73–74, ll. 30–31. This Yādava epigraph was also edited as Munoli inscription and translated by FLEET in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 12 (1876), pp. 34–41.

<sup>73</sup>Another interesting reference seems to come from an unpublished 16<sup>th</sup>-century inscription found lying in a field at Hanamapur in the Dharwad District of Karnataka; cf. *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy* 1950, no. B 85, p. 25: “States that the field is the king’s gift . . . maintained by the son (not specified) of . . . who belonged to the Gautama *gotra*, Kātyāyana *sūtra*, Atharvaveda and Mādhyam̐dina *śākhā*.” For something similar in modern practice see KNIPE 1997: 311. See also above, fn. 54, regarding the **Bhaumakara** reference to a Brahmin who belonged to the Mādhyam̐dinaśākhā of the Yajurveda, but who had studied the Sāmaveda as well.

Appendix I  
Table on the epigraphical evidence for Atharvavedic Brahmins<sup>74</sup>

| No. Dynasty, King              | Region                            | Date                                | Donee(s)  | Specification of the Donee(s)   |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1 Vākāṭaka<br>Vindhyaśakti II  | Maharashtra,<br>Akola Dist.       | late 4th c. AD,<br>37th regn. year  | 14 Brahmins:<br><i>ādhivvaṇīka-<br/>caraṇa</i>  | <i>Kapīñjalagotra</i> : Ruddajja<br><i>Kauśikagotra</i> : Jeṭṭhaja, Deaja, Bhād-<br>dilajja, Revatija, Vidhijja, Venhujja,<br>Sivajja, Hariṇṇajja<br><i>Paippalādigoṭra</i> : Pituja<br><i>Bhālandāyanagotra</i> : Cāndajja, Jivu-<br>jja, Buddhajja<br><i>Śrāviṣṭhāyanagotra</i> : Bhāṭṭidevajja<br><i>Harkarigotra</i> : Varuṇārya, resident<br>of Cāndrapura   |
| 2 Vākāṭaka<br>Pravarasena II   | Madhya Prad.,<br>Balaghat Dist.   | mid-5th c. AD,<br>23rd regn. year   | 1 Brahmin:<br><i>athervāṇa</i> (sic!),<br><i>triveda</i>                              | <i>Aupagahanigotra</i> : Sarvasvāmin,<br>son of Piṅgalasvāmin   |
| 3 Kadamba<br>Mrgeśavarman      | Karnataka,<br>Mysore Dist.        | mid-5th c. AD                       | 1 Brahmin:<br><i>ātharvaṇīka</i> ,<br><i>vedavedāṅgavid</i>                           | <i>Kālāśagotra</i> ?: Droṇāśarman, Nāga-<br>śarman, Vasuśarman, Vaikuṇṭha-<br>śarman<br><i>Kāśyapagotra</i> : Kumāraśarman<br><i>Kaimbalagotra</i> ?: Dharmāśarman,<br>Dhātṛśarman, Nandiśarman, Prajā-<br>patiśarman, Śivaśarman<br><i>Kautsagotra</i> : Kumāraśarman, Tvaṣ-<br>ṭśarman, Varuṇāśarman, Skanda-<br>śarman<br><i>Gargagotra</i> : Prajāpatiśarman, Pitṛ-<br>śarman, Viṣṇuśarman<br><i>Caūliyagotra</i> ?: Vanaśarman<br><i>Valandatagotra</i> ?: Prajāpatiśarman<br><i>Śrāviṣṭhagotra</i> : Āryaśarman, Paśu-<br>patiśarman, Mitraśarman, Yaśaśśar-<br>man |
| 4 Kadamba<br>Harivarman        | Karnataka,<br>Belgaum Dist.       | early 6th c. AD,<br>8th regn. year  | 23 Brahmins:<br><i>atharvaveda-<br/>pārāga</i> ,<br><i>svadharmā-<br/>karmanirata</i> | <i>nānāgotra</i> (without <i>gotra</i> specifica-<br>tion), <i>upādhyāyākulasambhūta</i>  |
| 5 (Viṣṇukunḍin)<br>Pṛthivīmūla | Andhra Prad.,<br>Godavari Dist.   | early 6th c. AD,<br>25th regn. year | 43 Brahmins:<br><i>ātharvaṇīkakulin</i>   | <i>Droṇāyanagotra</i> ?: Sacitiśarman,<br>resident of Hastakavapra  |
| 6 Maitraka<br>Dhruvasena I     | Gujarat,<br>Bhavnagar Dt.         | Valabhī 207<br>= 526/527 AD         | 1 Brahmin:<br><i>atharvaṇa-<br/>sabrahmacārin</i>                                     | <i>Kauśravasagotra</i> ?: Rudragopa, res-<br>ident of Anarttapura, son of Rudra-<br>ghoṣa   |
| 7 Maitraka<br>Dharasena II     | Gujarat,<br>Rajkot Dist.          | Valabhī 252<br>= 571/572 AD         | 1 Brahmin:<br><i>atharvaṇa-<br/>sabrahmacārin</i>                                     | <i>Ātrethagotra</i> : Mitrayaśas, resident of<br>Hastakavapra, son of Viṣṇuyaśas  |
| 8 Maitraka<br>Dharasena III    | Gujarat,<br>Bhavnagar Dt.         | Valabhī 304<br>= 623/624 AD         | 1 Brahmin:<br><i>atharvaṇa-<br/>sabrahmacārin</i>                                     | <i>Pārāśaragotra</i> : Saṃbhulla, resident<br>of Ḍahaka ( <i>taccāturovidyasāmānya</i> ),<br>son of Ḍātalla   |
| 9 Maitraka<br>Śīlāditya V      | Gujarat,<br>Panch Mahals          | Valabhī 441?<br>= 760/761 AD        | 1 Brahmin:<br><i>atharvaṇa-<br/>sabrahmacārin</i>                                     | <i>Cauligotra</i> ?: Droṇasvāmin, Pūrṇa-<br>svāmin, Bhadra, Rudrāditya, Vāyu-<br>śarman, all originally from Bharu-<br>kaccha (° <i>vinirgata</i> )   |
| 10 Gurjara<br>Dadda II         | Gujarat,<br>Kheda Dist.           | Kalacuri 380<br>= 628/629 AD        | 5 out of 40<br>Brahmins:<br><i>atharvaṇa</i> ,<br><i>pippalāda-<br/>sabrahmacārin</i> | (N.B.: for the worship and the re-<br>pairs at the Kapāleśvara temple)  |
| 11 —<br>Samudrasena            | Himachal<br>Prad.,<br>Kullu Dist. | 7th c. AD,<br>6th regn. year        | group of<br>Brahmins:<br><i>ātharvaṇa-<br/>brāhmaṇastoma</i>                          |   |
| 12 Bhaumakara<br>Śubhākaradeva | Orissa,<br>Cuttack Dist.          | 8th/9th c. AD,<br>30th regn. year   | 51 out of 202<br>Brahmins:<br><i>atharva</i>  | E.g., Bhaṭṭa <i>purohita</i> Bhavadeva (no<br><i>gotra</i> mentioned)   |

<sup>74</sup>Based on the list in appendix III.

|     |  |                                  |                                    |   |  |
|-----|--|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|
| 13  | <b>Bhañja Śilābhañja</b>               | Orissa, Puri /<br>Nayagarh Dist. | 10th c. AD                         | 3 Brahmins:<br><i>atharvacaraṇa</i> ,<br><i>paipplādaśākhā</i><br>(sic!)                          | <b>Bhānandanagotra?</b> : Bhaṭṭaputra<br>Mādhava<br><b>Kāśyapagotra</b> : Bhaṭṭaputra Eū<br><b>Hastidāsagotra</b> : Bhaṭṭaputra Go-<br>vardhana<br><b>Darbhigotra</b> : Bhaṭṭa Bhullāka  |
| 14  | <b>Gurjara-Pratihāra Vināyakaṇḍā</b>   | Uttar Prad.,<br>Benares Dist.    | Vikrama 988<br>= 931 AD            | 1 Brahmin:<br><i>atharvosa-<br/>brahmacārin</i>   |  |
| 15a | <b>Pāla Gopāla II</b>                  | Bangladesh?                      | c. 876/877 AD,<br>4th regn. year   | 1 Brahmin:<br><i>atharva</i> ,<br><i>paipplādaśākhā</i> ,<br><i>śāntivārika</i>                   | <b>Kautharigotra?</b> : Bhaṭṭaputra Lilā-<br>kara, originally from Campā (° <i>vinir-<br/>nirgata</i> ), son of Bhaṭṭa Yaśaskara,<br>grandson of Bhaṭṭa Dinakara   |
| 15b | <b>Pāla Gopāla II</b>                  | Bangladesh?                      | c. 876/877 AD,<br>4th regn. year   | 1 Brahmin:<br><i>atharva</i> ,<br><i>paipplādaśākhā</i> ,<br><i>śāntivārika</i>                   | <b>Kautharigotra?</b> : Bhaṭṭaputra Attha-<br>kara, originally from Campā (° <i>vinir-<br/>nirgata</i> ), son of Bhaṭṭa <i>purohita</i> Śānti-<br>kara, grandson of Bhaṭṭa Yaśaskara   |
| 16  | <b>Pāla Vigrahapāla III</b>            | Bangladesh,<br>Dinajpur Dist.    | (1055–1090 AD),<br>11th regn. year | 1 Brahmin:<br><i>pippalāda-<br/>śākhādhyāyin</i> ,<br><i>mīmāṃsā-<br/>vyākaraṇa-<br/>tarkavid</i> | <b>Bharadvājagotra</b> : Jayānandadeva-<br>śarman, resident of Vellāvāgrāma,<br>son of Śrīpatideva, grandson of<br>Hṛṣīkeśadeva, great-grandson of<br>Mitrakaradeva  |
| 17  | <b>Candra Śricandra</b>                | Bangladesh,<br>Sylhet Dist.      | (929–976 AD),<br>5th regn. year    | 8 teachers:<br><i>maṭhapratibaddha-<br/>rgyajussāmāthar-<br/>vopādhyāya</i>                       | —  |
| 18  | <b>Sena Lakṣmaṇasena</b>               | Bangladesh,<br>Pabna Dist.       | 12th c. AD                         | 1 Brahmin:<br><i>atharvaveda-<br/>pippalāda-<br/>śākhādhyāyin</i> ,<br><i>śāntiyāgārika</i>       | <b>Kauśikagotra</b> : Govindadevaśarman,<br>son of Kumāradevaśarman, grand-<br>son of Rāmādevaśarman, great-<br>grandson of Dāmodaradevaśarman   |
| 19  | <b>Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva</b>           | Uttar Prad.,<br>Benares Dist.    | Vikrama 1150<br>= 1093 AD          | 199 out of<br>495 Brahmins:<br><i>atharvacaraṇa</i>   | 35 different specified <i>gotras</i><br>e.g. <b>Śārkarākṣagotra</b> : <i>purohita</i> Śrī-<br>Devadhara (no. 344);<br>e.g. <b>Pippalādagotra</b> : Gaṅgādhara<br>(no. 347 of the total)  |
| 20  | <b>(Coḷa Rājendra I)</b>               | Tamilnadu,<br>South Arcot        | (1012–1044 AD)                     | 10 out of<br>230 students:<br><i>atharva</i>  | —  |
| 21  | <b>(Late Kadamba Tribhuvana-malla)</b> | Goa                              | Śaka 1028<br>= 1107 AD             | at least 2 of<br>12 Brahmins:<br><i>atharvan</i>  | <b>Śāṅkhagotra</b> : Somārya, <i>śāntikapauṣ-<br/>ṭhike mukhya</i><br><b>Bhālandanagotra</b> : Jayantabhaṭṭa,<br><i>paurāṇika</i> of the king  |
| 22  | <b>(Vijayanagara) Devarāya II</b>      | Karnataka,<br>Mandya Dist.       | Śaka 1352<br>= 1430 AD             | 4 out of<br>39 Brahmins:<br>2 <i>atharvajña</i> ,<br>2 <i>sāmātharvajña</i>                       | <b>Ātreyaḥgotra</b> : Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa, son<br>of <i>vidvan</i> Śāṅkara<br><b>Kauśikagotra</b> : Tirumalanāthabhaṭṭa,<br>son of Lakṣmīdhara <i>vipaścīt</i> (both<br><i>sāmātharvajña</i> )<br><b>Bhāradvājagotra</b> : Rkpaṭhakaśarman,<br>son of Keśavabhaṭṭa; Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa<br><i>dvijaśreṣṭha</i> (both <i>atharvajña</i> ) |

Appendix II  
*Gotra* distribution of the donees in the Chandravati plates (no. 19)

| <i>Gotra</i>  | All Brahmins          | R̥gvedins | Yajurvedins | Atharvavedins | Sāmavedins |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|------------|
| Agasti        | 1                     |           |             |               | 1          |
| Ātreya        | 1                     |           |             |               | 1          |
| Upamanyu      | 8                     | 4         |             | 3             | 1          |
| Kaṇva         | 1                     |           |             |               | 1          |
| Kapiṣṭhala    | 12                    | 1         | 3           | 3             | 5          |
| Kātyāyana     | 2                     | 1         |             | 1             |            |
| Kātyāyanakīla | 2                     |           |             | 2             |            |
| Kāśyapa       | 68                    | 21        | 7           | 34            | 6          |
| Kāśyapapada   | 1                     |           |             | 1             |            |
| Kutsa         | 3                     |           | 1           | 2             |            |
| Kuśika        | 1                     |           |             |               | 1          |
| Kṛṣṇātreya    | 37                    | 13        |             | 20            | 4          |
| Kauṇḍinya     | 4                     | 2         |             | 1             | 1          |
| Kautsa        | 1                     |           |             |               | 1          |
| Kauśika       | 12                    | 5         | 1           | 6             |            |
| Garga         | 3                     | 2         |             | 1             |            |
| Gārgya        | 3                     | 3         |             |               |            |
| Gālava        | 2                     |           | 1           |               | 1          |
| Gauṇya        | 1                     |           |             | 1             |            |
| Gautama       | 31                    | 9         | 3           | 12            | 7          |
| Candrātreya   | 2                     |           |             | 2             |            |
| Jaska         | 1                     |           |             | 1             |            |
| Jātūkarna     | 1                     |           |             | 1             |            |
| Jīvantiyāyana | 5                     | 2         |             | 3             |            |
| Dakṣa         | 1                     |           | 1           |               |            |
| Darbha        | 2                     |           |             | 2             |            |
| Dhaumya       | 13                    | 3         | 5           | 5             |            |
| Pārāsara      | 11                    | 1         | 1           | 2             | 7          |
| Pip[p]alāda   | 1                     |           |             | 1             |            |
| Bhāradvāja    | 78                    | 15        | 32          | 20            | 11         |
| Bhārgava      | 18                    | 3         | 10          | 3             | 2          |
| Maudgalya     | 1                     |           |             | 1             |            |
| Maunasa       | 2                     |           |             |               | 2          |
| Maunya        | 3                     | 1         |             | 2             |            |
| Vatsa         | 20                    | 3         |             | 12            | 5          |
| Vandhula      | 2                     | 2         |             |               |            |
| Vasiṣṭha      | 48 (+1) <sup>75</sup> | 7         | 18          | 19            | 4          |
| Vasiṣṭhapada  | 1                     |           |             | 1             |            |
| Śaṇḍilya      | 28                    | 6         | 1           | 11            | 10         |
| Śārkara       | 3                     | 1         | 1           | 1             |            |
| Śārkārākṣa    | 10                    |           | 2           | 8             |            |
| Śaunaka       | 1                     | 1         |             |               |            |
| Sāṃkr̥tya     | 24                    | 14        | 1           | 9             |            |
| Sāvāṛṇa       | 7                     | 2         |             | 2             | 3          |
| Sauśravasa    | 15                    | 2         | 8           | 4             | 1          |
| Hārīta        | 1                     |           |             | 1             |            |
| (unknown)     | 1                     |           |             | 1             |            |
| Total numbers | 494 (+1)              | 124       | 96          | 199           | 75         |

<sup>75</sup>The first donee called *ācāryapaṇḍita* Śrī-Vṛtikara belonged to the Vasiṣṭhagotra; his Vedic affiliation is not mentioned.

## Appendix III

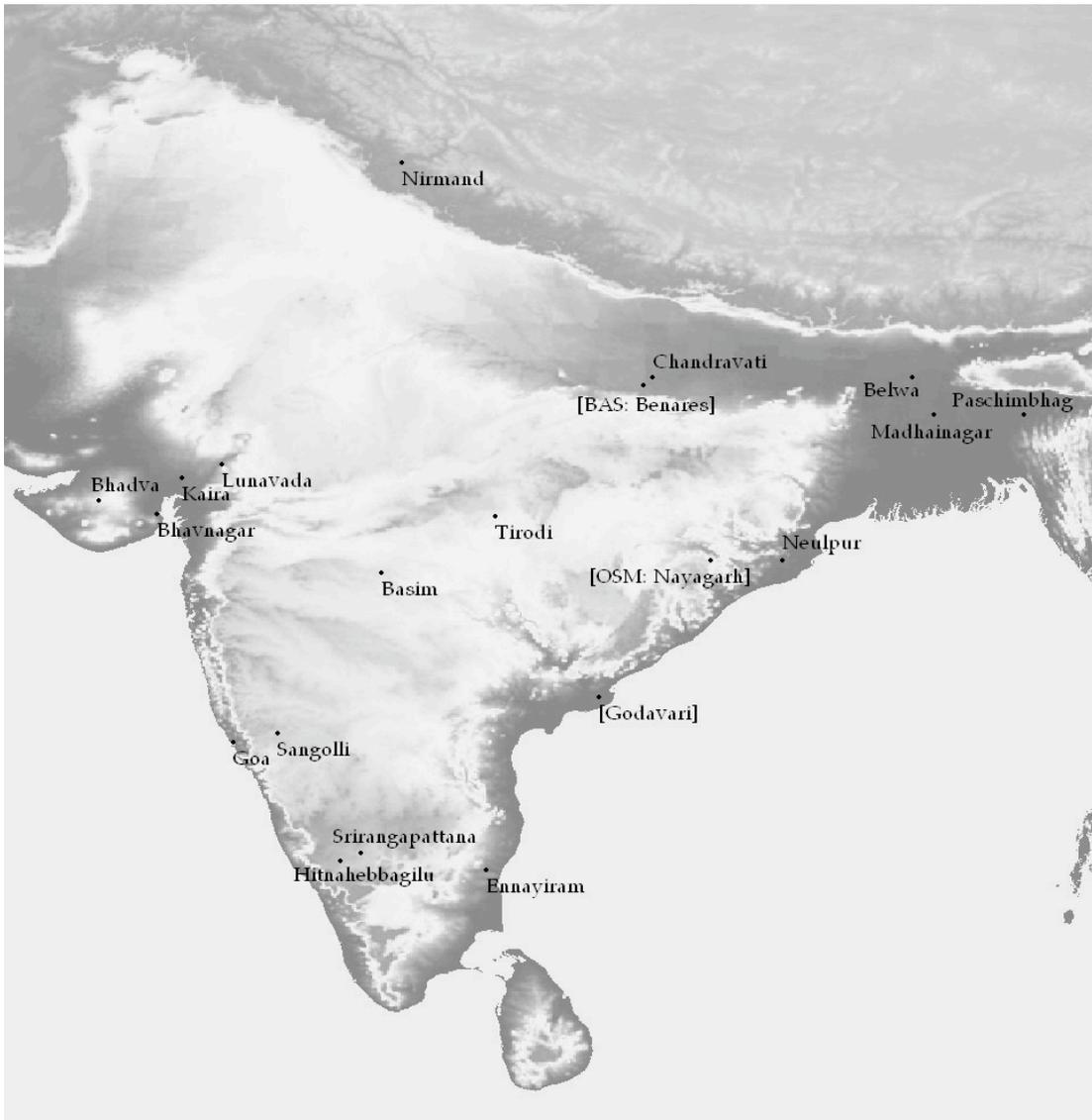
## List of inscriptions containing evidence for Atharvavedic Brahmins

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Appendix IV  
Map showing find-spots of inscriptions containing  
evidence for Atharvavedic Brahmins

For those inscriptions whose precise find-spots are not known, a rough localization is given, and in these cases use is made of the following indications: **[BAS: Benares]** Bengal Asiatic Society Plate (no. 14), **[Godavari]** Godavari Plates (no. 5), **[OSM: Nayagarh]** Orissa State Museum Plates (no. 13). *Suvarṇakārikādaṇḍa* Plates I and II (nos. 15a and 15b), being of unknown provenance, could not be included. The numbers are those used in appendices I and III.



This map has been drawn with IndoMap software by Oliver Hellwig.

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