

PURĀṆAS, ĀGAMAS, AND TANTRAS

**Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference
held in Helsinki, Finland, 13–18 July 2003**

STUDIA ORIENTALIA 121

PURĀṆAS, ĀGAMAS, AND TANTRAS

Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference
held in Helsinki, Finland, 13–18 July 2003

EDITED BY

ALBION M. BUTTERS



Helsinki 2020

**Purāṇas, Āgamas, and Tantras: Papers of the 12th World
Sanskrit Conference held in Helsinki, Finland, 13–18 July 2003**
Edited by Albion M. Butters
Studia Orientalia, vol. 121

Copyright © 2020 by the Finnish Oriental Society

Editor

Lotta Aunio

Co-editors

Sari Nieminen

Advisory Editorial Board

Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (*Arabic and Islamic Studies, Iranian Studies*)

Juha Janhunen (*Altaic Studies*)

Hannu Juusola (*Middle Eastern Studies*)

Klaus Karttunen (*Indology*)

Kaj Öhrnberg (*Arabic and Islamic Studies*)

Saana Svärd (*Assyriology*)

Xenia Zeiler (*South Asian Studies*)

Typesetting

Sari Nieminen

ISSN 0039-3282

ISBN 978-951-9380-96-4

PunaMusta Oy

Tampere 2020

CONTENTS

Preface	vii
Introduction.....	1
ALBION M. BUTTERS	
Debating Divinity: Strategies of Reconciliation in the <i>Ānanda-rāmāyaṇa</i> (Part II)	5
VIDYUT AKLUJKAR	
A New Look at the <i>Hari-bhakti-vilāsa</i>	15
MĀNS BROO	
Svacchandabhairava: The Spontaneous Will of Śiva	25
ADVAITAVADINI KAUL	
A Treatment of Hindu Elements in the <i>Vimalaprabhā</i>	31
KAMESHWAR NATH MISHRA	
The Ekāyanaveda in the Pāñcarātra Tradition.....	43
MARION RASTELLI	
The Transfiguration of Kṛṣṇa’s Death	55
NOEL SHETH, S.J.	
The “Placing of the Embryo Ritual” of Laying the Consecration Deposit in the South Indian Śaiva Tradition: The Testimony of the Texts	67
ANNA A. ŚŁĄCZKA	
The <i>Jaiminīyasaṃhitā</i> of the <i>Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa</i> and the <i>Bhāgavatapurāṇa</i> : Cosmogonic Accounts.....	85
SANDRA SMETS	

Abhiṣeka: The Sacred Bath as Described in the *Pāñcarātra Āgama* 105

LAKSHMI SWAMINATHAN

Nikumbha's Curse upon Vārāṇasī and Divodāsa's Founding of New Kāśī:
On the Origin and Growth of the Purāṇic Text Corpus, with Special
Reference to the *Harivaṃśa*.....125

CHRISTOPHE VIELLE

PREFACE

The General Editors of the Series “Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference held in Helsinki, Finland, 13–18 July 2003”

The plan to publish the proceedings of the entire 12th World Sanskrit Conference was a most ambitious one. Only a few organizers of the World Sanskrit Conferences have also published the papers presented at them, and even in those few cases not comprehensively. We are indeed very happy that our ambitious undertaking can now finally be brought to conclusion. It is also gratifying to know that our example has inspired the organizers of the succeeding WSCs to adopt a similar procedure.

A publication agreement with Motilal Banarsidass Publishers (MLBD) in Delhi secured that the volumes would be published on good paper at a reasonable price, that every author would get a free copy of the volume where his or her paper was published, and that the editors of the volumes would in addition each get a copy of all the volumes. This agreement with MLBD has worked very well, and guaranteed dissemination of the volumes to readers interested in Sanskrit studies in and outside India. We thank MLBD for their collaboration throughout the project.

We could get only a very small allowance for language checking and editing of the series, and these funds were soon exhausted. Our plan was to ask a prominent Sanskrit scholar of the respective field who was a native speaker of English to act as one of the editors of each volume and to revise on a voluntary basis the contributions of those colleagues whose native language was not English. On the whole, this plan worked very well.

Without going in detail into the difficulties we encountered in bringing out the last two volumes of the series – these were explained in the introduction to *Vedic Investigations* (2016) – it must be stated that we had almost lost faith in the appearance of Volume 3.1 (*Purāṇas, Āgamas, and Tantras*) and Volume 6 (*Poetry, Drama, and Aesthetics*). Our own resources were exhausted, and it was most uncertain if the authors of the papers would be willing to have them published in the series, when more than 15 years had passed after their presentation. In this rather desperate situation, Dr. Albion M. Butters came to our rescue. He offered to contact the authors of the papers, offering them a possibility to revise the paper if they wanted to do so, and to take care of the English language editing

of the two volumes, on the condition that the two volumes would first appear in *Studia Orientalia*, the journal of the Finnish Oriental Society. Republication of a printed version of these volumes is the prerogative of the MLBD, who, we trust, will also be happy for the completion of the series. Dr. Butters is a specialist of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism and thus also qualified to handle Sanskrit studies. It has been an arduous task for him, but he has succeeded. We are most grateful to him, and also to all the authors who nearly without exception have welcomed his initiative.

Helsinki and Rantasalmi, 4 January 2020

Asko Parpola and Petteri Koskikallio

INTRODUCTION

Albion M. Butters

In a discipline as venerable as Sanskrit, where the average age of the texts under discussion can be thousands of years old, it may perhaps be possible to forgive a delay of papers being published nearly two decades after they were originally delivered. At least that is the hope with the current volume, which consists of presentations from the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, held in Helsinki, Finland, 13–18 July 2003.

The conference has provided a veritable treasure trove to the field. Since 2003, thirteen volumes in the Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference series have already been published, reflecting the breadth of the themes covered. Under the patient and erudite supervision of the General Editors Asko Parpola and Petteri Koskikallio, these include:

- Vedic Investigations* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 1). Ed. Asko Parpola & Petteri Koskikallio. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2016.
- Epic Undertakings* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 2). Ed. Robert Goldman & Muneo Tokunaga. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2009.
- Origin and Growth of the Purāṇic Text Corpus: With Special Reference to the Skanda Purāṇa* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 3.2). Ed. Hans T. Bakker. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004.
- Indian Grammars: Philology and History* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 4). Ed. George Cardona & Madhav M. Deshpande. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2012.
- Themes and Tasks in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan Linguistics* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 5). Ed. Bertil Tikkanen & Heinrich Hettrich. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2006.
- Mathematics and Medicine in Sanskrit* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 7). Ed. Dominik Wujastyk. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2010.
- Buddhist Studies* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 8). Ed. Richard Gombrich & Cristina Scherrer-Schaub. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2008.
- Jaina Studies* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 9). Ed. Colette Caillat & Nalini Balbir. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2008.
- From Vasubandhu to Caitanya: Studies in Indian Philosophy and Its Textual History* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 10.1). Ed. Johannes Bronkhorst & Karin Preisendanz. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2010.

Studia Orientalia 121 (2020), pp. 1–4

Licensed under Creative Commons 4.0
(CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) license.
ISSN: 0039-3282

- Logic in Earliest Classical India* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 10.2). Ed. Brendan S. Gillon. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2010.
- Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta: Interaction and Continuity* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 10.3). Ed. Johannes Bronkhorst. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2007.
- Script and Image: Papers on Art and Epigraphy* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 11.1). Ed. Adalbert J. Gail, Gerd J.R. Mevissen & Richard Salomon. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2006.
- History of Indological Studies* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 11.2). Ed. Klaus Karttunen. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2015.

Due to various factors, however, it was not possible for the series to be brought to conclusion. In question was the fate of the current volume on Purāṇas, Āgamas, and Tantras and another on Poetry, Drama, and Aesthetics, respectively intended as Volumes 3.1 and 6 in the series. However, with the agreement of the general editors and the support of the Finnish Oriental Society (Suomen Itämainen Seura), it was decided that these two last volumes would be published through *Studia Orientalia*. It was then only a matter of contacting all the authors and acquiring the necessary permissions for their papers.

Unfortunately, the passing of time meant that this was not always possible. Thus, several papers are missing from the current volume. These include Urmi Samir Shah's "Concept of a *Vrata* (Gauri) for Young Girls in the Contemporary Gujarat: Its Connection with Ancient Indian Tradition", Adalbert J. Gail's "*Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa* and Varāhamihira: A possible terminus post quem of the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*", and Christèle Barois' "*Vayaviya*: The Daily Ritual". It is also worth mentioning that two papers have already been published elsewhere. Knut A. Jacobsen's "Sanskrit Hymns for the Worship of Kapila in Contemporary Hindu Tradition" has ended up in different other articles, and André Couture's "The *Harivaṃśa* and the Notion of Purāṇa" can be found in *Kṛṣṇa in the Harivaṃśa: The Wonderful Play of a Cosmic Child*, Vol. I (Delhi: D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd., 2015). We are fortunate to have here ten of the 15 papers originally presented in Helsinki.

While a few scholars were a bit reticent to publish, noting that their thought and expertise in the field had matured since their papers were originally presented, in the end they kindly consented. Indeed, all of the contributors took great care to review their work, in some cases updating it when necessary. The choice was made to follow the authors' prerogative in this regard. I would like to thank all the authors very much for their patience and diligence.

I would also like to thank Professor Emeritus Asko Parpola for his detailed review of all the texts, Dr Petteri Koskikallio for his technical assistance in resurrecting decrepit files and salvaging lost diacritics, and those contributors of the

volume who assisted their colleagues in the process of finally bringing these old papers to light. Lotta Aunio and Sari Nieminen were of invaluable help in the production and layout process.

To provide a brief overview of the papers included here, Vidyut Aklujkar opens the volume with a review of the *Ānanda-rāmāyaṇa*, a fifteenth-century Vaiṣṇava text, which stands out by offering an expression of the ultimate unity of all forms of divinity. Aklujkar remarks on the ecumenical nature of the text, which reconciles the multiple incarnations of Viṣṇu as well as the status of Viṣṇu and the rival god Śiva, by framing Rāma as the superior form of the divine through various devices and by ultimately integrating the rival religion. The significance of the text is not only cosmological but the way in which its reconciliation of rival claims to supremacy on an ethical level provides an example of behaviour for sectarian believers.

Māns Broo continues the discussion of the Vaiṣṇava tradition by examining the sixteenth-century *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, an important work on ritual and proper conduct in the canon of the Gauḍīya *saṃpradāya* inspired by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. Broo takes up the question of the authorship of the text, which has been attributed to either Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin (1501–1586) or Sanātana Gosvāmin (1486–1554), by analysing the work itself and discerning the differences between the main text and the commentary. Engaging the sources cited by the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, Broo concludes that the guidebook was meant for a wider audience of Kṛṣṇa devotees in the Mathurā area.

Turning to the Kashmir Śaiva tradition, Advaitavadini Kaul examines the concept of *svacchandabhairava*, the spontaneous and blissful expression of Śiva, as the form assumed by the god when presenting the Śaivāgamas. Basing her discussion on the *Svacchandabhairavatantra* and a nineteenth-century painting owned by her family, Kaul outlines the various symbolic aspects of the deity (e.g. the god's five faces, eighteen arms and their respective objects, and ornamentation), thereby contextualizing the iconographic representation in relation to the meditative tradition of Kashmir Śaivism.

Kameshwar Nath Mishra elaborates the Buddhist tantric tradition by examining the *Vimalaprabhā*, a commentary on the *Laghukālacakratantra*. In particular, Mishra examines the heretical *tīrthika* elements mentioned therein, which are either accepted, rejected, or given a new interpretation by Kalki Puṇḍarīka, the Mādhyamika author of the commentary. These elements include terms, grammar, philosophical concepts, texts, and even the gods of the Hindu pantheon. By analysing Kalki Puṇḍarīka's attitudes towards these respective elements, and also giving the commentary a critical reading, Mishra reveals both syncretism and extreme distancing within this *anyogatantra* system.

Marion Rastelli frames her discussion in relation to the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*, dated to South India between 1100 and 1300 CE. Unlike other Pāñcarātra texts described as having been revealed by Viṣṇu, this text holds that the god gave yet an earlier teaching, the Ekāyanaveda, which dealt exclusively with liberation from transmigrating. Questioning who the followers of this tradition were, Rastelli examines different groups among the Pāñcarātrins.

Noel Sheth, S.J. traces the way in which presentations of Kṛṣṇa's death develop over time, becoming increasingly divinized. To this end he examines the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, as well as a range of commentators on those texts. In particular, Sheth reveals the tension around competing interpretations of Kṛṣṇa's body being cremated and the god's ascension into heaven.

Anna A. Ślaczka reviews the importance of the *garbhanyāsa*, or "laying of the embryo", in temple construction in South India. After reviewing the previous literature on the term, she turns to its use in the Sanskrit texts, specifically those belonging to the Śaiva Siddhānta tradition. In addition, Ślaczka examines the meaning of the ritual itself, including its architectural and symbolic significance.

In her investigation of the cosmogonic section of the *Jaiminīyasaṃhitā* of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, Sandra Smets finds both textual parallels with the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and differences, suggesting alternative sources. Examining changes induced by philosophical and religious tenets, Smets exposes the particularities of the psychic entities discussed in the respective texts, as well as the cosmic nature of the Bhagavat.

Lakshmi Swaminathan examines the practice of *abhiṣeka* performed in temple rituals by analysing its reference in the Samhitās of the Pāñcarātra. After first treating the origin of the term, Swaminathan details the specific events and materials that comprise the process of worship, including the accompanying Vedic mantras.

Christophe Vielle closes the volume with a text-critical analysis of the legend of the curse laid upon the ancient city Vārāṇasī and the subsequent founding of the new capital Kāśī. He examines it in relation to the *Harivaṃśa*, the Vedic and epic accounts, and the earliest Purāṇas, in particular the "classical" *vāyuprokta Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* and the *Jaiminīyasaṃhitā*. In this regard, Vielle seeks to shed light on the complex question of the origin and growth of the purāṇic text corpus.

As revealed by this brief introduction, the papers presented during the Purāṇas, Agamas, and Tantras panel at the 12th World Sanskrit Conference exhibit great richness and depth, proving their enduring value for the field. It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that this work may finally be shared with the participants of that event and the wider public.

DEBATING DIVINITY: STRATEGIES OF RECONCILIATION IN THE *ĀNANDA-RĀMĀYAṆA* (PART II)

Vidyut Aklujkar

University of British Columbia

Rāma is to be understood as Hara; Śiva, the Best of Raghu.
Between the two, no difference is to be known.
Anyone who sees difference will dwell in hell.¹

Such a strong statement of non-duality between the two major deities occurs not just once but many times in the *Ānanda-rāmāyaṇa* (ĀR), a unique Vaiṣṇava text of the fifteenth century and the subject of my study for the past decade or more.² The stand of the ĀR on divinity is liberal and multi-level. Although it is definitely a major Vaiṣṇava text exalting Rāma as the best incarnation of Viṣṇu, the supreme god, the ĀR takes pains to promote the ultimate unity of all forms of divinity. This presents a major challenge in the overall narrative of the ĀR. As I noted in an unpublished first paper presented at the AOS in 2003,³ when it comes to debating divinity, the composer of the ĀR wants to have his cake and eat it, too. There I already sketched how the ĀR reconciles Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the two major incarnations of Viṣṇu, as being essentially the same. In the present paper, I shall outline how the ĀR deals with the challenge of singing the glories of Rāma as the supreme god and at the same time admitting that there is no distinction between the divinity of Rāma and the rival god of Hinduism, Śiva. I shall first outline the ĀR's devices to establish the supremacy of Rāma in the course of the narrative, and then show how the last of these lead to the other goal of the text (i.e. reconciling rival claims to supremacy).

1 ĀR, Manohara-kāṇḍa 7, 105: *rāma eva haro jneyaḥ śiva eva raghūttamaḥ / ubhayornāntaraṁ jneyam bhedadyā nārakī naraḥ //*; ĀR, Manohara-kāṇḍa 9, 75: *rāmasya hṛdayaṁ śambhuḥ sīrāmo hṛdayaṁ smṛtaḥ / śaṅkarsya tathā gaurīhṛdayaṁ jānakī smṛtā //*; ĀR, Manohara-kāṇḍa 12, 26: *ahamevātra sītāsmi, rāmaḥ sāksānmaheshvaraḥ //*.

2 See Appendix I.

3 The paper "Debating Divinity (Part I)" was read at the American Oriental Society meeting in Nashville, Tennessee in April 2003.

SUPREMACY OF RĀMA

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and other Vaiṣṇava texts, Kṛṣṇa alone is regarded as a total incarnation of Viṣṇu, whereas Rāma and others are partial incarnations. On the other hand, the Rāma of the ĀR is established as a total incarnation of Viṣṇu, just like Kṛṣṇa. The ĀR goes further, deeming Rāma as the best incarnation of Viṣṇu for ethical reasons,⁴ and the best form of divinity ever. Several devices, both subtle and obvious, are employed in the ĀR in order to establish Rāma's supremacy in all these regards.

1. The outer frame of the epic narrative of the ĀR consists of the divine pair of Śiva and Pārvatī, as in the *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa*. Pārvatī is eager to hear the joyous story of Rāma's exploits, as it gives her great pleasure, and Śiva obliges by enthusiastically narrating the entire epic to her with a whole lot of additions and embellishments. The narration of the ĀR sums up the *Vālmiki-rāmāyaṇa* in the very first canto (Sāra-kāṇḍa) and extends for eight more cantos, which narrate hitherto-unknown stories. They include Rāma and Sītā's day-to-day activities, lovemaking, water sports, pilgrimages, and sacrifices, as well as the births and weddings of their children and other exploits of Rāma and his clan. The frame of Śiva and Pārvatī's conversation shows their fond appreciation of Rāma's exploits, and it also displays their utmost devotion towards the god.

2. Some myths in the ĀR portray situations where Śiva's excessive generosity gets him or other gods into trouble and Viṣṇu has to save the situation from turning into a disaster. Such myths can be understood as subtly sectarian in character, as they portray Viṣṇu as the ultimate savior. One such myth in the ĀR is about the creation of a holy site of the Śivaliṅga at Gokarṇa.⁵ The myth relates how Śiva was won over with devotion by Rāvaṇa, how Śiva ended up giving away his *ātma-liṅga* and wife Pārvatī to Rāvaṇa, and how Viṣṇu disguised as a *brāhmaṇa* managed to rescue her by enticing Rāvaṇa with Mandodarī.

3. Other myths in the ĀR are the litmus tests of divinity employed by other gods and goddesses to test Rāma's divinity. Of course, as we all know from previous versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma's divinity is put to the test by the *rākṣasas* on the battlefield of Lankā; there, having killed Rāvaṇa, Rāma emerges as the all-powerful god. However, the ĀR incorporates other myths where the testers are not the players on the rival team, but rivals and skeptics from one's own side. In one such myth, Pārvatī goes out disguised as Sītā to test Rāma. Since

4 Aklujkar 1995.

5 ĀR, Sāra-kāṇḍa 13, 26–46.

he is the all-knowing god, Rāma sees through her disguise and she returns home embarrassed (ĀR, Sāra-kāṇḍa 7, 138–150).⁶

4. The most common device of establishing the supremacy of Rāma in the ĀR is one also employed by many Purāṇas to put the chosen form of divinity on a pedestal. This is to generate a situation where other gods sing the glories of Rāma. There are many such places in the ĀR. For example, there is a praise in eight stanzas called the Śivakṛta Rāmāṣṭaka-stava (ĀR, Sāra-kāṇḍa 12, 116–123); another longer praise, called the Śivakṛta Rāma-stavarāja, occupies the entire first sarga of the Vilāsa-kāṇḍa, and another such occurs in Pūrṇa-kāṇḍa 6, 32–40.

5. In most such panegyrics, the gods or characters praising Rāma employ a narrative device of citing theological equations. The usual method is to equate all other forms of divinity with the god to be praised. For example, the ĀR uses the following equation of other divinities with Rāma:

brahmā viṣṇuśca rudraśca devandro devatāstathā /
ādiyādigrabhāścaiva tvameva raghunandana // (ĀR, Vilāsa-kāṇḍa 1, 63)⁷

Such equations are bifocal devices in most texts in that they help promote the oneness of divine forms while maintaining the superiority of the chosen god. To quip in Orwellian style, we may say that all gods are created equal but some are more equal than others. It is at this juncture that sectarian fanatics part company with liberal texts like the ĀR. The narrow-minded sectarians may go on magnifying the divinity of their chosen god by equating other gods with him, but they do not accept the counter-equation. To cite an example, consider the discussions and pronouncements in the Brahma-kāṇḍa of the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (GP), a Vaiṣṇava work mentioned in the list of major Purāṇas in the ĀR. When discussing the tripartite nature of Hari as Puruṣa divided for the creation, sustenance, and destruction of the world, the GP states the following.

In order to create the worlds, Hari becomes Brahmā by means of *rajas*, but this initial form is to be understood only as Brahmā, not as Hari himself. By means of *tamas*, Hari also enters Rudra in order to end everything. Being present in Rudra, he is called Rudra, but Rudra is not Hari himself. Viṣṇu alone is Hari himself; those other two are not recognized as Hari. Those brahmins who do not

6 For more on this myth, see my next paper on the topic, presented at the American Oriental Society's meeting in Philadelphia in April 2005.

7 Compare *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa*, Yuddha-kāṇḍa 3, 17–30 with Bibhiṣaṇa's praise of Rāma; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 1.9.68: *namo namo aviśeṣastvaim, tvaim brahmā, tvaim pinākadhṛk / indrastvamagnih pavano varuṇas savitā yamaḥ //* Cf. also *Līṅga Purāṇa*, Uttara-bhāga, 11, 2–7 and 17, 12–20.

understand the unity of the forms of Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and Rudra go to a horrible hell with no chance whatsoever of being saved.⁸

Often in the course of the GP, Viṣṇu is exalted at the expense of other gods. The GP makes a point of distinguishing among the right and wrong forms of worship. Only those who worship Viṣṇu are on the right path, while the rest are deluded. Other gods do not grant salvation; only Viṣṇu does. The Śaiva Purāṇas such as the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, and so forth are blacklisted as *tāmasa* Purāṇas not to be followed by a real Vaiṣṇava. That seems to be the clear message in the Brahma-kāṇḍa of the GP. Other Purāṇas share this uncompromisingly sectarian view.

Given the fact that the ĀR is a major and influential Vaiṣṇava text, one would expect it to be likewise. But this is where the ĀR stands out by being truly liberal and accepting in earnest the ultimate unity of all forms of divinity. A strong undercurrent of the non-dualistic, Vedantic worldview is present in the ĀR. Therefore, on the theoretical level of ultimate truth, the ĀR sees no distinction between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, or between Śiva and Viṣṇu. The question is how to translate such a non-dualistic worldview into the day-to-day practice of common people, and how to prescribe proper behaviour for different sectarian worshippers. The ĀR ardently translates its metaphysical beliefs into appropriate ethics by using various strategies.

STRATEGIES OF RECONCILIATION

1. Clear statements of the unity of all forms of divinity, and also of the unity of Ātman and Brahman, are found in the text, coupled with specific admonitions for worshippers to be tolerant of each other and to harbor no ill will. In that context, the ĀR declares:

Those who worship Śiva well and badmouth Rāgahva are to be known as asses on the earth. Whoever believes that there is a difference between Rāma and Śiva has wasted his life like the useless teat under a nanny goat's neck. Rāma is the heart of Śiva and Śiva is the heart of Rāma. One should not advance bad arguments to imagine a distinction between the two. (ĀR, Manohara-kāṇḍa 7, 104–107)

However, given the fact that sectarian fanaticism persists, mere admonitions are not enough. Perhaps, therefore, the ĀR uses some other, more innovative strate-

⁸ *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, Uttara Khaṇḍa, Brahma-kāṇḍa, adhyāyas 4, 5–7 and 9.

gies, such as open debates, folktales, and myths, and examples of ideal behaviour by the hero of the epic in question, namely, Rāma.

2. In the first article in the Debating Divinity series, I analysed at length the deliberate debates between the worshippers of Rāma and of Kṛṣṇa. The ĀR uses the device of debates to the fullest. No insult is spared, and worshippers vie with each other in finding faults with their rivals' chosen deity. The end result is not just lively entertainment, but the creation of a highly exhilarating atmosphere of mutual harmony, goodwill, and respect.

3. Since "An ounce of example is better than a pound of precept", the ĀR describes Rāma's exemplary behaviour as instructing on the propriety and worth of Śiva worship. The ĀR shows Rāma bowing down to Śiva on numerous occasions, worshipping Śiva every day, and engaging in actively promoting a Śiva *pūjā* by establishing *śiva-liṅgas* at the Setubandha Rāmeśvaram and ten million other places, in order to propagate righteous deeds among the people. Such an outright expression of earnest Śiva *bhakti* by Rāma is highly unusual and, to my present knowledge, rarely found in other *Rāmāyaṇa* versions. Some examples of the devotion can be found below:

3.1 Rājya-kāṇḍa 19 describes Rāma's daily morning routine as follows:

At dawn, Raghunandana was awakened by the songs of the bards, and he heard with pleasure the sounds of nine instruments, along with Sītā. He then meditated upon Śiva, Devī, the teacher, the [father] Daśaratha, and the gods, holy *tīrthas*, mothers, and holy places, many holy regions, woods, mountains, oceans, large and small holy rivers, and then he glanced at Sītā.⁹

Note that upon rising, Rāma's first act is to meditate upon Śiva.

3.2 Later on, in the same context, we read:

After Rāma took a proper bath, by going to the banks of the Sarayu River, after doing the rituals of morning *sandhyā* and *brahma-yajna*, he came home and prepared a *homa* fire, and worshipped Śiva with the prescribed rituals and proper respect, and then he paid his respects to his three mothers.¹⁰

3.3 On the occasion of Sītā's *svayamvara*, before taking up the challenge of picking up the bow belonging to Śiva, Rāma bows down to it, circumambulates

9 ĀR, Rājya-kāṇḍa 19, 3–4: *prabhāte gāyakair gītair bodhito raghunandanah / nava-vādya-ninādānīs ca sukham śuśrāva sītayā // tato dhyātvā śivam devīm guruṃ daśaratham surān / puṇyatīrthāni mātṛīmś ca devatāyatānāni ca // nānākṣetrānyaranyāni parvatān sāgarāmsthāhā // nadānīs caiva nadīḥ puṇyās tataḥ sītām dadarśa saḥ //*.

10 ĀR, Rājya-kāṇḍa 19, 13: *butvā homam vidhānena śivam saṃpūjya sādaram / kausalyām ca sumitrām ca kaikeyīm ca samarcayat //*.

it and after once more saluting it, he meditates on Śiva, his teacher and his father, and then ventures forth.¹¹ Such deliberate details are used by the ĀR to balance other details in that incident, such as Sītā's child-play with Śiva's heavy bow and Rāma's ultimately breaking it, which point to Rāma's supremacy. Rāma may be an almighty god, but as a mortal prince he always exhibits the correct manner of humility and worship to Śiva, and through his own behaviour he sets an example for other beings.

3.4 On the day when Rāma starts out to conquer the entire land of Bhārata, he gets up and after doing the morning rituals of bathing and so forth, the first thing he does is a proper *pūjā* and worship of Śiva.¹²

3.5. To match Pārvaṭī, who likes to hear the story of Rāma, ĀR's Sītā (when separated from Rāma because he is away on his exploits) does what any other Hindu woman does to secure good luck and divine help:

Sometimes she circumambulated Tulasī, Śiva, and Aśvattha, sometimes she made the brahmins recite the Manyusūkta. Sometimes she would use the Śatarudrīyasūkta for securing victory for Rāma, and she would always follow rituals and forever worship Durgā. She would lovingly immerse Gaṇeśa, Māruti, or Śambhu in water in a *sthaṇḍila*, and having enclosed them behind shut doors she would pour water over them from the holes in the walls. (ĀR, Rājya-kāṇḍa 5, 4–7)

4. An expression of mutual respect between Śiva and Rāma is found in the Yātrā-kāṇḍa, which describes Rāma's various pilgrimages. Rāma visits many holy places all over India, as well as Durgā, who resides on the Vindhya mountain range,¹³ and Viśveśvara of Kāśī (Vārāṇasī).¹⁴ Rāma's visit to Viśvanātha in Vārāṇasī is described in great detail by the ĀR. When Rāma arrives in his *puṣpaka* airplane at the boundary of the city, Viśvanātha comes to receive him, along with Pārvaṭī sitting on his bullock. They bring many gifts to offer to Rāma. In the meanwhile, Rāma worships the Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa) at the threshold; when he sees Viśvanātha, Rāma bows to him with respect. Śiva receives him with a hug and offers him gifts. Rāma offers him gifts in turn, and Śiva then leads him inside the city with his own hand. Rāma visits each and every holy place well known to the public, taking ritual baths at every one of them as prescribed. With Māruti he establishes bathing steps at the bank of the river, which can be seen there even

11 ĀR, Sāra-kāṇḍa 3, 123: *yayau cāpaṁ namaskṛtya kṛtvā taṁ ca pradakṣiṇaṁ / punar natvā śivam dhyātvā guruṁ daśaratham nṛpaṁ //*.

12 ĀR, Rājya-kāṇḍa 7, 11: *Rāmaḥ prabuddhaḥ tu javāt kṛtaśaucādisatkriyaḥ / snātvā nityavidhim kṛtvā kṛtvā śambhoḥ prapūjanaṁ //*.

13 ĀR, Yātrā-kāṇḍa 6, 10.

14 ĀR, Yātrā-kāṇḍa 6. 22–61.

now. The visit extends for over a year and is full of many good deeds, such as giving gifts to the Śiva temples, renovating old places of worship, making provisions for chanting, and offering sacrifices to Śiva. Śiva, Durgā and Gaṇeśa are worshipped many, many times. Finally, with loving permission received from Śiva, Rāma takes leave of his venerable host and proceeds on.

The cordial relationship between the two gods is seen in many more incidents. One such case is Rāma's establishment of a *śiva-liṅga* at the site of his bridge over the ocean to Laṅkā, called the Setubandha Rāmeśvara. (The ĀR narrates a long story at this point that covers many different myths, including the myth of Agasti and Vindhya, Māruti and his pride, and the creation of twelve *jyotirlingas* through the division of Śiva's *liṅga*.) To set up a *śiva-liṅga* at Setubandha, Rāma sends Māruti directly to Śiva in Kāśī to obtain a *liṅga* from Śiva himself. Śiva gives Māruti two *liṅgas*, one for him and one for Rāma. However, these do not reach Rāma in time, and he ends up making a *liṅga* of sand and using that instead. Arriving late, Māruti is annoyed at having toiled in vain, but when he expresses his frustration to Rāma he receives a valuable lesson in humility. In the end, Rāma establishes both *liṅgas* near each other and also blesses them. In order to appease Hanumān, Rāma declares that people must visit first the *liṅga* brought by Māruti as his own, and then they may visit the one established by Rāma.

To sum up, the ĀR uses many innovative strategies in order to square its metaphysical stand with its ethics. It illustrates the importance of the Śiva *pūjā* in the life of the hero of the text to complement the theoretical position that there is ultimately no difference between the divinity of Rāma and Śiva.

Having shown the ĀR's liberal stance and unique treatment of debating divinity, for a discussion of the reasons for such a treatment, all I can do is advance some speculations. These deliberate and outspoken attempts to bring together diverse religious communities under a single theistic banner may represent a new awareness in medieval Hindu sects to present a united front to the pressures of Islam. I have enough evidence to believe that the ĀR was composed in Maharashtra, but this forms a topic that I shall address in a forthcoming article. Here, all I will say is that the stance of the ĀR regarding divinity probably shows the considerable influence of the *bhakti* movement of Maharashtra, which started in the thirteenth century CE and always incorporated a strong Śaiva strand in its predominantly Vaiṣṇava theology. Lastly, I would argue that such a careful and consistent treatment of an important theme in this text, along with other textual evidence I have treated elsewhere,¹⁵ strongly suggests a single authorship. To end, I shall use a statement by the author of the ĀR, who proclaims that those who praise

15 Aklujkar 1991.

Rāmacandra, Kṛṣṇa and Śiva are to be known as manifestations of the immortal author of epics, Vyāsa:

*ye rāmacandraṁ kṛṣṇaṁ ca śivaṁ stutyā stuvanti hi /
varṇayanti caritrāṇi te jneya vyāsamūrtayaḥ //* (ĀR, Manohara-kāṇḍa 7, 129)

PRIMARY SOURCES

Listed alphabetically by author name and, in its absence, by the text name.

- Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa*. Ed. [with a Hindi translation] Munilal. Gorakhpur: Gita Press, 1967.
- Ānanda-rāmāyaṇam*. Ed. Pandit Yugalkishor Dwivedi [with the commentary “Jyotsnā” by Pandeya Ramtej Shastri]. Vārāṇasī: Pandita Pustakalaya, 1977.
- Hanumannāṣṭakam*. Ed. [with the Vibhā Sanskrit and Hindi commentaries] Pandit Jagadisha Mishra. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1967.
- Vālmīki. *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki*, with the commentary Tilaka by Rāma. Ed. Wāsudev Laxman Śāstrī Paṇāśīkar. Delhi: Indological Book House, 1983.
- Vālmīki. *Śrīmad Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇam Śrīmad govinda-rājīya-rāmānujīya-taniślokī-māheśvara-tīrthīyākhyā-vyākhyā-catuṣṭaya-samanvitam*. Bombay: Lakshmi Venkateshwar Press, 1935.
- Vālmīki. *The Uttarakāṇḍa: The Seventh Book of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, critical edition. Ed. Umakant Premchand Shah. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1975.
- Vālmīki. *The Vālmīki-rāmāyaṇa*, critical edition. Vols I–VI. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1960–1975.
- Vālmīki. *The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, edition based on the North-eastern recension. Ed. Gasparo Gorresia, 1843; reprint ed. V. Raghavan. Madras: Indian Heritage Trust, 1981–1982.
- Vālmīki. *The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, according to Southern Recension. Ed. T.R. Krishnacharya. First edition Kumbakonam: Sri Garibdas Oriental Series 3, 1905. Reprint edition Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1982.
- Vālmīki. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇam: Text as Constituted in its Critical Edition*. Vadodara (Baroda): Oriental Institute, 1992.

REFERENCES

- AKLUJKAR, Vidyut 1991. Battle as Banquet: A Metaphor in Sūradāsa. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111(2): 353–361.
- AKLUJKAR, Vidyut 1995. Rāmāvatāra Recycled. In: *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. LXXVI: 107–118. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- AKLUJKAR, Vidyut 2000. Crying Dogs and Laughing Trees in Rāma’s Kingdom: Self-Reflexivity in the *Ānanda-rāmāyaṇa*. In: P. RICHMAN (ed.), *Questioning Rāmāyaṇa: A South Asian Narrative Tradition*: 83–103. Delhi: OUP.

- BULCKE, Camille 1971. *Rām-kathā: Utpatti aur Vikās*. Revised edition. Allahabad: Allahabad University.
- GOLDMAN, Robert P. (ed.) 1986. *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India*, Vols I–V (esp. Vol II: Ayodhyākāṇḍa. Introduction, Translation and Annotation by Sheldon J. Pollock). Princeton: PUP.
- GUPTA, Aruna 1984. *Ānanda-rāmāyaṇa: A Cultural Study*. Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers.
- RAGHAVAN, Venkatarama 1961. *Some Old Lost Rāma Plays*. Annamalainagar: Annamalai University.
- RAGHAVAN, Venkatarama 1973. *The Greater Rāmāyaṇa*. Varanasi: The All India Kashiraj Trust, Fort Ramnager.
- SARMA, C.R. 1984. The Rāmāyaṇa Tradition in Telugu and Tamil: A Comparative Study. In: T. GOPALA KRISHNA RAO (ed.), *Folk Rāmāyaṇas in Telugu and Kannada*. Nellore: Saroja Publications.
- THIEL-HORSTMANN, Monika (ed.) 1991. *Rāmāyaṇa and Rāmāyaṇas*, II. (Khoj: A Series of Modern South Asian Studies) Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- VARNEKAR, Shridhar Bhaskar 1988. *Sanskrit Vālmīya Kośa*. (Encyclopedia of Sanskrit Literature, I–II) Calcutta: Bharatiya Bhasha Parishad.

APPENDIX I

The date ascribed to the ĀR by Camille Bulcke (1971: 168) is between the fourteenth and fifteenth century CE. The upper limit is furnished by the *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa* (14th century CE), which is mentioned in the ĀR. The lower limit is set by two vernacular *Rāmāyaṇa* versions that draw upon some incidents found only in the ĀR, namely, the *Torave-rāmāyaṇa* of Narahari (c.1500–1590 CE; see Bulcke 1971: 224) in Kannada and the *Bhāvārtha-rāmāyaṇa* of Eknāth (1533–1599 CE) in Marathi.

Theoretically, the composer could have been one or many, male or female. The identity of the composer is unknown. It has been believed by some to be the *sant* poet Rāmdās of Maharashtra, but Rāmdās lived in the seventeenth century and could not have been the composer of a fifteenth-century text. Since the identity (gender or number) of the composer is unknown, my use of the masculine singular does not imply anything more than my following of convention for the sake of brevity. At present, all I can say is that the entire ĀR reads like a carefully integrated work, with definite goals and a meticulously self-reflexive texture. For more on the integrated nature of its composition, see Aklujkar 1991: 353–361.

There is no complete translation of the text into English. I have provided partial translations as needed in articles written on the text. In progress are a complete translation and edition of the text by me, based on: 1) an early printed edition published by Govardhandas Lakhmidas in Bombay, which exists in *pothi* form with no date of publication and some missing pages of the earlier chapters; 2) a Marathi translation by Pundit Vishnushastri Bapat published by Dāmodar Sā. Yande in 1900 (I have secured two pages of the *prastāvanā* (or preface) to this edition, but not the translation); and 3) a Hindi commentary called the “Jyotsnā”, written by Pundit Rāmtej Pandey and included in the ĀR published by the pandit Yugal Kishor Dwivedi in Varanasi in 1977. See also Aruna Gupta’s *Ānanda-rāmāyaṇa: A Cultural Study*.

A NEW LOOK AT THE *HARI-BHAKTI-VILĀSA*

Måns Broo

Åbo Akademi University

One of the first Sanskrit works written in the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava *saṃpradāya* begun by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya (1486–1533) is the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* “Glories of devotion to Hari”,¹ a voluminous work detailing normative *sadācāra* or correct conduct, as well as the ritual life of a Vaiṣṇava, including everything from how to properly brush one’s teeth upon getting up in the morning to how to build a temple for Viṣṇu. While widely recognised by scholars and practitioners as an important part of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava canon, it has been comparatively little studied by either. It can thus be called a classic – the kind of book that everybody knows about but nobody has read. The book also embodies some puzzling questions, the most important of which are a controversy over the authorship of the text and the purpose of the work. In this paper, I will offer new solutions to the problems at hand, based on internal evidence in the book itself and a careful reading and textual criticism of contemporaneous texts. Moreover, since the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* for the most part consists of quotations from almost two hundred Purāṇas, smṛtis, and other texts, I will also show how it can be of use in tracing the late development of these works and in assessing what kind of recensions of these texts were available in the Mathurā area in the sixteenth century.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE TEXT

There is a long-standing controversy about who actually wrote the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*. In the opening verses and at the end of every chapter (or *vilāsa*, ‘manifestation’), the text itself clearly states that it was written by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin (1501–1586), the disciple of Prabodhānanda.² Later hagiographies tell us that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was the son of the Śrīvaiṣṇava Venkaṭa Bhaṭṭa, at whose house

¹ Some scholars (e.g. Haberman 1988: 169) prefer to call this particular movement Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism, pointing out that there are also other types of Bengali Vaiṣṇavism. Still, Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism seems to be the most widespread term, so I have stuck to it. It is used, for example, by Chakrabarty 1985, Dāsa 2001, Elkman 1986, and McDaniel 1989.

² HBV 1.2 *bhakter vilāsāṃś cinute prabodhānandasya śiṣyo bhagavat-priyasya / gopāla-bhaṭṭo raghunātha-dāsaṃ santoṣayan rūpa-sanātanau ca //*.

in Śrī Raṅgam Caitanya stayed for four months in 1511.³ The sources are not in agreement on all the details, but all concur on Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's being from South India, unlike the rest of the Six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana, who were all Bengalis.⁴

Jīva Gosvāmin, the last of the Six Gosvāmins, however, lists the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* amongst the works of his uncle Sanātana Gosvāmin (1486–1554), at the end of his *Laghu-vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* written about 1582,⁵ as does his student Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (2.1.35, 3.4.221) some twenty years later. Sanātana Gosvāmin was the eldest of the Gosvāmins. He came from a family of Karṇāṭa *brāhmaṇas* that had settled some generations earlier in Bengal. Together with his brother Rūpa, he had been working in Rāmakeli, in the Muslim government of Alauddin Hussein Shah. They met Caitanya in 1514, became his staunch followers, gave up their influential positions, and eventually settled in Vṛndāvana, where they became the leaders of the fledgling Bengali Vaiṣṇava community.

A simple explanation for why these two persons are both credited with writing the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* would be that Jīva Gosvāmin simply made a mistake in attributing the book to Sanātana, and that the mistake was taken over and made widespread by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. This is not likely, however, since the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* itself became quite popular. It is also evident from the text of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (2.24.329–344) that Kṛṣṇadāsa was familiar with the contents of the book.

Later tradition tries to reconcile the opposing views. Manohara Dāsa writes in his *Anurāga-vallī* from 1696 that Sanātana Gosvāmin wrote the main text but that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa collected the supporting verses.⁶ Narahari Cakravartin writes in his *Bhakti-ratnākara* (1.197–198) from the early eighteenth century that the idea of writing the book originated with Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but that Sanātana Gosvāmin was the one who actually carried out the task, writing in the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. As we shall see, there is nothing in the text itself to support either view.

Scholars have tried to find other solutions to the dilemma. Dinesh Chandra Sen (1917: 37–38) suggested that Sanātana Gosvāmin wrote the book, but that he put the name of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa on it, fearing that the book would not otherwise be taken seriously by the orthodox section of society, since he himself had become an outcaste through his service to the Muslim ruler of Bengal. There is, however, little evidence for Sanātana's being actually ostracised. The *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (e.g. 2.1.189) does mention that Rūpa and Sanātana considered them-

3 BR 1.80–89.

4 For an overview of the conflicting statements of different accounts, see De 1990: xxx–xli. For a modern hagiographical account, see Kapoor 1995: 181–201.

5 De 1990: xliii.

6 De 1990: xliii.

selves polluted, but also (2.19.17) that Sanātana studied the scriptures together with many great scholars during his time in the Muslim government. That would hardly have been possible for an outcaste. Sanātana's name, moreover, is mentioned in the beginning of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (1.2), where it is said that the book was written to please Raghunātha Dāsa, Rūpa Gosvāmin, and Sanātana Gosvāmin. If Sanātana had been in such ill repute that he could not sign the book in his own name, his name would hardly have been mentioned in this way either.

Professor O.B.L. Kapoor (1995: 85–86) has presented another solution in his book *The Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana*. He thinks that Sanātana Gosvāmin wrote a small book on Vaiṣṇava smṛti, and that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa then enlarged that work into the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* that we know today. As evidence he mentions that manuscripts of a work called the *Laghu* “smaller” *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* written by Sanātana Gosvāmin are available in two libraries. Before examining the manuscripts of the work mentioned, it is naturally impossible to say whether these comprise the source of the present *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* or not, but the name seems to indicate that it is a later abbreviation.⁷ As noted by S.K. De (1990: xlvii–xlviii), a Sanskrit version, the *Sādhana Dīpikā*, was written by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin, and a Bengali one, called *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa-leśa*, by Kānāi Dāsa. Even so, the main problem with this theory is something else. If Sanātana Gosvāmin really was the original writer, why did Gopāla Bhaṭṭa not mention that in the book? In the beginning of every part of his *Ṣaṭ-sandarbhā* (e.g. TS 4), Jīva Gosvāmin mentions that his book is based on the notes of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. Similarly, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa would certainly have acknowledged the work of Sanātana had he based his book on it, especially since he explicitly stated that the book was written to please (amongst others) the same Sanātana Gosvāmin. It is probable that the Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana co-operated while writing their books,⁸ but there is no known case of them actually co-authoring any text.

I have chosen a less dramatic way to approach the matter at hand, examining the internal evidence of the text itself, something that earlier scholars have often failed to do. Now, the author of the text says nothing more about himself than what was mentioned above, and since perhaps 95 percent of the work consists of quotations, there is little room for personal details. Still, the choice of quotes is an indicator. For example, while eating one should begin with the sweet preparations (HBV 9.362), a typically South Indian custom. The author also strongly recommends (15.45–80) branding oneself with the symbols of Viṣṇu, a custom

7 De 1990: I mentions that a book by this name is listed in the 1865 edition of the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but attributed to Rūpa Gosvāmin!

8 See, e.g., all the cited verses given by Jīva Gosvāmin in *Bhakti-sandarbhā* 299.

that is still prevalent amongst Vaiṣṇavas in South India, but which has never been popular in the North. He writes (20.260) that one should perform the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony before building a temple, a ritual that is purely South Indian. He is also acquainted with works of South Indian Vaiṣṇavas, such as Vedānta Deśika (15.68).

These details seem to indicate that the author is a Southerner, and thus Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but the issue is more complicated than this. Rūpa Gosvāmin bases his *Nāṭaka-candrikā* on Siṅghabhūpāla's *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, a work that is not widespread in the North (see Broo 2000), and Jīva Gosvāmin holds Rāmānuja in high esteem (TS 27.2). Indeed, the eighteenth-century *Bhakti-ratnākara* of Narahari Cakravartī tells us (1.592–596) that Rūpa and Sanātana, before joining Caitanya's movement, invited a colony of Karṇāṭa *brāhmaṇas* to settle near them in Rāmakeli, and retained with them their own inherited social and ritual practices. The South Indian influences could thus also perhaps indicate Sanātana Gosvāmin.

We seem to have met a dead end, but there is one more pathway to traverse. We learn more about the text of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* by comparing it to that of its gloss, the *Dig-darśinī-ṭīkā*, which tradition has associated with Sanātana Gosvāmin. Bhaktivedanta Swami mentions in his commentary to the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (2.1.35) that some people think that the commentary was written by Gopinātha-pūja Adhikārin, a disciple of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. The name of neither person is mentioned in the commentary itself, but it begins with the praise of Kṛṣṇa as Madana-mohana. It is well known that Sanātana Gosvāmin worshipped Madana-mohana, while Gopinātha was the head priest of Rādhā-ramaṇa. A few times the commentary to the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (e.g. 16.202) also refers to the *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* by Sanātana Gosvāmin, a book that while greatly respected within the movement is not very often quoted. Sanātana Gosvāmin thus seems a more probable alternative, especially since he wrote a commentary with the same name for his own *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*.

The main text and the gloss were not written at the same time. Some editions of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* contain a verse at the end stating that the book was completed in the fall of 1534. Even were this verse not genuine, the book must have been written before 1541, since it is quoted in the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* (1.2.72; see Śyāmadāsa 1990) of Rūpa Gosvāmin, finished in that year. The *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* is again mentioned in the commentary to the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (at 11.631). The commentary must thus be younger than the main book.

Now, while *Dig-darśinī-ṭīkā*, as the name states, is a brief gloss, and while it is not very original (many of the glosses on verses from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* are only expanded versions of the famous *Bhāgavata* commentary of Śrīdhara; cf. 1.30–32), what is important is that in some ways it differs from the main text. The main text

places little emphasis on many things considered to be fundamentals of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism (for reasons we shall see shortly), such as the position of Rādhā, while the commentary as often as possible dwells on them (e.g. 16.199–203). In a few places it disagrees with the main text (e.g. 13.52), and sometimes it gives several alternative interpretations (e.g. 14.336, 344). The commentary also often quotes verses that very well could have been included in the main text (e.g. 14.182, 15.202, 15.214) had the author found the need for that while later reviewing the text. A separate commentator, however, would of course not add verses to a text written by someone else, but supply them in the commentary.

Thus, my conclusion is that the text was indeed written by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin, while the commentary was written by Sanātana Gosvāmin some ten years later. But why did Jīva Gosvāmin then ascribe the whole *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* to Sanātana? There are at least two possible scenarios. The first is that Jīva Gosvāmin disliked Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, perhaps since he was a Southerner, and tried to minimise his contribution to the new *saṃpradāya* Jīva Gosvāmin was so instrumental in creating by attributing his book to Sanātana Gosvāmin instead. There is no clear evidence for such a rift, but it is a fact that even while referring to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Jīva Gosvāmin never mentions his name in his own writings.⁹ Also, as several stories in the hagiographies make clear, Jīva Gosvāmin was a man of strong self-confidence, who sometimes got into conflicts with other Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas.¹⁰

The other alternative is that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, out of some kind of extreme Vaiṣṇava humility, asked Jīva Gosvāmin not to be named as the author of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*. The *Bhakti-ratnākara* (1.122–124) mentions that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa asked Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja not to mention him in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*,¹¹ and it makes clear that he was greatly respected by Jīva Gosvāmin (4.374–389). As S.K. De has pointed out (1990: xliii), the *Bhakti-ratnākara* was written by a person coming in the *parivāra* or disciplic succession of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, so it might have exaggerated his position. But also other sources (e.g. PV 160–161) mention that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa had a high position amongst the Gosvāmins, and that Jīva and others would send their students to him for initiation.¹² Because of

9 Cf. TS 4, where he mentions “a bhaṭṭa from the South”.

10 See, for example, the story of how he angered Rūpa Gosvāmin by arguing with Vallabha Bhaṭṭa (BR 5.1626–1673), or how he got into a conflict with Hṛdayānanda Gosvāmin over Śyāmānanda (BR 6.14–62). For a summary of the story and a discussion, see Broo 2003: 141–145.

11 Kṛṣṇadāsa does mention Gopāla Bhaṭṭa a few times, generally together with the other five Gosvāmins, but also as an “excellent branch of the Caitanya tree” (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* 1.10.105).

12 Cf. PV: 58–59, 105. This text was written by a person from the group of Nityānanda, who should have been impartial regarding this matter.

the lack of evidence for any conflict between Jīva and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmins, I find this second alternative more reasonable.

However, it is said *nāsav ṛṣir yasya mataṃ na bhinnam*, so I guess I should venture a speculation of my own, just as my predecessors in this area have. In that case, I would suggest the following. The colophon of the text itself ends each chapter by stating *iti bhagavad-bhakti-vilāse* and so on. However, since the time of Jīva Gosvāmin, everyone has known the book under the name *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*. Perhaps the combination of the text itself and the commentary, the *Dig-darśinī-ṭīkā*, came to be seen as an inseparable pair, and even given a modified name, to contrast it with reading the text without the added benefit of the gloss. The work of Sanātana, being so much more explicitly Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava, was seen by Jīva Gosvāmin and others as more important, leading to associating the whole “package” with him. This conjecture is supported by the fact that manuscripts of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* practically always seem to be accompanied by the gloss of Sanātana Gosvāmin. In many cases, the gloss does also fill in lacunae left by the text, such as, for example, how to perform initiations or Govinda Dvādaśī (2.35–41, 14.181).

THE PURPOSE OF THE TEXT

Some scholars (e.g. De 1961: 412) have been surprised by how the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* omits to mention many things essential to Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism, such as the joint worship of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. While Caitanya is praised in the beginning verse of each *vilāsa*, not a word is said about worship of him, nor is his mantra mentioned. Sushil Kumar De (1961: 412–413) made much of this, seeing that it is proof of how the Vṛndāvana school of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism resisted the deification of Caitanya that had begun in Bengal and Orissa already during his lifetime, or at least his ritual worship. Perhaps this is so, but I think the explanation is much simpler. Even a casual reading of the text shows that it was clearly not intended only for Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, but as a guidebook for Vaiṣṇavas in the Mathurā area in general. In many places (e.g. 4.175), the reader is asked to proceed according to the rules of one’s particular *saṃpradāya* or group. For this reason, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa avoids things that he believes Vaiṣṇavas from other *saṃpradāyas* would object to or find no need for, such as the ritual worship of Caitanya. The catholic spirit of the book can also be seen from how the author freely quotes or refers to books written by teachers of the Kumāra *saṃpradāya* (such as the *Krama-dīpikā* by Keśava Kaśmīri (Kāśmīrika), the *Śrī saṃpradāya* (such as the *Rahasya-sāra* by Vedānta Deśikā), or even Smārta authors such as Hemādri.

It must also be added that at the time the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* was written, a Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava *saṃpradāya* per se had not yet appeared in Vṛndāvana. In its catholic tendency, the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* is followed by several other of the early texts of the Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins, who clearly desired to fit into a general community of Kṛṣṇa devotees. For example, in his *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* (1.2.269, 309), Rūpa Gosvāmin equates his terms *vaidhī-* and *rāgānugā-sādhana-bhakti* with the terms *maryāda-* and *puṣṭi-mārga* of the Vallabha *saṃpradāya*, and in his drama, the *Lalita-mādhava* (10.37; see Śāstrī 1969), he prays for the benefit of all those who have taken up residence in the land of Mathurā. Such a desire to co-operate with other Vaiṣṇavas is hardly surprising at a time when there were still very few Bengali Vaiṣṇavas in Vṛndāvana.

This does not mean that the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* shows no originality. Rather, it is of particular interest for the study of the development of Vaiṣṇavism, since it comes at a time of great change. It endeavours in every way to conform to orthodoxy – for example, by preserving Vedic elements in such basic rituals as bathing and eating (4.262–272, 9.350–389) – but it also offers a great deal of elaboration on items stressed by Caitanya himself, such as hearing the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (10.375–484). Sometimes these tendencies are difficult to harmonise; for example, while describing the qualifications of a real (*śad*) guru (1.47–55), Gopāla Bhaṭṭa makes clear that he must be a *brāhmaṇa*, something that I have elsewhere (Broo 2003: 115–116) argued that Caitanya would probably not have agreed on, so he adds a caveat: most importantly, the guru must be a Vaiṣṇava.

TEXTS QUOTED IN THE HARI-BHAKTI-VILĀSA

The *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* cites a great number of earlier texts to back up its statements. Comparing the quotations given with the printed texts of modern editions of the books they are ascribed to reveals several interesting things. Let us take two examples.

In the context of describing the ritual morning bath (4.237–280), Gopāla Bhaṭṭa quotes four smṛti texts, four Purāṇas, the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Nārada Pañcarātra*. Of the 31 quoted *ślokas*, 24 can be found (with very minor differences in readings) in published versions of the texts, and two of the missing smṛti references are found in other smṛtis than the ones named, giving the result of 77 percent or 84 percent of the quotations found. On the other hand, while establishing the mandatory nature of the Ekādaśī-vrata (12.3–35), Gopāla Bhaṭṭa

quotes four *smṛtis* and eight *Purāṇas*.¹³ Of the 26 quoted verses, only five (or 19%) are found in the printed versions.

It is unlikely that the reason for this poor result is that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa made up the missing verses himself, since several of them are given in Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (2.15; see Śiromaṇi 1985), written some three hundred years earlier. Even the *ślokas* that cannot be found there contain no special, new information, so it is probable that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa culled them from another text on ritual, hitherto unknown. This is how these authors worked: instead of having all the hundreds of texts they quoted in a massive library, they would give them on the authority of earlier writers, adding perhaps a few to support their own angle on the subject at hand. If, for example, Hemādri then mistakenly would have ascribed a *śloka* to the *Brahmā Purāṇa* instead of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, so would all those following him. For this reason, a common verse index to all the *Purāṇas* would be a very useful desideratum for *Purāṇic* scholars.

More research remains to be done in this regard, namely, which were the texts that Gopāla Bhaṭṭa based his work on? The Gosvāmins were not shy to take over earlier texts and give them a new, "Kṛṣṇaized" slant. After all, they must have reasoned, why reinvent the wheel?¹⁴

Still, some texts stand out. Every quote from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* can be found in modern editions, as well as almost every one from the *Kūrma Purāṇa*. The *Skanda Purāṇa* is often quoted, but apparently from a slightly different version than the modern "vulgate", since about half of the texts are found, following no apparent logic. For example, while dealing with Prabodhanī Dvādaśī (16.275–292), the author quotes eight verses that can be found (*Skanda Purāṇa* 2.4.33.1–8), followed by ten more that cannot. The same applies to the *Padma Purāṇa*, leading to the doubt that whenever authors encountered unspecified *Purāṇic* references, they would ascribe them to either of these two books, since both are so huge that no one can remember everything they contain.

The *Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa* is in a class of its own. It is fairly frequently quoted, but not a single quote can be traced to the printed edition. Since the printed version does contain much that instead could have been quoted, it is obvious that we are dealing with two texts with nothing else in common than the name.

13 Gopāla Bhaṭṭa also quotes four *ślokas* from the the *Sanat-kumāra-saṅghitā* and the *Viṣṇu-rahasya*, but since I have not been able to consult these books, I have left these *ślokas* out of the calculation above.

14 Of the *kārikās* of Rūpa Gosvāmin's NC, almost all are culled verbatim from earlier texts. See Broo 2000.

CONCLUSION

I have approached the old question regarding the authorship of the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* in a new way: by comparing the main text with its gloss, the *Dig-darśinī-ṭīkā*. As I have shown, this comparison makes it clear that they were written by two different persons: the text itself by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin, and the gloss by Sanātana Gosvāmin. Perhaps on the insistence of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa himself, or because the original text was eclipsed by Sanātana's later commentary, some later authors downplayed his role. I have also argued that the peculiar nature of the text as seemingly not following all the doctrines of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism stems from its not being intended as a code of ritual for a new sect, but rather for Vaiṣṇavas in the Mathurā area in general.

I have also taken a look at the texts quoted in the work and noted, among other things, that both the *Skanda Purāṇa* and *Padma Purāṇa* seem to be given as convenient sources for unspecified Purāṇic passages, or alternatively that the editions of them current in the Mathurā area in the sixteenth century were somewhat different than the current ones. As other scholars have noted, what we today know as the *Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa* is a completely revamped version of the one still in use at this time.

All in all, the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* is an under-researched text that offers many challenges to the scholar, and especially so for those interested in the development of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism. It is my hope that in the future I will be able to more fully delve the matters briefly stated above.

ABBREVIATIONS OF PRIMARY SOURCES

- BRS *Śrī Śrī Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu of Rūpa Gosvāmī*. Ed. Śyāmadāsa. Vṛndāvana: Vrajagaurava Prakāśana, 1990.
- BR *Śrī Śrī Bhaktiratnākara of Narahari Cakravartī*. Ed. Bhakti Śrīrūpa Bhāgavata Mahārāja. Calcutta: Gauḍīya Mission, 1987.
- CC *Śrī Caitanya-caritāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja Gosvāmī, with the original Bengali text, Roman transliterations, synonyms, translation and elaborate purports*. Vols I–XVII. Ed. [with English translation] Swami A.C. Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada. Los Angeles: The Bhaktivedānta Book Trust, 1974–1975.
- HBV *Śrī Haribhaktivilāsaḥ*. Vols I–II. Ed. Haridāsa Śāstrī. Vṛndāvana: Śrī Gadādhara-gaurahari Press, 1986.
- PV *Prema Vilāsa of Nityānanda Dāsa*. Ed. Dr. Bijan Gosvāmī. Calcutta & Maheśa, 1999.
- TS *Śrī Tattva-sandarbhā of Jīva Gosvāmin*. Ed. [with three commentaries and a Hindi translation] Haridāsa Śāstrī. Vṛndāvana: Śrī Gadādhara-gaurahari Press, 1983.

REFERENCES

- BROO, Māns 2000. *Śrī Nāṭaka-candrikā av Rūpa Gosvāmī*. Unpublished C/D paper in Indology. Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- BROO, Māns 2003. *As Good as God: The Guru in Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism*. Turku: Åbo Akademi University Press.
- CHAKRABARTY, Ramakanta 1985. *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal 1486–1900*. Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar.
- DĀSA, Bhṛgumuni 2001. *Dearest to Viṣṇu: Ekādaśī and Dvādaśī According to the Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*. Porvoo: ATP.
- DE, Sushil Kumar 1961. *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal: From Sanskrit and Bengali Sources*. 2nd edn. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay.
- DE, Sushil Kumar 1990. *The Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta of Lilāśuka*. With the commentaries of Gopālabhaṭṭa, Caitanyadāsa and Kṛṣṇadāsakavirāja. New Delhi: Navrang.
- ELKMAN, Stuart Mark 1986. *Jīva Gosvāmin's Tattvasandarbhā: A Study of the Philosophical and Sectarian Development of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Movement*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- HABERMAN, David L. 1988. *Acting as a Way of Salvation*. Oxford: OUP.
- KAPOOR, O.B.L. 1995. *The Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana*. New Delhi: Sarasvatī Jayārī Classics.
- MCDANIEL, June 1989. *The Madness of the Saints: Ecstatic Religion in Bengal*. Chicago: UCP.
- ŚĀSTRĪ, Babūlal Śūkla (ed.) 1969. *Lalita-mādhava-nāṭaka of Rūpa Gosvāmī*. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office.
- SEN, Dinesh Chandra 1917. *Vaiṣṇava Literature of Bengal*. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press.
- ŚĪROMAṆĪ, Paṇḍita Bharatacandra (ed.) 1985. *Caturvargacintāmani of Hemādri*, Vol. II, Part 1. Varanasi: Chaukhambha Sanskrit Sansthan.

SVACCHANDABHAIRAVA: THE SPONTANEOUS WILL OF ŚIVA

Advaitavadini Kaul

Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts

In the Kashmir Śaiva tradition, the concept of *svacchandabhairava* conveys the meaning of the blissful spontaneous will of the deity (i.e. Śiva). It is spontaneous activity because there is no motive on the part of Śiva in creation. It is the fullness of bliss that overflows in His creative activity. Svacchandabhairava is therefore the spontaneous will that is the state of desirelessness; in other words, it is a state of perfect bliss.

Like the Vedas, all the Śaivāgamas are regarded to exist eternally. The *Svacchandatantra*, along with the *Netratantra* and the *Mālinīvijayatantra*, are regarded as authorities on the Pratyabhijñā philosophy of Kashmir Śaivism. As the *Netratantra* draws upon the Mṛtyuñjaya mantra from the Vedas, along with its merits, the *Svacchandatantra* draws upon the Aghora mantra and the ways of attendance upon the deity. It delineates the inner and the outer worship. The impact of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda* and the *Pāśupata sūtras* on this text is clearly seen. It does not negate the philosophies of Sāṅkhya-yoga, Pāñcarātra, or the Vedas for that matter. Rather, it is an extension of these philosophies.

The *Svacchandatantra* is described as the *Catuṣpīṭhamāhātāntra* in its text,¹ which means that it is the source of the fourfold knowledge conveyed through the four *piṭhas* (courses) of the tantra as *vidyā*, *mantra*, *maṇḍala*, and *mudrā*. Each of the *piṭhas* is fully described in the fifteen chapters of the text.

It is believed that all the Śaivāgamas were revealed by Śiva himself in the form of Svacchandabhairava, also known as Aghoreśa or Bahurūpa. In the form of Svacchandabhairava, Śiva appeared with five faces and eighteen arms. His five faces came into manifestation through his five great energies, namely, *citta śakti* (all Consciousness), *ānanda śakti* (all Bliss), *icchā śakti* (all Will), *jñāna śakti* (all Knowledge), and *kriyā śakti* (all Action). The five faces through which these energies appeared are known as Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, and Aghora

¹ शतकोटिप्रविस्तीर्णभेदानन्त्यविसर्पितम्।
चतुष्पीठमहातन्त्रचतुष्टयफलोदयम्॥ (1.5)



Svachandabhairava

because the grace (*anugraha*) of Lord Śiva experienced the sensation of illuminating the universe (Lakshman Jee 1991).

My presentation on the form of Svachchandabhairava is based on a beautiful painting of the deity belonging to our family, which is dated somewhere to the 1890s.

It is drawn on an oval-shaped background. The oval shape appears to represent the concept of the *liṅga* that holds the whole universe within it.² The *liṅga* in the painting is differently shown by different colours in four spaces. The grey space at the bottom represents the *pātālaloka*. Above the grey is the green colour with small golden dots in circular designs representing the *pr̥thivīloka*. Deep blue colour represents the *dyuloka*, and on the top the small space in light blue and white represents the state of transcendence.

My search for getting explanations to various attributes of the deity led me to the *Svacchandabhairavatantra*, and I was overwhelmed to find therein a description that is quite in accordance with my painting. Accordingly, the details are summarized below.

The concept of the deity (i.e. Svachchandabhairava) is described in the *Svacchandantantra* (Chapter 2, *śloka*s 88–96).³ Kṣemarāja has explained the same at length in his commentary of the tantra. The image of Svachchandabhairava has been conceived with three eyes, which represent the three levels of contemplation, namely, *parā*, *aparā*, and *parāparā*. The locks of the deity are tied at the top like beautiful crowns with the radiance of “free will” represented by a *prabhāmaṇḍala* (halo) behind each head. The deity is described as emitting the light of a thousand moons, which denotes beauty par excellence. The half-moon on five foreheads represents the first of the sixteen *kalās* of the *candra* (moon), known as *amṛtakalā*, that fills the whole universe with its soothing light. As already noted above, the tantra says that the five faces represent the five subtle forms known as the *citta*, *ānanda*, *icchā*, *jñāna*, and *kriyā* of the Viśālākṣa (i.e. the one who is wide-eyed). The wide-eyed one is explained as one who looks outside and who also can be seen in one’s own inner self. He is beyond creation and dissolution. The adornment of the deity with garlands of snakes, gems, and

2 The concept of *liṅga* is very significant to Śaivas in general. In Kashmir, the Śaivas put the *tilaka* mark on their forehead in the *liṅga* shape.

3 । त्रिपञ्चनयनदेवजटामुकुटमण्डितम् ।।
चन्द्रकोटिप्रतीकाशंचन्द्रार्धकृतशेखरम् । पञ्चवक्त्रं विशालाक्षसर्पगोनासमण्डितम् ।।
वृश्चिकैरग्नवर्णाभै हरिणतुविराजितम् । कपालमालाभरणखड्गखेटकधारिणम् ।।
पाशाङ्गशधरदेवशरहस्तपिनाकिनम् । वरदाभयहस्तचमुण्डखट्वाङ्गधारिणम् ।।
वीणाडमरुहस्तचघण्टाहस्तत्रिशूलिनम् । वज्रदण्डकृताटोपं पुरश्वायुधहस्तकम् ।।
मुद्गरेणविचित्रेणवर्तुलेनविराजितम् । सिंहचर्मपरीधानंगजचर्मोत्तरीयकम् ।।
अष्टादशभुजदेवनीलकण्ठसुतेजसम् । (2.88cd–94ab)

corals of red colour represent the three *pāśas* (bindings) known as *māyīya*, *kārma*, and *āṇava*. These *pāśas* undertake the play of disconnecting and connecting the *jīvas* with the Supreme Śiva. The *kapālamālā* (garland of skulls) denotes that the entire universe is not different from His body, and thus it is represented as an ornament, as against a covering. The eighteen arms of the deity represent His threefold power as *icchā*, *jñāna*, and *kriyā*. Each of these three *śaktis* have three levels, known as gross, subtle, and beyond, making a total of nine *śaktis*. These nine *śaktis* work further at two levels each (i.e. subtle and gross), thus making a total of eighteen *śaktis*, which are represented by the eighteen arms of the deity. The objects held in each hand of the eighteen arms, starting from the top of each side respectively, are described by Kṣemarāja as follows:

1. *Khaḍga* (sword) represents the power of knowledge, for it cuts all bonds (*pāśas*).
2. *Khetaka* (shield) is the power of knowledge for it creates confidence in the *bhaktas* (devotees) and removes the fear of *samsāra*.
3. *Pāśa* (the binding cord) has the capacity of releasing [the *jīva* in] *samsāra* from the threefold bindings (*pāśas*).
4. *Añkuśa* (the elephant goad) goads [the *jīva* in] *samsāra* towards Him.
- 5–6. *Śara* (arrow) and *pināka* (bow) break the cycle of birth and death.
7. *Varada hasta* (hand conferring a boon) represents blissful life in this world.
8. *Abhaya hasta* (protection-granting hand) represents *mokṣa* (release) from birth and death.
9. *Muṇḍa* (skull) represents the *māyā* and He removes the veil of *māyā* as it is under His control.
10. *Khatvāṅga* (a sort of club made of the forearm or leg of a cart, to the end of which a human skull is attached), representing the world in the form of a skull attached to consciousness, thus has no real existence.
- 11–13. *Viṇā* (lute), *ḍamaru* (small drum), and *ghaṅṭā* (bell) represent the wonders of *svaras* (sound) in the form of *mandra* (low), *tāra* (high), and *madhya* (middle) *svaras* denoting *samsāra* with different varieties of sounds. This means that He has the power of hearing, grasping and identifying all sorts of sounds emanating from this world.
14. *Triśūla* (trident) represents the three powers of *icchā*, *jñāna*, and *kriyā* together standing on the *daṇḍa* (stick) that represents the power of “free will”. By this He removes the three *pāśas*.

15. *Vajra* (thunderbolt) shape is made up of two similar limbs, each having three claws resembling the claws of birds, and both of its parts are connected together by a handle in the middle. Here the three upper claws are explained as representing the three *śaktis* and the three lower claws as representing the three *eṣanīs* (thunders) which are to be overcome. All these six powers are under His control.
16. *Daṇḍa* (stick) along with *śakti* (in female form) denotes the supreme law that controls this universe.
17. *Paraśu* (battleaxe) represents Him in the form of *nāda śakti* (all-pervading sound).
18. *Mudgara* (mace) represents his *bindu śakti* that destroys all differentiations (i.e. when we concentrate on an object we become one with it).

The deity wears a lower garment of *śimha carma* (tiger skin) and an upper garment of *gaja carma* (elephant skin). The *śimha* represents the expansion of five faces in the form of Vidyā, Īśvara, Sadāśiva, Śakti and Śiva. The *carma* means 'to overpower', which is the nature of *śimha*. The elephant represents the *mayā śakti* that envelops the entire world. Since this *mayā svarūpa* is attached to *citta svarūpa* (represented by *śimha carma*), the *citta svarūpa* destroys the *mayā svarūpa* of *gaja carma*.

The contemplation on each face is explained as follows.⁴

1. The uppermost face known as Īśāna should be contemplated as being of pure white colour, like *sphaṭika* (crystal).
2. The face towards the east is known as Tatpuruṣa and it has *pītavarṇa* (golden colour).
3. The face to the south is called Aghora. It is *nīlavarṇa* (blue colour).
4. The face looking towards the west is Sadyojāta. It has off-white colour, like the light of the moon.
5. The face looking towards the north is Vāmadeva and has red colour, like that of the pomegranate flower or the colour of *kumkuma*.

The deity is also described as held upon the shoulders of a human form which resembles the main deity in several respects. It has three eyes, a similar lower garment, and snake ornaments. The tantra says that this human form represents the seat of the deity known as Anantapīṭha. It is not other than Śiva Himself and is therefore called Ananta (all-pervading). The *pīṭha* is also described as the best

4 । ऊर्ध्वक्त्रं महेशानिस्फटिकाभविचिन्तयेत् ।।
 आपीतं पूर्ववक्त्रं तु नीलोत्पलदलप्रभम् । दक्षिणं तु विजानीयाद्दामं चैव विचिन्तयेत् ।।
 दाडिमीकुसुमप्रख्यं कुङ्गमोदकसनिभम् । चन्द्रार्बुदप्रतीकाशं पश्चिमं तु विचिन्तयेत् ।। (2.94cd-96)

of all *advās* (courses or paths) to reach the highest state of transcendence. The four arms of the Anantapīṭha represent the four legs of the seat:⁵

1. *Dharma* representing the direction of *āgneya* (southeast).
2. *Jñāna* representing the direction of *naiṛta* (southwest).
3. *Vairāgya* representing the direction of *vāyu* (northwest).
4. *Aiśvarya* representing the direction of *īśana* (northeast).

In between are the four directions of east, south, west and north, which represent *adharma*, *ajñāna*, *avairāgya*, and *anaīśvarya*.

Thus, the highest philosophy of Kashmir Śaiva tradition has been beautifully conceived in the concept represented by this form of Śiva known as Svachandabhairava. The meditation on this deity remained quite prevalent in Kashmir till the nineteenth century, as is evident from the existence of a large number of such *dhyāna* paintings of the deity, owned by most of the Kashmiri Pandit families, which have now become objects of adornment in most cases. It is time to revitalize our rich cultural heritage, which valued each aspect of our day-to-day life so well.⁶

REFERENCES

- BÄUMER, Bettina Sharada & Hamsa STANTON (eds) 2018. *Tantrapuṣpāñjali: Tantric Studies in Memory of Pandit H.N. Chakravarty*. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, Aryan Books International.
- LAKSHMAN JEE, Swami 1991. *Kashmir Saivism: The Secret Supreme*. New Delhi: Satguru Publications.
- The Svachandatantra with Udyota of Kṣemarāja*, Vols I–IV, edited by Madhusudan Kaul Śāstrī, 1886 (reprint). Delhi: Sanskrit Gian Sansthan.

5 । धर्मज्ञानंचवैराग्यमैश्वर्यचक्रमात्रयसेत् ॥
सितरक्तपीतकृष्णाआग्नेय्यादीशादिगताः । पादकाः सिंहरूपास्ते त्रिनेत्राभीमविक्रमाः ॥ (2.61cd–62)

6 Addendum: A further study on this topic is published in Bäumer & Stainton 2018: 34–66.

A TREATMENT OF HINDU ELEMENTS IN THE *VIMALAPRABHĀ*

Kameshwar Nath Mishra

Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies

Kalki Puṇḍarīka (KP),¹ while presenting the *Laghubkālacakratantra* (LKCT) principles in his *Vimalaprabhā*, resolves to repudiate the heretic views as well.² The main heretics have been counted by him under the *caryādharma* of a yogin. These are *snātakah*, *brāhmaṇah*, *kāpālin*, *luptakeśah*, *sitapaṭah*, *kṣetrapālah*, *kaulaḥ*, *maunī*, *unmattarūpaḥ*, *paṇḍitaḥ*, and *chātra*.³ In the LKCT (2.7.161–180), philosophical schools have been discussed and condemned or established accordingly.⁴ In addition to the above, titles, texts or doctrines like *āptāgama*, *kālottara*, *vedāntasiddhānta*, *Gītā*, *dharmaśāstra*, *Purāṇas*, *brahmasiddhānta*, *brahmamata*, *brahmarṣi*, *brāhmaṇavacana*, *bhasmeśvara*, *bhārata*, *bhūtatantra*, *mānavadharmā*, *mārkaṇḍeyakāvya*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Vālmīkikāvya*, *Vāsiṣṭha*, *Viṣṇudharma*, *Vedas*, *śuka* (*śukra*), *śivamata*, *śābdavādī*, *Vyāsakāvya*, *Vyāsa*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *vaiṣṇavamata*, *Vedānta*, *vedavacana*, *Sūryasiddhānta*, *smṛti*, *Gāruḍatantra*, *R̥gveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Kāśmīramata*, *kulasūtra*, *kulāgama*, and so forth have been referred at places in the body of the *Vimalaprabhā*. All of these are non-Buddhist ones. Except for the doctrines and sources of the Cārvākas and Jainas, the titles, texts, or doctrines referred to above may be put under one class, namely, the Vedic, as they accept the validity of the vast Vedic lore comprising the Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads, Vedāṅgas, *itihāsa*, *Purāṇas*, *smṛti*, *sūtras*, the Trimuni school of grammar, and the various tantric texts as well. All the concepts based on this vast literature have been known as the *vaidikadharmā* (alias *sanātanadharmā*), later denominated as *Hindū dharmā*. For me, herein the term *Hindū element* means the points relating to the vast and vivid Vedic tradition. Here the word *Hindu* has nothing to do with its etymological meaning (i.e. living in Hind (India)) and the

1 This paper is based on the text published by the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (CIHTS), Sarnath, Varanasi, Vol. I (1986), Vol. II (1994) & Vol. III (1994).

2 *teṣām eva kubuddhidoṣamathanī ṭikā mayā likhyate* (LKCTTV 1.1.31).

3 *bauddhaḥ śaivo’tha nagno bhagava iti tathā snātako brāhmaṇo vā kāpāli luptakeśo bhavatu sitapaṭah kṣetrapālas tu kaulah / maunī conmattarūpo’py akaluṣahḍayaḥ paṇḍitas chātra eva yogī siddarthahetoḥ sakalaguṇanidhir labdhatattvo narendra //* (LKCT 3.169; II, 130.)

4 See Mishra 2001: 135–142.

concepts relating to him/her. The Buddhist term *tīrthika*⁵ is the best synonym for it, as KP at places uses this name very frequently for different tenets, precepts, or doctrines of the schools accepting the authority of the Vedas.

The many interesting elements – like numbers and kinds of alphabets, numeric expressions, *pīṭhas*, *upapīṭhas*, gods or deities, *ḍākinīs*, *yakṣiṇīs*, *maṇḍalas*, the names and numbers of *nāḍīs*, the number of the *svaras* and their relation with days, the sun and moon, letters, planets, *rāsīs*, the position of Meru, *lokas*, the unification of *prajñā* and *upāya* with Śakti and Śiva, the emergence of objects from the elements, the names, forms and positions of vital air in the body, zodiacal positions and their results, and so forth – dealt herewith in the *Vimalaprabhā* are common to the Hindu and Buddhist traditions both, and they require an exhaustive, comparative, and critical study in independent papers. In the present paper, I propose to shed light on such Hindu points which have either been presented by KP quite differently, condemned outright, accepted as such or interpreted afresh.

It is marked everywhere in the *Vimalaprabhā* that KP deals with the points as a very staunch and strict Mādhyamika of the tantric school and condemns even his sister institutions Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, and Yogācāra at places. He runs the Hindu views through the tantric Mādhyamaka filter and very logically deviates from or establishes his views.

Though the number and form of vowels and consonants read in the *Māheśvarasūtras* by Pāṇini, a Vedicist, have sometimes dealt with some difference in Hindu *mantraśāstra* by lengthening *ḷkāra* and so forth, yet KP, on the basis of Cāndra grammar, very boldly rejects the classification of vowels by Pāṇini. He maintains that *e*, *o*, *ai*, and *au* occurring in the 3rd and 4th *Māheśvarasūtras* are mere *sandhyakṣaras* of *i* and *u*; likewise *ṛ* and *ḷ* are not different from them on the basis of the *guṇabhāva*. Therefore, he finds Pāṇini's reading incorrect. KP says that reading the *sūtras* in Pāṇinian style is just the common usage of the innocent or the fool.⁶ KP goes further, quoting Candra, a Buddhist grammarian, and concludes with the rules of *Mañjuśrīvyākaraṇa*, proving that the latter's classification suits the tantric origin of the gross elements.⁷ This stand by KP establishes his firm conviction in the Buddhist tantric tradition, on one hand, and on the other

5 LKCTTV, I, 50, 77, 78; II, 130; III, 44, 86.

6 *a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ* iti svayambhuvoktaṃ *a i u ṛ ḷ g* iti (Śi. Sū. 1–2) *pratyābhāragrahaṇāt. 'e o ṅ ai au e'* (Śi. Sū. 3–4) *iti pāṭhāt sandhyakṣarau ikāra-ukārayor guṇau, 'ṛko' ṅo ralaui'* (Cā. Vyā. 1.1.15) *iti sūtrat. ṛ ḷ napuṃsakau [puna akau] na syātām, ṛkāra-ḷkāryor api guṇataḥ ikārādīnaṃ viśeṣābhāvāt, tasmāt 'a i u ṛ; ṛ ḷ k, e, o, ṅ' iti bālānāṃ lokarūdbhiḥ. guṇayāṅor utpādāt 'a i u ṛ, ṛ ḷ k' iti nyāyāḥ, 'iko yaṅ aci' (Pāṇini Sūtra 6.1.77) iti viśeṣāt, ako'ki dīrghaḥ* (Cā. Vyā. 5.1.106), *'ako' ki ity eva suvacam* (Si. Kau., p. 22), *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* (6.1.101, *iti sūtraṣyopari*) *iti jñāpakāt.*

7 *ādau ye svarās te svayambhuvā vyākṛtāḥ, samānarūpās te cākāśādīprakṛtīvaśād yathasamkhyayā Mañjuśrīyā svalikhitavyākaraṇe. a i u (ṅ) ṛ ḷ [k] iti ākāśa-vāyu-tejauḍaka- pṛthvīsvabhāvā*

suggests a new area for studies in the field of the origin and gradual development of grammatical elements in Pāṇinian and Buddhist texts of grammar, especially those extant in Tibetan translations in different versions. The *Mañjuśrīvyaākaraṇa* is noted in the catalogues of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka (i.e. Tanjur and Kanjur).⁸

According to Pāli sources, Buddha discouraged the use of the Chāndas⁹ language and asked the disciples to adopt their own dialects (*sakāya nirutti*).¹⁰ KP repeatedly proves the propriety of the non-classical nature of the language of the *sūtras* extant in Prākṛta, Māgadha, or Apabhraṃsa¹¹ dialects and rejects the validity of *devabhāṣa*¹² for sermons. While Candrakīrti¹³ maintains the usage of non-grammatical words in the *sūtras* on the basis of Pāṇini calling them *ārṣaprayogas*,¹⁴ KP advances the logic that the Buddha was omniscient (*sarvajña*) and therefore had the prerogative to use all the languages of all the sentient beings. His views are in full accordance with the lines of the *Bhadracarī*.¹⁵ KP also describes the salient features of the language of the Buddhas that no agreement of number, gender, person, case, *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* verbs, conjugations, derivations, tenses, and so forth is required.¹⁶ As far as I know, this is the first description of the nature of the language of the Buddhist *sūtras* in Sanskrit. The reason behind such usages, he points out, is to remove the complex of clan, knowledge, and use of good words. Other devices of such a type should also be adopted. Relying on the authority of meaning, teachings of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas may be adopted through the languages of different regions and the dialects following other grammars.¹⁷

yathākramam, tathā a e ara (r), o, ala (l) ca ha ya ra va la ṭa (ṭ) tathā Mañjuśrīyā nirdiṣṭāḥ guṇayaṇādeśataḥ sva-sva-prakṛtisvabhāvāvśrayaṇād.

8 Tohoku Catalogue, Nos 4280, 4281, 4290–4291.

9 Lamotte 1988: 552–553.

10 Lamotte 1988: 552–553.

11 LKCTTV, I, 31–32, 34, 40–41.

12 LKCTTV 5.1.71, 96–97; I, 5, *ślokas* 36–38; II, 149, *ślokas* 1, 3: *devabhāṣā na ca syāt*; III, 38, 49; Tillemans 1990: 117–118, 235–236.

13 *Catuhśatakavṛtti* 12.12.

14 On the basis of *supaṇi sulukpūrvasavarṇāccheyāḍādyāyājālaḥ* (VII.1.39) and *sambuddhau śākaḥyasy etāv anārṣe* (Pāṇini Sūtra 1.1.16).

15 Cf. *Bhadracarīpranīdhānarāja, gāthā* no. 18.

16 *teṣāṃ ca saśabdavādināṃ suśabdagrāhavināśāya arthaśaraṇatām āśrītya kvacid avṛtte'paśabdāḥ; kvacid vṛtte yatibhaṅgaḥ, kvacid avibhaktikaṃ padam, kvacid varṇasvaralopaḥ, kvacid vṛtte dīrgho hrasvaḥ, hrasvo'pi dīrghaḥ, kvacit pañcamyartho saptamī, caturthyartho ṣaṣṭhī, kutracit parasmaipadīni dībhātāv ātmanepadam, ātmanepadīni parasmaipadam, kvacid ekavacane bahuvacanam, bahuvacane ekavacanam, pulliṅge napuṃsakam, napuṃsake pulliṅgam, kvacit tālavyaśakāre dantyaṃmūrdhanyau, kvacin mūrdhanye dantyaṃtālavyaṃ, kvacid dantye tālavyaṃmūrdhanyau. evam anye'py anusartavyāḥ tantradeśakopadeśeneti* (LKCTTV, I, 29).

17 *atha yena yena prakāreṇa kula-vidyā-suśabdābhīmānakṣayo bhavati, tena tena prakāreṇa arthaśaraṇatām āśrītya buddhānāṃ bodhisattvānāṃ dharmadeśanā deśabhāṣāntareṇa śabdaśāstrabhāṣāntareṇa mokṣārtham* (LKCTTV, I, 30).

The LKCT presents a very strange and unique origin of the Vedas, the *kaula*, *gāruḍa* and *bhūtatantras*, *viṣṇudharma*, *sadyojāta*, *vāmadeva*, *aghora*, *īśāna*, *brahmā*, *kṛta*, *tretā*, *dvāpara*, and *kali*, and so forth from different mouths and fore- and hindparts of the body of the Buddha.

ṛgvedam paścimāsyād api gadati yajur vāmaktrāj jinendraḥ
savyāsyāt sāmavedam paramaharikule' tharvaṇam pūrvavaktrat /
pūrvāsyāt kaulatantram punar aparamukhād gāruḍam bhūtatantram
siddhāntam vāmaktrād udayaravinibhād viṣṇudharman ca savyāt //

prṣṭhāt sadyo nivṛtiḥ paramasīvamukhād vāmadevapraṭiṣṭhā
savyād vidyāt tv aghoraḥ punar anilamukhān mārutabrahmaśāntyau /
śūnyāsyāt śūnya-īśaḥ tribhuvanapatinā sphāritā laikikārtham
*kṛtatretādvaparam vai kaliyugam aparam prṣṭhavaktrādibhedāt //*¹⁸

Neither the Pāli nor other Sanskrit Buddhist sources give the origin of the Hindu canonical literature and religio-philosophical schools from the mouth of *jinendra* (i.e. Buddha). It appears to be an imitation of the emergence of the Hindu scriptures from the breath of the Supreme Self (=Brahman) as described in the Upaniṣads,¹⁹ and also the emergence of the worldly varieties from the mouth or organs of *yajñapurusa*, as described in the *Puruṣasūkta* of the *Ṛgveda* (x.90). It is also on the analogy of preaching the Buddhist tenets by Viṣṇu (through the ninth incarnation as the Buddha) to mislead the *daityas*.²⁰ However, such a statement has not been made here that the non-Buddhist literature emerged to misguide the Vedicists. It is because Buddha is omniscient; therefore, he is expected to produce heretic literature also, which might be worthless and useless for Buddhists. Such a description also shows the might of the Buddha, parallel to Viṣṇu's. KP finds verses 48–63 easy to understand (= *subodhāni*); therefore, he does not comment on them in his *Vimalaprabhā*. Points would have been clearer had he made some comments on these verses.

KP vehemently attacks Manu's theory "that all the Vedas are the root of *dharmā*"²¹ and condemns the authority of the Vedas and the following literature, like *itihāsa*, *Purāṇas*, *smṛti*, and so forth. KP establishes his views by

18 LKCT 5.1.49–50 (III, 34).

19 *asya etaśya mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam etad yad ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ*, etc. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* 2.4.10, 4.5.11; *Maitrāyaṇīyopaniṣad* 6.32.

20 *Padma Purāṇam*, *Uttara* 263.69–71.

21 *vedo'khilo dharmamūlam* (*Manusmṛti* 2.6).

declaring the *ṛṣis* devoid of *pañcābhijñas*, and consequently their works, too, as giving very partial and incorrect information: *ṛṣiṇāṃ vasiṣṭhādīnāṃ punaḥ pañcābhijñā nāsti. kasmāt? rāmāyaṇamahābhārataprāmānyāt [...] atah kāraṇāt teṣāṃ jyotiṣābhimateṣāṃ na pañcābhijñābhīr arthadarśanam. tathā purāṇadharmo mithyāpāpamatīnām [...] evaṃ uktakrameṇa purāṇadharmāḥ sarve vṛthā syuḥ [...] ity anyā yukyā vicāryamāṇāni lokapurāṇāni anṛtāni iti.*²² Thus, the contents of the Hindu scriptures are condemned as false and baseless.²³

Following Mañjuśrīyaśas,²⁴ the author of the LKCT, like other Buddhist teachers²⁵ KP criticises the Hindu practices of animal sacrifice, *yajñas* for attaining heaven, funeral rituals, holy baths in the water, and so forth. He also outright rejects the validity of the whole canonical and non-canonical Hindu literature, but to our astonishment there are a few places where verses from Hindu texts have been quoted to support his own establishments. For instance, the *Gītā* (13.13) is quoted to describe the characteristics of a *vajrasattva*.²⁶ The purport of the *Gītāśloka* conforms with the *Ṛgveda* (10.81.3), *Yajurveda* (xxxii.i), and *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (3.3). Even more, in the context of the rituals relating to *vaiśvānaraviśuddhi*, a mantra of the *Ṛgveda* (10.16.9) is quoted as such for support.²⁷ The *yogavāsana* of the LKCT (2.77) is very much like the *ślokas* of the *Gītā* dealing with the condition of a *yogabhraṣṭa* (*Gītā* 6.40–42).

The names and numbers of the *nāḍīs* given by *tīrthikas* have been accepted as such without any comment.²⁸ Such a practice goes well with KP's words: *vistaro'neko'nekapramāṇasāstreṇa madhyamaken nirākaraṇīyas tīrthikānāṃ siddhāntaḥ. yaḥ saṃvṛtyā sambuddhavadānasamaḥ, sa na dūṣaṇīya iti kālacakra ādibuddhabhagavato nīyamaḥ.*²⁹ In the same way, the *rāṣīs*, *grahas*, *nakṣatras*, *prāṇāyama*, and the number of breaths during the day and night are similar to those accepted by Hindu astrologers and the masters of *svarodaya* science, but Mañjuśrīyaśas declares that the great Hindu seers and even Brahmā, Rudra, and other deities could not understand the *Kālacakra* mathematics.³⁰ The length of

22 LKCTTV, III, 94–95.

23 *lakṣmīr uccaiḥśravāśvaḥ suratarugajapaty apsarah kaustubhendupī yūṣāny abdhimathane yadi divi gagane syur baler rājyakāle / candrābhāve na vāras tithaya ṛtugaṇaś cāndhakasyaiva rājye so'pīśārbendulobhān maraṇam upagatas tasya paścād baliḥ saḥ //* (LKCTTV, III, 130–131.)

24 LKCT 5.4.195, 4.5.203–205.

25 *Pramāṇavārtikavṛttiḥ*, 118.

26 LKCTTV, III, 47.

27 LKCTTV, II, 75.

28 LKCTTV, I, 181: *idānīm nāḍīsaṃjña tīrthikasaṃjñābhīr ucyate.*

29 LKCTTV, I, 270.

30 *etat śrīkālacakraṃ grahagaṇasahitaṃ [...] na jñataṃ vītarāgaḥ paramamunikulair brahmarudrādīdevaiḥ* (LKCTTV, I, 122).

life of a person being a hundred years, as maintained by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (2.17.4.19), is condemned, as the meaning cannot be taken as such. KP holds that the shortage or longevity of life depends on one's unauspicious and auspicious deeds, respectively.³¹ KP says that Buddhists need know the principles of astrology of the Brāhma, Sūrya, and Romaka schools just to acquaint themselves with the external world.³² According to him, the doctrines of the heretics have been presented just to make a sarcastic remark and to remove vague concepts.³³ He also adds that the Hindu science of *svarodaya* is invalid because it was initiated by the *Īśvara*, who is devoid of the five *abhijñās*;³⁴ likewise he does not deal with the *rudrodayaniyamas*, as he finds them useless.³⁵ He rejects the common practice of the Hindu astrology, as it is without *abhijñā*.³⁶ KP also repudiates the theory of Hindu *jyotiṣa* that a person enjoys or suffers because of the favour and disfavour of the planets, days, *tithis*, *nakṣatras*, *yoga*, *karaṇa*, *lagna*, and so forth.³⁷ as, according to him such circumstances happen in one's life as the result of one's own virtuous and vicious deeds of past lives.³⁸

In spite of all the similarities in between the Hindu and Kālacakra *jyotiṣa*, there is a fundamental difference. The former holds the favourable and unfavourable incidents in life as the result of the *grahas* being in auspicious or inauspicious positions, while the latter takes them as the result of respective deeds of previous lives. The difference between the Hindu and Buddhist science of the origin of breath (*svarodayaviñāna*) is because of the methodological difference in calculations. One gets five by adding two to three and the other by four to one. The same may be applicable in the case of the *svarodaya* also.

Hindu deities have been placed in a very pitiable plight. The trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśa held as the creator, the protector, and the destroyer respectively in the Purāṇas, and the lord of the gods Indra as well, are found sitting in the assembly, listening to the sermon of the Buddha³⁹ or accompanying Kalki with Skanda, Ganeśa, Aśvatthāmā, Hanumān, and so forth and joining his army, being

31 LKCTTV, I, 109.

32 *tasmād bauddhair bāhyaparijñānārthaṃ brahma-sūrya-yamanaka-romaka-siddhāntāḥ jñātāvyaḥ iti bhagavato nīyamaḥ* (LKCTTV, I, 118).

33 *siddhāntavṛttam idaṃ kaṭākṣārtham uktaṃ lokarūdhikṣayārtham* (LKCTTV, I, 114).

34 LKCTTV, I, 141.

35 LKCTTV, I, 140.

36 LKCTTV, I, 138.

37 LKCTTV, III, 99.

38 LKCTTV, I, 133.

39 *hariharādīnām api buddho bhagavān śāstā sarvajñaḥ* (LKCTTV, I, 40).

under his control for defeating the *mlecchas*,⁴⁰ sometimes watching the directions as *dikpālas* during the *gaṇapūjā*,⁴¹ or being substitutes of some Buddhist deities.⁴² Even more, Īśvara, the almighty omniscient creator of the universe of Hindus, is also condemned⁴³ in very short terms in the line of Dharmakīrti,⁴⁴ Śāntarakṣita,⁴⁵ Ratnakīrti,⁴⁶ Jñānaśrīmitra,⁴⁷ and so forth.

Incarnations of Viṣṇu have been interpreted by KP in quite a different manner, although he takes Viṣṇu as *cittavajradharaviṣṇu* and describes the stages. Following Manjuśrīyaśas, KP explains in his commentary that all the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu – from Kūrma to Kalki – denote the ten stages of the development of a foetus.⁴⁸ He declares that the description of these *avatāras* in the Purāṇas by the wicked *brāhmaṇa ṛṣis* was to delude the innocent leading to Hell: *iba vākye yan matsyādikaṃ purāṇaṃ duṣṭa-brahmarṣibhis tad bālānāṃ vañcanāya narakāvāptihetukam it.*⁴⁹

He also describes that when considered thoroughly, the *purāṇadharmas* are found to be worthless: *purāṇās*, due to deluding innocent ones, are the false words of wicked seers, have no relevant contents, and establish only their *jāti*.⁵⁰ Such an interpretation of the incarnations is quite unique and in vogue only in the Kālacakra tradition. Even at the *ādhyātmika* level, developing stages of a foetus have not been described in such words by Caraka,⁵¹ Suśruta,⁵² or Vāgbhaṭa,⁵³ who are revered as physicians by Buddhists also. It appears that Mañjuśrīyaśas, KP, and others made such remarks to ridicule the Hindu theory of incarnation. Etymological meanings of the words *matsya*, *kūrma*, and so forth are irrelevant in the context of the developing stages of the foetus, nor is there any resemblance

40 *rudraṃ skandaṃ gaṇendraṃ harim api ca sakḥin [...] etat sainyena kallī haribarasahito mlecchanāśaṃ kariṣyat. [...] aśvatthāmā [...] hanūmaṃ sa rūdro [...] putro brahmā sureśaḥ, etc.* (LKCT, I, 154–155).

41 LKCT, I, 38; II, 8, 25, 184, 194, 244.

42 LKCT, II, 100, 194.

43 LKCTTV, III, 71.

44 *Pramāṇavārtikam* 1.12–30.

45 *Tattvasaṅgrahaḥ*, I, śloka 46–93.

46 *Īśvarasādhanaśāstraṃ*, 32–57.

47 *Īśvaravādaḥ*, 233–316.

48 LKCTTV, I, 160.

49 LKCTTV, I, 161.

50 *ataḥ purāṇadharmāḥ nirarthakāḥ vicāryamānā itī [...] etad eva bālānāṃ vyāmohajanakaṃ duṣṭarṣiṇāṃ mithyāvākyaṃ vicāraśūnyaṃ svajātipratiṣṭhāpanārthaṃ* (LKCTTV, III, 97).

51 *Carakasamhita, Śārīrasthāna* 4.9–11, pp. 869–870 in the *Vimarśa* (Chaukhambha Bharati Academy, Varanasi, 9th edn, 1980).

52 *Carakasamhita, Śārīrasthāna* 4.9–11, p. 869 in the *Vimarśa*.

53 *Carakasamhita, Śārīrasthāna* 4.9–11, p. 869 in the *Vimarśa*.

of forms even. At certain stages, resemblances have been shown, but they are not supported by any *āyurvedika* text.

On the conventional mundane level, also the Kālacakra tradition accepts Kalki, because in this form he assimilates all the *varṇas* into one mass and defeats the *mlecchas* with the help of Hari, Hara, and so forth. Therefore, this Kalki is quite different from the tenth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu as held by the Hindus.⁵⁴ KP thinks that the consideration of the *avatāras* as described in the Purāṇas (i.e. Matsya to Kalki) is worthless.⁵⁵ Hindus maintain that the Buddha is the ninth and Kalki the tenth *avatāra* of Vāsudeva. KP⁵⁶ goes on describing the reasons for the incarnation of Buddha, less on the basis of the Purāṇas and more by his own imagination. Some Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata Śāntiparvan* (339.103–104) do not mention Buddha as the incarnation. Of the Purāṇas, the *Brahma* (122.69), *Viṣṇu* (40.22) *Vāyu* (111.27), *Nārada*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Liṅga*, and so forth simply mention his name among the ten without any detailed description. The *Padma*, *Bhāgavata*, *Agni*, *Skanda*, *Bhaviṣya*, and *Brahmāṇḍa* present him with some elaboration⁵⁷ but the words used therein have been twisted by KP in his own favour. The Purāṇas describe the Buddhist doctrines as being taught by Buddha, not as having been given by KP.⁵⁸ There is no mention of initiating or ordaining *śūdras* as renunciates, nor have the *pāramitās* been counted or the ten demerits noted therein. KP adopts *chala*, *vitaṇḍā*, and so forth to present his views as if they were really adopted by Viṣṇu as the Buddha. He does not pass on any remarks after saying *evaṃ buddhāvatāra iti*.⁵⁹

Thus, as a very bitter critic of the Vedic tradition that holds the validity of *varṇa*, *yajña*, and vedic sacrifice of animals,⁶⁰ KP, in full accordance with Mañjuśrīyaśas, the author of the LKCT, condemns other Vedic cults of *tantra*, *jyotiṣa*, *vyākaraṇa*, *rudraniyama*, *svarodaya*, and so forth. This denotes a very

54 LKCT, I, 154–155.

55 *evaṃ matsyādīpurāṇam api kalkiparyantaṃ vicāryamāṇaṃ nirarthakam* (LKCTTV, III, 95).

56 LKCTTV, III, 95–96.

57 The detailed ones are as follows: (a) *daityānāṃ nāśanārthāya viṣṇunā buddharūpiṇā // 69 // bauddhaśāstram asat proktaṃ nagnanūlapatādīkam māyāvādam asac chastram pracchannaṃ bauddham ucyate // 70 // mayaiva kathitaṃ devi kalau brāhmaṇamūrtinā*. (*Padma Purāṇa*, Uttara 263.69–71); (b) *vādair vimohayati yajñakṛto' tadarhān śūdrān kalau kṣitibhujo ny ahanīsyad ante* (*Bhāgavata* 11.4.23); for more details, see *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* 3.1.6.36–42, 4.12.26–29, *Skanda*, *Kumārīkā* 40.256–257, and *Brahmāṇḍa*; see also Bhattacharya 1963, Appendix 4.

58 LKCTTV, III, 95–96.

59 LKCTTV, III, 96.

60 *varṇo yasya pramāṇam bhavati narapate tasya vedah pramāṇam vedo yasya pramāṇam khalu bhuvini nilaye tasya yajñah pramāṇam / yajño yasya pramāṇam vividhapaśunṇaṃ tasya hiṃsa pramāṇam hiṃsa yasya pramāṇam narakabhayakaraṇam tasya paṇam pramāṇam //* (LKCTTV, II, 246; see also I, 221, śloka 96.)

thorough study of KP of the vast Vedic and allied literature. His quotations in the *Vimalaprabhā* from the very important but rarely available texts of a particular tantric or philosophical school bring them to light and scholars get a chance to edit and use them. For instance, KP very often talks of the *kaulamata* (ii.130–131), *kaulatantra* (iii.34), *kapāli* (ii.131), *kāśmīramata* (iii.118), *kulāgama* (iii.145), and *kulasūtra* (iii.147, 148).

This is not the proper place to deal with the form, content, and authenticity of the above *matas* or titles, but it would be relevant to draw attention towards a few texts like the *Kulāgama* and the *Kulasūtra*, which are rarely quoted even. The *Kulāgama* has been referred to by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*⁶¹ as *Śrīratnamālākulāgame*. In his *Śrīvidyārcanacandrikā*,⁶² Śivānanda Bhaṭṭa also quotes from the text. Bhāskararāya also quotes from it in his gloss on the *Lalitāsahasranāma*.⁶³ The word *kulāgama* may be the name of a particular text or class of the texts belonging to the *kaulasampradāya*. From Abhinavagupta's reference, it appears that it is a group to which belongs the *Śrīratnamālā* text. It is still a subject of research. M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj finds that *kulāgama* has been quoted in the *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*, *Kaulikārcanacandrikā*, and Bhāskararāya's *Saubhāgyabhāskara*.⁶⁴ It is to be verified whether the *kaulatantra*'s case also is like that of the *kulāgama*, referred to above. There is a reference⁶⁵ of a *kaulatantra* of four chapters, which deals with Tārā and Kālī. It refers to Buddhadeva and shows Buddhist influence. One *kaulatantra*⁶⁶ is by Tarunīrṣi, the pupil of Narottamāraṇya. As both the texts exist only in manuscript form, it would be a good topic of research; the two are referred to in the *Vimalaprabhā*. The most interesting of such texts is the *Kulasūtra* (iii.147–148) referred to twice by KP.

It appears on the face of things that it should be in aphorisms like the *Yogasūtra*, *Vedāntasūtra*, and so forth, but the quotation shows that the text was written in a large metre like *sragdharā*. It could be still doubtful whether KP quoted the material in his verses. Prof. S.S. Bahulkar, with the help of Dr. Mark S.G. Dyczkowski, found the original Sanskrit verse.⁶⁷ The quotation in the *Vimalaprabhā* was not available in the Sanskrit Ms. but is extant in Tibetan translations. But there emerges a new problem. He writes that the *ślokas* are the benedictory verses (4–6) of the first chapter of the *Cīñcīṇīmatasārasamuccaya*. The problem is, how

61 *Tantrāloka* XI, *Āhnikā* 28.128; Kashmir Sanskrit Texts 65, p. 53.

62 Found only in Ujjain Ms. No. 5611.

63 *Lalitāsahasranāma*, p. 190.

64 *Tāntrika Sāhitya*, p. 146.

65 NCC, V, 112.

66 NCC, V, 112.

67 Bahulkar 1998: 156.

to ascribe it to the *Kulasūtra*? The former text is not an anthology from several works, as may be understood from its title, but an original complete work in twelve *paṭalas*, as pointed out by M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj.⁶⁸ Kaviraj also advances the view that the *Ciñciñimata* was established by Siddhanātha, who was one of the *nāthayogīs*. Now arises the question of whether the *Kulasūtra* and the *Ciñciñimatasārasamuccaya* are two names of the same text. The *Kulasūtra* has also been quoted by Śitikaṇṭha in his gloss on his own *Mahānayaṣā*,⁶⁹ but it requires verification and study.

The quotation in the gloss of Śitikaṇṭha lies in the aphorismistic style in prose and not in verse. Though this is not the same one as quoted by KP, it appears that Śitikaṇṭha's is the original extract from the *Kulasūtra*, while that of the *Vimalaprabhā* may contain the sense of the relevant part of it, which also lies in the *Ciñciñimatasārasamuccaya*. Thus, rare titles quoted by KP, and the quotations as well, require a thorough examination. Such studies may flood fresh light on the obsolete texts of Hindus.

KP's *Laḡhukālacakratantraṭīkā-vimalaprabhā* is exhaustive and helps to understand the very terse text of the *Laḡhukālacakratantra*. It would have been very difficult to understand the verses without this commentary. Through erudition, KP presents the Madhyamaka stand in the *tantra* on one hand and repudiates the heretical views on the other. On some points, he compromises with the Hindus and is found agreeing with their concepts that are condemned earlier. For example, KP criticises the caste system repeatedly but accepts the four *varṇas* while dealing with the kind of soil on the pattern of Mañjuśrīyaśas:⁷⁰ *atra lokasaṃvṛtyā kṣṇavarṇā bhūmīḥ sūdrī, pītā vaiśyā, raktā kṣatriṇī, svetā brāhmaṇī jātiḥ, tathā gandhataḥ pūtigandhā sūdrī, kṣāragandhā vaiśya, padmagandhā kṣatriṇī, divyagandhā brāhmaṇī jātiḥ krameṇa. tathā rasataḥ amlakṣārāsvādena sūdrī, samadhurakaṭuketi madhurāsvādena vidjātiḥ, kaṭukāsvādena nṛpa iti kṣatriṇī, anyo rasas tiktāḥ kaṣāyo dvijātir iti svādato jātiniyamah.*⁷¹ It has also been prescribed that fire for different sacrifices should be brought from the houses of four castes.⁷² Gems also have been categorised after the four castes.⁷³ During *abhiṣekas*, women of four castes are required.⁷⁴ He also had to yield to the names and numbers

68 *Tāntrika Sāhitya*, p. 207.

69 Kas. Text 21, p. 60; NCC, V, 112: *tathā ca kulasūtreṣūktam:*

kulapīṭhakaṣṭrādīvarṇapañcapīṇḍapraṇavavyapadeśyam akhilābhāṣakarūpāyā

abam̐bhāvābhīmatasaṃvidah samāśrayabhūtam ātmāyatanaṃ śarīsam (Śrīmahānayaṣā, p. 60).

70 LKCT 3.1.7.

71 LKCTTV, II, 10.

72 LKCTTV, II, 74.

73 LKCTTV, II, 91.

74 LKCTTV, II, 105, 113–114, 125.

of *rāsīs*, days, number-symbols, practices, and so forth of the Hindus because it was not possible to completely replace all their pre-established customs. As the Buddha himself emerged from the Hindu background, therefore, the background is the same: the same earth, the same atmosphere, the same products, and the same concepts; therefore, the words of Jayantabhaṭṭa⁷⁵ and Vācaspati Miśra,⁷⁶ although said in a different context, prove relevant when they say that Buddhists and so forth also follow the Vedic tradition. It is in this context that KP also agrees happily to yield with the common precepts of Hindus.⁷⁷ Otherwise, where to find a new world, with everything new against that of the Hindus? Even the legendary Viśvāmitra presented his new creations on this very earth. In fact, one inherits the background unknowingly and thereafter establishes his/her findings afresh. So it happened with the Buddha and that tradition. In this way, the encyclopaedic *Vimalaprabhā* of KP extends a vast field for comparative studies.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ca.Vyā/cā.vyā	<i>Cāndra Vyākaraṇa</i>
CIHTS	Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies
CSS	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series
CSSO	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office
ICPR	Indian Council of Philosophical Research
Kas.Text	Kashmir Sanskrit Text Series, Srinagar
KP	Kalki Puṇḍrīka, author of the <i>Vimalaprabhā</i>
KPJRI	Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute
LKCT	<i>Laghukālacakratantra</i> , published with <i>Vimalaprabhā</i> from Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi; Vol. I (1986), Vol. II (1994), & Vol. III (1994)
LKCTTV	<i>Laghukālacakratantraṭīkā Vimalaprabhā</i>
M.M.	Mahāmahopādhyāya
New Cat. Catalogorum	New Catalogus Catalogorum, Madras
N.S. Press	Nirnaya Sagar Press
Si. Kau	<i>Siddhāntakaumudī</i>
Śi.Sū	<i>Śivasūtram < Mabeśvarasūtram</i>

75 *bauddhādayo durātmāno vedaprāmānyaniyamitā eva cāṅḍalādisparṣaṃ paribaranti* (Nyāyamañjarī, Part I, p. 243).

76 *na caiteṣām āgamā varṇāśramācāravayavasthābetavaḥ, no khalu niṣekādyāḥ kriyāḥ śmaśānāntāḥ prajānām ete vidadhātī. no hi pramāṇīkṛtabauddhāgamā api lokayatrayaṃ śrutismṛtītibhāsapurāṇānirapekṣāgamamātreṇa pravartante, api tu te'pi saṃvṛtam etad iti bruvāṇā lokayatrayaṃ śrutyaḍīny eva anusaranti* (Nyāyavārtikatātparyatikā, 2.1.68, p. 385).

77 *tatra nāsti nāmni vivādaḥ tīrthikādibhiḥ*, etc. (LKCTTV, I, 71).

VP

*Vimalaprabhā***PRIMARY SOURCES**

- Bhadracarīprañīdhānarāja*. Ed. S.K. Pathak. Gangtok, Sikkim, 1961.
- Carakasamhita, Śārīrasthāna*. Varanasi: Chaukhamba Bharati Academy, 1980.
- Íśvarasādhanaśaṅgam*. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1975.
- Íśvaravādaḥ*. Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1987.
- Itihāsa Purāṇa kā Pañśilana* (Hindi). Ed. R.S. Bhattacharya. Varanasi, 1963.
- Lalitāsahasranāma*. Mumbai: Nirnaya Sagar Press, 1935.
- Laghukālacakratantra*, published with the *Vimalaprabhā*. Vols I–III. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1986/1994.
- Manusmṛtiḥ*. (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series) Varanasi, 1982.
- Nyāyamañjarī*. Varanasi: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1971.
- Nyāyavārtikatātparyatikā*. New Delhi: Indian Council of Philosophical Research, 1991.
- Pramāṇavārtikam*. Varanasi: Bauddha Bharati, 1994.
- Pramāṇavārtikavṛttiḥ*. Ed. D.S. Malvaniya. Banaras Hindu University, 1959.
- Śrīmahānayanaprakāśaḥ*. Bombay, 1918.
- Tantrāloka*, XI. (Kashmir Sanskrit Texts 58 & 65) Bombay, 1938/1943.
- Tāntrika Sāhitya*. Ed. M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj. Lucknow: Hindi Samita Granthamālā, 1972.
- Tattvasaṅgrahaḥ*, I. Varanasi: Bauddha Bharati, 1997.

REFERENCES

- BAHULKAR, S.S. 1998. In Search of the Verses Quoted in the *Vimalaprabhā*. *Dhīḥ* 25: 156.
- LAMOTTE, Etienne 1988. *History of Indian Buddhism*. Louvain-La-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste.
- MISHRA, Kameshwar Nath 2001. *Vimalaprabhāṭīkā on the Laghukālacakratantra* (2.7.161–180). *Dhīḥ* 31: 135–142.
- TILLEMANS, Tom J.F. 1990. *Materials for the Study of Āryadeva, Dharmapāla and Candrakīrti*, I. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.

THE EKĀYANAVEDA IN THE PĀÑCARĀTRA TRADITION

Marion Rastelli

Austrian Academy of Sciences

According to the tradition of Pāñcarātra, its texts (*saṃhitās*) were revealed by Viṣṇu Himself.¹ In their introductory sections, the Saṃhitās often describe the incident of this revelation and the ensuing tradition. Generally, these sections relate a story about one or several sages who have been tormented by the calamities of transmigration and therefore request still another sage to give them a means to overcome transmigration. This sage is willing to teach them a doctrine by which both freedom from transmigration as well as worldly pleasures can be attained. According to his story, in ages past this doctrine had been revealed to a sage or a deity by God Himself. This revelation of God, presented in the form of a dialogue between God and His interlocutor, is the actual content of a Saṃhitā.²

The frame story of the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā* (PārS), a Pāñcarātra text that was probably written in South India between 1100 and 1300 CE,³ keeps to the pattern just described. However, there is one difference: Viṣṇu's revelation takes place in several stages.

1 I am grateful to Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek for suggesting various stylistic corrections in the English manuscript. This paper was read at the 12th World Sanskrit Conference in Helsinki in July 2003 and only slightly revised in 2017, mainly by adding references to relevant studies that have appeared since 2003. For a more detailed study of the topic of this paper in German, see Rastelli 2006: 185–253.

2 PārS 1 and JS 1 are examples of such stories about the “descent of the doctrine” (*śāstrāvātāra*). For translations of these chapters and “stories of revelation” in general, see Oberhammer 1994 and Gründahl in Schreiner 1997: 362–370. Not every Saṃhitā contains stories of this kind; the first chapters of the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* and the *Sanatkumārasaṃhitā*, which probably included revelation stories, have been lost.

3 The first author to quote the PārS is Venkaṭanātha (e.g. PārS 19.540–543 in PRR 12.10–17), who is traditionally dated to 1270–1369. The PārS adopts many passages from other Saṃhitās, namely, the JS (e.g. JS 12.108–125 ≈ PārS 5.143–160), the SS (e.g. SS 6.2–4 ≈ PārS 6.21c–24b), the PauṣS (e.g. PauṣS 27.109c–116b ≈ PārS 7.315c–322b), the NārS (e.g. NārS 20.46–49b ≈ PārS 14.148c–152), the PārS (e.g. PārS 3.91–93b ≈ PārS 2.103c–105), the SanS (SanS *ṛṣirātra* 1.22–23b ≈ PārS 15.490c–491), the PādS (PādS *ṛ* 8.119–127b ≈ PārS 22.54c–62), and the AS (AS 25.14c–15b ≈ PārS 23.2c–3b). Thus, the PārS must have been compiled at a later date than these parts of other Saṃhitās (this list is not exhaustive; to date, more than a quarter of the PārS text has been identified as stemming from passages of these listed Saṃhitās; for details, see Rastelli 2006: 555–578).

It is recounted that in the *kṛtayuga*, the Golden Age of the Indian mythological chronology, Viṣṇu revealed a teaching that leads to liberation from transmigration exclusively. This teaching is variously called the “first teaching” (*prathama śāstra*), the “secret tradition” (*rahasyāmnāya*), the original Veda (*mūlaveda*), and the Ekāyanaveda, the Veda that is the only path, that is, the path to the Only One.⁴ In the ideal age of the *kṛtayuga*, human beings were able to follow this teaching, but already in the next era, the *tretāyuga*, they began to have worldly wishes, and therefore abandoned this teaching and followed the Veda, which promises the fulfilment of such wishes. As a consequence the Ekāyanaveda vanished and, it is said, would once again be revealed by Viṣṇu only to a suitable being. According to the PārS, the Veda arose from the Ekāyanaveda, but, according to the PārS, the Veda refers, however, not only to Viṣṇu but also to many other deities, and hence cannot bestow liberation. Viṣṇu is merciful to those human beings who are not able to strive exclusively for liberation, but who also want to attain worldly pleasures, and thus He revealed the Saṃhitās, such as the SS, JS, and PauṣS, which lead to both goals.⁵

This is the PārS’s story about Viṣṇu’s revelation. Initially, a first teaching was revealed, the Ekāyanaveda, which leads exclusively to liberation. When human beings were not able to follow this teaching and instead devoted themselves to the Veda, which promises the fulfilment of worldly wishes, the first teaching vanished and subsequently Viṣṇu revealed other texts that bestow both liberation and pleasure, namely, the Saṃhitās.⁶

To the followers of Pāñcarātra, this conception conveys first that the origin of the Saṃhitās is God; secondly, that the Saṃhitās are superior to the Veda; and thirdly, that the Veda is inferior to the original first teaching, which was the Veda’s source. Simultaneously, this conception shows us a tradition that must stand up against the Vedic orthodoxy and prove its own authority (*prāmāṇya*). The emergence of the conception of the Ekāyanaveda is thinkable only in a Vedic orthodoxy-dominated environment that reproaches the Pāñcarātra for being

4 PārS 1.16cd, 74ab, 32d, 56c. The PārS’s explanation of the term is: “No other way than this one is indeed known for going (*ayana*) to liberation. Therefore the sages call [it] ‘the only path (*ekāyana*)’.” (1.57c–58b: *mokṣāyanāya vai pañthā etadanyo na vidyate // tasmād ekāyanaṃ nāma pravādanti mañiṣṇāḥ* /).

5 PārS 1.74c–93. For a translation of PārS 1 into German, see Rastelli 2006: 144–154.

6 A similar story of revelation can be found in ĪS 1, which was written in imitation of PārS 1 and even adopted some verses verbatim from it; see Rastelli 1999: 80–84. See also the story in PārS 10.108c–224, according to which Viṣṇu first revealed a Veda called “Sātvata” to Brahmā and then the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, which prescribes the ritual of the Raṅganāthasvāmī temple in Śrīraṅgam (for details of this story, see Rastelli 2006: 168–178).

outside the Veda (*vedabāhya*).⁷ By means of the Ekāyanaveda, the Pāñcarātra tradition not only has Vedic foundations, but moreover claims to be the actual foundation of the Vedic orthodoxy itself.

At the same time, the PārS's story of revelation conveys that the authoritative texts of the current time, the *kaliyuga*, are the Saṃhitās. On account of this story, neither Pāñcarātra followers nor modern Indologists would expect the actual existence of the Ekāyanaveda or adherents thereof.

There is evidence, however, that among the Pāñcarātrins certain groups that referred to the Ekāyanaveda as their authority actually did exist. I do not mean by this that the PārS's story of revelation delivers historical facts, but that in the course of the emergence of the conception of the Ekāyanaveda, groups of persons also arose who referred to it and were acknowledged as its adherents by other Pāñcarātrins. It may be presumed that these Ekāyanas, as they are called,⁸ used certain texts, such as specific mantras, for their religious practice, which they may have considered as Ekāyanaveda. We do not know for certain which texts these might have been.⁹ However, it may be deemed certain that these did not belong to the Vedic texts in the orthodox sense.

What do we know about these so-called Ekāyanas? A passage of the PauṣS, one of the earliest extant Saṃhitās, aspires to convey the impression that only the Ekāyanas were true Pāñcarātrins:

These Brahmins who are called Ekāyanas are truly worshippers of Acyuta. (260) [These], who are devoted to a single object, who abide in [their] true nature after death, who worship nobody else, [and] who worship Viṣṇu without a result because it must be done, (261) become Vāsudeva at the point of death, O Lotus-Born One. The others, however, who worship in a mixed way are taught as [being people] who have the mere appearance of worshippers. These Brahmins

7 For reproaches of this kind, see, e.g., ĀP 17,7–19,13.

8 Matsubara (1994: 54, 56) seems to understand the term *ekāyana* as a synonym of *ekāntin*. This is certainly not generally true. Although both terms express the concept of exclusivism (having only one path/one goal), they are usually not used synonymously. As Matsubara (1994: 52) himself writes, *ekāntin* was “an old sectarian name given to the devotees of *pañcarātra*”, frequently used in the *Nārāyaṇīya* and in the Saṃhitās. In contrast, *ekāyanas* are a particular group among the Pāñcarātrins, as shown below. (According to JS 22.11–13b, there was also a particular group among the Pāñcarātrins called *ekāntins*. Their description, however, does not indicate that they were identical with the *ekāyanas* described below.) Of course, *ekāyanas* are also *ekāntins* (see PauṣS 36.261a, quoted in n. 10), but not every *ekāntin* is an *ekāyana*. There are two passages (PauṣS 32.72d; PārS 20.83ab) that possibly use *ekāntin* in the sense of *ekāyana*, as they contrast *ekāntins* to followers of the Veda, but I think that here Pāñcarātrins in general are meant instead.

9 For a study on probable Ekāyana texts, see Rastelli *forthcoming*.

are to be recognized on the basis of [their] worship of various troops [of deities] in [various] ways.¹⁰

As in the PārS's *śāstrāvātāra* story, the Ekāyanas worship Viṣṇu exclusively here, and have no desire for attaining a particular result through their worship. The other people worship not only Viṣṇu but other deities as well, and in so doing wish to attain worldly fruits. Thus, they are merely feigned worshippers of Viṣṇu. Hence, according to this passage of the PauṣS, only Ekāyanas are true Pāñcarātrins.

However, if we look at the ritual prescriptions of the Saṃhitās, especially at those major rituals that require several acting persons, the agents are not only Ekāyanas but also adherents of one of the four Vedas. The description of these Veda followers shows that they are not called in from the outside but that they are also followers of Pāñcarātra. Thus, we have two principal groups among the Pāñcarātrins, the Ekāyanas on one hand and the followers of the Veda on the other. As we are going to see, these two groups competed with each other, and, consequently, in the texts that each group composed, their description, esteem, and function in rituals differ accordingly.

I have been able to assign particular texts to one or the other of the two groups. The PārS and at least the first chapter of the *cāryapāda* of the PādS were written by Ekāyanas. The greater part of the PādS was composed by *vaidikas*. My following statements refer to these two texts to exemplify works by each group.

Perhaps the most important difference between the Ekāyanas and the followers of the Veda is that the former do not undergo an initiation (*dīkṣā*) according to the texts of both groups.¹¹ An Ekāyana is born as such. He has the authority (*adhikāra*) to perform the ritual from childhood. He does not have to acquire this authority through an initiation.¹² The followers of the Veda must undergo

10 PauṣS 36.260c–263b: *viprā ekāyanākhyā ye te bhaktās tattvato 'cyute // 260 ekāntinas sutattvasthā dehāntān nānyayājinaḥ / kartavyatvena ye viṣṇuṃ saṃnyajanti phalaṃ vinā // 261 prāpnuvanti ca dehānte vāsudevatvam abjaja / vyāmiśrayājinaś cānye bhaktābhāsās tu te smṛtāḥ // 262 pariñeyās tu te viprā nānāmārgagaṇārcanāt /*

11 PādS cp 1.4, 21.53. The PārS often contrasts Ekāyanas to initiated persons (*dīkṣita*). This is also an indication that the Ekāyanas are not initiated; cf. PārS 9.187–190, 15.14c–20, 18.116–117.

12 Regard the following two passages: “And at the end of his [life] he is born in a house of pure, illustrious [people], gets acquainted with the Ekāyana teaching, properly performs the thirteenfold ritual that springs from it, and attains the Venerable One.” (PārS 13.114c–115: *tadante janma cāsādyā śucīnāṃ śrīmatāṃ grhe // 114 śāstram ekāyanaṃ jñātvā samyak kṛtvā tadudbhavam / trayodaśavidhaṃ karma bhagavantaṃ samāpnyāt // 115*; for the thirteenfold ritual, see Rastelli 2000: 119–120.) And, “Having obtained again an excellent birth, O First among the Twice-Borns, he is deeply versed in the ritual for the Venerable One, has Him as his highest object, [and] is absorbed in Him from childhood. Without aiming at a result even in time of distress, he does not attain re-birth here [in this world] after having left [his] body, O Pauṣkara.” (PauṣS 36.265b–267b: [...] *punar eva hi / janma cāsādyā cotkṣṭam ābālyād dvijottama // 265*

an initiation,¹³ and the PārS often emphasizes that they must be versed in the teachings and the rituals of Pāñcarātra,¹⁴ whereas this skill is apparently a matter of course in the case of Ekāyanas.

The texts often emphasize that the Ekāyanas practise *karmasaṃnyāsa*, that is, they renounce (ritual) actions.¹⁵ This does not mean that they do not perform rituals. In this context, *karmasaṃnyāsa* means, as already hinted at in the passage quoted from the PauṣS, the renunciation of results from a ritual, that is, the performance of a ritual without desiring a result.¹⁶ This is the precondition to attain the Ekāyanas' only goal, liberation from transmigration.¹⁷

The Ekāyanas are identified with the followers of the Āgamasiddhānta.¹⁸ The Āgamasiddhānta is one of four Siddhāntas into which the Pāñcarātra is subdivided. The other three Siddhāntas are Mantrasiddhānta, Tantrasiddhānta, and Tantrāntarasiddhānta.¹⁹ Generally, *siddhānta* means a settled doctrine. In our context, I understand the Siddhāntas to be certain doctrines and the traditions connected to them, also including religious practices, within the tradition of Pāñcarātra. The PārS describes the Āgamasiddhānta as being the *dharma* of the *kṛtayuga*, just as we have heard the Ekāyanaveda to be. Further, it is described as having the form of the *śruti*, that is, of the Veda; it is the teaching of those who worship Vāsudeva exclusively and it leads solely to liberation.²⁰ In the *tretāyuga*, the Mantrasiddhānta arose from the Āgamasiddhānta. The Mantrasiddhānta leads to both liberation and worldly pleasures.²¹

bhagavatkarmaniṣṇātas tatparas tanmayo bhavet / nābhīsandhāya ca phalam āpatkālagato 'pi vai // 266 tyaktvā dehaṃ punarjanma nāpnuyād iha pauṣkara / Also in AS 15.11b, a group that is presumably identical with the Ekāyanas is described as “possessing authority from [the beginning of] creation” (*āsr̥ṣter adhikāriṇaḥ*).

13 Cf. PārS 15.19cd (*trayīdharmaniṣṭho yaḥ prāptadīkṣaḥ*), 19.315ab (*prāptadīkṣitaiḥ* [...] *trayīdharmanasthitaiḥ*), and 551ab (*trayīdharmanatāir vipraih siddhānteṣv api dīkṣitaiḥ /*).

14 Cf. PārS 15.20b: “knowing the true meaning of Pāñcarātra” (*pañcarātrārthatattvavid*), 19.556b: “versed in the meaning of the Siddhāntas” (*siddhāntārthaviśārada*), 19.316: “proved in rituals such as fixation, visualization, etc., having laboriously studied mantras, *maṇḍalas*, *mudrās*, weapon [*mantras*], fire-pits, etc.” (*dhāraṇādhyānapūrvāṇāṃ labdhalakṣais tu karmaṇām / mantramaṇḍalamudrāstrakuṇḍādināṃ kṛtaśramaiḥ /*).

15 PārS 15.16cd ≈ 19.305cd (= PauṣS 38.32cd), 19.555c, PādS cp 19.117ab, 21.35cd.

16 Cf. also PauṣS 38.293c–294 and PādS cp 21.32d–35b, in which the Āgamasiddhāntins' motive for the performance of the ritual is described as *kartavyatvena*. For the Āgamasiddhāntins, see below.

17 Cf. PārS 10.145cd (*anicchāto 'dhikāriṇāṃ tatprāptyekaphalapradam /*), PārS 19.526ab ([...] *paraṃ sāstram anicchāto 'pavargadam /*), and PRR 9.13–10.2.

18 Cf. PādS cp 21.36c, 47a, 51b, 53d and the PārS's depiction of the Āgamasiddhānta described below, which corresponds to that of the Ekāyanaveda.

19 For descriptions of the four Siddhāntas in the Saṃhitās, see PauṣS 38.293c–302, PādS jp 1.76c–83, cp 19.110–122, PārS 19.522–543, ĪS 21.560–586, BhT 22.87–94b.

20 PārS 19.524–528.

21 PārS 19.529–539.

The PādS assigns itself to the Mantrasiddhānta.²² Thus, in most cases, the PādS ascribes to it the first rank among the Siddhāntas. According to the PādS, the Mantrasiddhānta traces back to 8,000 Brahmins who belonged to the Vedic schools (*śākhā*) of the Kāṇvas and Mādhyandinas of the White Yajurveda. These Brahmins longed for liberation from transmigration and asked Brahmā for a means to achieve it (*mokṣopāya*). Thereupon Brahmā initiated them in the manner of the Mantrasiddhānta. Then he instructed them to study the *kāṇvī* and *mādhyandinī śākhā* and to perform the ritual that is “connected with the visualization (*dhyāna*) of Viṣṇu and is characterized by His worship”, this meaning a ritual that is modified in comparison to the original Vedic orthodox ritual and that is devoted exclusively to Viṣṇu.²³

The followers of the Mantrasiddhānta, who are the descendants of the 8,000 Brahmins, are called “Bhāgavatas”. They undergo an initiation (*dikṣā*) and subsequently possess the authority to perform the ritual that leads to liberation.²⁴ Furthermore, they possess – and this is very important – the exclusive authority to perform the ritual for the sake of other (*parārtha*) persons by their order, meaning, in practice, the right to perform public temple worship.²⁵

It is interesting to note that according to the PādS, the Mantrasiddhānta, like the Āgamasiddhānta, leads exclusively to liberation and not to the fulfilment of wishes.²⁶ This is remarkable, for according to the PārS and also according

22 PādS *jp* 1.86cd.

23 PādS *cp* 21.2–13.

24 PādS *cp* 21.14c–15: “Those who are born in [one of] the lineages [mentioned] as a consequence of [their] devotion to the Venerable One are called ‘Bhāgavatas’, O Four-Faced One. If they perform the ritual as prescribed after having been initiated according to prescription, they attain the Highest Place.” (*bhagavadbhaktikaraṇād vaṃśajātās caturmukha // 14 nāmnā bhāgavatāḥ santo dikṣayitvā yathāvidhī /yathoktaṃ karma kurvāṇāḥ prāpnuvanti paraṃ padam // 15*).

25 PādS *cp* 21.17c–21b: “Worship for others is to be performed by men who are Bhāgavatas in a village, a town, a fortress, in their own house or in an independent [temple]. It confers final beatitude on oneself and on others. (17c–18) However, men who do not belong to the lineage of the Bhāgavatas [are allowed to perform] only worship for themselves, never at any time for others, even if they are initiated. (19) Worship for others is forbidden for them, O Best Ones among the Brahmins. By order of a Bhāgavata, [however,] an initiated [man] may also perform worship for others along the lines of the teaching, even if he does not belong to the lineage of the Bhāgavatas.” (*tathā parārthayajanaṃ grāme vā pattane pure // 17 svagṛhe vā svatantre vā kāryaṃ bhāgavatair naraīḥ /ātmanaś ca pareṣāṃ ca tan niśreyasakṛd bhavet // 18 abhāgavatavaṃśais tu dikṣitair api mānavaiḥ / ātmārtham eva yajanaṃ na parārthaṃ kadācana // 19 parārthayajanaṃ teṣāṃ garbitaṃ viprasattamāḥ / abhāgavatavaṃśyo 'pi dikṣitāś śāstravartmanā // 20 parārthayajanaṃ kuryād api bhāgavatājñayā /*) However, see also PādS *cp* 1, where another opinion is expressed.

26 PādS *cp* 21.11c–12: “[What] is taught in the Veda as to be done is without a result. If you perform the ritual [thinking]: ‘[it] is to be done’, you will attain highest beatitude through the Mantrasiddhānta.” (*kartavyatvena vedoktaṃ ity evaṃ phalavarjitam // 11 kartavyam iti kurvāṇaiḥ karma niśreyasaṃ paraṃ / prāpyate 'nena yuṣmābhir mantrasiddhāntavartmanā // 12*).

to other passages of the PādS, liberation as the exclusive goal, and thus the ensuing freedom from desire in the performance of rituals, is a characteristic of the Āgasiddhāntins.²⁷ This feature is, however, obviously decisive for higher esteem, and thus in the PādS it was also ascribed to the Mantrasiddhānta.²⁸

According to the passages of the PādS that were composed by Mantrasiddhāntins, Ekāyanas are not authorized to perform rituals for others. They are also not allowed to consecrate an idol or build a temple; they must ask a Mantrasiddhāntin to do it for them. The Mantrasiddhāntin then performs these rituals, but uses only a particular *mantra*, the so-called twelve-syllable *mantra*. Ekāyanas are not allowed to use a *mantra* other than this one, at least when reciting. They are also not allowed to use idols other than those that have been consecrated with this *mantra* for them. And finally, they are allowed to neither study the Veda nor use Vedic *mantras*.²⁹

In contrast to this, according to the PārS and the first chapter of the PādS's *caryāpāda*, the Ekāyanas possess the authority for the so-called "principal rule" (*mukhyakalpa*), whereas the *vaidikas* have only the authority for the "secondary rule" (*anukalpa*).³⁰ The *anukalpa* is a reduced variant of the *mukhyakalpa*. In most cases, it is less extensive, and certain ritual elements such as the fire-ritual are not contained in it at all.³¹ This means that according to these texts, the Ekāyanas have a greater authority in ritual than the *vaidikas*.

These are the most important characteristics of the two groups from opposite points of view: the Ekāyanas who, from the viewpoint to the PārS, are the principal agents in temple ritual performed for the sake of others but who, according to the PādS, are not allowed to perform these rituals at all; and the *vaidikas* who, according to the PārS, are subordinate to the Ekāyanas but who, in contrast, possess the exclusive authority for the performance of the ritual for others, according to the PādS. However, the PādS limits these rights to followers of the White Yajurveda and does not grant them to all *vaidikas*.

The different esteem of the two groups can also be observed in certain rituals. In some rituals, texts from the Ekāyanaveda and the "other" four Vedas are recited by the respective followers of each Veda. While reciting at the consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of a temple, according to the PārS four Ekāyanas sit on the four cardinal

27 See n. 18 as well as PādS cp 19.117ab, 21.34c–35, and 42.

28 Cf. also PRR 9,13–14, in which the superiority of Āgasiddhānta is explained to be exactly due to the fact that it leads exclusively to liberation.

29 PādS cp 21.43–48 and 37c–39b.

30 See PārS 15.14c–20, 19.301c–318 (= PauṣS 38.28c–45), 550–556b.

31 See PārS 3.222–230, 6.110ab, 7.10, 8.101cd, 9.9–13, 98–99b, 104cd, 111–113, 11.302.

points and followers of each of the four Vedas sit in the intermediate quarters.³² According to the PādS, on the contrary, the followers of the four Vedas sit on the four cardinal points and the Ekāyanas sit in the intermediate quarters.³³ The persons sitting on the cardinal points recite before those sitting in the intermediate quarters. This difference in the ritual prescription of the PārS and the PādS clearly shows the different hierarchy of the two groups in the two Saṃhitās.

The reason for the rivalry – which is, by the way, more prominent in the PādS than in the PārS³⁴ – is obvious. It is a question of who is allowed to perform worship for others (*parārtha*), this being a substantial source of income for temple priests. Each group tries to reserve this privilege for itself. The strategy of the Ekāyanas is to represent themselves as the only true Pāñcarātrins by referring to the Ekāyanaveda that was revealed by God Himself, whereas the Mantrasiddhāntins teach that their *gotras* have been chosen for this right by Brahmā – and, interestingly, not by Viṣṇu.

We have yet more evidence of different groups among the Pāñcarātrins. Yāmuna, who wrote a treatise entitled the *Āgamaprāmāṇya* in defence of the Pāñcarātra in the tenth century, describes various groups of Bhāgavatas. The first group includes certain temple servants who clean the temple and undertake other similar tasks. According to Yāmuna, these people are not true Bhāgavatas; they are called by this name only because they work in the temple of the *bhagavat*. They do not receive a *dikṣā*.³⁵ The second group comprises adherents of Viṣṇu who earn their living by temple service. They undergo a *dikṣā*. Traditionally, professional temple priests are not highly esteemed. Yāmuna also has a low opinion of them, but he defends them as true Bhāgavatas and tries to show differences between them and the temple servants of the first group.³⁶ The third group are the followers of the Ekāyanaveda. They have abandoned the Vedic *dharma* (*trayīdharmā*), follow the prescriptions of their own *sākhā*, and desire only liberation from transmigration.³⁷ Finally, the fourth group follows the prescriptions of the Veda and the Pāñcarātra. They belong to the Vājasaneyasākhā, that is, the White Yajurveda, and follow the prescriptions of Kātyāyana³⁸ and others, which

32 PārS 15.362c–365b ≈ SS 24.301c–304b.

33 PādS cp 11.242c–243b, 14.104c–105b, 15.34c–35.

34 According to PārS 9.152–153b, initiated non-Ekāyanas are also allowed to perform the ritual for the sake of others.

35 ĀP 12,1–17,5; 149,8–151,7; 156,7–158,3.

36 ĀP 150,13–151,7; 154,13–156,5.

37 ĀP 169,9–170,9.

38 See Gonda 1975: 331: “Kātyāyana [...] was not only the founder of a ritual school of the White Yajurveda, but also the main organizer of the learning of the Vājasaneyin.”

also lead to worldly pleasures.³⁹ Yāmuna himself was probably a member of this group.⁴⁰

In addition, we also know of a historical personage who belonged to the Ekāyanas, namely Vāmanadatta, who lived in Kashmir in the tenth century.⁴¹ In his *Samvitprakāśa*, he states that he was born among the Ekāyanas in Kashmir.⁴²

In conclusion, I would like to take a brief look at a more contemporary description of Śrīvaiṣṇava temple priests. In his book on the religious practice of the Śrīvaiṣṇava Brahmins researched during the twenties of the last century, Rangachari (1930: 100) writes that the temple priests believe their tradition to trace back to the Ekāyanaveda and that they also classify their tradition into the four Siddhāntas. However, no priest is able to identify which Siddhānta he actually belongs to. Rangachari also reports that only temple priests who follow the *Baudhāyana*, *Vaikhānasa*, or the so-called *Śaunaka* or *Śaunakādi Sūtras* are entitled to perform the ritual for others.⁴³ Thus, we see that the *vaidikas* finally met with success, but not the White Yajurveda followers who dominated in the PādS. The *Baudhāyana* and the *Vaikhānasa Sūtras* belong to the Black Yajurveda, and the *Śaunaka Sūtras* are probably identical with the *Śaunakīya*, which is ascribed to the teacher of Āśvalāyana, who authored the *Āśvalāyanagr̥hyasūtras* of the Ṛgveda's *Śākalaśākhā*.⁴⁴

39 ĀP 139,6–140,4; 169,4–7; 170,3–4. In Vaikhānasa texts, there is also evidence for the last two groups; see Colas 1990: 25: “The *Khilādhikāra* (41, 9a) adds that the Pāñcarātra followers must be twice-born and that there is no condition relating to the *śākhā* or the *sūtra* which is followed. But *Ānandasamhitā* (14, 31–33a) stipulates that the condition to belong to the *tāntrika* Pāñcarātra tradition is not only the undergoing of a *dīkṣā*, but also the adherence to the Kātyāyanasūtra.”

40 See also Neevel 1977: 35–36. Neevel (1977: 30–37), however, interpreted the four groups of Bhāgavatas differently.

41 For Vāmanadatta, see Torella 1994.

42 Cf. SaṃP 1.137c–138a [= 2.61abc, 4.98abc, 5.52abc]: “This is the work of Vāmanadatta, the twice-born, who was born in the Ekāyana [clan] in Kashmir” (*ekāyane prasūtasya kaśmīreṣu divijātmanah / kṛtir vāmanadattasya seyam*). Sanderson (2009: 108) mentions a few further Ekāyanas by name.

43 Rangachari (1930: 100) substantiates this as follows: “This is so as rules pertaining to worship are given only in the Grihya sūtras of these three sūtras.” Venkaṭanātha also says that these sūtras prescribe the consecration and worship of Viṣṇu (PRR 21,7–8). The references for these prescriptions are *Bodhāyanagr̥hyaśeṣasūtra* 2.13–15 (which belongs to the *Bodhāyanagr̥hyasūtra*) and *Vaikhānagr̥hyasūtra* 4.10–12. For the *Śaunakasūtra*, see n. 45.

44 With regard to the identification of the *Śaunakasūtra*, in the first instance two texts come to mind: the *Kauśikagr̥hyasūtra* of the Atharvaveda's *Śaunakaśākhā* and the *Āśvalāyanagr̥hyasūtra*. (According to tradition, Śaunaka was the teacher of Āśvalāyana; see Gonda 1977: 475. According to Gonda (1977: 605), the *Śaunakagr̥hyasūtra* mentioned by Hemādri is “in all probability practically identical” with the *Āśvalāyanagr̥hyasūtra*.) However, neither of these sūtras contains prescriptions for temple worship.

The *Śaunakīya* is ascribed to Śaunaka, the teacher of Āśvalāyana (see the preface of the edition and Saun 2.21.2, in which Āśvalāyana is addressed). In PRR 56,10–12, Venkaṭanātha quotes

On the other hand, there are other groups of temple priests of whom it is said that they have abandoned Vedic ritual in order to devote themselves exclusively to temple service, such as the Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas. At their *pūjās* they recite *mantras* from the so-called Tamil Veda instead of Vedic *mantras*. Instead of the Vedic initiation (*upanayana*), they undergo the *pañcasamskāradīkṣā* (*tāpa*, *puṇḍra*, *nāma*, *mantra*, *ijyā*) described in the later Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.⁴⁵ Hierarchically, they are lower than the Śrīvaiṣṇava Brahmins.⁴⁶ However, given the present state of knowledge, it cannot be conclusively determined whether they are related historically to the Ekāyanas.

ABBREVIATIONS OF PRIMARY SOURCES

- AS [Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā] *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā of the Pāñcarātrāgama*. 2 vols. Ed. M.D. Ramanujacharya under the Supervision of F. Otto Schrader. Revised by V. Krishnamacharya. (The Adyar Library Series 4) Adyar, 1st Repr. 1986.
- ĀP [Āgamaprāmāṇya] *Āgamaprāmāṇya of Yāmūnācārya*. Ed. M. Narasimhacharya. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 160) Baroda, 1976.
- BhT [Bhāradvājasamhitā] *Nāradapañcarātra-(Bhāradvājasamhitā)* P. Sarayūprasādamiśrakṛtā-*ṭīkāśahitā*. Seyam Khemarāja Śrīkṣṇadāsaśreṣṭhinā prakāśitā. Bombay, 1905.
- ĪS [Īśvarasaṃhitā] *Īśvarasaṃhitā Prativādibhayanīkaranāntācāryais saṃśodhitā*. (*Śāstramuktāvalī* 45) Kāñcī, 1923.
- JS [Jayākhyasaṃhitā] *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*. Crit. ed. with an Introduction in Sanskrit, Indices etc. by Embar Krishnamacharya. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 54) Baroda, 1931.
- NārS [Nārādīyasaṃhitā] *Nārādīya Saṃhitā*. Ed. Rāghava Prasāda Chaudhary. (Kendriya Sanskrita Vidyapeetha 15) Tirupati, 1971.
- ParS [Paramasaṃhitā] *Paramasaṃhitā [of the Pāñcharātra]*. Ed. and tr. with an introduction by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 86) Baroda, 1940.
- PādS [Pādmasaṃhitā] *Padma Saṃhita*. Part I: Ed. Seetha Padmanabhan & R.N. Sampath; Part II: Ed. Seetha Padmanabhan & V. Varadachari. (Pancaratra Parisodhana Parisad Series 3–4) Madras, 1974 & 1982.

a verse from a *sūtra* (*sūtrāntarānusrāt*) that begins with *śaunako 'haṃ pravakṣyāmi*: “I, Śaunaka, will speak[...]” On the basis of the fact that Śaunaka is speaking here, it is probable that the verse originates from the *Śaunakasūtra* mentioned by Veṅkaṭanātha (see n. 44). This verse is identical to Śaun 2.21.1. The entire chapter 2.21 of the *Śaunakīya* deals with the consecration and worship of Viṣṇu. Thus, it is possible that the text that Rangachari and Veṅkaṭanātha call *Śaunakasūtra* is identical with the *Śaunakīya*. Possibly the tradition considered the *Śaunakīya* to be a supplement to the *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra* and thus called it a *sūtra*.

45 See Lester 1994: 40.

46 Lester 1994: 42.

- PārS [Pārameśvarasaṃhitā] *Śrī Pārameśvara Saṃhitā Śrī Govindācāryaiḥ saṃskṛtā, anekavidhādarsādibhiḥ saṃyojitā ca*. Śrīraṅgam, 1953.
- PauṣS [Pauṣkarasaṃhitā] *Sree Poushkara Sambhita. One of the Three Gems in Pancharatra*. Ed. Sampathkumara Ramanuja Muni. Bangalore, 1934.
- PRR [Pāñcarātrarakṣā] *Śrī Pāñcarātra Rakṣā of Śrī Vedānta Deśika*. Crit. ed. with Notes and Variant Readings by M. Duraiswami Aiyangar & T. Venugopalacharya, with an Introduction in English by G. Srinivasa Murti. (The Adyar Library Series 36) Madras, 1942.
- SamP [Saṃvitprakāśa] *The Saṃvitprakāśa by Vāmanadatta*. Ed. with English Introduction by Mark S.G. Dyczkowski. Varanasi, 1990.
- SanS [Sanatkumārasaṃhitā] *Sanatkumāra-Saṃhitā of the Pāñcarātrāgama*. Ed. V. Krishnamacharya. (The Adyar Library Series 95) Adyar, 1969.
- Śaun [Śaunakīya] *The Śaunakīya*. Ed. K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī. (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 120; Śrī Citrodayamañjarī 9) Trivandrum, 1935.
- SS [Sātvatasāṃhitā] *Sātvata-saṃhitā, with commentary by Alasinga Bhatta*. Ed. Vrajavallabha Dwivedi. Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishyavidyalaya, 1982.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

- cp* *caryāpāda*
jp *jñānapāda*
kp *kriyāpāda*

REFERENCES

- COLAS, Gérard 1990. Sectarian Divisions According to Vaikhānasāgama. In: T. GOUDRIAAN (ed.), *The Sanskrit Tradition and Tantrism* (Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference 1): 24–31. Leiden: Brill.
- GONDA, Jan 1975. *Vedic Literature (Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas)*. (A History of Indian Literature I:1) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- GONDA, Jan 1977. *The Ritual Sūtras*. (A History of Indian Literature I:2) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- LESTER, Robert C. 1994. The Sāttāda Śrīvaiṣṇavas. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114: 39–53.
- MATSUBARA, Mitsunori 1994. *Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās & Early Vaiṣṇava Theology With a Translation and Critical Notes from Chapters on Theology in the Ahirbudhnyā Saṃhitā*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- NEEVEL, Walter G. 1977. *Yāmuna's Vedānta and Pāñcarātra: Integrating the Classical and the Popular*. (Harvard Dissertations in Religion 10) Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.

- OBERHAMMER, Gerhard 1994. *Offenbarungsgeschichte als Text: Religionshermeneutische Bemerkungen zum Phänomen in hinduistischer Tradition*. (Publications of the De Nobili Research Library. Occasional Papers 5) Wien: Gerold & Co.
- RANGACHARI, Dewan Bahadur K. 1930. *The Sri Vaishnava Brahmans*. (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. New Series. General Section 2, 2) Madras: Government Press.
- RASTELLI, Marion 1999. Zum Verständnis des Pāñcarātra von der Herkunft seiner Saṃhitās. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 43: 51–93.
- RASTELLI, Marion 2000. Die fünf Zeiten (*pañca kālas*) in den ältesten Pāñcarātra-Saṃhitās. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 44: 101–134.
- RASTELLI, Marion 2006. *Die Tradition des Pāñcarātra im Spiegel der Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 748. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens 51) Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Wissenschaften.
- RASTELLI, Marion *forthcoming*. On the “Reappearance” of the Ekāyanaveda in South India. In: E. FRESCHI & M. SCHMÜCKER (eds), *One God, One Śāstra: Philosophical Developments towards and within Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta between Nāthamuni and Veṅkaṭanātha*.
- SANDERSON, Alexis 2009. Kashmir. In: K.A. JACOBSEN (ed.), *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Hinduism, I: Regions, Pilgrimage, Deities* (Handbuch der Orientalistik. Zweite Abteilung, Indien 22): 99–126. Leiden: Brill.
- SCHREINER, Peter (ed.) 1997. *Nārāyaṇīya-Studien*. (Purāṇa Research Publications 6) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- TORELLA, Raffaele 1994. On Vāmanadatta. In: P.-S. FILLIOZAT, S.P. NARANG & C.P. BHATTA (eds), *Pandit N.R. Bhatt Felicitation Volume*: 481–498. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

THE TRANSFIGURATION OF KRṢṢNA’S DEATH

Noel Sheth, S.J.

Jnana-Deepa Vidyapeeth

In this article I shall demonstrate how the death of Kṛṣṇa is presented in an increasingly divine manner through three texts, namely, (1) the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (ViP), and its commentator Śrīdhara, (2) a possibly later passage in the *Mahābhārata* (Mbh), and its commentator Nīlakaṇṭha, and (3) the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (BhP), and several of its commentators, such as Bhagavatprasāda (BP), Giridharalāla (GD), Gaṅgāśahāya (GS), and Jīva Gosvāmin (JG). The reference is to one of his three commentaries, called *Kramasandarbhā* (Ks) – Madhva (MD), Puruṣottama, Rādhāramaṇadāsa (RR), Sudarśanasūrin, Śukadeva (SD), Śrīdhara Svāmin (SS), Vallabha, Viśvanātha Cakravartin (VC), Vamśīdhara (VD), Vijayadhva (VJ), and Vīrarāghava (VR).

Kṛṣṇa’s death takes place soon after the destruction of his Yādava clan.¹ First Balarāma, and then Kṛṣṇa, leaves the world, the latter doing so after being mistakenly shot by an arrow by a hunter named Jarā “Old Age”.² After Kṛṣṇa’s departure, the evil Kali Yuga is ushered in. It should be noted that in the *Harivaṁśa* (97.31–36), Nārada foretells that Kṛṣṇa will return to his own celestial region and that the ocean will inundate the cities of Bhogavatī and Dvārakā, but the actual events are not narrated in the *Harivaṁśa* (Sheth 1984: 70).

KRṢṢNA’S DEATH IN THE VIṢṢNUPURĀṆA

The ViP mentions that first Kṛṣṇa’s chariot is engulfed by the sea, and his emblems – the discus, the club, the bow, the quiver, the conch shell, and the sword – circumambulate him and leave by the path of the Sun (5.37.46–47). He informs his charioteer that he will abandon his body (5.37.51). He then concentrates in himself the supreme Brahman, which is identical with Vāsudeva, and

¹ For Kṛṣṇa’s role in this destruction and the justification of his action, see Sheth 2000: 45–71; a more concise version is found in Sheth 1998: 34–44.

² Kṛṣṇa’s death is in some way linked with the curse of Durvāsas, the curse of Gāndhārī, and the curse of some Brahmins. The texts, and particularly the later commentators, explain that Kṛṣṇa does not nullify these curses, even though he has the power to do so: see Sheth 1998: passim; 2000: passim.

becomes identified with all beings. While Kṛṣṇa is engrossed in yogic meditation, the hunter Jarā, mistaking his foot for a part of a deer, shoots him in the sole. After forgiving and dispatching the hunter to *svarga*, Kṛṣṇa unites himself with his inexhaustible, inconceivable, unborn, imperishable Spirit, which consists of Vāsudeva, and then, going beyond the three-fold state (of *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*), leaves his human body (5.37.60–68). Finding the bodies of Kṛṣṇa and the others, Arjuna performs the funeral ceremonies. Kṛṣṇa’s eight queens embrace his body and enter the funeral fire (5.38.1–2). The Sudharman palace and the Pārijāta tree, which had been brought to this mortal world by Kṛṣṇa, ascend into heaven (*svarga*). And on the same day that he quits the earth and goes to heaven, the Kali Age descends. Although the ocean inundates Dvārakā, it does not submerge the temple of Kṛṣṇa, for the latter is eternally established therein (5.38.7–10). The ViP therefore narrates Kṛṣṇa’s death pretty much in a matter-of-fact way, without any special fanfare. The commentator Śrīdhara does not embellish the text. In fact, he clarifies that the three-fold state (*trividhā gati*) that Kṛṣṇa transcends is *prakṛti*, which is made up of the three *guṇas* (5.37.69). It is clear, therefore, that Kṛṣṇa quits his mortal, *prākṛtic* body.

We may point out here that, according to the *Bhagavad-gītā*, Kṛṣṇa comes into being by resorting to (*adhiṣṭhāya*) *prakṛti* or material nature (4.6). This *prakṛti* is made up of the three imperfect *guṇas* (strands), namely, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, and hence his form has to be imperfect. It should be noted that, although the three *guṇas* may be said to be “perfect” in so far as they follow their own nature, they are imperfect in comparison with higher types of being, just as matter, by its very nature, is imperfect compared to spirit, which is more perfect, or just as creatures are imperfect in contrast to God, who is most perfect. Since Kṛṣṇa’s body is made up of this inferior *prakṛti*, it is imperfect. His human body is limited by *prakṛti*, which is called his lower (*aparā*) nature (7.4–5)³ and hence is mortal (Sheth 2002: 99). It is in accord with this understanding that the ViP refers to Kṛṣṇa casting away his human body.

However, later on the Vaiṣṇavites developed the idea of a perfect, “pure matter” (*śuddha-sattva*) constituting the body or form of God. Unlike ordinary *prakṛti*, which consists of the three imperfect *guṇas*, “pure matter” (*śuddha-sattva*) consists of six perfect or transcendental *guṇas*. These six *guṇas* are: *jñāna* (omniscience), *aiśvarya* (activity based on independent lordship), *śakti* (ability to become the material cause of the world), *bala* (force, i.e. absence of fatigue in producing

3 Verse 7.5 also refers to Kṛṣṇa’s higher (*parā*) nature, which is the life that sustains the world. However, here this higher nature probably does not refer to his highest, divine essence (cf. 7.24), but to all the individual selves or souls (Zaehner 1973: 245–246).

the world), *vīrya* (virility, i.e. changelessness in spite of being the cause of the world), and *tejas* (self-sufficient splendour, i.e. without dependence on any other in producing the world) (Schrader 1973: 36–39, 55). This idea of the “pure matter” (*śuddha-sattva*) seems to have had its origin in the Pāñcarātra tradition, which reached its apogee between c.600 and c.800 CE (Gonda 1965: 146). Following this line of thinking, later Vaiṣṇavite theologians, like Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva and Jīva Gosvāmin, insisted that the bodies of *avatāras* are not made up of ordinary, imperfect *prakṛti*, but are perfect (Sheth 2002: 108 n. 70). No wonder, then, that, as we shall see later, the commentators on the BhP point out that Kṛṣṇa ascends to his eternal abode together with his perfect, immortal body.

KṚṢṆA'S DEATH IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

The Mbh narrates that Kṛṣṇa, thinking that the time for his departure was at hand, withdraws his senses and enters into yogic meditation. The hunter Jarā mistakenly shoots his arrow into the sole of Kṛṣṇa's foot. The latter, who is endowed with many arms, comforts the repentant hunter, and ascends into heaven, filling the sky with his glory. In heaven, he is welcomed by many deities, whose names are mentioned, and also by other supernatural beings. Having reached his imperishable and incomprehensible abode, he is worshipped by these beings, who sing hymns of praise to him (16.5.18–25). One can see that Kṛṣṇa's ascent into heaven is painted in brighter and more striking colours than in the ViP version. In his critical edition of the *Mausalaparvan*, Belvalkar (1959: xxi) points out that this chapter is the only one composed in regular *ślokas* of 11x4 or 11x6 syllables, and is therefore probably a later addition. Of course, it is difficult to say whether this passage is later than the corresponding ViP passage, for it could well be that the embellishment is part of the epic style of the Mbh. But what is certain is that the divinity of Kṛṣṇa is portrayed more gloriously here than in the ViP text.

In Chapter 8, which of course is earlier than the above chapter (Ch.5), the Mbh clearly mentions that Arjuna, after searching out the bodies of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, has them cremated with the proper funerary rites (16.8.31–32). The Mbh also refers to Kṛṣṇa's going to heaven after abandoning his body (16.9.7). Nīlakaṇṭha does not make any comment on these passages. However, a much later commentator, Vādirāja, whose commentary is dated Śaka 1597 (c.1675 CE) (Belvalkar 1959: xxiv), states that the word *gacchannūrdhvam* in 16.5.21 indicates that Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī ascend upwards: this suggests that there is no abandonment of his body (in 16.5.21). Then, commenting on the text (16.8.31) referring to Arjuna's cremating of Kṛṣṇa's body, he affirms more explicitly that at the time of

his ascension into heaven, Kṛṣṇa creates an artificial body for the sake of deluding the people, for it is not possible or appropriate for his body to be burnt (16.8.31) (cited by Belvalkar 1959: 48, note on 16.5.21).

KṚṢṆA'S DEATH IN THE *BHĀGAVATAPURĀṆA*

After the destruction of the Yādavas and the passing away of Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa sits under a Pippala tree. His person, dress, ornaments and emblems are described. After he has forgiven the hunter, who ascends into heaven, Kṛṣṇa's chariot and weapons fly to heaven (BhP 11.30.27–45). Then Brahmā, Śiva, and various deities and supernatural beings come to witness the ascent of Kṛṣṇa into heaven and, in their devotion, they shower flowers on him (11.31.1–4). By means of the yogic Āgneyī meditation, Kṛṣṇa burns his body and then enters his heavenly abode (11.31.6). The skies resound with the beating of drums, showers of flowers rain down, and Brahmā and the other deities are left in a daze as they are unable to see Kṛṣṇa entering into heaven. They glorify him and return to their respective abodes. Although Kṛṣṇa is able to protect himself just as he brought Sāndīpani's son to life and transported the hunter bodily to heaven, yet he does not wish to take along with him his body which remained behind in the world (11.31.7–13). Thus, it is easily noticeable that the BhP version of Kṛṣṇa's passing away is depicted in a much more glorious and striking manner than in the earlier texts. This means that with the passage of time, people had a progressively better theological understanding of Kṛṣṇa's divinity, and this is reflected in the later texts.⁴

All experience the pain of separation from Kṛṣṇa. When Devakī and Vasudeva are unable to see their son, they are so aggrieved that they lose consciousness and die. The Yādava women embrace the dead bodies of their husbands and ascend the funeral pyres. The wives of Balarāma, too, embrace his body and ascend the funeral pyre (11.31.17–20). So also the wives of Kṛṣṇa enter into the fire, although there is no explicit mention of their embracing his body. Arjuna then organizes the funeral ceremonies for the slain Yādavas. After this, the sea inundates Dvārakā, leaving only the palace of Kṛṣṇa standing (11.31.21–23).

4 For some other details indicating how the BhP in its depiction of Kṛṣṇa's death makes his divinity shine forth more brilliantly than in the ViP, see Sheth 1984: 71–73.

KṚṢṆA'S DEATH ACCORDING TO THE COMMENTATORS ON THE BHĀGAVATAPURĀṆA

Many of the commentators on the BhP go further in transfiguring Kṛṣṇa's death. Since by the time of the commentators Vaiṣṇavite theology had already developed the idea of "pure matter" (*śuddhasattva*), the commentators point out that Kṛṣṇa's body is not mortal and hence he does not leave it behind, but takes it along with him to his eternal abode. It is here that they exercise their hermeneutical skills in reinterpreting passages in the BhP to yield this meaning.

In BhP 11.31.6, we read the words: *svatanum[...]yogadhāraṇayā āgneyyā dagdhvā*. These words can be construed in two ways: one interpretation is "having burnt (*dagdhvā*) his body through the yogic meditation called *āgneyī*". Or one could take the negative prefix *a-* from the previous word *āgneyyā*, which ends in a long *ā*, thus yielding the form *adagdhvā*, "having not burnt". Only one commentator, Sudarśanasūrin, mentions that Kṛṣṇa burns his body (11.31.6). All the others, including the earliest commentator, Śrīdhara, read *adagdhvā*. In fact, a couple point out that, even when one takes the meaning of "having burnt his body", this is only for the purpose of deceiving the world (BP, GD, VR on 11.31.6), or deceiving the demons (*asuras*) (VD on 11.31.6). In this context, VD also mentions that the reference in the Mbh to Arjuna's cremating of Kṛṣṇa's body was only for the sake of deluding the *asuras* (11.31.6). SS states that, although the yogins enter the other world after burning their body by means of *āgneyī* meditation, Kṛṣṇa utilizes the very same technique to enter into his own abode of Vaikuṅṭha without burning his body. Since this same verse characterizes his body as *lokābhirāma* (i.e. in which the world rests; *abhirāma* = *abhitaḥ ramaṇam* = *sthitih*), the world itself would be reduced to ashes if Kṛṣṇa, who is the very support of the world, were to get burnt. Besides, he points out, those who meditate on Kṛṣṇa do have a vision of him and obtain the fruit of this vision, hence Kṛṣṇa cannot have burnt his body. Therefore, without burning his body (i.e. by just making it invisible), he leaves this world (SS on 11.31.6). Commenting on SS, JG and VD further emphasize the reasons given by SS for Kṛṣṇa's body not being burnt. Even though, absolutely speaking, another interpretation (viz. that Kṛṣṇa burns his body) is possible, the context indicates that no other meaning is actually possible (JG [Ks] on 11.31.6). VC, VD, RR and VR (on 11.31.6) similarly elucidate Śrīdhara's gloss. MD and VJ also read *adagdhvā* and quote a passage from a text (*Tantrabhāgavata*, according to MD) which states that Kṛṣṇa does not burn his body since his essence is eternal bliss (MD and VJ on 11.31.6). GD and GS point out that since Kṛṣṇa's body is not material (*abhautika*), it cannot be

cremated (GD on 11.31.6; GS on 11.31.5 [in my text]).⁵ VC, VD and GS give an alternate explanation: Kṛṣṇa burns his body (i.e. he purifies it as one makes gold purer by putting it in a crucible). In other words, he does not burn his body to ashes, but transforms or transfigures it before entering into his abode together with his transfigured body (GS on 11.31.5 [in my text], VC and VD on 11.31.6). GS adds that for Kṛṣṇa, who is omnipotent, there is nothing contradictory for him to carry out either alternative (on 11.31.5 [in my text]).

BhP 11.31.12 refers to Kṛṣṇa's body as "mortal" (*martya*), and BhP 11.31.13 reports that he does not wish to take with him his body which is remaining here (on earth) (*naicchat praṇetum vapuratra śeṣitam*). But several commentators give a different meaning. SS says Kṛṣṇa does not wish to make his body remain here (*vapuratra śeṣitam = avasēṣitam praṇetum = kartum naicchat*) (SS on 11.31.13). Even though Kṛṣṇa can always stay in the ordinary world, still (*tathāpi*, in v. 13) (VC on 11.31.12) he does not wish to manifest (*praṇetum = prakatībhūtam kartum naicchat*) his body in the mortal world, but desires to make it invisible (VC and VD on 11.31.13). Kṛṣṇa does not wish to establish his body here (*praṇetum = sthāpayitum*) (JG on 11.31.13; GS on 11.31.12 [in my text]). It is extremely proper for Kṛṣṇa to return to his abode with his body (JG [Ks] on 11.31.12). Hence, the reference to not taking his body along is only for deceiving those who are extroverts (*bahirmukha*), that is, not spiritually minded (RR on 11.31.12). Kṛṣṇa does not wish his body to remain (*śeṣitam naicchat*), but he wants to take it along (*kintu praṇetum aicchat*), for there is no purpose served by a mortal body (BP on 11.31.12; VR on 11.31.12–13). Kṛṣṇa does not want to take along the body of his brother Balabhadra and others (MD on 11.31.13), for there is no point in carting along a mortal body, and so he leaves (*śeṣita*) their bodies there (VJ on 11.31.12–13). Therefore, MD and VJ supply the word "Balabhadra" and avoid the problem of Kṛṣṇa not wanting to take his own body along. According to SD, he does not wish to keep (*śeṣitam*) his body on earth but has a strong desire to take it with him (*praṇetum = prakarṣeṇa netum aicchat*) (SD on 11.31.13). He takes his body to his abode, for, were he to leave his body here on earth, those who are devoted to him might be tempted to neglect their divine mode of existence and stay on in this world by dint of yogic power (GD on 11.31.13, GS on 31.12 [in my text]).

In order to understand some of the interpretations of the commentators belonging to the school of Caitanya, we need to explain first the doctrine of mani-

5 When I use the expression "in my text" in brackets, what I mean is that this is how it is printed in the edition I am using, viz. the one edited by Kṛṣṇa Śaṅkara Śāstrī. For example, in this case, the BhP verse is 11.31.6, but GS's comment on this verse is printed in reference to 11.31.5 in the edition I am using.

fest sport (*prakaṣa-tīlā*) and unmanifest sport (*aprakaṣa-tīlā*) in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. This school believes that Kṛṣṇa is eternally present and playing his *tīlā* (sport) not only in his heavenly Vaikuṅṭha but also on earth, namely, in Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, and Dvārakā. His *tīlā* on earth, however, is not always visible to empirical beings. It becomes manifest in the Dvāpara Yuga, when it is called *prakaṣa-tīlā* (manifest sport), but at other times it generally remains concealed, and hence it is called *aprakaṣa-tīlā* (unmanifest sport). The one and the same *tīlā* appears in these two forms due to the limitations of the empirical beings. In *aprakaṣa-tīlā* there is no beginning, middle, and end, while in *prakaṣa-tīlā* there is a beginning, middle, and end, as well as a mixture of empirical and non-empirical elements. Although both the *tīlās* are eternal, or rather aspects of the one eternal *tīlā*, yet, since there is no beginning, middle, and end in *aprakaṣa-tīlā*, it may be referred to as *nitya-tīlā* (eternal sport). In *prakaṣa-tīlā* there is the appearance of the birth, growth, and death of Kṛṣṇa, while in *aprakaṣa-tīlā* he is eternally present as a youth and there is neither birth nor death (De 1961: 342–348; Kapoor 1977: 115–117). The abode (*dhāman* or *loka*) of Kṛṣṇa is also simultaneously present in Vaikuṅṭha as well as on earth. There are three kinds of *prakāśas* or appearances of Kṛṣṇa's abode: (i) *aprakaṣa-prakāśa* (unmanifest appearance), in which the abode remains hidden from empirical beings; (ii) *prāpañcika-prakāśa* (empirical appearance), in which the abode becomes visible to empirical beings; and (iii) *prakaṣa-prakāśa* (manifest appearance), which takes place when, in the *prāpañcika-prakāśa*, Kṛṣṇa becomes manifest together with his attendants (*parikara*). Hence, it is only in the *prakaṣa-tīlā* of Kṛṣṇa that the *prakaṣa-prakāśa* of his abode takes place (De 1961: 336–337).

Let us now proceed to the explanations of commentators on the context of this manifest and unmanifest sport. VC and VD quote a whole string of scriptural passages to prove that Kṛṣṇa's bodies (*vigraha*), names, abodes, qualities (*guṇa*), sport (*tīlā*), and attendants are all eternal (VC and VD on 11.30.5). Their contention is that ordinary people, and even others, will be deceived by *māyā* and think that Kṛṣṇa is destroying the Yādavas and that he himself abandons his body, but actually the Yādavas and Kṛṣṇa are only becoming invisible in the *prakaṣa-tīlā* and entering into the *aprakaṣa-tīlā*. This is how they explain it: it is only after Kṛṣṇa's *tīlā* is over (i.e. when his *prakaṣa-tīlā* ceases) that the age of Kali will have authority on earth. Kṛṣṇa has already destroyed those who were opposed to him (viz. demons, wicked kings, etc., who were a burden to the earth) (cf. 11.1.1–3). Those who are for him will have their *bhakti* doubled; those who are very much for him will have their love multiplied a hundredfold; and even those who are indifferent to him will become devotees. Hence, *dharma* will in fact increase and, as a result, Kali's power cannot become manifest. So, in order to usher in the Kali Yuga, Kṛṣṇa decides to bring about the restriction of *dharma* in the

following manner. He decides to reign in Dvārakā, together with his attendants (viz. the Yādavas), but, becoming hidden to the empirical (*prāpañcika*) world, he will first expel the deities who have entered his attendants and establish those deities in their heaven, and then enter Vaikuṅṭha together with his retinue (i.e. he will enter into his *aprakāṣa-līlā*). Now, due to the defect of *māyā*, the ordinary people mistakenly think that all the Yādavas go to Prabhāsa where, under the influence of the curse of the Brahmins, they become intoxicated and, being killed by one another, they give up their bodies. Similarly, the people erroneously think that Kṛṣṇa, too, together with Balarāma, abandons his human body and ascends to his abode. In fact, others will publicly proclaim that just as the Kuru race was wiped out, so also Kṛṣṇa falls in Prabhāsa together with his own clan. Due to such despicable proclamations, *dharma* will suddenly be left with only one leg,⁶ and then not only the ordinary people, but also Kṛṣṇa's *aśās* like Arjuna and others, will look upon Kṛṣṇa's exit (*niryāna*) *līlā* as an ordinary and calamitous (*duravasthāmayī*) one. Sages like Vaiśampāyana, Parāśara, and others have described in their Sāṁhitās that, in order to establish the power of Kali, even Kṛṣṇa's devotee Śaṅkara, who will be born in the Kali Yuga, will write his commentary on the Vedānta in a false light so that the other commentators, whose intellects are deprived of sense, will come to the wrong conclusion that the body of Kṛṣṇa is illusory (VC and VD on 11.30.5). So, these commentators claim that even though not only the ordinary people but also others, like Arjuna, think that Kṛṣṇa and the Yādavas die, the real situation is that it is a mere transition from the *prakāṣa-līlā* to the *aprakāṣa-līlā*. Such an interpretation is repeated in other places, too. For example, when a passing reference is made in 11.1.7 to Kṛṣṇa going to his abode, these commentators are quick to point out that what is meant is that he just becomes invisible to ordinary people, and in fact he continues to eternally abide also in his triple (earthly) abode of Dvārakā (Mathurā and Vṛndāvana) (VC and VD on 11.1.7). In 11.6.42, Uddhava infers (this is the sense of the word *nūnam* in the verse) that Kṛṣṇa intends to depart from this world (*lokam santyakṣate*). Actually, this means that he concludes that Kṛṣṇa will become invisible (VC and VD on 11.6.42).

Several commentators are keen on reinterpreting references in the BhP to Kṛṣṇa abandoning his body. In 11.30.2, King Parīkṣit asks, "How does Kṛṣṇa abandon his body (*tanum sa kathamatyajat*)?" VD comments that when Parīkṣit uses the words "abandons the body", what he means is that Kṛṣṇa becomes invisible (VD on 11.30.2). Actually, he is asking a rhetorical question, that is, "How can Kṛṣṇa abandon his body? He just cannot abandon his body" (JG [Ks] and

6 See BhP 1.17.24–25.

VD on 11.30.2). Since his body consists of *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda*,⁷ it is impossible for him to abandon his body (GS and VC on 11.30.2). Really Kṛṣṇa should not abandon his body but, from the point of view of ordinary people, he produces an illusory body, which he casts off (RR on 11.30.2). In fact, the following verse (11.30.3) describes Kṛṣṇa's body as that from which women cannot turn away their eyes, as that which does not go away once it has entered the ears of the holy and has become established in their souls, whose glorious beauty when praised by the poets brings charm and respect to the words of the poets, and seeing which the warriors who die in battle attain similarity of form (*sāmya* = *sārūpya*) with him. Now these four epithets, especially the last one, constitute four reasons for Kṛṣṇa not to abandon his body, for these epithets would prove to be false if he were to quit his body (RR on 11.30.2–3; see also JG [Ks] on 11.30.2–3, VJ on 11.30.3, SD on 11.30.3, GD on 11.30.3, VD on 11.30.2–3). That is, one would not attain union (*sāmya* = *sāyujya*) with Kṛṣṇa by a vision of something which is made up of the three *guṇas* of *prakṛti*; hence, Kṛṣṇa's body has to be beyond the *guṇas*, the supreme Brahman himself. Similarly, the other three epithets would also not be true in the case of a body consisting of the three *guṇas*. Hence the *munis* who speak of Kṛṣṇa abandoning his body are deluded by *māyā* (VC and VD on 11.30.3). *Atyajat* does not mean 'abandoned'; it consists of *ati* + *ajat* (i.e. *ati* = *atiśaya*) and the root *aj*, which means 'to take' (*harāṇa*), and it thus refers to Kṛṣṇa's completely (*ati*) taking (*pratyaharat*) his body from the earth to his heavenly world (MD on 11.30.2). VJ repeats MD's explanation and quotes the lexicographer Yādava, who gives *atiśaya* as one of the meanings for *ati* (VJ on 11.30.2). So, the implication of Parīkṣit's question is that Kṛṣṇa enters his own abode together with his body (BP and VR on 11.30.2).

After being shot by Jarā's arrow, Kṛṣṇa asks Dārūka to go to Dvārakā and report to relatives his (Kṛṣṇa's) plight or predicament or situation (*daśā*) (BhP 11.30.46). Some of the commentators are quick to point out that this *daśā*, far from being a humiliating or sad situation, actually refers to his otherworldly (i.e. invisible) *līlā* (VC and VD on 11.30.46); when Kṛṣṇa tells him not to grieve but to be at peace by realizing that his creation is brought about through *māyā* (11.30.49), what he means is that, since he has taken on the form made up of "pure matter" (*śuddha-sattva*), he has of his own will constituted another form similar to his real form, and so, seeing him about to abandon this illusory body, which is not eternal, Dārūka should not grieve since the form made up of "pure matter" still goes on existing (VD on 11.30.49). SS and GS, too, hold that Kṛṣṇa's plight is only in reference

7 This refers to the triple *śaktis* (*sandhinī*, *samvit*, and *hlādinī*), which constitute Kṛṣṇa's innermost (*antaraṅga*), essential (*svarūpa*) *śakti*.

to the (illusory) body that he has made by his wishing it (*icchāśarīra*) (SS and GS on 11.30.46), and so Dārūka should not grieve, since Kṛṣṇa's real form is only becoming invisible (GS on 11.30.46) and will be in the same state (*daśā*) as the Yādavas, who have acquired the richness of the *aprakaṭa-līlā* (JG [Ks] on 11.30.46).

BhP 11.31.20 mentions that Kṛṣṇa's wives, led by Rukmiṇī, with their hearts set on him, enter the fire (*kṛṣṇapatnyah aviśanagnim rukmiṇyādayāḥ tadātmikāḥ*). Although it is not explicitly said that his wives embrace his dead body before ascending the funeral pyre, the verse clearly mentions that the wives of Balarāma, Pradyumna, and others enter the fire after embracing their husbands' bodies, so one may conclude that Kṛṣṇa's wives do the same. While SS ignores this passage, BP accepts without any fuss that Kṛṣṇa's wives enter the fire (BP on 11.31.19 [in my text]). GD and GS, however, explain that since he has become invisible, his wives only meditate on him and then enter the fire (GD on 11.31.20, GS on 11.31.18 [in my text]). VD and RR, on the other hand, do not want to admit even that Kṛṣṇa's wives enter the fire. Quoting the lexicographer Medinī, they say that the word *agni* means 'enjoyed' (*bhukta*), and so they derive a completely different meaning, namely, Kṛṣṇa's wives enter what they have always enjoyed (i.e. they enter their eternal abode, where they have always been enjoying the eternal *līlā*). In fact, they also explicitly clarify that the word *tadātmikāḥ* indicates that, since Kṛṣṇa is the very soul or essence of his wives, they are (according to Bengal Vaiṣṇavism) his essential *śaktis* (*kṛṣṇaḥ ātmā svarūpam yāsām tāḥ svarūpa-śaktayah*) (RR on 11.31.20). Indeed, VR goes so far as to state that Rukmiṇī does not cast off her own body but only becomes invisible, unlike Kṛṣṇa's other wives (VR on 11.31.20). MD and VJ, for good measure, also make Satyabhāmā an exception, in addition to Rukmiṇī (MD and VJ on 11.31.20). Finally, we reach the climax with SD, who explains that Kṛṣṇa's wives enter into the fire for the sake of the welfare of the world, but in reality the final state for all of them is like that of Kṛṣṇa, since they have eternal bodies; he derives this meaning on the strength of the word *tadātmikāḥ* (SD on 11.31.20).⁸

It may be incidentally mentioned that in reference to Balarāma's wives embracing his body, RR and VD aver that his wives actually embrace him and not his body for, according to a Brahmatarka saying, in the case of a deity there is no difference between the body (*deha*) and the embodied (*dehin*) (VD on 11.31.20, RR on 11.31.19 [in my text]). SD reasons that Balarāma's wives cannot embrace his body because it is said in 11.31.18 that Devakī, Rohiṇī and Vasudeva were unable

8 The BhP alludes to Kṛṣṇa's death in some other passages, too (see 3.2.7, 3.3.15, 3.4.28–30). The commentators give the same explanations as in the verses we have dealt with in this article but, generally and understandably, with lesser detail, since those passages make only passing references to his death.

to see Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, and also both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are eternal forms (*vigraha*). Therefore, in reality, his wives embrace Balarāma's "body" made up of [the outline of] his clothes or they embrace a mental image of his body (SD on 11.31.20). Similar explanations could therefore have been given by these commentators, had there been an explicit mention of Kṛṣṇa's wives embracing his body.

In the context of the various interpretations by the commentators, it is worth reminding ourselves not to be too quick to accuse them of twisting the meaning of the verses. Modern hermeneutics tells us that a text has a fuller meaning and can contain meanings even beyond what the original author intended. Indeed, the same text can signify different things to different people, for there are no simple, plain facts, but always facts with interpretation. And this is seen both in the religious and secular spheres. A history of India written by a Briton or an Indian can hardly be expected to be the same; a person who is a terrorist for some is a martyr for others. Of course, this does not mean that one is free to interpret texts according to one's whim and fancy, for one should not neglect the context and intended readership or audience of the original text; somehow a bridge has to be built between one's perspectives or horizon and that of the original text, so that there is a "fusion of horizons" (Grondin 1994).

CONCLUSION

Thus, we can see that not only is Kṛṣṇa's ascension into his eternal abode painted with increasingly glowing colours in the texts, but as the doctrine of "pure matter" (*śuddha-sattva*) developed, many of the commentators advocated even the bodily ascension of Kṛṣṇa. Moreover, according to the commentators belonging to the school of Caitanya, Kṛṣṇa does not die, nor do the Yādavas for that matter: they all become invisible and enter into their eternal, non-manifest (*aprakāṣa*) *līlā*. All the commentators are much later than the BhP. They range from SS, who is said to have been born around 1325 CE, to GS, whose birth is claimed to be in Samvat 1892 (1832 CE) (Caturvedī 1977: 66, 159). Thus, Kṛṣṇa's death is progressively transfigured, keeping pace with the theological developments.

ABBREVIATIONS OF PRIMARY SOURCES

BhP [Bhāgavatapurāṇa] *Śrīmadbhāgavatamahāpurāṇam. Ekādaśaḥ skandhaḥ*. With various commentaries. Vol. XI (Samvat 2029 [1973]) of *Śrīmadbhāgavatamahāpurāṇam*. With various commentaries. Ed. Kṛṣṇaśāṅkara Śāstrī. Vols I–IX, 10 pts. 1–6 and 11–12. Ahmedabad: Śrībhāgavata-vidyāpīṭha, Samvat 2022 [1965] – Samvat 2042 [1986].

- Harivaiśaḥ*. 2 vols. Crit. ed. Parashuram Lakshman Vaidya. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1969–1971.
- Mbh [Mahābhārata] *The Mahābhārata*. Vol. VI With the Commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha called *Bhāratabhāvadīpa*. Ed. Rāmacandraśāstrī Kiṅjavadēkar. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1979.
- MD [Madhva] *Śrīmadbhāgavatātātparyanirṇaya of Ānandatīrtha* [Madhva]. Ed. Bannaṅge Govindācārya. Vol. III (1980) of *Sarvamūla-granthāḥ*. Udipi: Akhila Bharata Madhva Maha Mandala Publication, 1969–1980.
- ViP [Viṣṇupurāṇa] *Viṣṇupurāṇam*. With the Commentary of Śrīdhara called *Śvapraśāsa*. Ed. Jīvananda Vidyāsāgara. Calcutta: Sarasvati Press, 1882.

REFERENCES

- BELVALKAR, Shripad Krishna (ed.) 1959. *The Mahabharata: The Critical and Illustrated Edition*, Vol. XIX. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- CATURVEDI, Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa 1977. *Śrīmadbhāgavat ke ṭīkākār*. Mathura: Rajyashri Prakashan.
- DE, Sushil Kumar 1961. *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*. 2nd edn. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay.
- GONDA, Jan 1965. *L'Hindouisme recent of Les religions de l'Inde*, II. Translated from the German by L. Jospin. (Collection les religions de l'humanité) Paris: Payot.
- GRONDIN, Jean 1994. *Introduction to Philosophical Hermeneutics*. New Haven: YUP.
- KAPOOR, O.B.L. 1977. *The Philosophy and Religion of Śrī Caitanya: The Philosophical Background of the Hare Krishna Movement*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- SCHRADER, F. Otto 1973. *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Abirbudhnya Saṁhitā*. Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre.
- SHETH, Noel, S.J. 1984. *The Divinity of Krishna*. With a Foreword by Daniel H.H. Ingalls. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- SHETH, Noel, S.J. 1998. The Justification of Krishna's Destruction of the Yādavas. *Purāṇa* 40(1): 34–44.
- SHETH, Noel, S.J. 2000. The Justification of Kṛṣṇa's Annihilation of His Own Clan. In: M.A. DHAKY & J.B. SHAH (eds), *Makaranda: Madhukar Anant Mebendale Festschrift*: 45–72. Ahmedabad: Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre.
- SHETH, Noel, S.J. 2002. Hindu *Avatāra* and Christian Incarnation. *Philosophy East and West: A Quarterly of Comparative Philosophy* 52(1): 98–125.
- ZAEHNER, Robert C. 1973. *The Bhagavad-Gītā*. With a Commentary Based on the Original Sources. London: OUP.

THE “PLACING OF THE EMBRYO RITUAL” OF LAYING THE CONSECRATION DEPOSIT IN THE SOUTH INDIAN ŚAIVA TRADITION: THE TESTIMONY OF THE TEXTS

Anna A. Ślaczka

Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

INTRODUCTION

The construction of a building in India was never a simple undertaking.¹ It was inevitably accompanied by a series of rituals. They would begin long before the actual construction. If the new building was a temple, they would be especially elaborate. One of the major ceremonies performed, at least according to the texts, was the placing of the first stones or bricks in the foundation and, subsequently, the laying of a consecration deposit either in the foundation or in the base.² Such a deposit would mark, after the technical and ceremonial preparation of the soil, the beginning of the actual construction of a building. Another deposit was placed below the pedestal of the image of the main deity (in a ceremony known as the *ratnanyāsa*), and yet another could be installed in the temple’s superstructure.³

In the present paper, I would like to provide a sketch of the ceremonial placing of the foundation consecration deposit for a temple, and contrast this with accounts of this ritual in currently available secondary literature. I will present an outline of the placing of such a deposit as described in a select group of texts

1 This article is a revised version of the paper presented during the World Sanskrit Conference in Helsinki (2003), and it is based on a select group of cognate texts, listed in footnote 4. For an in-depth study on the *garbhanyāsa* ‘laying of the embryo’ ritual and additional textual sources, see Ślaczka 2007.

2 A number of texts prescribe the depositing of symbolic items also during the installation of the first stones or bricks: the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, for instance, stipulates that gems and a golden lotus be placed in the middle of the four first bricks. The present paper, however, deals only with the ritual referred to in the texts as *garbhanyāsa*.

3 For the *ratnanyāsa*, see Ślaczka 2017.

(for the clarity of the outline), and I will compare the textual descriptions with contemporary interpretations.⁴

The specific variant of the ritual of placing the consecration deposit that I will discuss is known in almost all Sanskrit texts under the name *garbhanyāsa* or *garbhavinyāsa* (or, alternatively, *garbhādhāna*), which means literally: ‘the placing of the embryo’.⁵ The embryo is here a specially constructed box, referred to in the texts as *bhājana*, *phelā*, or *mañjūṣā*, which is usually divided into compartments and filled with objects of symbolic value. The box, together with its contents, is placed in the foundation or in the base of the future building in the case of a deposit for an edifice, such as a temple, or in an indicated plot of land in the case of a deposit for a settlement.⁶

The importance of the *garbhanyāsa*, at least in South India, can be inferred from the fact that it is described, or at least mentioned, in all South Indian Sanskrit texts dealing with architecture and ritual, belonging to various religious traditions. It is thus found in manuals dealing with architecture and image-making, the *śilpa*- and *vāstuśāstras*, and in those concentrating on ritual (i.e. the tantric/āgamic literature of the Śaivas, and the Vaiṣṇava *saṃhitās*, both Vaikhānasa and Pāñcarātra).⁷ The description of the *garbhanyāsa* is not included in most texts in North India.⁸

The *garbhanyāsa* has for a long time been a neglected topic among authors of standard books on Hindu architecture and ritual. Many scholars, starting with Ram Raz, whose *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus* (1834) was one of the first publications on this subject, and more recent authors like T. Bhattacharyya in his *Canons of Indian Art* (1963), do not mention the ritual at all, despite its importance in the texts. In her monumental work *The Hindu Temple*, published

4 The textual sources for the outline of the ritual presented here are: *Kāṃikāgama* 31, *Kāraṇāgama* 6, *Suprabhedāgama* 28, *Ajitāgama* 17, and the *Kāśyapaśilpa*. All these texts belong to the South Indian Śaiva Siddhānta school. For the editions and manuscripts, see the selected bibliography. The reading and the verse numbers of the *Kāśyapaśilpa* given here are those of the critical edition of the *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* chapter (ŚlaŒzka 2007: 103–165). In the two earlier editions (1926 and 1968; see bibliography), which present a very corrupt text, *garbhanyāsa* is dealt with in chapter 26.

5 The term *garbhādhāna* occurs, for instance, in *Viṣvaksenasamhitā* 1.56 and *Viṣṇusamhitā* 13.22.

6 Performing the *garbhanyāsa* for a settlement is mentioned by some texts, but it is seldom discussed in detail.

7 For the description of the *garbhanyāsa* in the *śilpa*- and *vāstuśāstras*, see *Mayamata* 12, *Mānasāra* 12, and *Śilparatna* 12; for the *garbhanyāsa* in the *tantras* and the *āgamas*, in addition to the texts mentioned in footnote 4 above, see *Dīptāgama* 5 and the unedited transcripts in ŚlaŒzka 2007; for the *garbhanyāsa* in the Vaikhānasa texts, see *Atrisamhitā* 10, *Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa* 16, *Kṛjyādhikāra* 5.25b–33a, and *Marīcisamhitā* 13; for the Pāñcarātra texts, see *Pādmasamhitā* 6, *Viṣṇusamhitā* 13.22ff. and *Viṣvaksenasamhitā* 1.56.

8 For example, in the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*.

in 1946, Stella Kramrisch dedicated one section to this topic.⁹ Her discussion of the *garbhanyāsa* is to be appreciated as the first attempt to interpret the ritual, but must also be regarded with caution, as will be demonstrated further on. Later authors discussing certain archaeological traces of consecration rituals often limited themselves to quoting from Kramrisch’s work without studying the textual sources themselves.¹⁰

One of the reasons for this might be the fact that many ritual and architectural texts where the descriptions of the *garbhanyāsa* are found are still not translated and sometimes even not edited, or not edited critically.¹¹ Unfortunately, many of the available translations, certainly the earlier ones, are not a good source of information on the *garbhanyāsa*. In the translation of *Agniṣurāṇa* 41.20, the word *garbhabhājana*, well known from other texts with the meaning of ‘deposit box’, has been interpreted as ‘hole’ by both translators.¹² Prasanna Kumar Acharya, the editor and translator of the widely quoted *Mānasāra*, also was apparently not well acquainted with the *garbhanyāsa*. This resulted in a very misleading translation of the chapter describing this ritual and an unsatisfactory definition of the terms *garbhanyāsa* and *garbhabhājana* in this encyclopaedic work, which is still widely used.

Guided by the concept that the chapter describes the laying of the foundation (in a technical sense of the word), Acharya repeatedly translates *mañjūṣā* and *bhājana* (‘box’, ‘receptacle’; here, ‘deposit-box’) as ‘excavation’, even when this results in very contorted statements.¹³ This unfortunately makes his translation of the *garbhanyāsa* chapter unsuitable for any practical purpose and for those interested in the rite.

Acharya’s mistaken interpretation of the *garbhanyāsa* is also reflected, as noted previously, in another publication edited in the *Mānasāra* series: *The Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*. The work includes the *garbhanyāsa* and the *garbhabhājana*

9 Kramrisch 1946: 126–128.

10 See O’Connor 1966: 56–57; Sarma 1982: 101, 147–148; Karunaratne 1984: 195.

11 Several texts have been published in the years after the presentation of this paper, mainly by the Institut Français de Pondichéry (IFP) and the École Française d’Extrême-Orient (EFEO) in Pondicherry, India. Many other texts containing the *garbhanyāsa* chapter, however, remain unpublished (for instance, the *Aṅśumadāgama*). An even larger number of texts still awaits translation.

12 Dutt 1967: 155; Gangadharan 1984–1987: 112.

13 Acharya’s (1934: 110, n. 1) own confusion about the misinterpretation of the *mañjūṣā* (deposit container) as a foundation for the whole building can be seen in his remark on the dimensions of a *mañjūṣā* (whose width should be from three up to 26 *aṅgulas*, or finger-breadths, according to *Mānasāra* 12.12cd–13ab): “These measures seem to be in rods of four cubits or two yards; if it be taken literally to imply the *aṅgula* of 3/4 inch, the dimensions would be too small for the foundation of any building.”

among its items, but the explanations given there are problematic. *Garbhanyāsa* was translated as ‘laying the foundations, the foundations’; *garbhavinyāsa* as ‘the arrangement of the foundation, the foundations’; and *garbhabhājana* as ‘foundation pit, the excavation’.¹⁴ The translation ‘laying the foundation’ for *garbhanyāsa* can still, perhaps, be accepted in the meaning of ‘laying the foundation stone’, even if such a translation is not the most satisfactory, as the laying of the foundation stone and the depositing of the ‘*garbha*’ are two distinct rituals. ‘Foundation pit’ and ‘excavation’ as explanations of the *garbhabhājana* are certainly wrong.

Fortunately, a few *garbhanyāsa* chapters are available in a useful edition and have a valuable translation. To these belong the *Mayamata* edition and translation by Bruno Dagens (1970), the *Marīcisaṃhitā* edition and translation by Gerard Colas (1986), and the *Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa* translation by Teun Goudriaan (1965). An important article by Dagens (2001) has also been published, where the *garbhanyāsa* is one of the discussed topics.

THE GARBHANYĀSA AS DESCRIBED IN THE SANSKRIT TEXTS

I will now present the outline of the ritual as described in a select group of texts.¹⁵ All of them are South Indian scriptures of the Śaiva Siddhānta tradition (the so-called tantric/āgamic literature). One of the texts, the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, occupies a place between a *śilpaśāstra* and an *āgama*.¹⁶ The date of our sources is difficult to determine, but it might be supposed that all of them date from about the eleventh or twelfth century CE.¹⁷ The tradition preserved in these texts may, of course, go further back in time.¹⁸

The *garbhanyāsa* ritual is, at least in the case of the texts dealt with here, described in a separate chapter. As it will become apparent, it is fairly elaborate: it consists of a sequence of sub-rituals, and the entire ceremony may take a few days. The outline of the ritual is basically the same in all texts of the Southern Indian Śaiva Siddhānta tradition, including the *Kāśyapaśilpa*. The differences, when they occur, have to do rather with the variety of objects to be placed in the deposit casket, or with the mantras that are used during the ritual, which may vary in different texts.¹⁹

14 Acharya 1946: 147–148.

15 See footnote 4 above.

16 See ŚlaŹczka 2007: 11–16.

17 See, e.g., the Preface in Goodall 2004.

18 Davis 2000: 3.

19 For details, see ŚlaŹczka 2007.

An outline of the *garbhanyāsa* ritual on the basis of the selected texts:

1. Introductory verses
- 1a. Symbolism
- 2–3. Auspicious time for the installation of the deposit casket and the location prescribed
4. Description of the deposit casket
5. Preparatory rituals
6. Building a pavilion in which some of the preparatory ceremonies take place
7. Placing the objects in the casket
8. The ceremony of placing the jars – *kumbha-* or *kalasasthāpana*
9. Fire oblation
10. Placing the casket in the prescribed cavity
11. Final statements; *dakṣiṇā*

A short description of the stages of the ritual:

1. In all the consulted texts, the *garbhanyāsa* chapter begins with a few introductory verses that emphasize the importance of the performance of the ritual. The performance leads to success and well-being; abandoning the ritual leads to destruction.²⁰ This might seem a standard formula, but it is not found so prominently in chapters that contain prescriptions for other construction rituals. Perhaps this points to the special value attached to the *garbhanyāsa*, at least in South India.

Among the texts consulted, only the *Kāśyapaśilpa* adds also that no god would ever dwell in a temple where the consecration deposit (*garbha*) is not placed, and it gives, in a single verse, clues for a symbolic interpretation of the ritual. This verse will be discussed in the last part of this article.

2–3. After the introductory verses, the texts give indications for the location of the deposit²¹ and, sometimes, the auspicious time for the performance of the ritual.²² Here the sequence may vary a little in the texts. Not all the sources here give information about both time and about place. In some texts, it may be included at the end of the chapter.²³

20 *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* chapter, verses 1–3; *Kāmikāgama* 31.1–2ab; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.1–2ab; *Ajitāgama* 17.1–2ab, 5cd; *Suprabhedāgama* 28.1–2.

21 *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 4–7ab; *Ajitāgama* 17.1cd–5ab.

22 *Kāmikāgama* 31.2ab–6; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.6.2ab–7ab.

23 *Kāmikāgama* 71–73 and 83cd–104; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.6.1cd and 8ocd–83; *Suprabhedāgama* 28.3ocd–36ab; *Suprabhedāgama* 28.38ab.

4. The description of the deposit container is fairly precise in all the texts: it states the material of which the casket is to be made (metal – that is, gold, silver, copper or brass), the measurements of the casket and the lid, and the general appearance.²⁴

The casket should be divided into compartments in which the prescribed objects will subsequently be placed. The number of compartments can be nine or twenty-five, but from the description of the objects to be placed it seems that the preferred number of compartments was twenty-five.²⁵ According to some texts, the size of the deposit box depends on the size of the future temple, or, more precisely, on the number of *bhūmis* or storeys of the temple: the higher the temple, the bigger the casket.²⁶

5. Regarding the various rituals concerning the final preparation of the casket, its purification and so forth,²⁷ after being made, the deposit casket has to be cleaned either with tamarind water or with the five products of the cow. Then follows sprinkling with *kuśa*-water and the ceremony of the *puṇyāvahācana*, the proclamation of the meritorious day.²⁸ Some texts also mention the *anikurārpaṇa*, or the ceremony of sowing seeds.²⁹

6. In this place the texts describe the building of a ceremonial pavilion, known as *maṇḍapa* or *prapā*.³⁰ In our case it is, most probably, a temporary structure.

24 *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 7cd–14; *Kāmikāgama* 31.7–14ab; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.7cd–12; *Ajītāgama* 17.6–11ab; *Suprabhedāgama* 28.3–9. Other materials are prescribed sporadically, namely, stone, iron and, when these are not available, wood, clay, and even seashells. See *Kāmikāgama* 31.13cd (stone); *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 8a transcript T1 (iron); *Pādmasaṃhitā* 6.24cd (wood); *Pādmasaṃhitā* 2.22ab (clay, in the case of a deposit for a village); *Ajīta* 17.40cd and *Suprabhedāgama* 28.4ab (seashells).

25 The casket with 25 compartments is prescribed by *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 13cd and *Kāraṇāgama* 6.12cd; the casket with either 9 or 25 compartments is prescribed by *Kāmikāgama* 31.12cd and *Ajītāgama* 17.10ab, but the objects to be deposited inside fit a casket of 25 compartments; see *Ajītāgama* 17.18–19, 26d; *Kāmikāgama* 31.46. *Suprabhedāgama* 28.6d prescribes 9 compartments only, but verses 16–17 speak about the deities to be installed in “the 16 outer compartments”, which again suggests a casket with 25 compartments.

26 *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 9cd. The same is stated by *Mayamata* 12.9cd–11ab and *Mānasāra* 12.11.

27 These rituals presumably take place inside the ceremonial pavilion, but in some texts they are mentioned before the pavilion is introduced.

28 The cleaning of the casket is mentioned in *Kāmikāgama* 31.16a–c; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.13ab; *Ajītāgama* 17.11cd; *Suprabhedāgama* 28.10ab; *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 18c. The *puṇyāvahācana*, “a ceremony done by sprinkling consecrated water and a proclamation stating ‘let the day be meritorious’” (Bhatt 1993–1994: 74) is mentioned in *Kāmikāgama* 31.16d; *Suprabhedāgama* 28.10cd–11ab. For the *puṇyāvahācana*, see also Dagens & Barazer-Billoret 2000: 74, n. 42.

29 *Kāmikāgama* 31.17ab; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.13cd.

30 *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 30–34; *Kāmikāgama* 31.18cd–22c; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.15–19c; *Ajītāgama* 17.12–14. In *Suprabhedāgama* 28.10cd, the pavilion is mentioned but not described. The terms *maṇḍapa* and *prapā* are synonyms here; cf. *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 30 and 32.

Within this structure various ceremonies are performed, such as the placing of the objects in the *garbha*-casket and the fire oblation, the *homa*. The description of the pavilion is practically the same, even concerning the details, in most texts that include the *garbhanyāsa*. The pavilion should have pillars and be decorated with arches and banners. Inside the pavilion a platform, or *vedī*, should be constructed, as well as a ceremonial ground, the *sthaṇḍila*. Around the *vedī* there should be the *agnikuṇḍas* or fire pits. They will be used later for the fire oblation. The number and shape of the fire pits vary according to the text.

7. When the pavilion is prepared, the *puṇyāha* is proclaimed and the casket is placed on the ceremonial ground made of rice and other grains.³¹ Sometimes other ceremonies are performed as well, such as the drawing of a *maṇḍala* and the binding of the *kautuka* (here, ‘protective thread’) around the deposit casket.³² Now it is time for the objects to be placed within the compartments of the casket; this is accompanied by the recitation of various mantras. The objects are not placed at random. Each object has its own prescribed location inside the casket. The lists of objects are long and can be very detailed, and they may vary in different texts.³³ Objects prescribed by the majority of the sources include precious and semi-precious stones (*ratna*), minerals or colouring substances (*dhātu*), grains (*bīja*), and the attributes or weapons of the main god of the temple under construction. To the objects prescribed only by a few texts of our group belong the eight auspicious objects/symbols (*aṣṭamaṅgala*),³⁴ plants and herbs (*oṣadhi*),³⁵ ‘fragrant substances’ (such as camphor),³⁶ and metals (*loha*).³⁷ Furthermore, bulbs of plants and earth taken from different locations should, according to certain texts, be deposited in the pit in which, subsequently, the casket will be installed. This happens directly

31 *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 35–38; *Kāmikāgama* 31.22d–27; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.19d–26ab; *Ajitāgama* 17.14–18; *Suprabhedāgama* 28.11–13.

32 For the ritual use of the protective thread (*kautuka* or *kautukasūtra*, also known as *pratisara*), see Brunner 1968: ix and 1998: 146, n. 401 (*kautuka* for a *liṅga*). The use of *pratisara* in the Vaiṣṇava tradition is dealt with by Rangachari (1931: 121). For a discussion on the differences between the *kautuka-pratisara* and a *pavitra*, see Brunner (1968: ix). One should add that the binding of the *kautuka* for the deposit casket occurs only in the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, *Dīptāgama* 4.26c, and *Kumāratantra* 29.2186a (in the latter it is called *raktisūtra*). Most parallel texts prescribe it for other objects; for instance, for the ‘first bricks’ (*prathameṣṭakā*), which are to be installed in the foundation of a new building, but not for the *garbha*-casket; cf. *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* 27.71ff; *Marīcisaṃhitā* 6.4.1.2; *Atrisāṃhitā* 6.24; *Kriyādhikāra* 5.8; *Pādmasaṃhitā* 5.65; *Viṣvaksenasāṃhitā* 8.16.

33 See *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 15–29; *Kāmikāgama* 31.32–62; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.27cd–50; *Ajitāgama* 17.18–33; *Suprabhedāgama* 28.14–27ab.

34 *Kāmikāgama* 31.39cd–40.

35 *Ajitāgama* 17.30.

36 *Kāmikāgama* 31.50cd–51.

37 *Ajitāgama* 17.25cd–26; *Suprabhedāgama* 28.23cd–24ab.

before the final installation of the casket (see below). A few texts, however, stipulate that earth and bulbs should also be placed inside the casket.³⁸

It is important to mention that the casket is filled not only with “material” objects, but also with mantras and the sounds or letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. The location of the letters/sounds in the compartments of the *garbha*-casket is precisely given. Thus, in the case of a casket consisting of 25 compartments, in the middle compartment the *kūṭāksara* (*kṣa*) should be placed, in the eight compartments around it the letters *ya* to *visarga*, and in the outer ring the sixteen *svaras* or vowels.³⁹

When placed into the deposit box, the letters may subsequently function as a means to identify specific compartments. In the prescriptions for the placing of the objects (for example, in the *Kāśyapaśilpa* and the *Kāraṇāgama*), the compartments are referred to by means of the letter that was assigned to them:⁴⁰ for instance, “one should place rice in the *a*-compartment”. The distribution of objects in the *Suprabhedāgama* and some texts outside our group (for instance, the *Mayamata*, the *Mānasāra*, and the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*) is also easy to trace, as the deposit casket there represents, as it were, a miniature of a ground plan of twenty-five plots known in the architectural literature as *upapīṭha*. The compartments of the deposit casket are referred to by the names of deities associated with the well-defined plots of the *upapīṭha* plan.⁴¹

8–9. After the objects are placed, the casket is closed firmly with a lid and the fire oblation (*homa*) is performed. In the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, the fire oblation is preceded by the ceremony of placing the jars (*kumbhasthāpana*), but in other texts from our group the *kumbhasthāpana* is never a part of the *garbhanyāsa*.⁴²

10. In terms of placing the casket in the prescribed location within the temple under construction, when the *homa* is completed, the casket is lifted from the *sthaṇḍila* and carried to the prescribed location, with the accompaniment of music and recitation. A few texts also mention a ceremonial procession around the

38 *Kāmikāgama* 31.32–38; *Ajitāgama* 17.28cd–29 and 31–32.

39 *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 15ab, 16cd–17ab; *Kāmikāgama* 31.29–30; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.28–29ab; *Ajitāgama* 17.18–19. It may be that the act of placing the letters or sounds was performed entirely orally or meditatively. It should, however, be noted that certain finds in Southeast Asia suggest that some form of “placing of letters” was realized by means of engraving them on gold foil. See ŚlaŹczka 2007, Chapter 7.

40 *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 21cd–27; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.28–44.

41 See *Mayamata* 12.15ab, 25cd–29; *Mānasāra* 12.20ab; *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* III.27.81ab–85ab; and the translation of the *Mayamata* by Dagens (1970: 196, n. 11).

42 For the *homa* (the fire oblation), see *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 40cd–43ab; *Kāmikāgama* 31.64cd–68ab, 81cd–82; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.52–59; *Ajitāgama* 17.34–37; *Suprabhedāgama* 28.28cd–30ab. For the *kumbhasthāpana*, see *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 39–40ab.

temple (*pradakṣiṇa*).⁴³ Then the casket filled with all the objects is laid in a previously prepared cavity. According to certain texts, before the casket is installed, the cavity should be filled up with various kinds of bulbs, earth, and grains.⁴⁴

Concerning the location, the texts are usually vague. The place is different for a deposit for a building and for a settlement. But it also varies according to the type of building. In the case of a consecration deposit for a temple, however, there are two indications that occur in most texts: the casket has to be placed in the wall to the right of the door (or to the south of the door (Sanskrit: *dvāradakṣiṇe*), as this can be interpreted in both ways) and under a pillar. This prescription is found in almost all texts consulted, as well as in those which are not part of the Śaiva tradition.⁴⁵ The “door” is presumably the door of the *garbhagr̥ha*, the *sanctum*. Concerning the “pillar”, it is more difficult to establish where it should be, or what it should look like, for it is not specified in the majority of the texts. According to *Mayamata* 27.66, the pillar established above the consecration deposit is called *muhūrtastambha* and is probably hidden in the wall, so it is not visible from the outside. Other texts, however, do not specify its position.

Of course, the temple is still under construction. Probably only the plinth or a part of it has been accomplished so far. Still, the plan of the future temple is completed and the location of the door is marked.

Because of the lack of archaeological finds – so far no deposit box of the described type has been found in South India (the area of the origin of the consulted texts) – it is impossible to determine with certainty the precise location.⁴⁶

THE MEANING OF THE GARBHANYĀSA

The previous section provides a description of the *garbhanyāsa* ritual in the textual sources. Now the question arises, how to interpret these data? As it can be easily noticed, the descriptions of the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony in the texts, whether they present themselves as manuals on ritual or architecture, mainly contain technical information. They provide prescriptions for the performance of the ritual. These prescriptions may be very detailed or sometimes rather vague, but they remain

43 *Kāraṇāgama* 6.77cd–79cd.

44 *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 49–53; *Kāmikāgama* 31.76cd; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.63cd–68.

45 See, e.g., *Kāmikāgama* 31.83cd–84ab; *Kāraṇāgama* 6.80cd; *Ajitāgama* 17.3cd; *Marīcisaṃhitā* 13.1.2; *Atrisaṃhitā* 10.38b–42a; *Kriyādhikāra* 5.31; *Pādmasaṃhitā* 6.20; *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* 25cd.

46 Caskets and larger stone constructions with nine and twenty-five compartments filled with objects similar to those prescribed by the Indian texts have been unearthed in several locations in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia in both Hindu and Buddhist structures (Appendix I). For a list of such finds, see Ślaczka 2007: Appendix IV.

technical. There is almost nothing that hints at the symbolism and meaning of the *garbhanyāsa* ritual as experienced by the designers of the ritual or the people who used and transmitted the texts.

The first modern scholar who attempted to provide interpretation for the *garbhanyāsa* ritual was, as mentioned before, Stella Kramrisch in her work *The Hindu Temple*. Since the publication of her book – that is, since 1946 – many scholars, Indian as well as foreign, have quoted Kramrisch’s ideas on the topic of the *garbhanyāsa* (as on other topics related to the Hindu temple). Kramrisch’s book is certainly extremely valuable in general, but at times, and certainly on the point of the *garbhanyāsa*, her interpretations give the impression of being a little far-fetched (with regard to the suggested parallels with the Vedic tradition, for example) or they appear to be valid only for a certain group of texts.

Kramrisch based her views on several texts from various religious traditions, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, which have their origin in various regions of India. In her description of the *garbhanyāsa*, however, the differences between these traditions are not mentioned. These differences, even if not always very big, are, nevertheless, present in the texts. Besides, Kramrisch usually does not specify the sources for specific statements. As a result, one gets an impression that the *garbhanyāsa* ritual as described by Kramrisch is valid for all the Indian texts, regardless of geographical origin and religious orientation, which is certainly not the case.⁴⁷

To point out one example, Kramrisch (1946: 128) writes: “During a night which is in every way auspicious to the inception of the building, the Garbha vessel is lowered to the prescribed level of the foundation. On its floor the Serpent Ananta, the Endless, is drawn. On the hood of Ananta, the Garbhacasket has its place. On the lid of the casket, on a square surface, the maṇḍala of the Earth is drawn, with its seven continents, seas and mountains.” The source of this sentence is not given. The whole statement appears to be a little different from what can be found in the majority of the texts. First, the drawing of the serpent Ananta and of the Earth is usually not included in chapters describing the *garbhanyāsa*. Next, when it is included, it is nowhere clearly stated that the figure of Ananta has to be drawn on the floor of the foundation. One of the texts dealing with architecture, the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, mentions the drawing of Ananta, probably in the vicinity of the *garbha*-pit (which is not necessarily the same as the foundation), but the precise location is not indicated. Concerning

47 Kramrisch does not mention, for example, that the *garbhanyāsa* ritual is not included in all the religious and architectural Sanskrit treatises and that it is very seldom found in the texts of North India. It is also not found in the earliest known architectural work of India, Varahamihira’s *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of the sixth century CE.

the drawing of the *maṇḍala* of the Earth, this can be found in some texts, but, to my knowledge, never on the lid of the *garbha* casket. The *maṇḍala* of the Earth, when mentioned, has to be drawn on a prescribed spot within the *maṇḍapa*. For instance, according to *Kāmikāgama* 31.25–27, it is to the west of the *vedi*. And it is usually the casket that has to be placed on the *maṇḍala*.

With regard to the meaning of the *garbhanyāsa*, Stella Kramrisch (1946: 126, n. 86) equates the symbolism of the *garbha*-casket with that of the *ukhā*, the fire pan used in the *agnicayana* ritual. The parallels with the priestly, Vedic ritual have often been overemphasized by authors trying to explain certain Hindu rituals dating from a much later period.⁴⁸ In the present case, however, no textual proof exists to justify such continuation of the Vedic tradition.

Stella Kramrisch also pointed out the parallelism of the *garbhanyāsa* ritual and the *garbhādhāna saṃskāra*. The deposit casket would thus function as the “seed” with which the soil, on which the temple is going to be built, would become impregnated, which in turn will result in the “birth” of the building. This interpretation has also been repeated by numerous scholars afterwards. In this case, there indeed exists some data to support this interpretation. First, regarding the vocabulary, the similarity of the terms *garbhanyāsa* and *garbhādhāna* and, more generally, the existence of architectural terms such as *grīva* (neck), *kaṇṭha* (throat, neck), *aṅghri* (foot), *śikhā* (top-knot, etc.), *nāsika* (nose), and so forth suggest a comparison between a temple and the human body. There are also a few hints in the texts that support the parallelism between these two rituals. According to certain texts, the *garbhanyāsa* should not be performed when the wife of the patron (in the case of a temple) or the owner (in the case of a house) is pregnant.⁴⁹ Besides, the final placing of the deposit casket in the prepared cavity should preferably happen at night.⁵⁰

It is most remarkable, however, that considering the bulk of the material, there are only a very few verses that explicitly support the interpretation of the deposit casket as a seed or embryo. One of them is the exclamation *idaṃ viṣṇor vīryam* recited before the final placing of the casket in the cavity, as stated in the Vaiṣṇava text *Marīcisamhitā* 13.1.2. Another one is the earlier mentioned verse

48 See, for example, Goudriaan 1965: 61, n. 4 remarking on the shape of the deposit casket: “It is not without significance that the bowl should be quadrangular: the quadrangular form is the form of the earth as ruled over and being in harmony with the sky (which is represented as a quadrangle from Vedic times onwards; the *ābavanīya*-fire, which symbolizes heaven, has a quadrangular shape), cf. Kramrisch 1946: 29.” The idea that the deposit casket may represent the earth should not be rejected, but it has to be stressed that a deposit casket need not be square. Some texts allow it to be round (*vr̥tta*); cf. *Kāmikāgama* 31.13ab and *Kāraṇāgama* 6.12ab.

49 See *Kāmikāgama* 31.6cd and *Mayamata* 12.95cd.

50 See, e.g., *Atrisamhitā* 10.35ab; *Hayaśiṣṭapañcarātra* 12.10ff.; *Pādmāsamhitā* 6.17a.

of the *Kāśyapaśilpa*: *prāsādaṃ deham ity uktaṃ tasya prāṇas tu garbhakam*, which can be translated as: “The temple is said to be the body. The consecration deposit is its ‘life-breath’.”⁵¹ This, however, is an isolated verse that otherwise does not occur in any of the consulted sources, either Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava.⁵² This verse seems to have been corrupted by the scribes and misunderstood by the editors of the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, which may suggest that the understanding of the deposit as the life-breath of the temple was perhaps not so widespread.⁵³ The other aforementioned statements are also absent in the majority of the sources. The prescription that forbids performing of the *garbhanyāsa* ritual when the wife is pregnant occurs only in a very few texts (for instance, in the *Kāmikāgama* and in the *Mayamata*). As for the time of the final depositing of the casket, this is often said to be at night, but according to some texts day also is permitted.⁵⁴

We may conclude that the *garbha*-casket as the embryo from which the future temple will grow is a plausible interpretation, but that the textual sources provide only suggestive indications rather than elaboration of the parallelism.

MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED SOURCES

Agnipurāṇam. Ed. Baladeva Upādhyāya. (The Kashi Sanskrit Series 174) Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1966.

Ajitāgama. 2 vols. Ed. N.R. Bhatt. (Publications de l’Institute Français d’Indologie 24) Pondicherry: Institute Français d’Indologie, 1964 & 1967.

Atrisamhitā, see *Samūrtārcanādihikaraṇam*.

Dīptāgama. Institut Français de Pondichéry T1018. Paper transcript in Devanāgarī.

Dīptāgama, I. Ed. Marie-Luce Barazer-Billoret, Bruno Dagens & Vincent Lefèvre with S. Sambandha Śivācārya. Pondicherry: Institut française de Pondichéry, 2004.

Hayaśiṛṣa Pañcarātram. 2 vols. Ed. Bhuban Mohan Sāṅkhyatīrtha. Rajshahi: Varendra Research Society, 1952 & 1956.

Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati of Īśānaśiva Gurudeva. 4 vols. Ed. T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī. Delhi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1988.

51 *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 1cd.

52 The only text in which a similar idea is found is *Dīptāgama* 4.1–3, in which the *garbha*-deposit is called *jīva*, or the ‘life’, of the temple.

53 The 1926 Poona edition of the *Kāśyapaśilpa* reads: *prāsādadeham ity uktaṃ tasya prakāro vāstugarbhakam*, while the 1968 Thanjavur edition gives almost the same text: *prāsādaṃ deham ity uktaṃ tasya prakāro vāstugarbhakam*. The emendation proposed by Vajhe, the 1926 editor of the text, is *geham* instead of *deham*, which does not add to the understanding of the fragment.

54 *Mayamata* 12.112. Moreover, *Kāmikāgama* 31.5b and *Kāraṇāgama* 6.7a prescribe the placing of a consecration deposit during the day when it concerns buildings (and not settlements). *Kāmikāgama* 31.6ab adds that the deposit for deities should be placed during the day, for humans at night.

- Kāmikāgama, pūrvabhāga*. Ed. Svāmināthaśivācārya. Madras: South India Archaka Association, 1975.
- Kāraṇāgama*. Institut Français de Pondichéry T313. Paper transcript in Devanāgarī.
- Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa* (*Śrīmadvaikhānase Bhagavacchastre Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa; Kāśyapa saṃhitā*). Ed. R. Parthasarathi Bhattacharya. Tirupati: Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams Press, 1948.
- Kāśyapaśilpa*. Ed. Kṛṣṇa Rāya Vajhe. Poona: Ānandāśramamudraṇālaya, 1926.
- Kāśyapaśilpa*. Ed. K.S. Subrahmanya Sastri. (Sarasvati Mahal Series 122) Thanjavur: Sarasvati Mahal, 1968.
- Kriyādhikāra* (*Bhṛgusaṃhitā*). Ed. Vaikhanasa Agama Pandit. Tirupati: Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanams Press, 1953.
- Kumāratantra*. Institut Français de Pondichéry T675. Paper transcript in Devanāgarī.
- Mānasāra on Architecture and Sculpture*. Sanskrit text ed. Prasanna Kumar Acharya. (Mānasāra Series 3) London: OUP, 1934.
- Marīcisamhitā* (Le Temple Selon Marīci: Extraits de la Marīci-saṃhitā, étudiés, édités et traduits par Gérard Colas). Ed. Gérard Colas. Pondicherry: Institut Français d'Indologie, 1986.
- Mayamata: traité sanskrit d'architecture*. Ed. critique, trad. et notes par Bruno Dagens. Pondicherry: Institut Français d'Indologie, 1970.
- Pādmasaṃhitā*, see *Pāñcarātraprāsādaprasādhanam*.
- Pāñcarātraprāsādaprasādhanam* (Chapters 1–10 of the 'kriyāpāda', Pādmasaṃhitā). Ed. H. Daniel Smith. Madras: Rathnam Press, 1963.
- Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra of Bhoja*. Ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, revised and ed. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1966.
- Samūrtārcanādhikaraṇam* (*Atri Saṃhitā*) by Maharshi Atri. Ed. P. Raghunathachakravarti Bhattacharya & M. Ramakrishna Kavi. Tirupati: Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams Press, 1943.
- Śilparatna by Śrī Kumāra* (Part I). Ed. T. Ganapatisāstrī. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1922.
- Suprabhedāgama*. Institut Français de Pondichéry T360. Paper transcript in Devanāgarī.
- Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā*. Ed. Lakshmi Narasimha Bhatta. Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1972.

REFERENCES

- ACHARYA, Prasanna Kumar 1934. *Architecture of Mānasāra*. (Mānasāra Series 4) London: OUP.
- ACHARYA, Prasanna Kumar 1946. *The Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*. (Mānasāra Series 7) London: OUP.
- BHATT, N.R. 1993–1994. Saiva Temple Rituals. *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* 11–12: 71–84.

- BHATTACHARYYA, Tarapada 1963. *The Canons of Indian Art or a Study on Vāstuvidyā*. Calcutta: K.L. Mukhopadhyay.
- BRUNNER, H. (ed. & tr.) 1968. *Somasambhupaddhati*, II (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 25) Pondicherry: Institut Français d'Indologie.
- BRUNNER, H. (ed. & tr.) 1998. *Somasambhupaddhati*, IV (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie 25) Pondicherry: Institut Français d'Indologie.
- DAGENS, Bruno 2001. *Les âges de la vie dans le monde Indien: Actes des journées d'étude de Lyon (22–23 juin 2000)*. Ed. Christine Chojnacki. Lyon: CEROR.
- DAGENS, Bruno & Marie-Luce BARAZER-BILLORET 2000. *Le Rauravāgama: Un traité de rituel et de doctrine Śivaïtes*. Pondicherry: Institute Français d'Indologie.
- DAVIS, Richard H. 2000. *Worshipping Śiva in Medieval India: Ritual in an Oscillating Universe*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- DUTT, Manmatha Nāth [1903–1904] 1967. *Agni Purāṇam: A Prose English Translation by Manmatha Nāth Dutt*. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office.
- GANGADHARAN, N. 1984–1987. *The Agni Purāna: Translated and Annotated by N. Gangadharan*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- GOODALL, Dominic 2004. *The Parāḅhyatantra: A Scripture of the Śaiva Siddhānta*. Pondicherry: Institut français de Pondichéry, École française d'Extrême-Orient.
- GOUDRIAAN, Teun 1965. *Kāśyapa's Book of Wisdom: Translated from the Sanskrit with Introduction, Notes and Appendices by Teun Goudriaan*. The Hague: Mouton.
- KARUNARATNE, T.B. 1984. Garbhapātra: Ritual Deposit Vessels of Buddhist Shrines in Ancient Sri Lanka. *Ancient Ceylon* 5: 125–219.
- KRAMRISCH, Stella [1976] 1946. *The Hindu Temple*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta. (Repr. Delhi Motilal Banarsidass.)
- O'CONNOR, Stanley J. 1966. Ritual Deposit Boxes in Southeast Asian Sanctuaries. *Artibus Asiae* 28(1): 57–58.
- RANGACHARI, K. 1931. The Sri Vaishnava Brahmans. *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, General Section*, n.s. 2(2): i–v, 1–158.
- RAZ, Ram 1834. *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*. London: Parker.
- SARMA, Inguva Karthikeya 1982. *The Development of Early Śaiva Art and Architecture (with special reference to Andhradeśa)*. Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan.
- ŚLAŒZKA, Anna A. 2007. *Temple Consecration Rituals in Ancient India: Text and Archaeology*. Leiden: Brill.
- ŚLAŒZKA, Anna A. 2017. The Ratnanyāsa (Placing of Gems) Ritual in the Devyāmata, an Early Śaiva pratiṣṭhātantra. In: I. KEUL (ed.), *Consecration Rituals in South Asia* (Numen Book Series 155): 85–112. Leiden: Brill.

APPENDIX I: ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1 Stone casket with nine compartments discovered in Jolotundo, East Java. 10th century. The casket contained silver coins, silver pieces of irregular shape, and several figures cut out of gold leaf, some of them inscribed. Museum Nasional, Jakarta. Photograph courtesy of M.J. Klokke.



Figure 2 Stone caskets with nine compartments discovered under the walls of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, Kedah, Malaysia. Date disputed (8th–13th CE). The casket contained copper pots, which in turn contained semiprecious stones, minerals, gold dust, and inscribed gold leaves, as well as seeds and other vegetable matter. More objects were found below the pots, in the compartments of the casket. Lembah Bujang Archaeological Museum, Malaysia. Photograph: Anna A. Ślaczka.

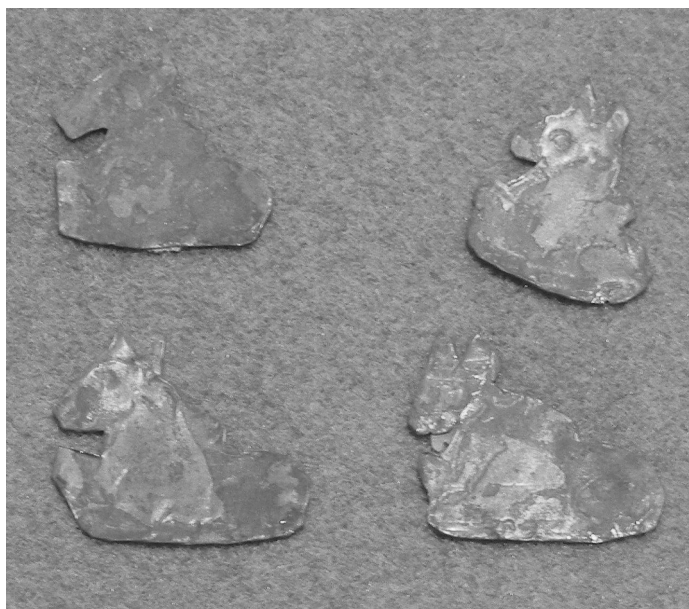


Figure 3 Figures of bulls, symbols of Śiva, cut out of gold leaf. Discovered inside the stone caskets of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, Kedah. Lembah Bujang Archaeological Museum, Malaysia. Photograph: Anna A. Ślączka.



Figure 4 Deposit receptacle (*yantragala*) of twenty-five compartments discovered under the floor of a Buddhist shrine. The compartments contained bronze objects of various shapes, including the auspicious symbols. Date unknown. Maligawila, Sri Lanka. Photograph courtesy of N. Chutiwongs.



Figure 5 Metal box with nine compartments, presumably holding a deposit, discovered in Gampola. 17th century. Archaeological Museum, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka. Photograph: Anna A. Ślaczka.



Figure 6 Auspicious symbols and other objects discovered inside a consecration deposit. Abhayagiri Museum, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka. Photograph: Anna A. Ślaczka.

THE JAIMINĪYASAMHITĀ OF THE BRAHMĀṆḌAPURĀṆA AND THE BHĀGAVATAPURĀṆA: COSMOGONIC ACCOUNTS

Sandra Smets

Université Catholique de Louvain

The *Jaiminīya-Samhitā* (JaiSa), claiming to be a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*, is a purāṇic work in 95 *adhyaīyas* and about 7,000 verses, rediscovered in Kerala by Christophe Vielle,¹ who supervises its critical edition and thorough study at Louvain-la-Neuve University.²

This paper will focus on two cosmogonic chapters (*adh.* 48–49) included in the central section entitled “The Question of Janaka” (*Janakaprasna*) which deals, in a synthetic manner, with Advaita (*adh.* 46–51): they expound respectively on the emanation of the cosmic principles (*tattva*) and the secondary creation out of the cosmic egg. The framework of this account is a conversation between the sage Asita and the Videha king Janaka (Nimi’s son), who wants to be instructed on the true nature of *brahman* and its relation to the world.

It will be shown here that in these cosmogonic chapters, the JaiSa has many verses in common with the second and third books of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (BhP [CE] 2.5–6 and 3.26). However, it differs from the latter by the use of further sources. In JaiSa 48.24, it is said that the *puruṣa* enters the *prakṛti* “of his own will” and disturbs it.³ The second hemistich of this verse reminds us

1 My thanks to my husband, Raphaël Gérard, for his helpful remarks, and to Christophe Vielle for his editorial revision (2017) of the original 2003 version of this paper.

2 According to the guide manuscript providing the base text for the edition. The text is more commonly found divided into 97 *adh.* (themselves sometimes miscounted as 98 or 99); see Vielle *forthcoming*. For an introduction to the JaiSa, see Vielle 2002; 2008; 2011–2012; 2014. The *Janakaprasna* (*adh.* 46–51) is now critically edited with a French translation and a detailed commentary; see Smets 2013. The edition of *adh.* 1–15 is in the course of publication; see Vielle *forthcoming*.

3 JaiSa 48.24: *daivaprayuktyā sargādau kālasaṅkṣobhadharmiṇīm / praviśyātmecchayā rājan prakṛtiṃ kṣobhayisyati*. Cf. *svecchayaiva* in 48.23a.

of *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (ViP [CE]) 1.2.29,⁴ whereas the corresponding verse of the BhP (3.26.19) does not even mention the act of entering the *prakṛti*.⁵ In another passage where the JaiSa and the BhP set forth the characteristics or properties (*lakṣaṇa* or *vṛtti*) of each element (*bhūta*), they slightly differ from each other in the attribution of the functions of the ether (*nabhas*): JaiSa 48.40c presents the compound *avakāśapradāyitvam* instead of *chidradātṛtvam* in BhP 3.26.34a. Now, the expression used by the JaiSa appears in the *Ahīrbudhmya-Saṃhitā* (AhiSa) 7.22, where one can read *ākāśam avakāśapradāyi*. Furthermore, in JaiSa 49.30cd–37 ≈ BhP 2.6.15cd–20, where both texts elaborate on the famous *Puruṣasūkta* (*Rgveda* 10.90), the JaiSa has one more *pāda* (49.33d: *jyāyān eṣa yato nṛpa*),⁶ parallel to *Rgveda* 10.90.3b: *ato jyāyāṃś ca pūruṣaḥ*.

From these examples, it appears that the JaiSa uses various sources for the additional or different elements which are not found in the BhP. This observation suggests that the JaiSa has borrowed from the BhP, rather than the other way around; otherwise, one would expect to find all the quotations of the JaiSa in the BhP. Why would the author(s) of the BhP refrain from quoting the hemistich inspired by the ViP, which is one of the sources of this Purāṇa? Why would they not complete the quotation to the *Puruṣasūkta*, in spite of the prestige of this text? Or should we postulate the existence of a common source, which would have existed independently before being inserted into both the JaiSa and the BhP? Since I have no argument, neither to confirm nor to deny this last hypothesis, it is preferable to gather the facts and to postpone any final conclusion. Nevertheless, for the convenience of this work, I will base my presentation on the practical working hypothesis that the JaiSa directly borrowed from the BhP and adapted its source each time it was needed for contextual or philosophical reasons.

First of all, I will give a concordance of chapters 48–49 of the JaiSa and of the related sections of the BhP (BhP 2.5–6 and 3.26).⁷ Then I will centre my study on the first part of the cosmogonic account (JaiSa 48), namely, the emanation of the cosmic principles, in order to underline some important differences between the two texts and to interpret them.

4 ViP 1.2.29: *pradhānaṃ puruṣaṃ cāpi pravīśyātmecchayā hariḥ / kṣobhayām āsa saṃprāpte sargakāle vyayāvyayau*.

5 BhP 3.26.19: *daiṅvāt kṣubhitadharmīnyāṃ svasyāṃ yonau paraḥ pumān / ādhatta vīryaṃ sāsītā mahattattvaṃ hiraṇmayam*.

6 Compare BhP 2.6.18 (*mahimaiṣa tato brahman puruṣasya duratyayaḥ / pādeṣu sarvabhūtāni puṅsaḥ sthitipado viduḥ*) and JaiSa 49.33 (*īdrgvido 'sya mahimā puruṣasya duratyayaḥ / pādo 'sya sarvabhūtāni jyāyān eṣa yato nṛpa*). For BhP 2.6.18, Śrīdhara adds the missing *pāda* and glosses on it.

7 The concordance given below is based on the critical edition of the Institute of Learning and Research of Ahmedabad (1996–1998). Some variants will be quoted whenever they can be related to the text of the JaiSa. A more detailed table of concordance is given in Smets 2013: 231–234.

CONCORDANCE

Table 1 below shows that the JaiSa seems to have intermingled long sections of the 26th chapter of the third book of the BhP with excerpts from the second book.

Table 1 Concordance

JaiSa	BhP (CE)	JaiSa	BhP (CE)
48. 13	2.5. 18	48. 65	3.26 50ab et cd* ⁸
15c–f	19	66ab–67	50cd–51
16–19	3.26. 10–15	68	52a–d
20–21	17	70–72ab	2.5. 34–36ab
22	18	72cd–74	37–41
23	2.5. 21	77ab	3.26. 53ab
24–28	3.26. 19–23b	49. 2–7	54–56c
29–30	2.5. 23–24d	9	56d–57a
30cd–31ab	3.26. 24	10–15	57b–61
34	27	17–18	62
35–44	29–37	19–34b	2.6. 1–19b
46–54	38–44	35–38	19c–21
55	2.5. 29	39	22cd
56–57	3.26. 45–46	41cd	23ab
59–64	2.5. 30–33	42a	3.26. 72c

Chapter 49 establishes correlations between the parts of the *puruṣa*'s body and the physical and psychical entities produced thereof. It is divided, broadly speaking, into two parts: the first section is formally related to BhP 3.26, but borrows some ideas from BhP 2.6.1–12,⁹ whereas the second section is formally related to BhP 2.6 but narrates the events of BhP 3.26.62–70.¹⁰ In this exercise of rewriting,

8 3.26.50cd* designates the text rejected in the critical apparatus (*na śekuḥ puruṣaṃ sraṣṭuṃ bhogāyatanam aṅṅasā*). These two *pādas* are attested in several manuscripts and in the commentary of Vijayadhvaja Tīrtha.

9 See, e.g., JaiSa 49.8 (*dhātavo 'syābhavan sapta rasāsīṁmāṁsapūrvikāḥ / tebhyo 'py abhūvaṁś chandāṁsi gāyatrīyādīni sapta vai*), which associates the metres (*chandas*) and the corporeal constituents (*dhātus*). This correlation is absent from BhP 3.26 but is attested in BhP 2.6.1.

10 In these verses, the BhP narrates how the “deities” (*devas*), emerged from the *puruṣa*'s body and entered it again in order to make him stand up (3.26.62). One after another, they took their places in his body, without success, until consciousness (*caitya*), viz. the “knower of the field” (*kṣetrajñā*), entered his heart (3.26.70). This story reminds us of the famous “quarrel of the *prāṇas*” (see, e.g., BĀU 6.1.7–13; ChU 5.1.6–12; KauU 2.14).

the author of the JaiSa displays all his literary skills. However, I will focus here only on the *prākṛtasarga* expounded in chapter 48. The differences between JaiSa 48 and BhP 2.5 and 3.26 will be examined from two distinct points of view: the changes induced by the context and the changes induced by the philosophical and religious tenets.

CHANGES INDUCED BY THE CONTEXT

In the third book of the BhP, Kapila, the legendary founder of the Sāṃkhya school, considered as an *avatāra* of the Bhagavat, explains to his mother Devahūti the emanation of the cosmic principles. It was already shown that, though this account proceeds along Sāṃkhya lines, it contains many features foreign to the classical Sāṃkhya of Īśvarakṛṣṇa,¹¹ among them the uniqueness of the *puruṣa* and the production of the senses by the rajasic *ahaṃkāra*. This teaching answers the question of Devahūti, who wishes to be instructed on *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* (3.26.9).

The dialogue between Brahmā and Nārada in the second book (2.5) also presents a strong sāmkyhic flavour, but it intends to prove that nothing exists distinct from Bhagavat, that is, Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa (2.5.14).

As one can easily guess, the introduction in the JaiSa of the interlocutors Asita and Janaka has repercussions on the numerous vocatives involved by the dialogue form. This is what I have called the “changes induced by the context”. Let us quote for example:

JaiSa 48.56 vs. BhP 3.26.45:

JaiSa *śāntograpūtisaurabhyakarambhāmlādibhir nrpa |*
 dravyāpāśrayabhedena gandha eko vibhidiate ||

BhP *karambhapūtisaurabhyaśāntogrāmlādibhiḥ pṛthak |*
 dravyāvayavavaiṣamyād gandha eko vibhidiate ||

One could suggest that the BhP has the original version since *pṛthak* is well integrated in the context; in fact, there is a semantic opposition between this word and *ekaḥ*, which is enhanced by the preverb *vi-*(*bhidiate*). But this argument, entirely based on a semantic intuition, cannot be considered decisive.

JaiSa 48.34 vs. BhP 3.26.27:

JaiSa *vaikārikād abhūd rājan manastattvaṃ vikurvataḥ |*
 yatsaṃkalpavikalpābhyāṃ kāmāḥ samparivartate ||

¹¹ See, e.g., Dasgupta 1949: 24–48; Rukmani 1970: 20–26; Sengupta 1959; Sheridan 1986: 42–51; Gail 1969: 24–26.

BhP *vaikārikād vikurvāṇān manastattvam ajāyata |*
yat saṃkalpavikalpābhyāṃ vartate kāmasambhavaḥ ||

In this verse, the change of locutors, or more precisely, the insertion of a vocative by the JaiSa, calls for some adaptations: the word order is modified and the ātmanepada *vikurvāṇāt* becomes the parasmaipada *vikurvataḥ*, which is less evident since it has no direct object and has to be interpreted in an intransitive sense. Moreover, it seems that the author of the JaiSa modifies the construction of the second part of the sentence: the relative pronoun *yad* becomes the first member of a compound (*yatsaṃkalpavikalpābhyām*).¹² This change is perhaps justified by philosophical reasons.¹³

JaiSa 48.67 vs. BhP 3.26.51:

JaiSa *saṃyuktebhyas tatas tena etebhyo 'ṇḍam acetanam |*
utthitaṃ puruṣo yasmād udatiṣṭhad virāḍ nr̥pa ||

BhP *tatas tenānuviddhebhyo yuktebhyo 'ṇḍam acetanam |*
utthitaṃ puruṣo yasmād udatiṣṭhad asau virāt ||

Here we may notice that *asau* was simply replaced by the vocative *nr̥pa* and that *tatas tenānuviddhebhyo yuktebhyas* seems to be the *lectio difficilior* for *saṃyuktebhyas tatas tena etebhyas*, which omits the participial form *anuviddha* (< *anu-vyadh-*).

Until now, I have given examples of additions of a vocative by the JaiSa. But it also happens that the BhP presents a vocative, absent from the JaiSa. The two following examples illustrate this:

JaiSa 48.35 vs. BhP 3.26.29:

JaiSa *abhavad buddhitattvaṃ ca vikurvāṇāt tu taijasāt |*
yad dravyasphuraṇajñānaṃ karotīndriyasamśrayāt ||

BhP *taijasāt tu vikurvāṇād buddhitattvam abhūt sati |*
dravyasphuraṇavijñānam indriyāṇām anugrahaḥ¹⁴ ||

12 Otherwise, the text would suggest that *manas* itself becomes desire (*kāma*), which seems rather awkward.

13 The idea of the JaiSa would be that it is through its activities of *saṃkalpa* (intention?) and *vikalpa* (doubt?) that *manas* becomes the origin of desire, not in itself or by itself. These two activities are often associated with *manas*: on this point, see Matsubara 1994: 237 (with references). In the present context, the exact meaning of the words *saṃkalpa* and *vikalpa* is far from obvious. One possible interpretation is given in SPBh 2.30, where *saṃkalpa* is glossed as *cikr̥ṣā* and *vikalpa* as *saṃśaya* (cf. also MBh 12.187.12: *saṃśayaṃ kurute manaḥ*).

14 In the critical apparatus, cf. the variant Nn1 Cvd with the ablative form *anugrahāt* (for *anugrahaḥ*).

In the BhP, the vocative *sati* refers, of course, to Devahūti, Kapila's mother. The JaiSa presents a relative clause whose verb is *karoti*. As a result, *dravyasphuraṇa(vi) jñānam*, which was an apposition to *buddhitattvam* in the BhP, becomes a direct object. Thus, the text of the JaiSa appears to make explicit the concise expression of the BhP. Moreover, the structure of the first part of this verse is different in the two texts: the JaiSa first mentions the new product of the emanation process and then the origin of this product; in the BhP, we find the opposite structure (viz. the origin of the product + the product), which is the only one attested in the whole emanation account.¹⁵ Therefore, we can surmise that the JaiSa modified the word order and added *ca* after it had suppressed the original vocative.

JaiSa 48.63 vs. BhP 2.5.32:¹⁶

JaiSa *ya ete 'saṃhatā bhāvā bhūten driyamanogunāḥ |*
 na yadānāśritāḥ śekuḥ kṣetranirmāṇakarmani ||

BhP *yadaite 'saṃgatā¹⁷ bhāvā bhūten driyamanogunāḥ |*
 yadāyatananirmāṇe na śekur brahmavittama ||

The *brahmavittama* referred to in the BhP is Nārada. The JaiSa adds *anāśritāḥ* after *yadā*, and instead of the compound *āyatananirmāṇe* it has the longer expression *kṣetranirmāṇakarmani*; the latter can be interpreted as a development of the BhP through the addition of the word *karmani*, which is unnecessary for comprehension.

These few examples all point to the fact that the insertion or omission of a vocative brings about adaptations in the structure of the *śloka*. These changes can be used to determine which text borrowed from the other. However, the interpretation demands caution; the arguments based on semantic justifications alone should be left aside (see above JaiSa 48.56 vs. BhP 3.26.45).

The first set of examples given above suggests that the vocatives of the JaiSa are suspicious: the change of voice in JaiSa 48.34 (*vikurvataḥ*) and the simplification of the participial group in JaiSa 48.67 seem to corroborate our working

15 Cf. BhP 3.26.23 (*mahattattvād vikurvāṇād... ahaṃkāras...samapadyata*), 3.26.27 (*vaikārikād vikurvāṇān manastattvam ajāyata*), 3.26.32 (*tāmasāc ca vikurvāṇād... śabdamaṅtram abhūt*), 3.26.35 (*nabhasaḥ vikurvataḥ / sparśo 'bhavat*), etc.

16 This verse is well attested (with some variants) in the epic and purāṇic literature: cf. PPañc [1.Sarga und Pratisarga, Textgruppe] IIA, 1.21 (p. 9 = ViP 1.2.51): *nānāvīryāḥ pṛthagbhūtās tatas te saṃhatiṃ vinā / nāśaknuvan prajāḥ sraṣṭum asamāgamya kṛtsnaśaḥ*; PPañc IIB, 1.53 (p. 51 = MärKP 40.62): *nānāvīryāḥ pṛthagbhūtāḥ saptaita saṃhatiṃ vinā / nāśaknuvan prajāḥ sraṣṭum asamāgamya kṛtsnaśaḥ*; MBh 12.224.41: *ete tu sapta puruṣā nānāvīryāḥ pṛthak pṛthak / nāśaknuvan prajāḥ sraṣṭum asamāgamya sarvataḥ*.

17 Cf. the variants in the critical apparatus: *yatraite*^o and *ya ete*^o (for *yadaite*^o); ^o*saṃhatā* (for ^o*saṃgatā*).

hypothesis. Furthermore, the second set of examples does not contradict this temporary conclusion. The vocatives of the BhP are well integrated in the structure of the verses, in particular in BhP 3.26.29, where the construction of the whole emanation account is respected.

CHANGES INDUCED BY THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS TENETS

The influence of the Pāñcarātra doctrines on the BhP has often been underlined.¹⁸ The theory of the *vyūhas*,¹⁹ in particular, can be found in several sections of the Purāṇa but, as Sheridan (1986: 65) noted, the four manifestations “play only a peripheral role in the *Bhāgavata*’s teachings, being used chiefly as titles and epithets”. In fact, in the midst of Kapila’s instruction (3.26.21–28), each *vyūha* is connected with a “psychic” (more precisely, psycho-cosmic) entity:²⁰ Vāsudeva with *citta*, made of the *mahat*, Saṃkarṣaṇa with the threefold *ahaṃkāra* (sattvic, rajasic, and tamasic) and Aniruddha with *manas*. But strangely enough, no mention is made of either Pradyumna or *buddhi*.²¹ Furthermore, this distribution does not fully agree with the schemata found in the Pāñcarātra literature where Vāsudeva usually represents the supreme soul or *brahman*, Saṃkarṣaṇa the individual soul (*jīva*) or the primeval matter (*prakṛti*), Pradyumna the *manas*, and Aniruddha the *ahaṃkāra*.²² The two schemata can be reconciled as follows:

18 See, e.g., Gail 1969: 4–9; Sheridan 1986: 63–65.

19 See Schrader 1916: 40–48. Each *vyūha* is an emanation of Viṣṇu himself: they are Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa), his brother Saṃkarṣaṇa (Balarāma), his son Pradyumna, and his uncle Aniruddha.

20 These psychic entities are themselves a product of the cosmic emanation. In the BhP (3.26.14), the internal organ is constituted of four psychic entities, which are to be conceived as modalities (*ṛtī*): the *citta*, the *ahaṃkāra*, the *manas*, and the *buddhi*. In the *Sāṃkhya-Kārikās*, where the *buddhi* and the *mahat* are identified (SK 22), only three constituents of the *antaḥkaraṇa* are enumerated: the *buddhi*, the *ahaṃkāra*, and the *manas* (SK 29). However, as regards the identification of the *buddhi* and the *mahat*, Frauwallner (1925: 200) notes that the two words are used in different contexts: “Der Ausdruck *mahān* oder *mahat* ist der Hauptsache nach auf die Evolutionslehre beschränkt; sonst, besonders wenn es sich um die psychischen Organe handelt, steht fast nur *buddhi*.”

21 It was perhaps difficult for the author(s) to adjust the theory of the four constituents of the internal organ with the sāṃkhyaic scheme of the *tattvas*. Thus, they had to suppress Pradyumna and the *buddhi* in order to keep to the doctrine of emanation. On this point, see Bhaṭṭācārya 1960: 197. Furthermore, in his commentary to BhP 3.26.21, Śrīdhara feels the incompleteness of the scheme and associates Pradyumna with *buddhi* (*buddhau pradyumna upāśyab*).

22 See Schrader 1916: 45–48 (with references); Matsubara 1994: 98; Farquhar 1920: 98. According to Schrader (1916: 45), these *vyūhas* are originally “something like tutelar deities of the said principles”. There are, of course, some variants in these correlations: the LT, for example, associates Saṃkarṣaṇa with the *jīva*, Pradyumna with the *buddhi*, and Aniruddha with the *ahaṃkāra* (cf. LT 6.12–13).

Table 2 Bhāgavata-Purāṇa/Pāñcarātra terminology

	BhP 3.26.21, 25, 28	Pāñcarātra ²³
Vāsudeva	<i>citta</i>	<i>paramātman</i> or <i>brahman</i>
Samkarṣaṇa	<i>ahaṅkāra</i>	<i>jīva</i> / <i>prakṛti</i>
Pradyumna	Ø	<i>manas</i>
Aniruddha	<i>manas</i>	<i>ahaṅkāra</i>

The theory of the *vyūhas*, which is rather poor in this section of the BhP in comparison with the role it plays in the Pāñcarātra, is still more occulted by the JaiSa, where it is totally ignored. From a study of the concordance table, it appears that the references to Samkarṣaṇa and Aniruddha (BhP 3.26.25 and 28) were omitted by the JaiSa, which otherwise is very close to the BhP. It only retains the name of Vāsudeva.²⁴ The two parallel verses (BhP 3.26.21 and JaiSa 48.27) run as follows:

BhP	<i>yat tat sattvaguṇaṃ svacchaṃ śāntaṃ bhagavataḥ padam yad āhur vāsudevākhyam cittaṃ tan mahadātmakam </i>
JaiSa	<i>yat tat sattvaguṇaṃ śāntaṃ śāśvataṃ padam ātmanaḥ vāsudevābhīdhānasya cittaṃ tan mahadātmakam </i>

The verse of the BhP appears almost *verbatim* in the JaiSa. There is, however, a slight difference between the two texts: in the BhP, it is the *citta*, identified with the abode (*pada*) of the Bhagavat, that is called Vāsudeva, whereas the JaiSa, through this very name, qualifies the *ātman*. The latter interpretation seems

23 This table is based only on the sources quoted by Schrader (1916: 45), Matsubara (1994: 98) and Farquhar (1920: 98): see the previous note.

24 This is under the probable influence of Śaṅkara, who in BSBh (2.2.42–45) sharply criticizes the Pāñcarātra/Bhāgavata doctrine of the four *vyūhas* emanation, which says “that the one and only *bhagavat* Vāsudeva, whose nature is pure knowledge, is what really exists [*paramārthatattvam*], and that he [here starts what is unacceptable from the Advaita perspective], dividing himself fourfold, appears in four forms [*vyūha*] as Vāsudeva, Samkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. Vāsudeva denotes the highest Self [*paramātman*], Samkarṣaṇa the individual soul [*jīva*], Pradyumna the mind [*manas*], and Aniruddha the principle of egoity [*ahaṅkāra*]. Of these four Vāsudeva constitutes the ultimate causal essence, of which the three others are the effects. [...] Concerning this system, we remark that we do not intend to controvert the doctrine that Nārāyaṇa, who is higher than the Undeveloped, who is the highest Self, and the Self of all, reveals himself by dividing himself in multiple ways. [...] We, however, must take exception to the doctrine that Samkarṣaṇa springs from Vāsudeva, Pradyumna from Samkarṣaṇa, Aniruddha from Pradyumna. It is not possible that from Vāsudeva, i.e. the highest Self, there should originate Samkarṣaṇa, i.e. the individual soul. [...] The forms of Vāsudeva cannot properly be limited to four, as the whole world, from Brahmā down to a blade of grass, is understood to be a manifestation of the supreme Being” (translation by Thibaut; see Hacker 1965: 151).

closer to the Pāñcarātra doctrine where Vāsudeva is connected to the supreme soul (see Table 2 above). Yet, as we will see later, the choice of *ātmanaḥ* in place of *bhagavataḥ* is probably motivated by other reasons.

The meaning of *mahat* is rather obscure. BhP 3.26.19 narrates the emanation of the “great principle” as the result of a kind of fecundation.²⁵ There is a clear analogy between the emanation of this golden *mahattattva* and the motif of the birth of Brahmā from the semen of Svayambhū.²⁶ Furthermore, this theme can be traced to *Ṛgveda* 10.121, where the golden germ Hiraṇyagarbha is born from the primeval waters.²⁷ Thus, in the BhP and in the JaiSa, the great principle gives birth to the other principles, just as Brahmā, the first creature, gives birth to all creatures.

In the pāñcarātric literature, the *mahat* is threefold.²⁸ Let us read, for example, an excerpt of the *Lakṣmī-Tantra* (LT 16.2–4b):²⁹

sa mahān nāma tasyāpi vidhās tisaḥ prakīrtitāḥ |
sāttviko buddhir ity ukto rājasah prāṇa eva hi ||
tāmasah kāla ity uktas teṣāṃ vyākhyāṃ imāṃ śṛṇu |
buddhir adhyavasāyasya prāṇah prayatanasya ca ||
kālah kalanarūpasya pariṇāmasya kāraṇam |

Its three aspects – sattvic, rajasic, and tamasic – are identified with three entities, respectively the *buddhi*, the *prāṇa*, and the *kāla*.³⁰ Schrader (1916: 83) rightly emphasizes that *buddhi* should not be taken here as a mere synonym of *mahat*, as in classical Sāṃkhya, but as one of its forms. Then Schrader (1916: 84–87) propounds an interesting interpretation, according to which the *mahat* would designate the cosmic *prāṇa* as it was conceived in the ancient *upaniṣads*, that is, like a combination of vitality (*prāṇa*) and intelligence (*prajñā*).³¹ This hypothesis

25 BhP 3.26.19: *daivāt kṣubhitadharminyāṃ svasyāṃ yonau paraḥ pumān / ādbhatta vīryaṃ sāsūta mahattattvaṃ hiraṇmayam.*

26 See, e.g., *Manu-smṛiti* 1.8c–9 (*apa eva sasarpādau tāsu vīryam avāsrjat // tad aṇḍam abhavat dbaimaṃ sahasrāṃśusamaṇrabham / tasmīṃ jajñe svayaṃ brahmā sarvalokapitāmahaḥ*): these verses and their parallels in the PPAñc were studied by Hacker (1959a: 391).

27 See Keith 1949: 9; Larson 1979: 82.

28 It is also threefold in PPAñc [1.Sarga und Pratisarga, Textgruppe] IIA.1.7cd (p. 8 = ViP 1.2.34) and IIB.1.13cd (p. 48 = MārKP 40.38).

29 On the dating of the LT, see Gupta 1972: xix–xxi, who concludes that it was compiled between the ninth and the twelfth centuries.

30 Cf. also AhirSa 7.9c–10b: *kālo buddhis tathā prāṇa iti tredhā sa gīyate / tamaḥsattvarajobhedāt tattadunmeṣasamjñayā.*

31 Cf. in particular KauU 3.3: *yo vai prāṇah sā prajñā yā vā prajñā sa prāṇah*. One of the arguments of Schrader (1916: 85) is to be found in a verse of the AhirSa (12.22), where in the enumeration of the principles the term *prāṇa* appears instead of *mahat*.

seems to be corroborated by SPBh 2.10, where the commentator explains a verse of the *Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad* (MuU)³² in the following way:

ato 'syāṃ śrūtau prāṇa eva mahattattvam iti [...] ||

In the two *Purāṇas*, the schema of the LT would be thus reinterpreted as follows:³³

LT 16.2–4b:

	<i>prakṛti</i>	
	<i>mahat</i>	
<i>sāttvika = buddhi</i>	<i>rājasa = prāṇa</i>	<i>tāmasa = kāla</i>

BhP 3.26 & 2.5 and JaiSa 48:

	<i>prakṛti</i>	
	<i>mahat-tattva</i>	
	<i>ahaṅkāra</i>	
<i>sāttvika</i>	<i>rājasa</i>	<i>tāmasa</i>
	<i>buddhi</i>	<i>prāṇa</i>
	<i>5 buddhīndriyas</i>	<i>5 karmendriyas</i>

In all likelihood, the insertion of *prāṇa* in the scheme of emanation aims at reconciling the sāmkyic account with old upaniṣadic speculations on *prāṇa*. However, this attempt is imperfect: whereas the origin of the *buddhi* is explicit (BhP 3.26.29 and JaiSa 48.35), *prāṇa* is abruptly inserted in the scheme since it is not included in the group of the twenty-four principles of the *prakṛti*.

Both *buddhi* and *prāṇa* are connected with the faculties, as seen in BhP 3.26.31 and JaiSa 48.37:

BhP *taijasānīndriyāṅy eva kriyājñānavibhāgaśaḥ |*
 prāṇasya hi kriyāśaktir buddher vijñānaśaktitā ||

32 Cf. MuU 2.1.3: *etasmā jāyate prāṇo manaḥ sarvendriyāṇi ca / khaṇi vāyur jyotir āpaḥ pṛthivī viśvasya dhārīṇi.*

33 It should also be noted that the relation between *citta* and *mahat* is not clear. As regards the emanation account, the *mahat* appears explicitly as the first principle (BhP 3.26.19 and JaiSa 48.24), but it is then said that the *citta* is made of it (BhP 3.26.21 and JaiSa 48.26: *mahadātmakam*). It seems that the cosmic account tries to reconcile two heterogeneous doctrines, the sāmkyic enumeration of the principles and an original conception of the internal organ. The latter could be influenced by the Yoga school, where the term *citta* designates the whole internal organ.

JaiSa *taijasānīndriyāny āhuḥ kriyājñānātmakāni tu |*
prāṇasya tu kriyāśaktir buddher vijñānam ucyate ||

The power of action manifested by the faculties of action depends on *prāṇa*, whereas the power of knowledge manifested by the faculties of knowledge depends on *buddhi*. The idea that the *buddhi* is governing the faculties is not new: in MBh 12.187.18–19b, for example, the senses are already conceived as the instruments of the *buddhi*.³⁴ The author(s) of the BhP now had to find an equivalent of *buddhi* for the faculties of action. The choice of *prāṇa* is certainly not fortuitous. In fact, in the vedāntic speculations, the term *prāṇas* (pl.) can designate some organic functions or forces (such as sight, hearing)³⁵ and thus it prepares the concept of *indriya*.³⁶ The *prāṇa* (sg.) becomes therefore the central power that allows the activities of the *prāṇas*, here limited to the faculties of action, since *buddhi* is already connected to the faculties of knowledge.

As regards *kāla*, the third aspect of the *mahat*, it is, according to the LT quoted above, the cause of the *pariṇāma*, namely, the “evolution” of the principles.³⁷ In the ViP (1.2.15), where *kāla* is a form (*rūpa*) of the supreme *brahman* together with the *puruṣa*, the *vyakta*, and the *avyakta*, time assumes, broadly speaking, the same function since it sets in motion the process of creation, bringing into contact the primeval matter and the *puruṣa* (1.2.27–29). In a similar fashion, the BhP (2.5.22 and 3.26.17) presents *kāla* as the principle that puts an end to the equilibrium of *prakṛti*³⁸ by uniting or mixing the qualities (*guṇavyatikara*).³⁹ Now, in the BhP (3.26.15–18) as well as in the JaiSa (48.19–23), time has a peculiar status: in the framework of the enumeration of the *tattvas*, it is considered as the twenty-fifth principle and defined as the layout or the arrangement (*samniveśa*) of the *saguṇabrahman*, which corresponds to the other twenty-four principles (viz. the ten *indriyas*, the five *tanmātras*, the five *bhūtas*, the *citta*, the *ahaṅkāra*, the *manas*, and the *buddhi*). However, whereas the BhP identifies time with the Bhagavat, the JaiSa only says that it is a part (*aṃśa*) of the supreme soul. Let us compare in this respect BhP 3.26.16–17 and JaiSa 48.20–21:

34 Cf. MBh 12.187.18–19b: *yena paśyati tac cakṣuḥ śṛṇoti śrotram ucyate | jighrati ghrāṇam ity āhū rasam jānāti jihvayā || tvacā sprśati ca sparśān buddhir vikriyate 'sakṛt*. On the relation between the *buddhi* and the senses in this text and its parallel (MBh 12.240), see in particular Bakker & Bisschop 1999: 462–464.

35 See, for example, Bakker 1982: 118 (with references).

36 Unfortunately, I cannot develop this subject in the framework of this paper. For more details, see Bakker 1982 (esp. 126–127, with references).

37 Cf. JaiSa 48.20: *anādir ādir viśvasya pariṇāmanam ca yatkr̥tam || sa kālaḥ so 'pi vidvadbhiḥ kathito 'ṅśaḥ parātmanaḥ*.

38 See Bhaṭṭācārya 1960: 247.

39 In JaiSa 48.33, the compound *guṇavyatikara* is also attested.

BhP *prabhāvaṃ pauruṣaṃ prāhuḥ kālam eke yato bhayam |
 ahaṅkāravimūḍhasya kartuḥ prakṛtim iyuṣaḥ ||
 prakṛter guṇasāmyasya nirviśeṣasya mānavi |
 ceṣṭā yataḥ sa bhagavān kāla ity upalakṣitaḥ ||*

JaiSa *anādir ādir viśvasya pariṇāmaṃ ca yatkr̥tam |
 sa kālaḥ so 'pi vidvadbhīḥ kathito 'ṃśaḥ parātmanaḥ |
 sa sarge guṇasāmyāyāḥ prakṛteḥ sarvakāraṇam |
 pauruṣeṇa prabhāveṇa dhṛtaś ceṣṭāṃ prayacchati ||*

The BhP alludes to the theory of some thinkers (*eke*) who consider that time is a power of the *puruṣa* without formulating any opinion thereupon.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, it strongly suggests the identification of time with the Bhagavat.⁴¹ It reminds us of the reflections of the Kālavādins, who extoll the status of time.⁴² The origin of this point of view can be traced back to two hymns of the *Atharvaveda* (19.53–54), devoted to the cosmic power of time. This doctrine is refuted by Gauḍapāda in his Bhāṣya to SK 61:

*tathā keṣāṃ cit kālaḥ kāraṇam ity uktaṃ ca |
 kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni kālaḥ saṃharate jagat |
 kālaḥ supteṣu jāgarti kālo hi duratikramaḥ ||*

This last verse, ascribed to the Kālavāda, is often quoted.⁴³ Its first part also appears, with some variants, in the AhirSa.⁴⁴

The author of the JaiSa refers to connoisseurs, saying that time is a part of the *paramātman* and claiming that it is held or sustained by the power of the *puruṣa*. The last part of this sentence reminds us of the first verse of the BhP, yet the idea is also slightly distorted: time is no longer identified with the power of the *puruṣa* but sustained by it.

Then, both texts present time as an aspect of the supreme reality:⁴⁵

BhP 3.26.18 *antaḥ puruṣarūpeṇa kālarūpeṇa yo bahiḥ |
 samanvety eṣa sattvānāṃ bhagavān ātmamāyayā ||*

40 However, in other sections of the BhP, it is explicitly stated that time is a power of the Bhagavat; see, e.g., BhP 4.11.18 (*bhagavān kālaśaktyā*). On the different forms of time in the BhP (viz. God, his power, and time-sequence), see Bhaṭṭācārya 1960: 248; Conio 1974: 141.

41 Cf. also ViP 1.2.26a–b: *anādir bhagavān kālo nānto 'sya dvija vidyate* (cf. PPañc, p. 7).

42 See Silburn 1955: 137–142; Kaviraj 1966: 60.

43 For references, see Silburn 1955: 140–142.

44 Cf. AhirSa 6.49ab (*kālaśya pācanam*) and 7.6 (*kālaḥ pacati*).

45 Cf. ViP 1.2.15: *parasya brahmaṇo rūpaṃ puruṣaḥ prathamaṃ dvija / vyaktāvyakte tathaiivānye rūpe kālas tathāparam*; cf. also PPañc, p. 6.

JaiSa 48.22 *yo 'sau puruṣakālātmā bahirantaranāśrayaḥ |
māyayānveti tattvāni paramātmā sanātanaḥ ||*

The BhP describes the internal and the external forms of the Bhagavat, whereas the JaiSa deals with the supreme soul (*paramātmā*), which is, by essence (*ātmā*), both *puruṣa* and *kāla*. The *puruṣa* enters the *prakṛti* and places his seed inside it. Time is the external entity that transcends the primeval matter and disturbs it. The JaiSa adds that the *paramātman* has no support, either internal or external; this part of the verse seems to be a reworking of the idea contained in the first hemistich of the BhP. In both texts, the *māyā* is called to mind to explain the relation between the supreme principle and the world. This *māyā* should be here understood as the creative power which brings about the psycho-physical world through the working of *guṇas* or *svabhāva*,⁴⁶ *karman*, and time. This idea can be deduced from BhP 2.5.21 and JaiSa 48.23:

BhP *kālaṃ karma svabhāvaṃ ca māyeṣo māyayā svayā |
ātman yadr̥chayā prāptaṃ vibubhūṣur upādade ||*

JaiSa *svicchayaiva svakāṃ māyāṃ bubhūṣuḥ puruṣaḥ kīla |
kālaṃ karma svabhāvaṃ ca yugapat samadhata saḥ ||*

This triad (*kālaṃ karma svabhāvam*)⁴⁷ reminds of the threefold *māyāśakti* of the Pāñcarātra,⁴⁸ which is on the one hand the “*guṇa* body” (*guṇamaya vapus*) and on the other hand the “time body” (*kālamaya vapus*), consisting of time and *niyati* “restriction”, that is, according to Schrader (1916: 75), the principle that “regulates, as *kārmic* necessity, the intellectual capacity, inclinations, and practical ability of every being”.⁴⁹ However, although the two concepts are intimately bound to each other, it is not the word *niyati* that appears in our two purāṇic texts, but *karman*.

From what precedes, we can conclude that the influence of Pāñcarātra on both Purāṇas is more pregnant in the use of key concepts as time or *māyā* than in the general content of the cosmogonic account. In particular, the role given to the *vyūhas* in the BhP (which omits Pradyumna) is reduced to static associations

46 The term *svabhāva* should be here taken as a synonym of the triad of the *guṇas*. In fact, the two expressions are interchangeable in several compounds. See, e.g., BhP 3.26.50 (*kālakarmaguṇopetaḥ*), 2.5.27 (*kālakarmasvabhāvataḥ*), and 2.5.34 (*kālakarmasvabhāvasthaḥ*).

47 These “principles”, enumerated by the BhP and the JaiSa, together with the *niyati* (see below), are all subjects of speculations (cf. ŚvetU 1.2); thus, along with the *Kālavādins*, there are also the *Svabhāvavādins*, the *Niyativādins*, and the *Karmavidas*. On this point, see Kaviraj 1966: 46–60; Silburn 1955: 132–142.

48 See Schrader 1916: 72–73.

49 Cf. AhirSa 6.46cd and 48: *kālasya niyatir nāma sūkṣmaḥ sarvaniyāmakaḥ // [...] yasya syād yādṛṣaṃ rūpaṃ yatkarāṇaṃ yatsvabhāvākam / sudarśanaprabhāvasthaṃ tattanniyamabbhāvitam.*

with psychic entities, whereas the group of *vyūhas* is totally ignored by the JaiSa, which merely alludes to Vāsudeva only.

Moreover, the insertion of the *prāṇa* in the scheme of emanation is perhaps influenced by the conception of the threefold *mahat* that is developed in the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, but it is, first of all, the trace of vedāntic speculations, integrated into the pre-classical Sāṃkhya, on which the Pāñcarātra is based.⁵⁰

The concept of time, which is also one of the components of the threefold *mahat*, plays a central role in the BhP and in the JaiSa, where it is not only conceived as the principle that sets in motion the emanation of the twenty-four *tattvas*, but as the transcendental aspect of the supreme Being and the twenty-fifth principle itself.

However, it may be noted that in the several examples quoted above, the BhP and the JaiSa differ from each other in naming the supreme reality. The author of the JaiSa systematically chose impersonal expressions like *paramātman* or *brahman* instead of the personal word ‘Bhagavat’ abundantly used by the BhP. Let us compare, for example, BhP 3.26.21 (*bhagavataḥ padam*) and JaiSa 48.27 (*padam ātmanaḥ*), BhP 3.26.17 (*bhagavān kālaḥ*) and JaiSa 48.20 (*kālaḥ...kathito ’ṛśaḥ parātmanaḥ*), and BhP 3.26.18 (*bhagavān*) and JaiSa 48.22 (*paramātmā*). The word *puruṣa* appears also frequently in the JaiSa in place of Bhagavat, especially in contexts expressing the willpower of the supreme reality, as in the following examples:

JaiSa 48.38ab vs. BhP 3.26.32ab:

JaiSa *tāmasāt tu vikurvāṇāt puruṣecchāpracodanāt |*
BhP *tāmasāc ca⁵¹ vikurvāṇād bhagavadvīryacoditāt |*

JaiSa 48.28cd vs. BhP 3.26.23ab:

JaiSa *mahattattvaṃ vikurvantaṃ⁵² puruṣecchābalāt kṛtam |*
BhP *mahattattvād vikurvāṇād bhagavadvīryasambhavāt |*

It seems as though the author of the JaiSa wanted to expurgate the cosmogonic account from all references to the Bhagavat Vāsudeva. In all likelihood, he tried to give his account a profound advaitic tone in accord with the framework. King Janaka explicitly asked to be instructed on *brahman*, and Asita took the opportunity to expound on the emanation of the world in its relation with *brahman*,

⁵⁰ See Schrader 1916: 87.

⁵¹ The critical apparatus presents the variant *tu* (for *ca*).

⁵² The masculine form *vikurvantaṃ* is rather awkward. This accusative can only be related to the neuter *mahattattvam*. The use of the masculine is perhaps dictated by the frequent attestation of *mahān* (masc.) as a synonym of *mahat* or *mahattattvam* (see, e.g., JaiSa 48.25–26).

resorting to the ancient upaniṣadic concepts of *ātman* and *puruṣa*. Although the BhP combines theism and advaitism, the accent is put on the identification of the supreme reality with the Bhagavat. This is not to say that JaiSa is free from theism. JaiSa 48.76 even identifies the *puruṣa* with Viṣṇu:

*sa eva sarvalokātmā viṣṇvākhyāḥ sarvagaḥ pumān |
akarol lokasaṁsthānaṁ svayam eva svamāyayā ||*

This discreet identification at the end of the chapter is clearly emphasized in other sections of the JaiSa, especially in the *stotras* in honour of Viṣṇu and Śiva, the two divinities being lastly considered as parts (*kalāṁśa*) of Nārāyaṇa, engaged in the creation and destruction of the world.⁵³ However, in the advaitic section, the teaching of Asita is so coherent that it imposes a rigid framework on the whole, never losing sight of the initial question: what is *brahman*?

RELATIONS BETWEEN BHP 2.5 & 3.26 AND JAISA 48

By way of conclusion, I would like to return to the relations uniting the two texts that were compared here. The teaching of JaiSa 48.13 sq. corresponds to different sections of the BhP, without losing its coherence. On the contrary, it offers a clever synthesis of the emanation doctrine summed up in a single chapter.

In light of the examples given above, it is reasonable to think that the author of the JaiSa drew his inspiration from the cosmogonic parts of the BhP. The comparison of the two texts shows that they are indeed very close to each other, even if some differences may be picked out. Close analysis of the changes due to context and caused by religious and philosophical tenets (in line with the two sets of examples given above) proves, in my opinion, the mechanism of borrowing by the JaiSa from the BhP.

However, we should not lose sight of the complexity of reconstructing the history of a text. As an example, JaiSa 48.37, parallel to BhP 3.26.31, adds in the second hemistich a declarative verb (*ucyate*) which could allude more explicitly to the use of the BhP as its source. On the other hand, BhP 3.26.16–17, parallel to JaiSa 48.20–21, refers to the opinion of some thinkers (*eke*) who say (*prāhur*) that time is the power of *puruṣa*. This sentence could, in a similar way, be interpreted as a quotation of the JaiSa. Thus, these two examples show the ambiguity of the textual facts submitted to interpretation.

53 Cf. the introductory stanza of the JaiSa: *viśvotpattyādiṣu guṇitayā yatkalāṁśas trimūrtir
antarvyāmohayati satataṁ śaktileṣo yādīyaḥ / śaśvac chāntaṁ sakalabhuvanavyāpi nārāyaṇākhyam
pratyagiyotiḥ sphuratu hṛdi me saccidānandarūpam* (translated by Vielle 2002: 342; see Smets 2013:
341 n. 106).

Nevertheless, the mingling of verses scattered in the BhP and the use of different sources seem to support the view of a kind of compilation carried out by the author of the JaiSa. To my mind, it would be more difficult to explain how a single emanation account would have been split into several portions, sometimes being redundant.

As regards the philosophical content, the JaiSa presents some variants in comparison to the BhP. It appears that the two texts have a different conception of time. Although both texts conceive of it as the twenty-fifth principle, the JaiSa does not identify it with the Bhagavat. It is presented as a part of the Highest Soul (48.20), which has no support (48.22); it means that there exists nothing distinct from the *paramātman*. Thus, despite the fact that this supreme principle is, in essence, *puruṣa* and time, it is not exhausted in these two aspects of its being. In the BhP, time is also considered as an aspect of the supreme reality. But one constant feature of this text is “das Schwanken zwischen der Identifikation von Kāla (Zeit) und Viṣṇu einerseits und der Auffassung der Zeit als eine mehr oder weniger selbständigen Wesenheit” (Hacker 1959b: 129).

This identification of time with Viṣṇu partakes of the idea that as the Creator, Maintainer, and Destroyer of the Universe, the god is also Time.⁵⁴ As already expressed, the aim of the JaiSa in these cosmogonic chapters is not to extoll the greatness of Viṣṇu but to explain *brahman*. Thus, the author shifts the emphasis to the autonomy of the supreme principle, deliberately omitting the image of Time (*kālarūpeṇa*) as an incarnation of God (BhP 3.26.18).

It is also for this reason that the name ‘Bhagavat’ is systematically replaced by the terms *ātman* and *puruṣa*. Even the idea of the *paramaṃ padam*, which as Rüping (1970: 25) notes is “ein seit dem Ṛgveda mit Viṣṇu verbundener mythologischer Begriff”,⁵⁵ is here linked to the *ātman* (JaiSa 48.27), whereas the BhP associates it in a more traditional way with the Bhagavat (BhP 3.26.21).

The vedāntism (or advaitism) of this section of the JaiSa was also hard to reconcile with the Pāñcarātra doctrine of the *vyūhas*, and so the few references to Saṃkarṣaṇa and Aniruddha still present in the BhP source passages were eliminated.

However, if, as I have here tried to demonstrate, the author of the JaiSa actually borrowed from the BhP, he never slavishly followed that model. He fully deserves to be called an author in his own right, since he gathered pieces of the BhP to create a kind of literary patchwork with its own narrative and philosoph-

54 See Hacker 1959b: 128–129.

55 Rüping (1970: 25) compares the *Padma-Purāṇa* and the ViP, noting that the PdP replaced the common expression *viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam* (ViP) with the more original one *brahmaṇaḥ paramaṃ padam*, which points to the “Brahmāismus” of the PdP.

ical framework. In a previous paper in which I studied the parallelisms existing between the JaiSa and the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara (the famous commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*), the latter being composed between 1100 and 1127 CE), I have shown that the JaiSa also borrows substantially from this commentary for the embryological and physiological chapters (*adh.* 46–47) of the same central section.⁵⁶ Since the most probable date for the composition of the JaiSa appears now to be the second part of the thirteenth century to the early beginning of the fourteenth century (in Kerala),⁵⁷ these intertextual studies shed additional light on the intellectual milieu of its author, who had intimate knowledge of both the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* and Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā* and chose to use them as its main sources when composing an original section that exposes, with a purāṇic style and perspective, what Advaita is.

ABBREVIATIONS OF THE PRIMARY SOURCES

AhirSa	[Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā] <i>Ahirbudhmya-samhitā of the Pāñcarātrāgama</i> . 2 vols. Ed. M.D. Ramanujacharya. (Adyar Library Series 4) Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre, [1916 ¹] 1966 ² .
BĀU	[Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad] <i>Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad</i> . Text with transl. by É. Sénart. (Collection É. Sénart 3) Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1934.
BhP	[Bhāgavata-Purāṇa] <i>The Bhāgavata</i> [Śrīmad Bhāgavata Mahapurāṇa, sic]. <i>Critical Edition</i> . 4 vols. Ed. H.G. Shastri. Ahmedabad: B.J. Institute of Learning and Research, 1996–1998.
BSBh	[Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya] <i>Vedānta-Sūtras with the commentary by Śaṅkarācārya</i> . 2 vols. Tr. G. Thibaut. (The Sacred Books of the East 34 & 38) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890, 1896.
ChU	[Chāndogya-Upaniṣad] <i>Chāndogya-Upaniṣad</i> . Text with transl. by É. Sénart. (Collection É. Sénart 1) Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1930.
JaiSa	[Jaiminīya-Samhitā] <i>The Jaiminīyasamhitā of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa</i> . Critical edition of <i>adh.</i> 46–51 = SMETS 2013.
KauU	[Kauṣītiki-Upaniṣad] <i>Kauṣītiki-Upaniṣad</i> . Text with transl. by L. Renou. (Les Upanishad. Texte et traduction sous la direction de Louis Renou 6) Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1948.
LT	[Lakṣmī-Tantra] <i>Lakṣmī-Tantra: A Pāñcarātra Āgama</i> . Ed. with Sanskrit Gloss and Introduction by V. Krishnamacharya. (Adyar Library Series 87) Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1959. (For the translation, see GUPTA 1972.)

⁵⁶ See Smets 2003–2004 (updated and completed in Smets 2013: 129–225; see also pp. 309–388 about the Advaita and Yoga chapters = *adh.* 50–51, where the influence of the *Mitākṣarā* is also pointed out) and 2006 (unpublished).

⁵⁷ See Vielle 2008; 2011–2012; 2014.

- MārKP [Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa] *The Critical Edition of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇam*. 2 vols. Ed. M.L. Wadekar. Vadodara: Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, 1999–2011.
- MBh [Mahābhārata] *The Mahābhārata [for the first time critically edited]*. 19 vols. Ed. V. Sukthankar et al. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933–1966.
- MuU [Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad] *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*. Text with transl. by J. Maury. (Les Upaniṣad. Texte et traduction sous la direction de Louis Renou 4). Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1943.
- PPañc [Purāṇa-Pañcalakṣaṇa] *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa: Versuch einer Textgeschichte*. Ed. W. Kirfel. Bonn: Kurt Schroeder, 1927.
- SK [Sāṃkhya-Kārikā] *Les strophes de Sāṃkhya (Sāṃkhya-Kārikā), avec le commentaire de Gauḍapāda*. Text with transl. by A.-M. Esnoul. (Collection Émile Sénart 9) Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964.
- SPBh [Sāṃkhyapravacana-Bhāṣya] *The Sāṃkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya or Commentary on the exposition of the Sāṃkhya philosophy*. Ed. R. Garbe. (Harvard Oriental Series 2) Cambridge: HUP, 1943.
- Śrīdhara [Śrīdhara ad BhP] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, with Sanskrit Commentary Bhāvārthabodhinī of Śrīdhara Svāmin*. Ed. J.L. Shastri. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983.
- ŚvU [Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad] *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*. Text with transl. by A. Silburn. (Les Upaniṣad. Texte et traduction sous la direction de Louis Renou 7) Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1948.
- ViP [Viṣṇu-Purāṇa] *The Critical Edition of the Viṣṇupurāṇam*. 2 vols. Ed. M.M. Pathak. Vadodara: Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, 1997–1999.

REFERENCES

- BAKKER, Hans 1982. On the Origin of the Sāṃkhya Psychology. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie* 26: 117–148.
- BAKKER, Hans & Peter BISSCHOP 1999. Mokṣadharmā 187 and 239–241 reconsidered. *Études Asiatiques* 53: 459–472.
- BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA, Siddheśvara 1960. *The Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, I: Metaphysics*. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati.
- CONIO, Caterina 1974. *Mito e filosofia nella tradizione indiana: Le cosmogonie nei Mahāpurāṇa*. Milano: Mursia.
- DASGUPTA, Surendranath 1949. *A History of Indian Philosophy, IV*. Cambridge: CUP.
- FARQUHAR, John Nicol 1920. *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*. London: Humphrey Milford.
- FRAUWALLNER, Erich 1925. Untersuchungen zum Mokṣadharmā (Die sāṃkhyistischen Texte). *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Morgenlandes* 32: 179–206.

- GAIL, Adalbert J. 1969. *Bhakti im Bhāgavatapurāna: Religionsgeschichtliche Studie zur Idee der Gottesliebe in Kult und Mystik des Viṣṇuismus*. (Münchener Indologische Studien 6) Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- GUPTA, Sanjukta 1972. *Lakṣmī Tantra: A Pāñcarātra Text. Translation and Notes*. (Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina 15) Leiden: Brill.
- HACKER, Paul 1959a. Two Accounts of Cosmogony. In: C. VOGEL (ed.), *Jñānamuktāvalī. Commemoration Volume in Honour of J. Nobel* (Sarasvati Vihara Series 38): 77–91. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- HACKER, Paul 1959b. *Prablāda. Werden und Wandlungen einer Idealgestalt. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hinduismus, I: Die Entstehung der Legende. Die Prablāda-Legenden des Viṣṇupurāṇa und des Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. (Abh. der Akademie der Wiss. u. d. Lit. Mainz, Geistes- und soz.-wiss. Kl. 9) Wiesbaden: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz in Kommission bei F. Steiner Verlag.
- HACKER, Paul 1965. Relations of Early Advaitins to Vaiṣṇavism. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie* 9: 147–154.
- KAVIRAJ, Gopinath 1966. *Aspects of Indian Thought*. Burdwan: University of Burdwan.
- KEITH, Arthur Berriedale [1918¹] 1949². *The Sāṃkhya System: A History of the Sāṃkhya Philosophy*. Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House.
- LARSON, Gerald James [1969¹] 1979². *Classical Sāṃkhya: An Interpretation of its History and Meaning*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- MATSUBARA, Mitsunori 1994. *Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās & Early Vaiṣṇava Theology with a transl. and crit. notes from chapters on theology in the Abirbudhnyā Saṃhitā*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- RUKMANI, T.S. 1970. *A Critical Study of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (with Special Reference to Bhakti)*. (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies 77) Varanasi: Chowkhamba.
- RÜPING, Klaus 1970. *Amṛtamanthana und Kūrma-Avatāra: Ein Beitrag zur puranischen Mythen- und Religionsgeschichte*. (Schriftenreihe des Südasiens-Instituts der Universität Heidelberg) Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- SCHRADER, F. Otto 1916. *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Abirbudhnyā Saṃhitā*. (Adyar Library Series 5) Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre.
- SENGUPTA, B.K. 1959. Traces of Sāṃkhya Doctrines in the Śrīmadbhāgavata. *Indian Historical Quarterly* 35: 327–332.
- SHERIDAN, Daniel P. 1986. *The Advaitic Theism of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- SILBURN, Lilian 1955. *Instant et cause: Le discontinu dans la pensée philosophique de l'Inde*. Paris: J. Vrin.
- SMETS, Sandra 2003–2004. Le développement embryonnaire selon la *Jaiminīyasaṃhitā* du *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*: étude sur l'intertextualité. In: E. CIURTIN (ed.), *Du corps humain, au carrefour de plusieurs savoirs en Inde: Mélanges offerts à Arion Roşu par ses collègues et ses amis à l'occasion de son 80e anniversaire* (Studia Asiatica 4–5): 313–330. Paris: De Bocard.

- SMETS, Sandra 2006. When a Paurāṇika is Influenced by a Bhāṣyakāra: The Jaiminīyasaṃhitā of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa and the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara. Unpublished paper, delivered at the 13th World Sanskrit Conference in Edinburgh.
- SMETS, Sandra 2013. *La question de la non-dualité dans la Jaiminīyasaṃhitā du Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa. Le Janakapraśna édité, traduit et commenté.* (Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain 63) Leuven: Peeters.
- VIELLE, Christophe 2002. An Introduction to the Jaiminīyasaṃhitā of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa. In: M. BROCKINGTON (ed.), *Stages and Transitions: Temporal and Historical Frameworks in Epic and Purāṇic Literature: Proceedings of the Second Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, August 1999*: 337–357. Zagreb: Academia Scientiarum et Artium Croatica.
- VIELLE, Christophe 2008. La date de la Jaiminīyasaṃhitā du Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa: une confirmation épigraphique du début du XIV^{ème} siècle AD. *Indologica Taurinensia* 34: 311–323.
- VIELLE, Christophe 2011–2012. Ravivarman Kulaśekhara the Yādava and Sagara the Son of Yādavī: Real and Ideal Kings in Matrilineal Kerala. In: S. BRODBECK & J. HEGARTY (eds.), *Genealogy and History in South Asia* (Religions of South Asia 5(1–2), special issue): 365–387.
- VIELLE, Christophe 2014. How Did Paraśurāma Come to Raise Kerala. In: K. VELUTHAT & D.R. DAVIS (eds), *Irreverent History: Essays for M.G.S. Narayanan*: 15–32. Delhi: Primus Books.
- VIELLE, Christophe *forthcoming*. *La Jaiminīyasaṃhitā du Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, Madhyamabhāga, adhyāya 1–15: *Introduction, édition et traduction*. (Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain) Leuven: Peeters. [A preliminary version of the work was presented as a habilitation dissertation at the Université Catholique de Louvain in 2007.]

ABHIṢEKA: THE SACRED BATH AS DESCRIBED IN THE PĀÑCARĀTRA ĀGAMA

Lakshmi Swaminathan

State University of New York at Stony Brook

INTRODUCTION

Of the two Vaiṣṇava Āgamas, the *Pāñcarātra* and *Vaiḥānasa*, the *Pāñcarātra* abounds in literature with 108 Samhitās under its banner.¹ The four main topics discussed in these works are *jñāna* (knowledge), *yoga* (contemplation on the ultimate truth), *kriyā* (construction of temples and installation of images), and *caryā* (performance of daily worship, rituals and festivals). With its clear and detailed instructions on performances of rituals, the *caryā* section of the Samhitās serves as a guide to priests in most of the temples. Temples tend to follow the instructions given in the Samhitās created by the priests from the same regions they are located in. Priests at Srirangam Temple are disciples of the *Pārameśvara Samhitā*; those at Kanjeevaram are dedicated to the *Jayākhya*, one of the oldest; and priests at Melkote, Mysore are loyal to the *Īśvara Samhitā*. The famous temple of Śri Venkateśvara at Tirupati follows the *Vaiḥānasa Āgama* and not the *Pāñcarātra* (Sampath 1974). These regional differences result in variations in the performances of rituals. If priests trained in different regions work in the same temple, conflicts arise because each believes the method in which he is trained is the most appropriate. This paper points out the variations in services in the *abhiṣeka* ritual as presented in three popular Samhitās. There is a hope that this may give the priests an incentive to reduce the number of variations and accept a method approved by all.

Abhiṣeka, interpreted as the sacred bath or a consecration, is one of the daily services performed to the idols in the temple. Another term used frequently

¹ I would like to gratefully acknowledge the travel grant provided by the Sri Venkateswara Temple, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to attend the 12th World Sanskrit Conference held in Helsinki, Finland.

in the Samhitās of the *Pāñcarātra* to describe this ritual is *snapana*, or bathing. Depending on the number of pitchers (*kalaśas*) filled with various materials used in this ritual, *snapana* can be elaborately performed with one thousand pitchers or *kalaśas*, which takes place only on very special occasions. On days considered not so special, this ritual is conducted with one hundred and eight pitchers, or sometimes with as few as nine of them. This paper discusses the simplest form of this ritual, which forms a part of the *nityārādhana*, or daily worship.

ORIGIN

The origin of this ritual is traced back by some scholars to the consecration of the ancient kings. The *Mahābhārata* epic distinctly uses the word *abhiṣeka* in the sense of having oneself consecrated and in the meaning of the inauguration of a king. Heesterman (1957: 114) describes the consecration of a king as follows: “while the sacrificer stands on the tiger skin with raised arms and his face turned to the east, the unction is administered to him by four persons, standing around him at the four cardinal points, each holding a special unction cup filled previously”. In one specific feature though, the *abhiṣeka* of the Lord differs from the consecration of a king. During the *abhiṣeka*, priests pour not only water, which is the unction fluid named by Heesterman elsewhere in his book, but also other libations like milk, curds, honey, and so forth. Heesterman (1957: 120) describes the consecration thus: “the cosmic implications of the unction ceremony are clearly brought out by its setting: the scene of the unction is a replica of the universe, the king standing in the centre and stretching his arms to the sky impersonates the cosmic pillar; around him the officials are standing and confer on him his new body from the four points of the compass. Each official imparts to the king the quality of one of the gods mentioned in the unction formula, Soma’s glory, Agni’s brilliance, etc.” Positions occupied by the priests, like standing on all sides of the image of god during the *abhiṣeka*, have some similarities with the above description. Materials like milk, curds, honey, and sandal water, which are to be used in the ablution, are filled in huge bowls and arranged in front of the icon; these are sanctified with mantras before they are poured on the idol. These mantras also serve as prayers to the deities invoked in these materials, that they should impart their powers and nourishing qualities into the image, similar to officials imparting the powers of the gods to the king in a consecration.

Another theory relates the *abhiṣeka* to the *yajña*, the sacrificial ritual of the Vedic period. We find references to offerings of melted butter, havis, and so forth in the sacrificial fire during the Vedic period. Since the icon worship is believed to have replaced the *yajñas*, the same materials have been used to bathe god in the

form of a *mūrti*, or image. The image or *mūrti* is one of the three forms in which the Lord is invoked according to the Samhitās of the *Pāñcarātra*, the other two being the fire (Agni) in fire rituals (*homa*, a simpler replica of *yajña*), performed in temples during special occasions, and the lotus-circle (*cakrābjamaṇḍala*) drawn on the cleaned and sanctified grounds of the temple according to the specifications given in the Samhitās.

Gabriella Ferro-Luzzi (1981: 707–742) points to the idol worship of the Dravidians as another source of *abhiṣeka*. She cites the Dravidian term *pūcu*, meaning ‘to anoint’, as the origin of the Sanskrit word *pūjā*, which is accepted again in Tamil in the form of *pūjai*. The earliest reference to the rite, according to her, is a passage of the Tamil *Pattupattu Maturaikkanci*, which goes back to the beginning of our era. As the Samhitās of the *Pāñcarātra* are not assigned a date earlier than 500 CE, it is safe to say that this ritual might have developed from the Dravidian *pūcu*.

THE ICONS USED FOR ABHIṢEKA

The main idol of Lord Viṣṇu, or the “Mūlavighraha” of the temple, undergoes this ritual bathing, but temples with considerable resources have six separate images (*ṣaḍbera*) for six rituals. They are the *utsavabera* (icon assigned for festivals), *śayanabera* (icon in a sleeping posture), *yānabera* (the one taken in processions), *alankārabera* (icon undergoing decoration), *snānabera* (icon used for bathing), and *bhojanabera* (the idol to which food offerings are made). If the temple does not have six different idols, the power in the main icon is transferred symbolically to other seats (*āsana*), as they are called instead of idols (*bera*), like the seat of bathing (*snānāsana*), the seat of decoration (*alankārāsana*), and so forth. Before the *abhiṣeka* ritual starts, the Lord is requested by the priest to kindly occupy the seat of bathing.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS AND MATERIALS USED IN THE ABHIṢEKA RITUAL

Ornaments and garments covering the image of the god, with the exception of a piece of cloth around the waist, are removed. The curtain separating the sanctum from the adjoining chamber remains closed during this action.

Materials to be used during the ablution – milk, curds, honey, sandal paste, turmeric powder, coconuts, other fruits and water – are placed in front of the image of the god. As stated earlier, each of these materials is consecrated by the sprinkling of water with the chanting of mantras assigned to every one of

them. All these materials are natural products, symbolizing prosperity and nourishment. Milk and curds have the additional quality of being white. So, when poured on the image, these grant the devotees the purest vision of god. The practical purpose for which these two are used may be to smooth the image. Honey is known for its stickiness and sweetness. When it clings to the idol, it reminds the devotee of nectar (*amṛta*, the mythical liquid imparting immortality). These three and the fruits, all natural products bestowed on humans by God for their welfare and nourishment, are offered back as a sign of gratitude to produce the same amount of nourishing and cooling effects on Him. Sandalwood and turmeric are well known for their power to heal skin diseases. In addition to being filled with fragrance, sandalwood has a cooling effect on the skin. This and turmeric form the main ingredients in the cosmetics of Indian women, who also consider the yellow colour of the turmeric to be auspicious. The main reason for using turmeric in the *abhiṣeka* of Lord Viṣṇu, a male god, is to propitiate the goddess Śrī seated on his chest.

Regarding the services, listed below, the *Padma Samhitā* (*caryāpāda* 3, 173) states: *rājopacāravat sarvam upacāre prakalpite* “all the following services are arranged like those performed to a king”. These are rendered in the following order, according to the *Padma*, *Śrīpraśna* and *Viśvāmitra Samhitās*.

Pādukās or sandals are offered to the image of the god, followed by the priest’s request to occupy the seat of bathing. After the transference to the seat, the Lord is offered *arghyam* (water mixed with fragrant herbs), the purpose of which is to wash the right hand of the idol. This is followed by *pādyam*, water sprinkled at the feet of the icon to wash them, and *ācamanīyam*, water offered in the right hand of the icon for sipping (rinsing the mouth).

The priest enacts the cleaning of the teeth (with a *danta-dhāvana* twig used in olden days to brush teeth) and then of the tongue (*jihvā-lepana*) of the image of the god. He then wipes the face of the icon and offers *tāmbūla* betel leaves to cleanse the mouth.

At this point, the *Padma* and *Viśvāmitra Samhitās* differ in their instructions. The *Padma Samhitā* has this line: “after strewing flowers at the feet, the priest anoints the image with the oil of *āmalaka* gooseberry” (*caryāpāda* 3, 152). *Viśvāmitra* states: “let him scatter flowers at the feet of the Lord, anoint him with oil [not of any specific variety], place a garland around the neck of the icon and hold a mirror to facilitate God to see His reflection. He should rub the icon with *māṣa* [lentil] powder” (10, 144). The next verse (153) in the *Padma Samhitā* states: “now the ritual of *abhiṣeka* starts”, but it does not mention any specific material, whereas the *Viśvāmitra Samhitā* (10, 145) instructs: “this [bathing] should be done with pure water mixed with *āmalaka* and then with fragrant

water". *Āmalaka* or gooseberry is said to have a cooling effect on the body, but the Samhitās seem to have a conflict regarding in which form it should be applied on the image.

The next action in the sequence is the combing of the hair of God, which, as prescribed in the *Padma Samhitā* (*caryāpāda* 3, 154), is followed by ablutions with the consecrated materials in pitchers or bowls. Since the materials are not mentioned, it is assumed that now is the time when the milk, curds, honey, and fruits filled in the bowls should be used for ablution. The *Viśvāmitra Samhitā* (10, 146) has a specific number of 17 pots placed on heaps of grains. Each of these materials is poured on the image and washed away with water before the next material is picked up for bathing.

The final material to be used in ablution, turmeric powder, is smeared on the icon and then washed off with the water mixed with sandal paste, which is followed by the application of the vermilion. This, too, is cleansed with water. Though all three Samhitās use the word *ālepana* 'anointing' here, the priest usually places dots of vermilion on the forehead, the four hands and on the chest of the image, where the goddess Śrī is believed to be seated.

While the *Padma Samhitā* prescribes the three preceding actions together, the *Viśvāmitra Samhitā* (10, 148) reads: "clothing the image with a pair of garments and smearing it with sandal paste". The image is now decorated with garlands and offered *arghya*, *pādya* and *ācamanīya*. All these three, involving offerings of water, have been mentioned earlier.

Sahasradhārā 'one thousand streams of water' is performed at this point, when water poured on a plate with a thousand holes is held over the head of the idol and falls on it in one thousand streams. The priest wipes off the water with a cloth. The ritual of *abhiṣeka* as such concludes here. Since the decoration and food offerings performed to the image of God are regarded as part of this ritual, services performed to the idol in these two *āsanas* – *alankāra* and *bhojana* – are included here.

The priest drapes the image with a pair of clean cloths and offers the sacred thread and upper garment. Water is again offered in the right hand for sipping. Then the *pādukās* or slippers are placed at the feet. Now the power of the icon is transferred to the seat of decoration (*alankārāsana*). The services of *arghya*, *pādya*, and *ācamanīya* (the offerings of water mentioned earlier) are rendered. The priest then enacts drying the hair of God with the smoke emanating from the burnt *agaru*. He anoints the limbs with pure fragrant sandal paste and then decorates the image with ornaments and flowers.

Akṣatā, or unbroken rice, is sprinkled at the feet. The priest applies collyrium to the eyes of the image and holds up a mirror to God. The incense from the

smoke of *agaru* and lamps with wicks drenched in melted butter are waved in front of the image. Clothes, gold, grains, fruits, and so forth are given as gifts to the teacher of the performing priest.

The reference at this time to open the curtain hanging in front of the sanctum presupposes its closure while the icon is being decorated. Devotees are not allowed to see the icon during the decoration. The opening of the curtain is followed by music and dance performances, as well as recitation of prayers and mantras from the Vedas and Vedāṅgas.

The *Viśvāmitra Samhitā* (10, 163–165) adds here: “Various types of vehicles like chariots, horses, elephants, and so forth should be offered. These [services] should end with the showing of the banner with Garuḍa, the Lord’s vehicle, painted on it. An umbrella made of pearls, white chowries, and fans should be waved on all sides. Lights placed in golden vessels and lit with melted butter should be waved in front of the image of God.” The *Śrīpraśna Samhitā* (28, 285–286) instructs differently: “At this time the priest performs Arcanā, worshipping God with flowers and Tulaśī leaves with the chanting of the names of the Vyūhas and Vibhavas of God. This is followed by the closing of the curtain at the entrance of the sanctum and food-offerings are made behind the closed curtain.” The practice of closing the curtain during food offerings is prevalent in most of the temples now. The reason why the other two Samhitās are silent about this is not clear.

Pādūkās or slippers are once again placed at the feet of the icon and the transference of the icon to *bhojanāsana*, the seat of food offering, is enacted. *Arghya* (water for washing the right hand), *pādya* (water for washing the feet), *ācamanīya* (water for sipping), and *madhuparka* honey mixed with milk and milk products are offered, followed by betel leaves to cleanse the mouth.

Havis, the prepared food, and the fruits of all seasons are placed in front of the icon. Each of them is named by the priest while sprinkling water to sanctify them. Water is again sprinkled around the food offerings to make them worthy of being accepted by God with the chanting of the mantra OM. These are purified by the priest with the *mudrās* (signs with fingers conveying a ritualistic action) of *dahana* (burning), and *āplāvana* (washing). The priest shows the *surabhimudrā*, places the flowers of *arghya* on all the food offerings and touches the right hand of the icon. Now he shows the sign of *grāsa* with his right hand holding *arghya* flowers while touching the right elbow with his left hand, exhibiting the partial involvement of the left hand in the offering. Traditionally, the left hand is not used while accepting or offering anything. The priest places first the food in the right hand of the icon and then the water for drinking and sipping. Finally, betel leaves are offered.

MANTRAS ACCOMPANYING ACTIONS

The Samhitās of the *Pāñcarātra Āgama* make it compulsory that each ritual action be accompanied by the chanting of Vedic mantras. The Pāñcarātrins emphasize that the icon worship, though a later development, should still acknowledge the Vedas as the ultimate authority. It is also possible that the ancient practice of singing the glories of a king during his consecration continues in this form of singing the praises of the Lord while rendering these services, as some of the mantras are just prayers with no connection to the ritual actions. Chanting the mantras during a ritual also brings into unison thought, words and action (*mano-vāk-kāya*) while serving God, a factor which is emphasized in all kinds of worship in Hinduism. This unison (*yoga*) is important in icon worship, which originated for the sole purpose of involving the mind and senses of the worshipper. Understanding the mantras makes it easier for the worshipper to involve the mind.

When we examine the mantras prescribed to be chanted along with the actions during the *abhiṣeka* for their meanings, we find that with the exception of the initial words of some of these, which either refer to the materials used (like *dadhi*, *madhu*, or *gandha*) or to the ritual actions in an indirect way, the mantras do not indicate in distinct terms the actions or the materials used for the *abhiṣeka*. On the other hand, when we consider the amount of care the authors of the Samhitās have taken in recording each movement of the priest during this ritual, we tend to expect the same amount of attention from them to the meaning of the mantras while choosing them for the ritual. With the hope that a thorough examination of the mantras would result in finding a plausible connection between them and the ritual actions or materials, each mantra is analysed in the following lines.

MANTRAS SANCTIFYING THE MATERIALS

Mantras consecrating milk: Payovṛta Sāman (Padma Samhitā, caryāpāda 8, 74)

yajjāyathā apūrvya maghavan vṛtrahatyāya

tatpṛthivīm aprathayastad astabhnā uto divam. (Sāmaveda 2,6,2,19,1)

When you, unequalled Maghavan, were born to kill Vṛtra, you spread out the spacious earth and supported and propped the heavens.

Though the meaning of this verse does not specifically refer to milk, the name of this *sāman* is *payovṛta*, translated as ‘covered with milk’, and perhaps plays an

important part in the selection of this verse, as this indirectly refers to the image of God bathed in milk. Also, milk's nature to increase strength can be taken as indicated by the reference to Indra's extraordinary power and strength, which he derives from drinking Soma, which is of the same nature as milk.

The *Śrīpraśna Samhitā* (28, 298) prescribes the following instead:

āpyāyasva sametu te viśvatassoma vṛṣṇiyam

bhavā vājasya saṅgathe. (Rgveda 1,91,117)

O Blissful Lord! May you be approachable from all sides. May our vigor be directed towards You. May our knowledge also be concentrated in You.

The use of the word *vṛṣṇiyam* in this verse is significant. It is from the Sanskrit root *vṛṣ* 'to rain'. It relates to the action of bathing the idol with a profuse amount of milk, which covers the icon on all sides. The word also means 'might' or 'strength', which also points to the nourishing nature of milk. This mantra is addressed to Soma, a juice offered to gods to increase their strength and power. Its mixture with milk is mentioned many times in the *Rgveda*. It is only appropriate that this mantra is recited when milk with the same nature is poured on the idol.

Mantra consecrating curds (Padma Samhitā, caryāpāda 8,74)

Dadhikrāvaṇo akāriṣam jiṣṇoraśvasya vājinaḥ

Surabhi no mukhā karat pra ṇa āyūṅṣi tāriṣat. (Rgveda 4,39,6)

So have I glorified with praise the strong Dadhikrāvaṇ conquering steed, sweet may he make our mouths; may he prolong the days we have to live.

Though the verse describes Dadhikrāvaṇ, a Vedic horse which has no relation to this action, the meaning of the second line points to the nature of curds, sweet and nourishing. The choice of this verse is obviously for its beginning word, *dadhi* (curds).

Mantras consecrating honey

madhu vātā ṛtāyate madhu kṣaranti sindhavaḥ mādhvīrnaḥ santvoṣadhīḥ

madhu naktamutośaso madhumatpārthivam rajaḥ madhudyaurastu naḥ pitā

*madhumānno vanaspatirmadhumān astu sūryaḥ mādhvīrgāvo bhavantu naḥ.
(Rgveda 1,90,6,7,8)*

The wind waft sweets, the rivers pour sweets, for the man who keeps the law; so may the plants be sweet for us. May the night and dawns be sweet. May the dust of the earth and our father heaven be sweet to us. May the tall tree and the sun be filled with sweetness for us; may our cattle be sweet for us.

These lines perfectly fit the context. The word *madhu*, meaning ‘honey’, is repeated with its very specific nature of sweetness pointed out several times. This verse refers to sweet water and air, indicating the freshness of both, which leads to longevity of humans. Furthermore, *oṣadhi* and *vanaspati* are plants and trees of medicinal value and are also utilized for prolonging life. Thus, *madhu* in these lines is identified with the nectar *amṛta*.

Mantras sanctifying water mixed with sandal paste

gandhadvārām durādharṣām nityapuṣṭām karīṣiṇīm

īśvarīgīm sarvabhūtānām tāmihopahvaye śrīyam. (Rgveda 1,165,9)

Here I call you, the Goddess of prosperity, with gates full of fragrance, unassailable, ever-nourished, abundantly present in the refuse of cows; you are the ruler of all beings.

Again the word *gandha*, meaning ‘fragrance’, in the beginning of the verse may have led to the choice of this verse. Sandal is generally named as *gandha* due to its fragrance. Sandal is also a sign of prosperity, as the word *puṣṭa* indicates, because only the affluent can afford its use. The term *karīṣiṇī* signifies the sacredness attributed to cows. As the ultimate providers of all that is nourishing, cows are considered as an aspect of Śrī, the goddess of prosperity; *karīṣa* is also translated as ‘rubbish’, which indirectly refers to mud where lotuses bloom. Śrī is identified with lotuses and appropriates the name Karīṣiṇī.

Mantras while offering pādukās

idam viṣṇurvi cakrame tredhā nidadbhe padam samūlhamasya pāmsure.
(Rgveda 1,22,17)

Viṣṇu moved around this world, placed His feet thrice; the whole universe is enveloped by the dust of the feet of Viṣṇu.

This verse refers to Viṣṇu’s three strides as well as to the dust of His feet. It is suitable for this service, since the *pādukās* of the Lord are placed on the heads of the devotees at the end of the ritual, signifying not only their total dedication but also their extreme humility to have the dust from the feet of the Lord placed

on their heads. Since this dust covers the universe, as indicated in the verse, the *pādukās* shield the universe from calamities. One of the Vaiṣṇava Ālwār was named “Toṇḍar aḍippoḍi-ālwār” because he placed the dust from the feet of the devotees of Lord Viṣṇu on his head. When devotees are held in such high esteem, it is only appropriate that the dust from the feet of the Lord is spoken as the highest place (*parama pada*) to be achieved.

Requesting the Lord to rise from his seat to occupy the seat of bathing

uttiṣṭha brahmaṇaspate devayantastvemabe

upa pra yantu marutaḥ sudānava indra praśūrḥbhavā sacā. (Rgveda 1,40,1)

O Lord, Brahmaṇaspati, please rise; we request You to rise as we are desirous of reaching [other] divinities; may the most charitable Maruts go near [You]; O Indra, You drink Soma along with Brahmaṇaspati or destroy Vṛtra.

As in many other mantras, the beginning word *uttiṣṭha*, meaning ‘rise’, makes this verse suitable for the action. Inviting the Lord to join other divinities takes us back to an earlier reference to the divinities, invoked in all the materials collected for the *abhiṣeka* to impart their powers to the image of God. Soma and Indra are named by Heesterman, too, as the gods invoked in the unction ceremony of a king.

Offering the seat of bathing (snānāsana)

bhadram karṇebhiḥ śṛṇuyāma devā bhadram paśyemākṣabhiryajatrāḥ

sthirairangaistuṣṭuvāmsastanūbhiryasema devahitam yadāyuh. (Rgveda 1,89,8)

O gods, may we listen to auspicious words with our ears; O divinities, who deserve the oblations in sacrifices, with our eyes, we should see only good things; with our strong and healthy bodies, we should live praising you, a long life of many years as established by Prajāpati.

Bhadrāsana, also known as *sukhāsana*, is a posture of sitting during meditation. While describing the various postures of icons used for different services, the *Śrīpraśna Samhitā* (verse 235) states *snāne ca sukham āsanam*, meaning that the *snānabera* (icon assigned for ablution) should be seated in the *sukhāsana* or *bhadrāsana* position. It is possible that the beginning word *bhadram* played a pivotal role in the choice of this verse for this service of placing the Lord in *bhadrāsana*. In addition, the verse implies that the priests and worshippers would be listening to auspicious Vedic mantras during the ablution, would be looking at the auspicious form of God bathed in all the materials like milk, and so forth,

and would be praising and thanking Him for the strength and long life He has bestowed on them.

Offering arghya

tatsaviturvareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt.
(*Rgveda* 3,62,10)

May we fix our mind on the excellent glory of Savitur, the god; may he stimulate our intellects.

The meaning of this verse has no relation to the action. This is just a prayer that this offering should satisfy the Lord enough to grant the devotees the knowledge needed for their progress.

Offering pādya water at the feet of the Lord

tṛiṇi padā vi cakrame viṣṇurgopā adābhyah ato dharmāṇi dhārayan. (*Rgveda* 1,22,18)

Viṣṇu, the protector of the universe, crossed the world in three strides, nourishing the righteous acts.

The priest offers water at the feet of God to wash them, reciting these lines.

Offering water for sipping (ācamana)

āpaḥ punantu pṛthivīm pṛthivī pūtā punātu mām

punantu brahmaṇaspatirbrahma pūtā punātu mām. (*Taittirīyāranyaka* 10,23)

May the waters cleanse the earth, may the cleansed earth purify me. May the waters cleanse the Lord of the Vedas, and may the Vedas purify me.

In these lines, the cleansing nature of water is emphasized. While chanting these lines, water is offered to God to cleanse His mouth. Lord Viṣṇu is identified with the earth as indicated by the first of his one thousand names, Viśvam. The implication here is that the earth is purified when his mouth is cleansed.

Offering a twig for brushing the teeth (danta-dhāvana)

tadviṣṇoḥ paramam padam sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ divīva cakṣurātataṁ.
(*Rgveda* 1,22,20)

The enlightened men witness the heavenly abode of Viṣṇu, just as they scan the wide sky with their eyes.

This is recited while offering a twig to brush the teeth of the Lord. Though there is no apparent connection, it brings to our memory an episode from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in which Yaśodā, the mother of Kṛṣṇa, asks Him to open His mouth to examine whether He has eaten mud. She finds the whole universe inside His mouth. This is comparable to the idea found in this verse. We are also reminded of the lines from the *Bhagavadgītā* in which Arjuna exclaims how mankind is entering the mouth of God to meet its end.

Enacting the cleaning of the tongue of the idol (jihvālepana)

tadviprāso vipanyavo jāgrvāṁsaḥ samindhate viṣṇoryatparamam padam.
(*Rgveda* 1,22,21)

The highly intellectual brahmins, who praise the Lord with proper use of words, illumine the supreme abode of Viṣṇu very well.

There clearly is an association between the skill of the brahmins in the proper use of words, which originate from the tongue, and the action of cleaning the same organ of the image of God. The prayer here is for this service to result in increased skills of the brahmins to continue to sing the Lord's glories.

Washing the face of the icon

nārāyaṇāya vidmahe vāsudevāya dhīmahi tanno viṣṇuḥ pracodayāt.
(*Nārāyaṇasūktam* 8)

We learn [to perceive] Nārāyaṇa and wish to obtain Vāsudeva. May Viṣṇu stimulate us.

The purpose of this action is to have a clear vision of the Lord, as suggested by the first two words of this verse.

Rubbing the image with oil

viṣṇornu kam vīryāṇi pra vocam yaḥ pārthivāni vimame rajāṁsi

yo askabhāyaduttaram sadbāstham vicakramāṇastredhoruḡyāḥ. (*Rgveda* 1,154,1)

I narrate[d] to you the valorous actions of Viṣṇu, who created the worlds, below the earth and also those above the earth; He walks in three strides and is praised by the great.

God is provided with this service of massaging, which He deserves after performing all those heroic deeds mentioned in the verse.

*na te viṣṇo jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ paramantamāpa
udastabhñā nākamīṣvam br̥hantam dādhartha prācīm kakubham pṛthivyāḥ.
(R̥gveda 7,99,2)*

None who are born or being born, God Viṣṇu, have reached the utmost limit of your grandeur. You supported the vast high vault of heaven and fixed earth's eastern pinnacle securely.

While the *Padma Samhitā* names *abhiṣeka* as the action accompanying this verse, the *Viśvāmitra Samhitā* instructs that the flour of *māṣa* (lentil) applied on the icon is to be washed off with water mixed with *amalaka*. These lines again stress the need for a therapeutic bath after the heroic deeds of God, like supporting and fixing the earth.

āpo hi ṣṭhā mayobhuvastā na ūrje dadhātana mabe raṇāya cakṣasi. (R̥gveda 10,9,1)

Waters, You are beneficent; kindly help us to [obtain] energy that we may look on with great delight.

Water with fragrance is poured on God at this time, so it is an appropriate prayer to the waters.

Enacting the combing of hair

*ato devā avantu no yato viṣṇurvicakrame pṛthivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ.
(R̥gveda 1,22,16)*

May the gods protect us from this earth, where Viṣṇu placed His strides with the help of the seven metres, Gāyatrī and others.

Now the ablutions with milk, curds, honey and fruits follow. Mantras recited to consecrate them have already been quoted. During Nityārādhana, only a small amount of these materials are used, and so the priest may just recite the same mantras as chanted during the consecration of these. If the ablution is performed once a week, milk, and other things are collected in huge vessels and the ritual time is extended, which allows more time for recitation. The *Taittirīyaśikṣā* (which forms a part of the *Taittirīyopaniṣad*), *Viṣṇusūkta* (*R̥gveda* 1,154), and *Nārāyaṇasūkta* are chanted during the ablutions with these materials. The *Taittirīyaśikṣā* contains philosophical instructions while the *Viṣṇusūkta* and *Nārāyaṇasūkta* are praises of Lord Viṣṇu. Many verses accompanying several of the previous actions are from these two *sūktas*.

Smearing the icon with turmeric powder

*hiraṇyavarṇām hariṇīm suvarṇarajatasrajām candrām hiraṇmayīm lakṣmīm
jātavedo ma āvaha. (R̥gveda 1,165,1)*

O Jātavedas (Agni), kindly lead towards me the golden Lakṣmī, the radiant golden coloured female deer, who is decorated with golden and silver necklaces.

At this time, the idol is anointed with turmeric powder. The goddess Śrī, seated on the chest of God, is propitiated by this specific ablution. The selection of the first verse of the Śrīsūktam from the *khila* section of the *R̥gveda* suits this action. The golden colour of turmeric is aptly described by the word *hiraṇyavarṇa* in the beginning of the verse. By anointing with turmeric and decorating with flowers, priests make the icon of God resemble the form of the Goddess. This also gives them time to recite the complete Śrīsūktam, not just the first verse.

Bathing the icon with water mixed with fragrance

hiraṇyavarṇāḥ śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ yāsu jātaḥ savitā yāsvagniḥ

*yā agnim garbham dadhire suvarṇāstā na āpaḥ śam syonā bhavantu.
(Atharvaveda 1,33,1)*

May they, the golden hued, the bright, the splendid, from whom Savitā and Agni were born, who took Agni as a germ, the fair-coloured waters, bring felicity to us.

During the recitation of this, water with fragrance is poured on the icon. Priests have the option of performing this before they anoint the icon with turmeric. The *Viśvāmitra Samhitā* follows this order. While consecrating this fragrant water or during the ablution with this water usually mixed with sandal paste, the verse *gandhadvārām* (quoted earlier) from the Śrīsūktam is often recited, relating clearly to the smell rather than to the colour of sandal. Water mixed with sandal, too, has a golden hue and so the description “golden” and “fair-coloured” is appropriate here.

Washing of the vermilion powder which is applied after the fragrant water

brahmajajñānam prathamam purastādviśmatassuruco vena āvaḥ

sabudhmiyā upamā asya viṣṭhāssataśca yonīmasataśca vivaḥ. (Atharvaveda 4,1,1)

That God alone is adorable, who in the beginning of the universe created everything, is wide in expansion, highest of all, effulgent and worthy of worship. The sun, moon and other worlds in the atmosphere stationed in their orbits

testify to his knowledge. He pervades them all through his omnipresence and comprehends the visible and invisible in space.

There is no connection between this mantra and the action taking place at this time.

Offering arghya, pādya, and ācamanīya water for washing the hands and feet and for sipping

kayā naścitra ā bhuvadūti sadāvṛdhaḥ sakhā kayā śaciṣṭhayā vṛtā. (Rgveda 4,31,1)

With what help will he come to us, wonderful ever-waxing friend, with what most mighty company?

These lines express the yearning of a devotee who tries through several services to make the Lord happy.

Bathing the icon with one thousand streams of water (sahasradhārā)

sahasraśīrṣā puruṣaḥ sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapāt sa bhūmim viśvato vṛtvā atyatiṣṭhaddaśāṅgulam. (Rgveda 10,90,1)

Puruṣa had one thousand heads, one thousand eyes and a thousand feet. He covered the earth on all sides and extended beyond it by ten *āngulas*.

Water is poured through a plate which has one thousand holes and which is held above the head of the image of the Lord. This verse pictures the Lord as having one thousand heads, eyes, and feet and thus representing all the beings of the world. Thus, the thousand streams of water not only figuratively drench the heads of Puruṣa but all the beings of the world. Verse 7 of this hymn portrays the entire creation as originating from the limbs of Puruṣa and talks about Puruṣa as being sprinkled with water when He becomes the animal to be sacrificed. On the whole, this hymn fits well with this ablution.

Wiping the icon with a cloth

agnirmūrdhā divaḥ kakutpatih pṛthivyā ayam apām retāmsi jinvati. (Rgveda 8,44,16)

Agni is the head and height of heaven, the master of the earth is He; He quickens the water's seed.

This verse does not relate to the action in any way.

Offering of garments

The Viṣṇugāyatri mantra (*Nārāyaṇasūktam* 8) chanted with this service has been quoted earlier as accompanying the service of washing the face of the icon. Just a prayer for intellectual progress, this does not relate in any way to the ritual action.

Drying the hair of God with the smoke of incense (agaru)

mūrdhānam divo aratim pṛthivyā vaiśvānaramṛta ājātamagnim

kavim samrājamatithim janānāmāsannā pātram janayanta devāḥ. (Rgveda 6,7,1)

The gods have created Him, Agni Vaiśvānara, born in holy order, the messenger of earth and head of heaven, the sage, the king, guest of men, a vessel, fit for their mouths.

The choice of this verse is clearly due to the word *mūrdhā*, meaning ‘head’, which begins it. The action involves smoke, which needs fire, which again is referred to in the verse.

Anointing with sandal paste

idam viṣṇurvicakrame. (Rgveda 1,22,17)

This verse has been prescribed for an earlier action. It is significant here as the sandal paste cools and removes the fatigue caused by the heroic deeds described of the Lord in the verse.

Decorating with ornaments

jitam te puṇḍarīkākṣa namaste viśvabhāvana namastestu bṛṣīkeśa mahāpuruṣa pūrvaja namaste vāsudevāya śāntānantacidātmane adhyakṣāya svatantrāya nirapekṣāya śāsvate. (Śrīpraśna Sambhitā 23,220)

May there be victory to you, O Lotus-eyed God, my obeisance to you, Creator of the universe; O Lord of controlled senses, great Puruṣa and the first-born, my salutations to you, Vāsudeva of peaceful bliss, the self-controlled, the undefeated and the abode of six virtues.

The verse showers praises on the Lord while decorating Him with ornaments.

Offering flowers to God

tadviṣṇoḥ paramam padam sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ. (Rgveda 1,22,20)

The meaning of the verse, which is already quoted for an earlier service, points to the supreme place of Viṣṇu, which, according to His devotees, are His feet. Flowers are placed at the feet of God with this most suitable verse describing His feet.

Strewing the unbroken rice (akṣatā) at the feet of God

irāvati dhenumatī hi bhūtam sūyavasiniṁ manuṣe daśasyā

vyastabhṇā rodasī viṣṇavete dādhartha pṛthivīmabhito mayūkhailḥ. (Rgveda 7,99,3)

May you be rich in sweet food and rich in cattle. May you be with fertile pastures and be ready to do men service. Viṣṇu, You have kept asunder both the worlds and firmly fixed the earth with pegs around it.

Rice, the mainstay of the early Aryans, was used in the preparation of havis, referred to as sweet food in the verse. Fertility of the soil and earth results in an abundance of rice, which is used in the worship here. The specific mention of the form of rice as unbroken is significant. In days of old, the husk used to be removed manually with the help of a mortar and pestle. Though it was a laborious task, the rice produced in this way was unbroken at the ends. Unfortunately, machines which replaced the mortar and pestle are not able to do this job that well.

Offering incense

jitam te puṇḍarikākṣa... (Śrīpraśna Sambhitā 23,220)

This verse, already translated, is a prayer to Lord Viṣṇu, wishing Him victory in His endeavor to protect the world. It is similar to bards singing the praises of the king.

Waving a lamp in front of God

*uddīpyasva jātavedopaghmanniṛtiṁ mama paśūnśca mahyamāvaha jīvanam ca
diśo diśa mā no hinśijjātavedo gāmaśvam puruṣam jagat abibhradagna āgahi śriyā
mā paripātaya. (Taittirīyāranyaka 10,1,4)*

Light up, O Jātavedas (Agni), destroy all my calamities; bring me cows; direct me to the proper way of life; let us not be troubled by anything; O Agni, please come, carrying cows, horses, men and all the world; let me have prosperity.

This is a prayer to fire, which is represented by the small lamp waved in front of the image of God. The selection of this verse is prompted by the term *uddīpyasva*, from the root *ḍīp*, meaning 'to light', in the beginning of the verse. Also, the implication here is that when the darkness in the form of calamities is dispelled by the light of knowledge, prosperity in the form of possessions like cows, horses, and so forth shines forth and a clear path to the proper way of life is perceived.

Offering food

devasya tvā savituḥ prasaveśvinorbāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām rakṣaso vadham jubomi. (Taittirīya Samhitā 1,8,7,2)

On the instigation of the god Savitā, with the arms of Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan, I offer for the death of the Rākṣasas.

Offering food to God is almost the final service of this ritual and so the only chance for the priests and the worshippers to satisfy and please God. Not sure whether his worship alone would secure him the desired results, the priest seems to be seeking the help of other gods to gain the favor of Lord Viṣṇu. The ultimate purpose of the whole ritual seems to be reflected in the last three words of the verse, which mean "for the destruction of evil".

CONCLUSION

It is impossible not to marvel at the meticulous manner in which this ritual is described in the Samhitās. As already pointed out, the textual variations lead to conflicts among temples and priests. A few priests try to make the services more attractive for devotees by introducing several changes. These changes become a regular feature and are adapted by other priests, too. For instance, in a temple where we used to watch this ritual, turmeric powder was splattered on the icon and the vermilion dots were placed on the forehead and chest by most of the priests. When a new priest made a paste of turmeric and applied it on the icon, the image looked so attractive that every other priest began to follow this method though this was not prescribed in the Samhitās. If a Samhitā is written by one of these priests, these innovations may be recorded in that. Another practice which has been accepted in most of the temples, closing the curtain in front of the sanctum when food offerings are made, is prescribed as a rule only in the *Śrīpraśna Samhitā* while other Samhitās are silent about this. It is possible that this practice followed in the temples of the region where the *Śrīpraśna* originated and became popular in other regions through the priests moving there.

Finally, here is our observation regarding the selection of the mantras accompanying the services. The ultimate goal appears to be recitation of the Vedic mantras throughout the ritual. Coincidentally, some of them fit well with the objects used for the ritual and in some cases with the services in an indirect way.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Padma Samhitā. Ed. Seetha Padmanabhan & V. Varadachari. Madras: Pancaratra Parisodhana Parisad, 1982.

Śrīpraśna Samhitā. Ed. Seetha Padmanabhan & V. Raghavan. Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1969.

Viśvāmitra Samhitā. Ed. U. Shankara Bhatta. Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1970.

REFERENCES

FERRO-LUZZI, Gabriella 1981. Abhiṣeka, the Indian Rite That Defies Definition. *Anthrops* 76: 707–742.

HEESTERMAN, J.C. 1957. *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*. 's-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co.

SAMPATH, R.N. (ed.) 1974. *Padma Samhitā*. Madras: Pancaratra Parisodhana Parisad.

NIKUMBHA'S CURSE UPON VĀRĀṆASĪ AND DIVODĀSA'S FOUNDING OF NEW KĀŚĪ: ON THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE PURĀṆIC TEXT CORPUS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE *HARIVAṂŚA*

Christophe Vielle

Université Catholique de Louvain

The legendary episode of the curse upon Vārāṇasī by a certain Nikumbha and the founding of the “new” Kāśī,¹ or capital of the Kāśī people, by King Divodāsa has already been studied by Hans Bakker from a mythological and historical perspective² on the basis of the Purāṇapañcalakṣaṇa “TGI” (i.e. Textgruppe I) version (in the 4th “Abschnitt” = Vaṃśānucarita). This “Ur-purāṇic” artificial version was reconstructed by Willibald Kirfel (1927: 372,25–378,72) from, on the one hand, the double account found in both the *Brahmapurāṇa* (BrP 11.39–54 and 13.66–75) and the *Harivaṃśa* (HV Appendix I, no. 7, ll. 56–156, and 23,57–68) and, on the other hand, the common text of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* (VāP 92.23–68, BḍP 2.3.67.25–72).³ Between Kirfel and Bakker, however, both Rajendra Chandra Hazra (1940: 145–156) and Walter Ruben (1941: 248, 341) showed the lateness and compilative character of the *Brahmapurāṇa*,⁴ which is for the concerned passages a mere copy of the *Harivaṃśa* (see below). Furthermore, in 1969–1971 P.L. Vaidya published his critical edition of the *Harivaṃśa*, which dropped the first and longest of the two accounts found in the HV vulgate. Contrary to Kirfel’s view, the HV critical edition clearly proves the PPāṅ long

1 I wish to heartily thank Petteri Koskikallio for his careful critical reading of the first version of this paper (2003), as well as Simon Brodbeck for his improvement of the second one (2010).

2 Bakker 1993 (s.v. “cycle of myths II”, nos 1–8) and Bakker 1996: 34 (see Bakker & Isaacson 2004: 189–190). No. 9 in Bakker 1993, artificially placed at the end of the “cycle of myths II” and corresponding to an episode of Kṛṣṇa’s life told in the ViP (and BhP), is irrelevant here.

3 For all textual comparisons, see Appendix I.

4 As Söhnen and Schreiner (1989: xxxi) remind us in the introduction to their edition of the BrP: “it is not justified to quote the BrP as a testimony for critically reconstructing an ‘older’ version of those passages which the BrP has in common with MBh, HV or ViP” and [n.: “As assumed by W. Kirfel and those who followed him”] “there never was a ‘HV-BrP-Kern’ (core)”.

account – corresponding to HV Appendix I, no. 7 – to be an expanded secondary version of the story told in a concise form in HV 23.⁵ More surprisingly, the close study by Horst Brinkhaus (2005) of genealogical duplicates in the HV shows that even the HV interpolation is prior to the VāP/BḍP rewriting.

In the following, I shall thus start from the shortest and probably the earliest version of the legend, as found in the *Harivaṃśa* (HV 23.57–68), explaining and comparing it with the Vedic and epic (especially MBh 13.31) accounts on Divodāsa and Pratardana. Then, I shall examine the shorter HV version’s relationship to the longer variant told in HV Appendix I, no. 7, before studying the borrowing from the HV-conflated text by the redactor(s) of the “classical” *vāyuprokta Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (abbr. VāBḍP). As I have tried to show elsewhere (Vielle 2005) and as will be confirmed here, the VāBḍP appears to be our earliest available specimen of purāṇic literature, followed in the sixth–seventh centuries CE by the sectarian *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* and *Skanda-purāṇa*.⁶ Moreover, it will be demonstrated here that the “para-epic” *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa* comes at least prior to the ViP, the latter having in this case obviously borrowed some details peculiar to it. I hope that such a focus on the precise relationships between the *Harivaṃśa* and the earliest Purāṇas concerning one of their common PPañc (Vaṃśānucarita) portions will shed some concrete light on the complex question of the origin and growth of the purāṇic text corpus.

1. HV 23.57–68 AND THE EPIC AND VEDIC ACCOUNTS ABOUT DIVODĀSA AND PRATARDANA

The short account about the Kāśi line of kings in HV 23⁷ begins with the eponym Kāśika or Kāśya,⁸ Sutahotr’s son, and goes through Dīrghatapas, Dhanvantari, and Ketumant, up to Bhīmaratha. Bhīmaratha is generally regarded as the father of Divodāsa (cf. HV 368*, and Divodāsa called Bhaimaseni in MBh 5.115.1), but here the name must rather be understood as the one of Divodāsa himself,⁹ famous as a “remover of all the *rākṣasas*” (*sarvarakṣaḥpraṇāśanaḥ*, 57d).¹⁰ It is

5 Following Kirfel’s view, the editors of the BrP also consider the concise version as a “shortened and partly confused repetition” (Söhnen & Schreiner 1989: 33, n. 13). Yet, this is partly due to the fact that the shorter version appears in BrP 13 in a more corrupted form than its HV model.

6 For the dating of the SkP, see Adriaensen, Bakker & Isaacson 1998: 5; for the ViP, see Vielle 2002: 345 n. 23.

7 The passage is omitted in mss K3, D1.3 and T3; see also below.

8 Different variants of the name in 23.54c and 23.55c.

9 Cf. also Aśvaghōṣa’s *Buddhacarita* 14.107 and VāP 92.23.

10 And not “of all the *kṣatriyas*”, as in the variant reading used by BrP 13.67b!

then stated¹¹ that at that time one *rākṣasa*, Kṣemaka by name, was dwelling in Vārāṇasī [which had been made/was therefore] empty (v. 58). And it is explained that she (viz. the city of Vārāṇasī) had indeed (previously) been cursed by the wise (and) high-minded (*matimatā... mahātmanā*) Nikumbha (59ab), who had uttered the following curse: “let [the city] be deserted for a thousand years” (*śūnyā varṣasahasraṃ vai bhavitṛti*, 59cd). As the city was cursed, Divodāsa founded another (unnamed) beautiful city at the boundary of the country on the bank of the Gomatī river (v. 60). He founded (or dwelled in) [the new city] after killing the hundred sons of Bhadrāśreṇya (v. 61).

Then follow four verses in which it is very difficult to recognize who is who.¹² I give here a tentative translation, which also contains a new interpretation of the text:

The son of Divodāsa was the heroic king Pratardana. Two sons were born to Pratardana: first, Vatsa, [who was] actually a Bhārgava (v. 62), and, secondly, Alarka, the royal prince,¹³ the [one who became] king, a humble one (*saṃnatimān*) on the earth; and it is he, the lord of the earth, who took (viz. received/came into possession of) the heritage of the Hehaya (= belonging to Bhadrāśreṇya or to his heir) (v. 63). The paternal heritage, which had been taken (“seized”; cf. v. 61) by Divodāsa by force, was (again) taken by the magnanimous Durdama, the son of Bhadrāśreṇya. This (= Durdama) had indeed been spared by Divodāsa through compassion, as he was a mere child (v. 64). And it is [by] the lord named Aṣṭāratha (= Pratardana), son of Bhīmaratha (= Divodāsa), by this *kṣatriya* wishing to end the conflict,¹⁴ that it was fought over¹⁵ with him (*tasya* = Durdama),¹⁶ when the sons (of Durdama and/or of Aṣṭāratha/Pratardana, which would mean Alarka) were (still) infants (v. 65).

11 Omitted in BrP 13.

12 Already Wilson (1840) in his notes to ViP 4.8 speaks about “obscure informations” and “scanty and ill-digested notices”; see the comments by Söhnen and Schreiner (1989: 33 n. 8–13) about the corresponding passage in BrP 13.

13 This is an important point in my translation: I understand each of these two *pādas*, which are concluded by *ca*, as naming and qualifying one of the two sons of Pratardana. Yet, as we will see below, all the other versions consider that the two sons of Pratardana were Vatsa “and” Bhārga/Garga (cf. also the variant reading *bhārgas tathā* ad verse 62d), and that Alarka was the “son of the (son of Pratardana who became) king”, namely, of Vatsa (cf. also the variant reading *vatsaputraḥ* ad verse 63a).

14 See Langlois’s translation, contra Wilson’s “desirous of destroying his foes”.

15 Note the impersonal use, contra Wilson’s “[the country] was recovered”.

16 According to Wilson, the commentator of this HV passage (Nīlakaṇṭha?) also understands in verse 65 Bhīmaratha and Aṣṭāratha as the respective epithets of Divodāsa (as in v. 57 above) and Pratardana, and *tasya* as *durdamasya*.

Alarka is then described as the Kāśi king, brahmanical and the one of truthful promises (*satyasamgara*), who during sixty thousand and sixty hundred years was endowed with youth and beauty; [he was] the propagator of the Kaśi race who, due to the favour of Lopāmudrā, acquired the longest life (v. 66–67). At the end of [his] vigorous age, after the killing of the *rākṣasa* Kṣemaka, the lord settled (again) in (or founded again) the beautiful city of Vārāṇasī (v. 68). There follows a list of kings descending from Alarka (v. 69–71ab), which concludes with the following sentence: “To Vatsa [belonged] the Vatsa country (*vatsabhūmi*), (which is also called) the Bhārga/Bhṛgu country¹⁷ by [the fact that he was a] Bhārgava” (*vatsasya vatsabhūmis tu bhārgabhūmis tu bhārgavāt*, 71cd). According to my interpretation, this statement has to be linked with verse 62d, thus giving logically a brief account of the collateral line (viz. that of the Bhārgava Vatsa, the first son of Pratardana and the (half-?)brother of Alarka).

The Alarka of our story appears rather different from the character bearing the same name in the *Mahābhārata* and who is involved in a long narrative/didactic passage of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (CE ch. 18–39 = 20–44 [Bibliotheca Indica ed.] / 18–41 [Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed.]). In the latter passage, the exemplary *rājarṣi* Alarka (cf. MkP 16.12–13, 17.33 = 19.37 BI/17.43 VP) is given as the son of the heroic Ṛtadhvaja Kuvalayāśva, who himself is a son of King Śatrujit. But he is clearly not the Kāśi king. In the best case, he is a neighbour or vassal of a Kāśi ruler (cf. the reference to the banks of the Yamunā in MkP 19.110 = 22/20.6 BI/VP, and of the Gomatī in MkP 20.90 = 23.91 BI/21.93 VP). The Kāśi king himself, unnamed, even militarily intervenes against Alarka in the course of the story. In the epic, no genealogy is given concerning Alarka. In MBh 3.26.12, it is simply stated that he “was a good and truthful man, king of the Kāśis and Karūṣas, who gave up his kingdom and wealth”.¹⁸ MBh 14.30.1ff. introduces Alarka as a *rājarṣi* who learned the supreme bliss of yoga.¹⁹ *Rāmāyaṇa* 2.12.5 alludes to the fact that he gave his two eyes to a brahmin. Yet, the same is said of Kāśipati Pratardana in MBh 12.226.20 (Pollock 1986: 349, n. 5).

About Pratardana, the warrior-like son of Divodāsa through Yayāti’s daughter Mādhavī,²⁰ it is stated in the *Mahābhārata* (MBh 13, App. I, no. 14A, ll. 10–11 = Bombay ed. 13.137.5) that he gave his own son to a brahmin. This could be a reminiscence of the mysterious “Bhārgava” son of Pratardana in HV 23.62.

17 Note the variant reading *bhṛgubhūmi* in Ṇ₂ V₃ D₆ M₁–3.

18 Note the fact that he leaves the mundane life at the end of the story in the MkP 39 (44 BI / 41 VP).

19 Cf. the lengthy passage in MkP 34–38 (39–43 BI / 36–40 VP) where Dattātreya teaches yoga to Alarka.

20 Cf. MBh 5.115.15, 120.6–7.

Furthermore, MBh 12.49.71 states that Pratardana's son Vatsa was brought up among calves (*vatsaiḥ*) in a cowpen, which might constitute one more element related to the lost legend regarding the same son. Lopāmudrā, who increases the life of Alarka, is well known as the wife of the sage Agastya in the MBh (3.94.21, 95.2ff.) and as a *dharmajñā* and *brahmavādinī* *apsaras* in the BḍP (1.2.33.19–20, not in the corresponding chapter 59 of the VāP). Finally, VāP 65.96 and BḍP 2.3.1.100 list Vatsas as one of the seven minor *gotras* of the Bhārgavas. From this statement it is possible to infer that Vatsa was the eponym of this Bhārgava *gotra*.

It must be noted that the version of the war between the Hehayas and the Kāśis as alluded in HV 23 is not easily compatible with what is told in MBh 13.31.²¹ In the *Vītahavyopākhyāna*, it is exposed how, like the famous Viśvāmitra of yore, the *rājarsi* Vītahavya²² attained brahminhood (*brāhmaṇya*). Here, against all the other accounts, Hehaya and Tālajaṅgha are introduced as two *rājas* (brothers?) born in the family of Śaryāti,²³ and both of them are said to have been rulers of the Vatsa country (*vatsesu*; MBh 13.31.6–7). The hundred sons of Hehaya/Vītahavya, much inclined to fighting, attacked the Kāśi king Haryaśva, Divodāsa's grandfather, and slew him in a battle between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, before going back to their own city in the Vatsa country (31.8–12). Similarly, they defeated King Sudeva, Haryaśva's son. King Divodāsa, Sudeva's son, then built at the command of Indra the city of Vārāṇasī, which became a prosperous place between the Gaṅgā and the southern bank of Gomatī (31.13–18). Again attacked by the Hehayas, Divodāsa, issuing forth from the city, fought for a thousand days, but after having lost all his army and people, he was finally forced to flee to the *ṛṣi* Bharadvāja's hermitage (31.19–25). Bharadvāja promised to help Divodāsa, and a sacrifice (*iṣṭi*) "in order to get a son" (*viz.* a *putreṣṭi*, as glossed by Bakker) was performed. As a result of the sacrifice, the heroic Pratardana was born as Divodāsa's son and endowed with the *ṛṣi*'s *tejas* (31.26–32).²⁴ Installed as *yuvarāja*, Pratardana marched against the sons of Vītahavya, crossed the Gaṅgā, conquered their city and slew them all (31.33–40).

21 See the "cycle of myths I", nos 1 and 3, in Bakker 1993: 23.

22 Vītahavya is also the name of a Janaka king of Videha in VāP 89.22 = BḍP2.3.64.23 (cf. PPañc 339,98). The identification by Pargiter (1910: 38, n. 3; 1922: 155), followed by R. Morton Smith (1973: 156–158), of Vītahavya with the Vītihotras or King Vītihotra (cf. PPañc 420,50 and 421,55) of the Haihaya race is very doubtful.

23 For Śaryāti, the son of Manu, cf. PPañc 299,1 and 305,25.

24 The structure of the story peculiar to MBh 13.31 is broken by Bakker (1993: 23), when he, rather artificially, includes in the same "cycle of myths I" (no. 2) a chapter (MBh 5.105) extracted from the famous story of Gālava (MBh 5.104–121), which presents a very different account of the birth of Pratardana through Mādhavī (without any mention of Bharadvāja's role). There is a similar problem in no. 4, where the MBh references to Vārāṇasī as a place sacred to Śiva are gathered in the same "cycle".

King Vītahavya fled to the *āśrama* of Bhṛgu, who assured him of his protection. When Pratardana ordered the king to surrender, Bhṛgu declared: “There is no *kṣatriya* in this hermitage; here all are brahmins” (31.41–49). So, Pratardana returned home, while, as a consequence of Bhṛgu’s statement, Vītahavya became a *brahmarṣi*. Due to this incident, Vītahavya’s son Gṛtsamada and all their lineage also became brahmins (31.50–64).

In the version told in MBh 13.31, one can hear echoes of the Vedic tradition on the famous Bharata king Divodāsa/Atithigva.²⁵ Macdonell and Keith (1912, I: 15) have rightly observed about this character that he “was already an ancient hero in the earliest hymns, and was becoming almost mythical”. Already in ṚV 4.26.3 and 4.30.20, Indra helps Divodāsa to destroy the forts of his enemies,²⁶ while ṚV 6.16.5 and 6.31.4 attest to the close relationship of King Divodāsa and the poet Bharadvāja by mentioning them together.²⁷ In the *Pañcaviṃśabrahmaṇa* (PB 15.3.7), Bharadvāja appears as Divodāsa’s *purohita* who helps the king by finding out a mantric means of rescue when Divodāsa is – like in the MBh – hemmed in by various enemies. In the *Kāṭhakaśāmbhitā* (21.10 = KpS 50.1), it is the same Bharadvāja who, as *purohita*, gives Pratardana the kingdom. This Pratardana is called Daivodāsi ‘Divodāsa’s son’ in *Maitrāyaṇīśāmbhitā* 3.7.7 and in *Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa* 26.5, as well as in the *Anukramaṇī* (ad ṚV 9.96) of Śaunaka. The *Anukramaṇī* (ad ṚV 10.179) also presents him as the “Kāśi king” (*kāśirāja*) along with Śibi Auśīnara and Vasumanas Rauhidaśva (= his two royal half-brothers in MBh 5.114–116 and 120). In the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (3.1), Pratardana Daivodāsi is said to have gone to Indra’s world through his heroic death in battle. In the *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* (3.245–248), this time the *purohita* Bharadvāja helps King Kṣatra, Pratardana’s son, in the same manner as he did Divodāsa, provoking Indra’s coming and help when the king was surrounded by the ten kings at the great battle.²⁸ Vītahavya is the name of a prince mentioned already in the Ṛgveda along with Bharadvāja (ṚV 6.15.2–3) and as a contemporary of Sudās (ṚV 7.19.3), “though in both passages it is possible to understand the word as a mere adjective” (Macdonell & Keith 1912, II: 316–317). In the PB, however, Vītahavya

25 According to ṚV 6.61.1, the king was the son of Vadhryaśva by Sarasvatī; he is mysteriously called Kaśojū in ṚV 1.112.14, while in *KāṭhakaS* 7.1.8 he bears the same epithet Bhaimaseni as in MBh 5.115.1.

26 It is to be noted that in the MBh the same god orders the king to build a new capital.

27 The close relationship between Divodāsa and Bharadvāja is further attested in medical texts, where the medical tradition is supposed to have been transmitted from Indra either to King Divodāsa (*Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.1.2 and 16) or to the ṛṣi Bharadvāja (*Carakasāmbhitā* 1.1.3–5).

28 In this JB passage, Kṣatra, the son of Pratardana, replaces Sudās Paijavana, the “son of Pijavana”, as the grandson of Divodāsa in the famous battle of the ten kings, as alluded to in ṚV 7.18.23–25; see Witzel 1995: 333–337, 340.

Śrāyasa is introduced as an ancient king who had a thousand sons (PB 25.16.3),²⁹ and as a man who was once *niruddha* (apparently “in banishment”) before being firmly established (PB 9.1.9). In this last occurrence, “the scholiast [Sāyaṇa] explains him as not a king but a ṛṣi” (Macdonell & Keith 1912, II: 317). In the Vedic tradition, “Bhārgava” Gr̥tsamada (cf. KB 22.4), to whom many hymns of the second *maṇḍala* of the ṚV are ascribed, appears to have no connection with Vītahavya or with Divodāsa's family. However, Ṣaḍguruśiṣya's *Vedārthadīpikā*, in its introduction to the second *maṇḍala*, quotes Śaunaka's *ṛṣyanukramaṇa*,³⁰ where Gr̥tsamada is represented as having originally been the son of Śunahotra of the race of Aṅgiras but afterwards the son of Śunaka of the race of Bhṛgu.³¹

If we now sum up the data collected from the Vedic literature, the MBh and HV 23, we may at the least say that a rich mytho-heroic cycle was/became attached to the character of King Divodāsa and his son Pratardana. Even between MBh 13.31 and the HV passage, there are, despite the differences, a few interesting common features.

First, there is the fight of King Divodāsa with the hundred sons of a king called Hehaya (= Vītahavya) or belonging to the Hehaya race (Bhadraśreṇya). Secondly, it is said that the lineage of Bhārgava brahmins settled in the Vatsa country sprung from one of the two *rāja/kṣatriya* brothers (MBh: Hehaya and Tālajaṅgha; HV: Vatsa and Alarka), whereas the Kāśi kings had rather close relationships with the Aṅgirasas (see below for HV 23). It may be suggested that the differences between the traditions arose from the fact that the HV version represents the standpoint of the *kṣatriyas*/kings of Kāśi (according to which the Bhārgava Vatsas are a mere collateral branch of the Kāśis), whereas the MBh version represents the standpoint of the brahmins/Bhārgavas of the Vatsa country (who, in ascribing their *kṣatriya* origin directly to Manu's son Śaryāti, proclaim their independence from the Kāśi kingdom). Anyway, just as there was no need to postulate several Vedic Divodāsas, there is no need to postulate two epic/purāṇic Kāśi kings named Divodāsa (I and II) to solve such “discrepancies”³² – as Pargiter (1910: 38–41; 1922: 153–55) and R. Morton Smith (1973: 150–156) did from their historicistic or euhemeristic points of view. In my opinion, we are

29 Cf. also TS 5.6.5.3, KS 22.3, JUB 2.6.11.

30 Even if the wording of the extant *Ārṣānukramaṇī* (2.2–3) is slightly different; see Tokunaga 1997: 218.

31 Cf. the genealogical data in HV 23.50–54 and App. I, no. 7, ll. 11–15 = PPañc 369,3–5.

32 There is, moreover, the third “Pañcala” *rājarṣi* Divodāsa, the son of the Aṅgirasa *brahmaṛṣi* Vadhryaśva by the *apsaras* Menakā (reminding of Divodāsa as the son of Vadhryaśva by Sarasvatī, according to ṚV 6.61.1). This third Divodāsa is presented as the twin brother of the famous Ahalyā and the ancestor of Bhārgava *kṣatriya*-brahmins (see Pargiter 1918: 239–242; cf. PPañc 548,86–94a from VāP and MtP only, since now *377 and *378 in HV 23).

here dealing with the same mytho-heroic characters,³³ even if they have entered the pseudo-historical genealogies by different means.

2. THE EXTENDED VERSION: HV APPENDIX I, NO. 7, LL. 56–156 AND VĀP 93.23–68 / BḌP 2.3.67.25–72

As Söhnen and Schreiner (1989: xxxi) wrote in the introduction to their edition of the *Brahmaṣṭurāṇa*, “the HV must be considered our only and oldest testimony for the transition from Epic to Purāṇa”. Ruben (1941: 248) already declared that the “H[arivaṃśa] really is a supplement to and an imitation of the MBh” and, at the same time, that the “H[arivaṃśa] is rightly called the oldest Purāṇa”. The late K.P.A. Menon (2002: 27), however, nuanced the second assertion in saying:

In its earliest form Harivaṃśa might not have qualified to be counted as a Purāṇa. With the Era of Itihāśas coming to an end and with the evolution of a new genre of literary composition in the form of Purāṇa Harivaṃśa might have been subsequently transformed into that form.

This is, in fact, what Brinkhaus has convincingly demonstrated on the basis of a close study of the text of the critical edition of the HV.³⁴ In particular, he points out how some interpolated passages testify to the HV’s “late epic/early purāṇic” growth and the text’s progressive transformation into a conflated (“vulgate”) form. The conclusions of his latter study (Brinkhaus 2005) about two Paurava genealogical passages in HV 23 – which offer expanded “duplicates” in the HV Appendices I, nos 6B and 7 – are of very great importance here. Contrary to his starting working hypothesis, according to which the interpolations formed by the two appendices were borrowed from the “VāP-BḌP kernel” – which can now more accurately be called the “classical” *vāyuprokta Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*³⁵ – Brinkhaus surprisingly proved in both cases the indebtedness of the VāP/BḌP common text to the passages interpolated into the HV!

Focusing on App. I, no. 7, which takes place after ch. 21 in several HV mss,³⁶ it is interesting to observe the significant change of place of the Kāśi royal family within the Somavaṃśa genealogy. In Chapter 23, Kāśika/Kāśya’s father Sutahotr

33 On the concept of “mytho-heroic cycle” (or “heroic mytho-cycle”), see Vielle 1996.

34 For his strong hypothesis, at the level of higher criticism, on what could have been the Ur-HV, or “kernel” (core) of the HV as the *khila* of the MBh, see Brinkhaus 1990; 2002: 159–160.

35 On the early *purāṇa* called *vāyuprokta* or the “classical” *vāyuprokta Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, see Vielle 2005.

36 M4 is supposed to contain the interpolation (forming its ch. 26), even if the collation of that ms. appears to have been forgotten from the critical apparatus of App. I, no. 7!

is introduced as the son of Vitatha³⁷ (i.e. within the Paurava line). But in App. I, no. 7, the father of Kāśa/Kāśya (cf. ll. 13/17) becomes Sunahotra, the son of Kṣatравṛddha, and the latter has to be structurally understood as being precisely the same son of Āyu who in 21.11d was called Vṛddhaśarman.³⁸ The genealogy of Kṣatравṛddha/Vṛddhaśarman,³⁹ the ancestor of the Kāśi kings, is thus logically given after the genealogies of his brothers Raji (ch. 21.12–37), Rambha (childless), and Anenas,⁴⁰ and before the genealogy of the eldest brother Nahuṣa (ch. 22),⁴¹ Āyu's son, who was Yayāti's father. In this case, line 168 corresponding to 23.72ab (see above) becomes meaningless (even with the lectio *bhārgave*). But, on the other hand, this new placement fits much better than the previous one with the commonly accepted mytho-epic account of Pratardana as the son that Divodāsa had with Mādhavī, the daughter of Yayāti.

The main aim of the author of the interpolated passage was apparently to add within the Kāśi genealogy: 1) the Vaiṣṇava-orientated story of the origin of Dhanvantari,⁴² and 2) the Śaiva-orientated story of the curse placed upon Vārāṇasī. Both of these myths were presumably borrowed or elaborated from other source(s). Besides these two new stories, the text corresponding with ch. 23 was also slightly rewritten.⁴³ So, Divodāsa becomes clearly the son of Bhīmaratha (l. 57), and he is no longer described as a *rākṣasa*-killer (cf. l. 58). There follows the allusion to the emptiness of Vārāṇasī occupied by the *rākṣasa* Kṣemaka in consequence of Nikumbha's curse (ll. 59–62). The founding of, or at the least the dwelling in, a new city on the bank of Gomatī river by Divodāsa took place after he had killed the hundred sons of Bhadraśreṇya (ll. 63–66). After this, there follows an added line (l. 67), which explains that “this kingdom/realm (viz. where the new capital was settled) which originally belonged to Bhadraśreṇya was seized by him (Divodāsa), who was more powerful”. Then, as an answer to King Janamejaya's question concerning the reason for the curse and the identity of Nikumbha, it

37 Vitatha was Bharata's successor, though actually the son of the Āṅgīrasa Bharadvāja. Cf. 23.50–53, a passage that explains the conclusive v. 72ab with the better lectio *difficilior* var. M2 *bhārate*: “These are the sons of Āṅgīras born in the Bhārata family.”

38 See Pargiter 1922: 85, n. 6; cf. PPañc 369,2, MBh 1.70.23 (mistranslated by Van Buitenen) and ViP 4.8.2; Söhnen & Schreiner 1989: 28, n. 1, and Brinkhaus 2005: 364 n. 8; contra e.g. Smith 1973: 147–148, 161. Attention must be paid not to confuse this Kṣatравṛddha/Vṛddhaśarman with Kṣatradharma, the last descendant of Anenas (cf. HV App. I, no. 7, l. 9).

39 App. I, no. 7, l. 10b: *kṣatравṛddhasya me śṛṇu*; l. 170a: *ity ete kāśayaḥ proktā[ḥ]*.

40 App. I, no. 7, ll. 1–10a: *rambho 'napatyas tatrāśid vaṃśaṃ vakṣyāmy anenasaḥ* (line 1) ... *anenasah samākhyātāḥ* (line 10a).

41 Cf. App. I, no. 7, l. 170b: *nahuṣasya nibodhata*.

42 On Dhanvantari, see Gray 1922.

43 The changes occur already in the beginning of the Kāśi line, where some characters have been added.

is told at length (ll. 68–138) how Śiva sends his *gaṇa* Nikumbha, how the latter puts the curse upon Vāraṇasī and the origin of the holy place called Avimukta (on which, see below §3). After the story, the genealogy continues again. First there is an added transitional line (l. 139), saying that “the son of Bhadrāsreṇya was famous under the name Durdama”.⁴⁴ The next sentences (taken from ch. 23) are put in a more understandable order, and the problematic v. 65ab is omitted. This (Durdama) indeed had been spared by Divodāsa, thinking that he was only a boy (l. 140). After obtaining the heritage of Hehaya, the king (Durdama) took back his paternal heritage seized by Divodāsa by force (ll. 141–142). [It was made] by this magnanimous Durdama, son of Bhadrāsreṇya, by this *kṣatriya* desirous of ending the conflict/destroying his foes (ll.143–144).⁴⁵ Pratardana was the son of Divodāsa by Dṛṣṭadvatī (who is she?); it is this son (viz. Pratardana), (still) a boy, who again fought with him (viz. Durdama) (ll. 145–146). The two sons of Pratardana were Vatsa and Bhārga (various readings for the latter), and Vatsa’s son was Alarka, defined here as the father of Saṃnati (ll. 147–148). Alarka is the Kāśī king about whom the traditional *śloka* is sung (ll. 149–152).⁴⁶ His life is increased by Lopamudrā (ll. 153–154).⁴⁷ Alarka kills the *rākṣasa* Kṣemaka at the end of the period of the curse (*śāpasyānte*) and the beautiful city of Vāraṇasī is rebuilt (*punar*) (ll. 155–156).

Next I turn to the text of the *vāyuprokta Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (VāBḍP). Even if, following Brinkhaus’s conclusions, the *vāyuprokta* version appears to be based on the extended/vulgate version of the HV, it is far from being a mere copy of the HV’s text. For example, in the account of the lineages of Āyu’s five sons the order of the sons has been changed. In the HV, Raji is the first, followed by Rambha, Anenas, Vṛddhaśarman/Kṣatravṛddha, and finally Nahuṣa, but in the VāBḍP the lineage of Kṣatravṛddha⁴⁸ is given as the first, followed by that of Raji, and finally the lineages of Anenas and Nahuṣa are listed.⁴⁹ Surprisingly, Kirfel (1927: 369–384) also adopted this new order, even against the BrP-HV evidence.

44 Cf. the same line in the account of the Hehaya race, *394, l. 1.

45 Cf. BrP 11.48, which transforms this sentence without a verb into the fact that “by him” *vairasyāntaḥ* [...] *kṛtaḥ*.

46 Since l. 152, corresponding to 23.67ab, fits better with the next line, D1 T1.3–4 G3–5 insert after l. 151 the star-passage **9, which is the same half-*śloka* as found in the ViP.

47 The last (added) line corresponds with the widely attested line *373 in HV 23.

48 Cf. BḍP 2.3.67.2–3 and the “eVā” quoted by R. Morton Smith (1973: 147). The name is corrupted in the available editions of the VāP. On the very interesting “eVā” ms. (first thus referred to by Pargiter 1913: xxxiii, and then by Smith 1973), see Vielle 2005.

49 The *pādas* containing the name of Rambha (described as *anapatya*), preceding the name of Anenas, have become more or less corrupted. Cf. PPañc 383,1 and the “eVā” ms. in Smith 1973: 160–161.

Furthermore, the VāBḍP sometimes follows in its account the wordings of HV 23 rather than the one of App. I, no. 7, despite the fact that it omits the account of the Kāsi line in the Paurava genealogy. This fact indicates that the author(s) of the VāBḍP had both HV versions available (as noted by Brinkhaus 2005: 372). For example, BḍP 2.3.67.26⁵⁰ combines HV App. ll. 57–58 and 23.57c in order to avoid the repetition of the name Divodāsa; VāP v. 24b / BḍP v. 27b has *purā*, which is a variant peculiar to HV 23.58b; and line 154 of the App., which is absent in HV 23 (except as *373), does not appear in the VāBḍP either. Among the most significant changes in comparison with the HV Appendix version is the dropping of lines 65–67 and replacing them before line 140, after the account of the curse (as did Kirfel 1927: 376–377). Moreover, lines 141–143 are omitted and line 144 is displaced after lines 145–146. Thus, the passage can be understood in two contradictory ways: “that boy, the *kṣatriya* desirous of destroying all enmity/ending the hostility, the son (of Bhadrāśreṇya, viz. Durdama, or of Divodāsa, viz. Pratardana), fought with him (Pratardana or Durdama) again” (the same sequence is adopted by Kirfel).⁵¹ In line 147, Pratardana’s son Bhārga becomes Garga, and line 149, now a bit redundant, is omitted.

The dependence of the *vāyuprokta* version from HV App. I, no. 7 appears obvious also in the story of the curse by the *gaṇa* Nikumbha. In this passage, the readings of the HV are often better: for example, *nikumbham idam abravīt | gaṇeśvara* (App. ll. 88b–89a) versus *gaṇeśam kṣemakam [...] abravīt | gaṇeśvara* (“eVā” in Smith 1973: 151; cf. VāP 92.36cd–37a, BḍP 2.3.67.40, and PPañc 373.40). The latter variant creates confusion between the *gaṇa* (Nikumbha) and the *rākṣasa* (Kṣemaka). Variant readings ad App. l. 89a, such as *rākṣaseśa* (V1 B1.2) or *rākṣasena* (given by Bhatta 1995: 259, n. 3: “from HV I.29”, but not found in the critical apparatus), may explain the confusion in the VāBḍP. It is worth noting that in its *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya*, the early Skandapurāṇa (ch. 26–31), which presents itself as a sequel to the VāBḍP,⁵² avoids the confusion by simply saying that after Nikumbha’s trick and curse the empty Vārāṇasī was occupied by *mrgas* (SkP 26.63d) and much later (both chronologically and in the text itself) repopulated by Alarka (cf. SkP 30.64–65 ≈ MtP 180.68).⁵³

50 = VāP 92.23ef for the second half.

51 The fanciful interpretations of this passage by Smith (1973: 154–155) can be left aside.

52 Adriaensen, Bakker & Isaacson 1998: 20–22. The SkP is not much interested in royal genealogies, however. This may explain why there is no mention at all of the *rākṣasa* Kṣemaka in the SkP, since in the VāBḍP it is not in the excursus about Nikumbha but in the genealogical accounts before and after it that the only two allusions to the *rākṣasa* occur.

53 See Bakker 1993: 24–28 and Bakker 2004 for the study of the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* of the SkP.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa follows the structure of the VāBḍP account closely, being a kind of retelling of it. Also, it adopts the same order for the lineages of Āyu's five sons (cf. ViP 4.8–9).⁵⁴ Within its concise prose rendering, however, it alludes only very briefly to the story of the origin of Dhanvantari (with its Vaiṣṇava flavour) and does not mention at all the (Śāiva) story of the curse by Nikumbha. On the other hand, the following few details are added concerning Pratardana, Vatsa, and Alarka (CE 4.8.6–8). Pratardana was victorious over his foes, namely, the Bhadrāśreṇya family, in consequence of which he was called Śatrujit (6: *sa ca bhadrāśreṇyavaṃśavināśād aśeṣāḥ śatravo 'nena jitā iti śatrujid abhavat*). The son of Pratardana's was called Vatsa because he was much loved by his father who used to call him: “boy! boy!” (7: *tena ca prītimatātmaputro vatsa vatsety abhihitas tato vatso 'sāv abhavat*). Vatsa got (also) the name of Ṛtadhvaja because of his thorough honesty; because he had a horse called Kuvalaya, he was also known on this earth as Kuvalayāśva (7: *satyaparatayā ṛtadhvajasaṃjñām avāpa | punaś ca kuvalayanāmānam aśvaṃ lebbe tataḥ kuvalayāśva ity asyāṃ pṛthivyāṃ pṛathitaḥ*). And this Vatsa's son was Alarka (8: *tasya ca vatsasya putro 'larko nāmābhavat*, followed by the *śloka* traditionally “sung” about him ≈ PPañc 377,70ab + a second half peculiar to the ViP: *alarkād aparo nānyo bubhujē medinīṃ yuvā*).⁵⁵ It is easy to see that all the supplementary names given by the ViP to Pratardana (viz. Śatrujit) and to Vatsa (viz. Ṛtadhvaja and Kuvalayāśva) come from the passage in the MkP dealing with the *rājarṣi* Alarka, the son of Ṛtadhvaja Kuvalayāśva and grandson of Śatrujit (see above). Despite this clever attempt of syncretism by the author(s) of the ViP, the exemplary king Alarka of the MkP is, as we have seen, neither the son of Vatsa nor the grandson of Pratardana!

Finally, I would like to add the following four remarks on the relationship between the different accounts:

1) The (erroneous) statement that Vārāṇasī “previously” (*pūrvam*) belonged to the Hehaya king Bhadrāśreṇya seems to have first taken place in the text of App. I, no. 7 (**4, many mss) and was borrowed from there to HV 23 (*369, with one line more, only supported by Dn and the G. edition). The origin of this detail can be found in the VāP (ch. 94) / BḍP (2.3.69) account of the Hehaya race, where it is said that Bhadrāśreṇya (probably due to a misunderstanding of

54 Yet with some further confusion of names, because Kṣatrapṛddha is given as the first son, but also as the fourth (instead of Anenas, in 4.9.14).

55 The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (9.17.6), which obviously uses the ViP here, adds the name Dyumant for Pratardana, but misunderstands his model while attributing the names Ṛtadhvaja, Kuvalayāśva, and even Vatsa to the same Pratardana, rather than to his son. In his commentary on the ViP (followed by Wilson), Śrīdhara (c.1400 CE) (mis)understands this as the BhP (see also his commentary on the BhP passage).

the previous account of the war with the Kāśi kings) was “the king of Vārāṇasī, as it has already been stated” (*vārāṇasyadhipo rājā kathitaḥ pūrva eva hi*).⁵⁶ Note that the similar half-verse found in the *Matsyapurāṇa* (43.11: *vārāṇasyām abhūt rājā kathitaṃ pūrvam eva tu*) is obviously meaningless, as there is no previous statement about Bhadrāśreṇya (here named Rudrāśreṇya). Thus, it can safely be concluded that the MtP has in this case borrowed from the VāBḍP.

2) The widely attested⁵⁷ passage *392/394 in HV 23, which adds in the Hehaya genealogy the kings Sāhañja (founder of the city of Sāhañjanī), Mahiṣmān (founder of the city of Mahiṣmatī), Bhadrāśreṇya, Durdama, and Kanaka, appears to be anterior to the corresponding text of VāP (94.5–8ab) / BḍP (2.3.69.5–8ab). Yet, the VāBḍP version has suppressed the references to the founding of the cities (cf. PPañc 411,5–8ab) at the same time as it has added the reference to Bhadrāśreṇya's kingship in Vārāṇasī (see remark 1 directly above).⁵⁸

3) The fact that four HV mss (K3, D1.3, T3), all containing the App. I, no. 7 interpolation, omit the “original” short account in ch. 23 about the Kāśi line of kings can easily be explained by their wish to avoid such an obvious contradiction (see Brinkhaus 2005). In the case of D1, however, the scribe has tried to combine both accounts in repeating the wording of Chapter 23 within the text of App. 7, as shown in the Concordance table (see Appendix I below). The case of K3 betrays a stronger influence by the VāP/BḍP textual structure, since App. 7 is here (as in K1) placed after 21.11, namely, at the same place as in the VāBḍP.

4) In the passages concerned here, in the case of both the shorter and the longer accounts, it is confirmed that the late BrP is a mere (and often corrupted) copy of the HV vulgate version. The fact that the passage of BrP ch. 11 corresponding to HV App. I, no. 7 omits both stories of the origin of Dhanvantari and the curse on Vārāṇasī may be explained by the deliberate choice of the BrP author to drop these two excursus, as it was already the case in the ViP for the second one. He did it each time precisely at the layer of interlocution in which the question introducing the excursus was asked. He also logically suppressed the four verses alluding to the story of the curse found in the subsequent shorter account of HV 23 (cf. BrP ch. 13).

56 VāP 94.6cd / BḍP 2.3.69.6cd; cf. PPañc 411,6 = HV 23 *393 (supported only by Ś1 K1.2.4 B2 Dn G3), MtP 43.11, etc.

57 Supported by Ś1 (partly), as well as by K Ñ2.3 V B D T G M4 – viz. missing only from Ñ1 and M1–3.

58 Note also that both editions of the VāP and BḍP have in v. 7 the reading *durmado nāma parthivaḥ* (see also Kirfel 1927: xxii, no. 4), the same as in var. M4 ad *394, l. 1b. The easy change of Durdama into Durmada is also attested in var. G2 ad App. I, no. 7, l. 139, and in var. G M1.2, etc. ad ViP 4.11.4. It is used in a distinctive manner in the JaiSa portion examined below (§3), where the Hehaya prince Durdama is the second reincarnation of the *gandharva* Dumada.

Since, however, nothing really conclusive can be said about the Purāṇas that still need a critical edition (viz. the VāBḍP and the MtP), a provisory conclusion of this intertextual study is at least that the story about the Śaiva *gaṇa* Nikumbha cursing Vārāṇasī is a bit older than Bakker thought (5th or 6th century CE, according to him; 1993: 21; 1996: 32–34). There are indeed good reasons for ascribing the composition of the VāBḍP to the beginning of the fourth century CE (Kirkel 1927: xviii; Brinkhaus 2005: 372; Vielle 2005: 543). Even before that time, the story had already occurred within the *Harivaṃśa* “conflated version”, namely, maybe about the 3rd century CE at the least. When Kālidāsa in *Raghuvamśa* 2.35 presents Kumbhodara, the lion servant of Śiva, as being “the friend of Nikumbha”, he seems to allude to the same character of the *gaṇa* as in our episode (known to the poet from HV App. I, no. 7, and/or the VāBḍP), as the Keralan commentator Aruṇagirinātha (early 15th century) understood it (Iyer 1983: 161–162; Bhatta 1995: 258–259).⁵⁹ But what is even more noteworthy to me is the fact that a tradition about a curse placed upon Vārāṇasī by a certain wise and noble character (a *brahma*- or *rāja*-ṛṣi?) called Nikumbha, as alluded in the “original” HV ch. 23, is still older than the episode involving the Śaiva *gaṇa*. What precisely that early tradition related to Vārāṇasī (around the beginning of

59 It is possible that Aruṇagirinātha (himself copied by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita) relies here on the unpublished *Dīpikā* of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha. Here is the text of his *Prakāśikā*, including the variants of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, summarizing the “MBh” account (which means either the HV version from a M4 type ms. having App. I, no. 7, or the MBh really, where, within the *Rājadharmā* section, in a portion dealing with *caitya-vṛkṣas* not to be felled, in a star-passage that all the S mss have, 12.69.40 *163, one *śloka* (ll. 4–5) alludes to the destruction in Vārāṇasī of the forces of Saudāsa [to be corrected in Saudeva = Divodāsa, cf. MBh 13.31.15 and 26] by Nikumbha the *mahēśvaragaṇeśa*; see Bakker & Isaacson 2004: 190 n. 7): *anena “purā kila vārāṇasyāṃ caityavṛkṣe nikumbho nāma gaṇaḥ prativasati sma | taṃ ca vṛkṣaṃ kāśīrājaḥ [cf. bhṛtaiḥ NP] kuto ‘pi hetoḥ chedayām āsa | sa kupito rājānaṃ saprakṛtikam [cf. saprajāmātyaṃ saputrapitṛbāndhavam NP] svatejasā dadāha” | iti mahābhārataprasiddham itihāsam dṛṣṭāntayan paramēśvarānubhāvopabṛṃhiteṣu sarvapuruṣakārā viphalābhavanīti dyotayati*. Following Bhatta’s interpretation of Kālidāsa’s allusion (Bhatta 1995: 258–259 on *Raghuvamśa* 2.35; see already Iyer 1983: 162), “this sends the warning to Dilīpa that he too may have to face a similar consequence if he interferes to release the cow from the clutches of the lion viz. Kumbhodara”. About Kālidāsa’s *pāda*, here should be stressed the fact, contra Bhatta (1995: 258–259) who himself relies on Nandargikar’s edition, that actually Vallabhadeva’s commentary, according to the text of the Kashmirian manuscripts (cf. Goodall & Isaacson 2003), does read *nikumbha-mītram* (and not *nikumbha-tulyam*, “equal to N.”, as read by Aruṇagirinātha, Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, and Sarvajñavanamuni, a variant that does not need to be considered as better, as did Iyer and Bhatta), and does identify this Nikumbha with one famous *gaṇa* (*nāma prakāśye | nikumbhākhyasya gaṇasya prakhyātvāt tanmaityā praśamsā*), not with Pārvatī’s lion (as stated by Nandargikar). As Goodall and Isaacson have convincingly argued in their edition, the non-Kashmirian manuscripts purporting to transmit Vallabhadeva’s commentary, being the ones that have been hitherto consulted by editors such as Nandargikar, do not really do so.

our era?) was, unfortunately, remains unknown to us, even if we cannot doubt that the HV redactor had something in mind.⁶⁰

3. A NEW VERSION: JAISA 2–15

There exists, however, another version of the story of the curse put upon Vārāṇasī by an angry sage⁶¹ and of the war between the Kāśīs and the Hehayas, and it is found in the *Jaiminīyasaṃhitā* of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (JaiSa), a later purāṇic work preserved in Kerala, where it was composed sometime around 1300 CE (see Vielle 2002; 2005; 2008; 2011–2012; 2014; and *forthcoming* for the edition of *adhyāya* 1–15). Here is a summary of *adhyāya* 2, which introduces the epic narrative of the war between the Kāśīs allied with the Kosalas, on the one side, and the Hehayas on the other (Chapters 3–15).

After the genealogy of the Ikṣvāku dynasty provided in ch. 1, within which King Vasumanas is presented as the son of Haryaśva and Mādhavī, under whom the conflict started with the Hehayas conducted by Bhadrāśreṇya (1.59–61b), the royal interlocutor (King Hirāṇyanābha, of the solar race) asks the sage Jaimini to tell more about the origin of the conflict between the Hehaya king Bhadrāśreṇya and the Ikṣvāku king Vasumanas (2.1–2). The long answer begins with the lunar genealogy from Āyu to Bhadrāśreṇya and a brief account of the conquests, marriages and descendance of the latter (2.3–21). There follows a focus on the Kāśī king Divodāsa and the city of Vārāṇasī (2.22–23) with two verses about the Avimukta sacred place (2.24–25; see below) and two verses explaining that the prosperous city of Vārāṇasī had been formerly (*purā*) founded by the *rākṣasa* Kṣemaka, himself killed by Divodāsa who was then dwelling in the place (2.26–27). There comes the “Vedic” ṛṣi (*maharṣi*, *muni*) called Kumbhaka, who, in the company of his wife and his sacred cow, installs his hermitage near the city and performs the domestic sacrifices (2.28–37). In the meantime, a large drought strikes the whole country (except the hermitage) and there occurs the unintentional stealing of the sage’s cow (in fact, she had followed a group of cows to the

60 Does Aśvaghoṣa in *Buddhacarita* 20.117 (Chinese and Tibetan versions) refer to the same (man) Nikumbha when he says: “the lord of men [i.e. king], Nikumbha, resiling from the Law [*dharmā*] in this world of delusion, entered the earth in Kāśī” (translation E.H. Johnston)?

61 Note that the motif of the angry sage willing to curse Vārāṇasī is found in the MtP (180.164, 185.16–42, within a section entitled *Avimukta-tīrtha-māhātmya*). The circumstances are very different and not related to the Vaṃśānucarita context. It involves the character of Veda-Vyāsa, who is about to pronounce a curse but prevented from doing so by Śiva. SkP 30.61 also alludes to this coming to Vārāṇasī of the same “Vedic” and *yogin* Vyāsa but without referring to such a curse threat (see Bakker 1993: 27 and 23, who sees the curse by the *gana* Nikumbha as the possible “implementation of an ‘earlier’ curse by Vyāsa”).

city), leading to the interruption of the sacrifice and Kumbhaka's terrible curse upon the city (2.38–59). King Divodāsa, after examining the omens, decides to leave Vārāṇasī and found a new city on the bank of the Gomatī river. When the building has already started, the hundred sons of Bhadrāśreṇya come there, too, because they wanted to reach the place of the former capital of the Hehayas (i.e. the one founded by King Dharmanetra, which was in existence before the founding of Māhiṣmatī). A great battle ensues, with the consequent killing of the hundred sons and the complete defeat of Bhadrāśreṇya by Divodāsa (2.60–89). The new city of Kāśī is then founded (2.90–94) and Divodāsa has with Mādhavī a son called Pratardana (2.95). Later on, Bhadrāśreṇya has another son called Durdama, given as the reincarnation of a *rākṣasa* (killed by Vasumanas, 4.58–5.36), who himself was the reincarnation of the *gandharva* Durmada (cursed by the *apsaras* Urvaśī, 3.10–4.54). The conflict between, on the one hand, Bhadrāśreṇya, Durdama (firstly spared by Divodāsa because a mere boy) and his son Kanaka, reinforced for a while by an army of *rākṣasas* (led by the son of Kṣemaka, who had once been killed by Divodāsa), and, on the other hand, both the Kosala lords Vasumanas and his son Tridhanvan, and the Kāśī lords Divodāsa, Pratardana (the half-brother of Vasumanas), and his son Vatsa, continues for a long time, until the final death of the Hehaya king and his son in battle (Chapters 6–15).

Despite the numerous literary (*kāvya* and *kathā*) embellishments by its learned and imaginative author, the main authoritative source of the JaiSa for the passage about Vārāṇasī in its ch. 2 can easily be traced: it is HV ch. 23, as found in the critical edition (viz. from a manuscript of the M1-3 type having not after ch. 21 the *adhyāya* corresponding to App. I, no. 7, with the Śaiva excursus), more precisely verses 57–62 and 63–65 (since Alarka as the son of Vatsa is not concerned here), but with some variants peculiar to the Malayalam manuscripts. The most striking one is the unique variant M1 *kumbhakena* instead of *nikhumbena* in v. 59b, which explains perfectly well the name of the sage (cf. *matimant... mahātman*, HV v. 59ab) in the JaiSa. Moreover, the var. M (etc.) *purā* in 58b (cf. also the var. M3 *etasminn antare kāle* in 58a) explains how it was logically understood that the *rākṣasa* Kṣemaka was dwelling in Vārāṇasī “beforehand”, before being killed by the famous “killer of all the *rākṣasas*” (*sarvarakṣaḥ-praṇāśanaḥ*) Divodāsa (whereas, as we have seen, Kṣemaka is in fact killed later in the HV; cf. v. 68b). The wording is sometimes exactly the same, bearing witness to the obvious borrowing (e.g. JaiSa v. 22a *etasminn eva kāle tu* = HV v. 58a; 22c *divodāsa iti khyātaḥ* = 57c; 26a–c *purīṃ vārāṇasīṃ tāṃ tu... niveśayām āsa purā* ≈ 58b–d; 26b *kṣemako nāma rākṣasaḥ* = 58d; 59cd with the curse *tasmāt sahasraṃ varṣāṇāṃ śūnyā bhavatu sā purī* ≈ 59cd; 74ab about the founding of the new town on the bank of the Gomatī,

sa tatra nagarīm ramyām viṣayānte mahīpatiḥ ≈ 60cd; cf. also 8.23cd *bālo 'yam iti... viśasarja tam* and 15.51ab *divodāsenā yaḥ pūrvam bālo 'yam iti* ≈ 64ef).

There remains the problem of the JaiSa two “extra” verses dealing with Avimukta, which run as follows: “Not far from that [city of Vārāṇasī] there is a place, sacred in all the worlds, which purifies from all the sins, dedicated to Śiva from whom it bears the name Avimukta (*yasyāvidūre sumahat kṣetraṃ sarvāghānāśanam | śaivam tad avimuktākhyam sarvalokanamaskṛtam*, v. 24). There dwells, fully visible, the divine Lord Śiva, for the help of his devotees through the power of the name Avimukta” (*yasmin vasati deveśaḥ sākṣāt pratyakṣataḥ śivaḥ | upakārāya bhaktānām avimuktasamākhyayā*, v. 25). As Peter Bisschop has noticed (pers. comm.), remarkably the JaiSa distinguishes Avimukta from Vārāṇasī itself (2.24a: *yasya+avidūre*: “not too far away from which”), which points to an earlier date (of the used source); while later on the whole town is generally identified as the *kṣetra* Avimukta, here the sanctuary Avimuktesvara seems to be referred to specifically. It is also noteworthy that Avimukta is not identified here as the cremation ground (*śmaśāna*) of Vārāṇasī, as is usually the case in later sources (cf. already MtP 184; the earlier MkP 8.106–117, which describes the *śmaśāna* in length, does not identify it with Avimukta). This feature is in fact common with the HV App. I, no. 7 / VāBḍP accounts, as well as the original SkP (but not its later recensions; see Bisschop 2002: 238–239; Bakker 2006). According to Bisschop, it is difficult to not compare JaiSa v. 24d–25a with HV App. I, no. 7 l. 134: *yasmin vasati vai devaḥ sarvadevanamaskṛtaḥ* (= VāP 92.59cd; cf. PPañc 376.62ab, BḍP 2,3,67.62cd with the var. *vased bhāvo*, and eVā apud Morton Smith 1973: 151 with the var. *vasaty eṣa pinākadhr̥k*). So, it is possible that our author also had a look at a HV manuscript of the M4 type (containing the interpolated passage) or that the text of HV ch. 23 he used had a few additional verses on Avimukta. To add something on the Avimukta holy place in relationship with Vārāṇasī appears in fact as a kind of *locus communis*: such an interpolation on Avimukta (distinct from Vārāṇasī referred to just before) as the place “where by the sight of Śiva one is purified even after having slain a brahmin” is found in Northern manuscripts of the MBh (3.82.69 *419: *avimuktaṃ samāsādya tīrthasevī kurūdvaha | darśanād devadevasya mucyate brahmahatyayā*); *Jābāla-Upaniṣad* 1–2 gives a symbolic explanation of Avimukta (linking sacred places with parts of the body), located in the middle of the Vārā and Nāsī [rivers] (quoted by Śāṅkara BSBh 1.2.32; a parallel passage is in KūP 1.29.59–62 CE, as noted by Bakker 2006 n. 19); the *Bṛhatkathāślokaśamgraha* (21.2cd) evokes the connection with a pun, “Vārāṇasī, the holy city because of its inseparability from Avimukta” (*avimuktāvimuktatvāt puṇyā vārāṇasī purī*). Avimuktaka is also listed among the seven Śaiva *kṣetras* in the *Bṛhaspati[-nīti]-sūtra* (3.122), a Southern text probably a bit earlier than the JaiSa (see Vielle 2014: 22). It looks as if the JaiSa

author had deliberately wished to add here a sort of “touristic” pilgrimage note (he does the same on several other occasions).

It can also be observed here and elsewhere in the JaiSa that for the Vamṣānucarita, beside the HV the author also uses the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (which itself in this matter paraphrases the VāBḍP account most of the time). However, sometimes the JaiSa author has misread, misunderstood, or reinterpreted his source. A good example is in JaiSa 15.54–55, at the very end of the section concerned here, when the two half-brother kings, Pratardana of Kāśi and Vasumanas of Kosala, come on the battlefield to congratulate the victorious Vatsa (son of Pratardana): “And they declared: ‘since by you alone so many enemies have been defeated, you, Vatsa, you will become famous under the name of Śatrujit’ (*abrūtām ca tvayaikena bahavaḥ śatravo jitāḥ | tasmāt tvaṃ śatrujin nāmnā khyāto vatsa bhaviṣyasi*, v. 54). From that time this hero of great *tejas*, destructive of all his enemies, was famous in the world under the name of Śatrujit” (*tataḥ prabhṛti lokeṣu khyātaḥ śatrujid ākhyayā | babbūva sa mahātejāḥ sarvaśatrunibarhaṇaḥ*, v. 55). This *nirukti* is obviously based on the passage of the ViP (4.8.6–8) examined before (see above §2 and n. 55), which proposes to reconcile the different data of the VāBḍP and the MkP. As we have seen, the ViP, on the basis of the supposedly same character of Alarka, makes an equation between Pratardana and the MkP Śatrujit, and between Vatsa and the MkP Ṛtadhvaja Kuvalayāśva (son of Śatrujit and father of Alarka). The problem is that in ViP 4.8.6, the name Śatrujit with its explanation concerns Pratardana (cf. Śrīdhara ad loc. and ad BhP 9.17.6), not Vatsa, as it becomes in the JaiSa.

ABBREVIATIONS OF PRIMARY SOURCES

- BḍP [Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa] *Atha Brahmāṇḍamahāpurāṇaṃ prārabhyate*. Mumbai: Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press, 1906.
- BhP [Bhāgavata-Purāṇa] *The Bhāgavata [Śrīmad Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa]: Critical Edition*. 4 vols. Ed. H.G. Shastri. Ahmedabad: B.J. Institute of Learning and Research, 1996–1998.
- BrP [Brahma-Purāṇa] *Sanskrit Indices and Text of the Brahmapurāṇa*. Ed. P. Schreiner & R. Söhnen. (Purāṇa Research Publications Tübingen 1) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987.
- HV [Harivaṃśa] *The Harivaṃśa, Being the khila or Supplement to the Mahābhārata: For the First Time Critically Edited*. 2 vols. Ed. P.L. Vaidya. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1969–1971.
- JaiSa [Jaiminīya-saṃhitā of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa]. See VIELLE *forthcoming*.
- KūP [Kūrma-Purāṇa] *The Kūrma Purāṇa: Critically Edited*. Ed. A.S. Gupta. Varanasi: All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1971.
- MBh [Mahābhārata] *The Mahābhārata [For the First Time Critically Edited]*. 19 vols. Ed. V. Sukthankar et al. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933–1966.

- MkP [Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa] *The Critical Edition of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇam*. 2 vols. Ed. M.L. Wadekar. Vadodara: Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, 2011. [References with BI and VP refer respectively to the Bibliotheca Indica and Venkateśvara Press previous editions].
- MtP [Matsya-Purāṇa] *Śrīmaddvāipyaṇamuniṣraṇītaṃ matsyapurāṇam*. Ed. H.N. Āpte. (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 54) Pune: Ānandāśrama, 1907.
- PPañc [Purāṇa-Pañcalakṣaṇa]. See KIRFEL 1927.
- SkP [Skanda-Purāṇa]. See ADRIAENSEN, BAKKER & ISAACSON 1998; BAKKER & ISAACSON 2004.
- VāBḍP The common text of the BḍP and VāP; see VIELLE 2005 (Appendix 2: General Table of Concordance).
- VāP [Vāyu-Purāṇa] *Mahāmuniśrīmadvyāsapraṇītaṃ vāyupurāṇam*. Ed. H.N. Āpte. (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 49) Pune: Ānandāśrama, 1905.
- ViP [Viṣṇu-Purāṇa] *The Critical Edition of the Viṣṇupurāṇam*. 2 vols. Ed. M.M. Pathak. Vadodara: Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, 1997–1999.

REFERENCES

- ADRIAENSEN, Rob, Hans BAKKER & Harunaga ISAACSON 1998. *The Skandapurāṇa, I: Adhyāyas 1–25, Critically Edited with Prolegomena and English Synopsis*. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- BAKKER, Hans 1993. Early Mythology Relating to Vārāṇasī. In: R.P.B. SINGH (ed.), *Banāras (Vārāṇasī): Cosmic Order, Sacred City, Hindu Traditions. Festschrift to Prof. R.L. Singh*: 21–28. Varanasi: Tara Book Agency.
- BAKKER, Hans 1996. Construction and Reconstruction of Sacred Space in Vārāṇasī. *Numen* 43: 32–55.
- BAKKER, Hans 2004. The Structure of the *Vārāṇasīmāhātmya* in *Skandapurāṇa* 26–31. In: H. BAKKER (ed.), *Origin and Growth of the Purāṇic Text Corpus with Special Reference to the Skandapurāṇa* (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference 3.2): 1–16. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- BAKKER, Hans 2006. The Avimuktakṣetra in Vārāṇasī: Its Origin and Early Development. *Studies in the Skandapurāṇa, VI*. In: J. GENGNAGEL & M. GAENZLE (eds), *Visualizing Space in Banaras: Images, Maps and the Practice of Representation*: 23–39. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- BAKKER, Hans & Harunaga ISAACSON 2004. *The Skandapurāṇa, IIA: Adhyāyas 26–31.14: The Vārāṇasī Cycle*. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- BHATTA, C. Panduranga 1995. The Influence on the Mahābhārata on Kālidāsa in the Light of the Views Expressed by the Commentators. In: S.P. NARANG (ed.), *Modern Evaluation of the Mahābhārata (Prof. R.K. Sharma Felicitation Volume)*: 257–265. Delhi: Nag Publishers.

- BISSCHOP, Peter 2002. On a Quotation of the *Skandapurāṇa* in the *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* of Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru*. *Studies in the Skandapurāṇa V. Indo-Iranian Journal* 45: 231–243.
- BRINKHAUS, Horst 1990. Zur Entstehung und textgeschichtlichen Entwicklung des *Harivaṃśa*. In: W. DIEM & A. FALATURI (eds), 24. *Deutscher Orientalistentag 1988 in Köln: ausgewählte Vorträge*: 415–425. Stuttgart: Frans Steiner.
- BRINKHAUS, Horst 2002. The Division into Parvans and the Bhaviṣyaparvan of the *Harivaṃśa*. In: M. BROCKINGTON (ed.), *Stages and Transitions: Temporal and Historical Frameworks in Epic and Purāṇic Literature. Proceedings of the Second Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, August 1999*: 157–176. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
- BRINKHAUS, Horst 2005. Duplicates in the Somavaṃśa Account of the Harivaṃśa: Early Text-historical Developments in the Harivaṃśaparvan. In: P. KOSKIKALLIO (ed.), *Epics, Khilas and Purāṇas: Continuities and Ruptures. Proceedings of the Third Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, September 2002*: 363–367. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
- GOODALL, Dominic & Harunaga ISAACSON 2003. *The Raghavaṃśa of Kālidāsa with its Earliest Commentary: The Raghupañcikā of Vallabhadeva. Critical edition, introduction and notes*, I. (Groningen Oriental Studies 17) Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- GRAY, Louis H. 1922. The Indian God Dhanvantari. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 42: 323–337.
- HAZRA, Rajendra Chandra 1940. *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*. Dacca: University of Dacca. (Reprint: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975.)
- IYER, S. Venkitasubramonia 1983. Textual Criticism of *Raghavaṃśa* on the Basis of Aruṇagirinātha's Commentary. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 21: 151–168.
- KIRFEL, Willibald 1927. *Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa: Versuch einer Textgeschichte*. Bonn: Kurt Schroeder.
- MACDONELL, Arthur A. & Arthur B. KEITH 1912. *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, I–II. London: John Murray.
- MENON, K.P.A. 2002. The Spread and Fate of the *Harivaṃśa* in India. [Abstract.] *Third Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, September 2–7, 2002. Second Circular, Programme, Abstracts*: 27–28. Dubrovnik.
- PARGITER, F. Eden 1910. Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1910: 2–56.
- PARGITER, F. Eden 1913. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*. Oxford: OUP.
- PARGITER, F. Eden 1918. The North Pañcala Dynasty. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1918: 229–248.
- PARGITER, F. Eden 1922. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*. London: OUP.
- POLLOCK, Sheldon I. 1986. *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki, An Epic of Ancient India, II: Ayodhyākāṇḍa*. Princeton: PUP.

- RUBEN, W. 1941. The Puranic Line of Heroes. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1941: 247–256, 337–358.
- SMITH, R. MORTON 1973. *Dates and Dynasties in Earliest India. Translation and Justification of a Critical Text of the Purāṇa Dynasties*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- SÖHNEN, Renate & Peter SCHREINER 1989. *Brahmapurāṇa: Summary of Contents, with Index of Names and Motifs*. (Purāṇa Research Publications Tübingen 2) Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- TOKUNAGA, Muneo 1997. *The Bṛhaddevatā: Text Reconstructed from the Manuscripts of the Shorter Recension with Introduction, Explanatory Notes, and Indices*. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co.
- VIELLE, Christophe 1996. *Le mytho-cycle héroïque dans l'aire indo-européenne, I: Correspondances et transformations helléno-aryennes*. (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 46) Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- VIELLE, Christophe 2002. An Introduction to the *Jaiminīyasamhitā* of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. In: M. BROCKINGTON (ed.), *Stages and Transitions: Temporal and Historical Frameworks in Epic and Purāṇic Literature. Proceedings of the Second Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, August 1999*: 337–357. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
- VIELLE, Christophe 2005. From the *Vāyuprokta* to the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*: Preliminary Remarks Towards a Critical Edition of the *vāyuprokta Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. In: P. KOSKIKALLIO (ed.), *Epics, Khilas and Purāṇas: Continuities and Ruptures. Proceedings of the Third Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas, September 2002*: 535–560. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
- VIELLE, Christophe 2008. La date de la *Jaiminīyasamhitā* du *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*: une confirmation épigraphique du début du XIV^{ème} siècle AD. *Indologica Taurinensia* 34: 311–323.
- VIELLE, Christophe 2011–2012. Ravivarman Kulaśekhara the Yādava and Sagara the Son of Yādavī: Real and Ideal Kings in Matrilineal Kerala. In: S. BRODBECK & J. HEGARTY (eds), *Genealogy and History in South Asia* (Religions of South Asia 5(1–2), special issue): 365–387.
- VIELLE, Christophe 2014. How did Paraśurāma Come to Raise Kerala? In: K. VELUTHAT & D.R. DAVIS (eds), *Irreverent History: Essays for M.G.S. Narayanan*: 15–32. Delhi: Primus Books.
- VIELLE, Christophe *forthcoming*. *La Jaiminīyasamhitā du Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Madhyamabhāga, adhyāya 1–15: Introduction, édition et traduction*. (Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain) Leuven: Peeters. [A preliminary version of the work was presented as a habilitation dissertation at the Université Catholique de Louvain in 2007.]
- WILSON, Horace Hayman 1840. *The Vishnu Purāṇa. A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition*. London: Oriental Translation Fund Committee.
- WITZEL, Michael 1995. Ṛgvedic History: Poets, Chieftains and Politics. In: G. ERDOSY (ed.), *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia: Language, Material Culture and Ethnicity* (Indian Philology and South Asian Studies 1): 307–352. NY: De Gruyter.

APPENDIX I: CONCORDANCE TABLE

HV ch. 23	BrP ch. 13	HV App. I no. 7	BrP ch. 11	VāP 92 / BḍP 2,3,67	PP.āñc
atha ketumataḥ putro vīro bhīmarathaḥ smṛtaḥ	≈ 66ab	= l. 56	= 39cd	≈ 23cd / 25cd	372,25cd
*368: suto bhīmarathasyāsīd divodāsaḥ prajēsvaraḥ	≈ 66cd	≈ l. 57	≈ 40ab	≈ () / 26ab	372,26ab
divodāsa iti khyātaḥ sarvarakṣaḥprañāśanaḥ 57	≈ 67ab	≠ l. 58	= 40cd	≈ 23ef / 26cd	372,26cd
etasminn eva kāle tu puriṇ vārāṇasīṇ nṛpaḥ	()	≈ l. 59	≈ 41ab	≈ 24ab / 27ab	372,27ab
M3 etasminn antare kāle M etc. purā (for nṛpaḥ)		(with nṛpa)		(with purā)	
śūnyāṃ niveśayām āsa kṣemako nāma rākṣasaḥ 58	()	= l. 60	= 41cd	= 24cd / 27cd	372,27cd
śāptā hi sā matimatā nikumbhena mahātmanā	()	= l. 61	= 42ab	≈ 25ab / 28ab	372,28ab
M1 kumbbhakena				(with purī purvaṃ for matimatā)	
śūnyā varṣasahasraṇ vai bhavitṛtī naraṣabha 59	()	≈ l. 62	= 42cd	≈ 25cd / 28cd	372,28cd
M4 etc. bhaviṣyati					
tasyāṃ tu śaptamātrāyāṃ divodāsaḥ prajēsvaraḥ	()	= l. 63	= 43ab	= 26ab / 29ab	372,29ab
viśayānte puriṇ ramyāṃ gomatyāṃ saṃnyaveśayat 60	()	= l. 64	= 43cd	= 26cd / 29cd	372,29cd
*369 (Dn G.ed.): bhadrāśreṇyasya pūrvaṃ tu purī vārāṇasī bhavat		≈ *4 (with -ity abhūt) = (om. AB) 44ab (with [hy] abhūt)		[376,64ab]	
(yaduvaiśāpraṣṭūṣasya tapasy abhīratasya ca)		K1 N2.3 V B Dn Ds D5.6 T2 G1.3.5			
bhadrāśreṇyasya putrāṇāṃ śātam uttamadhanvinām	()	= l. 65	= 44cd	= 61cd / 65ab	376,64cd
hatvā niveśayām āsa divodāsaḥ prajēsvaraḥ 61	()	≈ l. 66	= 45ab	= 62ab / 65cd	376,65ab
bhadrāśreṇyasya tad rāyāṃ hṛtaṃ tena balīyasa l. 67		= 45cd	= 45cd	≈ 62cd / 66ab	376,65cd
Il. 68-138		()		≈ 27-61ab / 30-64	372,30-376,63
bhadrāśreṇyasya putro vai durdamo nāma viśrutaḥ l.139		≈ 46ab		≈ 63ab / 66cd	377,66ab
[≈ 23 *394, l.1		= 158		= 94-7ab / 69,7ab	411,7ab]

HV ch. 23	BrP ch. 13	HV App. I no. 7	BrP ch. 11	VāP 92 / BḍP 2,3,67	PPāñc
divodāsasya putras tu vīro rājā pratardanaḥ pratardanasya putrau dvau vatso bhārgava eva ca 62 M1-3 putrau vai	= 67cd = 68ab	≠ l. 145 ≈ l. 147	= 49ab = 50ab	= 64ab / 67cd ≈ 65cd / 69ab	377,67ab 377,68cd
alarko rājanputras ca rājā samnatimān bhuvī M4 etc. vatsa- (for rāja-) M2,3 tu (for ca)	≈ 68cd	≠ l. 148 ≈ **8.1 (D1)	= 50cd (dif. BV)	= 66ab / 69cd	377,69ab
hehayasya tu dāyādyaṃ hr̥tavān vai mahīpatīḥ 63 M3 etc. dāyādyaṃ	= 69ab	≈ l. 141 / **8.1a	= 47ab	()	[377,66iab]
ājahre pitṛdāyādyaṃ divodāsahṛtaṃ balāt M1-3 divodāsair (for divodāsa-)	= 69cd	= l. 142 / **8.1b	= 47cd	()	[377,66icd]
bhadraśreṇasya putreṇa durdamena mahātmanā divodāsena bālo hi ghr̥ṇayā sa visarjitaḥ 64 M2,4 bālye tu M3 dharmātmā (for bālo hi) M4 etc. vivarjitaḥ	= 70ab ≈ 70cd	= l. 143 / **8.1c ≈ l. 140	= 48ab = 46cd	() = 63cd / 67ab	[377,66ief] 377,66cd
aṣṭāratho nāma nṛpaḥ suto bhīmarathasya vai M4 om. 65ab	= 71ab	= () / **8.2	()	()	()
tena putreṣu bāleṣu prahṛtaṃ tasya bhārata vairasyāntaṃ mahārāja kṣatriyeṇa vidhitasatā 65 M2 vivitsatā	≈ 71cd ≈ 72ab	≈ l. 146 / **8.3 = l. 144 / **8.3a	≈ 49cd ≠ 48cd	≈ 64cd / 68ab ≈ 65ab / 68cd	377,67cd 377,68ab
alarkaḥ kāśīrajas tu brahmanyah satyasaṅgarah *372 (K1): alarkaṃ prati rājānaṃ śloko gītaḥ purāṇanam ṣaṣṭiṃ varṣasahasrāṇi ṣaṣṭiṃ varṣasatāni ca 66 *373: tasyāsīt sumahadrājyaṃ rūpayauvanaśālīnaḥ yuvā rūpeṇa sampanna āsīt kāsīkulodvahaḥ	= 72cd = 73ab = l. 154 = 73cd	= l. 149 ≈ l. 150 = l. 151 = l. 152	≈ 51ab = 51cd = 52ab = 53cd ≈ 52cd	() ≈ 66cd / 70ab = 67ab / 70cd () = 67cd / 71ab	[377,69cd] 377,69ef 377,70ab [378,71cd] 377,70cd

<p>HV ch. 23 lopāmudrāprasādena paramāyur avāpa saḥ 67 M4 avāptavān vayaso 'nte mahābāhur hatvā kṣemakarākṣasam M1-3 mahābāho ramyāṇi niveśayām āsa puriṇi vārāṇasiṇi nīpaḥ 68</p>	<p>BrP ch. 13 = 74ab ≈ 74cd = 75ab</p>	<p>HV App. I no. 7 = l. 153 ≈ l. 155 ≈ l. 156</p>	<p>BrP ch. 11 = 53ab (var. V) = 54ab = 54cd</p>	<p>VāP 92 / BḍP 2,3,67 ≈ 67ef / 71cd = 68ab / 72ab ≈ 68cd / 72cd</p>	<p>PPañc 377;71ab 378,72ab 378,72cd</p>
---	---	--	---	---	--

STUDIA ORIENTALIA

Published by the Finnish Oriental Society (Societas Orientalis Fennica)

A complete list of publications as well as a list of articles in each volume can be found at: www.suomenitainenseura.org. Back issues in electronic format can be found at: ojs.tsv.fi/index.php/StOrE/issue/archive.

Distributed by Federation of Finnish Learned Societies/Bookstore Tiedekirja

www.tiedekirja.fi

address: Snellmaninkatu 13, FIN-00170 Helsinki, Finland

tel. +358-9-635177

e-mail: tiedekirja@tsv.fi

Volumes available:

76. 1995. 228 pp. Five Rağaz Collections: Materials for the study of Rağaz Poetry, II. Compiled and ed. **J. Hämeen-Anttila**. €25
77. 1995. 258 pp. **T. Paajanen** Scribal Treatment of the Literary and Vernacular Proverbs of al-Mustatraf in 15th–17th Century Manuscripts. With special reference to diglossic variation. €25
78. 1996. 268 pp. Minor Rağaz Collections, Materials for the study of Rağaz poetry, III. Compiled and ed. **J. Hämeen-Anttila**. €25
79. 1996. 178 pp. **P. Huang** Lao Zi: The Book and the man. €25
80. 1997. 179 pp. **P. Nikkilä** Preference and Choice in the Confucian Analects. €25
81. 1997. xiv + 136 pp. **R. Harjula** The Ideal of the Good Life: As crystallized by Tanzanian Meru proverbs. €20
82. 1997. vii + 290 pp. (Collection of 10 articles + book reviews.) €25
85. 1999. x + 468 pp. (Collection of 22 articles + book reviews.) €30
86. 1999. vii + 264 pp. **H. Juusola** Linguistic Peculiarities in the Aramaic Magic Bowl Texts. €25
87. 1999. 326 pp. **Writing in the Altaic World**. Proceedings of the 41st Annual Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC). Ed. Juha Janhunen & Volker Rybatzki. (Collection of 29 articles.) €25
88. 2000. viii + 249 pp. **V.-J. Vuori** Repetitive Structures in the Languages of East and South-East Asia. €25
89. 2000. xiii + 238 pp. **S.M. Alamolhoda** Phonostatistics and Phonotactics of the Syllable in Modern Persian. €25
90. 2000. xii + 330 pp. + 24 pls. **M. Tornainen** From Austere *wabi* to Golden *wabi*: Philosophical and aesthetic aspects of *wabi* in the way of tea. €35
91. 2000. xii + 436 pp. **M. Parpola** Kerala Brahmins in Transition: A Study of a Nampūtiri family. €35
92. 2000. xi + 263 pp. **R. Lehonkoski** Describing East-Asian Grammar: An Application of Role and Reference Grammar. €25
93. 2001. xiii + 247 pp. **A. Kerkkänen** Yugoslav Jewry: Aspects of post-World War II and post-Yugoslav developments. €25
94. 2001. 511 pp. **Vidyārṇavavandanam**: Essays in honour of Asko Parpola. Ed. Klaus Karttunen & Petteri Koskikallio. (Collection of 31 articles; a bibliography of Asko Parpola's publications.) €40
95. 2003. 516 pp. (Collection of 22 articles + book reviews.) €30
96. 2003. vi + 320 pp. **H. Weiss** Obligatory Almsgiving: An Inquiry into *Zakāt* in the pre-colonial Bilād as-Sūdān. €30

97. 2003. xxxix + 325 pp. **Remota Relata**: Essays on the history of Oriental studies in honour of Harry Halén. Ed. Juha Janhunen & Asko Parpola. (Collection of 26 articles.) €30
98. 2003. vii + 341 pp. **S. Seppälä** In Speechless Ecstasy: Expression and interpretation of mystical experience in Classical Syriac and Sufi literature. €30
99. 2004. xxvii + 444 pp. **Verbum et Calamus**: Semitic and related studies in honour of the sixtieth birthday of Professor Tapani Harviainen. Ed. Hannu Juusola, Juha Laulainen & Heikki Palva. (Collection of 34 articles.) €30
100. 2004. xviii + 253 pp. **S. Muir** Yiddish in Helsinki: Study of a colonial Yiddish dialect and culture. €30
101. 2007. 595 pp. (Collection of 22 articles + book reviews.) €30
102. 2006. 175 pp. **S. Akar** But if You Desire God and His Messenger: The Concept of choice in Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. €30
103. 2006. xviii + 230 pp. **Africa in the Long Run**: Festschrift in the honour of Professor Arvi Hurskainen. Ed. Lotta Harjula & Maaria Ylänkö. (Collection of 14 articles.) €30
104. 2006. 736 + xviii pp. **T. Salmenkari** Democracy, Participation, and Deliberation in China: The Discussion in the official Chinese press, 1978–1981. €40
105. 2008. 437 pp. **H. Weiss** Between Accomodation and Revivalism: Muslims, the state, and society in Ghana from the precolonial to the postcolonial era. €30
106. 2009. xxiv + 503 pp. **Of God(s), Trees, Kings and Scholars**: Neo-Assyrian and related studies in honour of Simo Parpola. Ed. Mikko Luukko, Saana Svärd & Raija Mattila. (Collection of 34 articles.) €35
107. 2009. 400 pp. (Collection of 14 articles + book reviews.) €30
108. 2010. xviii + 335 pp. **Anantaṃ Śāstram**: Indological and linguistic studies in honour of Bertil Tikkanen. Ed. Klaus Karttunen. (Collection of 20 articles.) €30
109. 2011. xii + 240 pp. **Himalayan Nature**: Representations and reality. Ed. Erika Sandman & Riika J. Virtanen. (Collection of 12 articles + book reviews.) €25
110. 2011. xxiv + 333 pp. **Pūrvāparaprajñābbhinandanam – East and West, Past and Present**: Indological and other essays in honour of Klaus Karttunen. Ed. Bertil Tikkanen & Albion M. Butters. (Collection of 22 articles.) €30
111. 2011. xi + 482 pp. (Collection of 20 articles + book reviews.) €30
112. 2012. vi + 206 pp. **M. Grodzki** “Muslims” and “Islam” in Middle Eastern Literature of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries AD: An Alternative perspective of West European oriental scholarship. — **A. Kamczycki** Zionist Restitution of the Ugly Jew’s Image: The Case of Theodor Herzl. — **K. Karttunen** Aśoka, the Buddhist Saṅgha and the Graeco-Roman World. — **H. Mazuz** Christians in the Qur’ān: Some insights derived from the classical exegetic approach. — **J.P. Monferrer-Sala** One More Time on the Arabized Nominal Form Iblīs. — **M.D. Rodríguez Gómez** Describing the Ruin: Writings of Arabic notaries in the last period of al-Andalus. — **N. Rubinstein-Shemer** Larger than Life: Prayer during wartime in Islamic law. — **T. Salmenkari** Using Feudalism for Political Criticism and for Promoting Systemic Change in China. — **J. Töyräänvuori** Weapons of the Storm God in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Traditions. — Book Reviews. €15
113. 2013. x + 230 pp. **Ex Oriente Lumina: Historiae variae multiethnicae** – Festschrift tillägnad Juha Janhunen på hans 61. födelsedag 12.2.2013. Ed. Tiina Hyytiäinen, Lotta Jalava, Janne Saarikivi & Erika Sandman. — **T. Hyytiäinen, L. Jalava, J. Saarikivi & E. Sandman** Preface. — **J. Anhava** In Search of Hidden Languages. — **M. Béniard** Shen Congwen 沈從文 (1902–1988): un auteur mésestimé. — **O.K. Fält** Perplexing Emperors: The Status of the emperor of Japan in the United States’ planning bodies in 1943–1944. — **A. Girfanova** The Taz Ethnic Group: Its past and future. — **M. Härkönen** Tibetan Nuns: Gender as a force in a culture under “threat”. — **K. Karttunen** Finnish Students of Oriental Philology in St Petersburg. — **Kelsang Norbu with C.K. Stuart** An A Mdo Tibetan Woman’s Life and Religious Practice. — **J. Komppa** Bargaining for Deities and Chattels: Recent developments in Xiahe as reflected in the local antiques trade. — **S. Kuzay** Li Hanqiu 李涵秋 (1874–1923): Ein Author zwischen

- Tradition und Moderne: Der Roman “Die Fluten Von Guangling” (廣陵潮 Guangling Chao) Als Spiegel Seiner Zeit. — **A. Lahtinen** Challenges of Qinghai Province. — **Libu Lakhi, C.K. Stuart & G. Roche** Namuyi Tibetans: Electrified change. — **Limusishiden, Ha Mingzong & C.K. Stuart** Niidosang: A Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Deity. — **A. Logie** Understanding the Enigma of Traditional Korean Culture. — **A. Niemi** Sitting by the Rice-Basket: Hunger phrases in Chan Buddhism. — **G. Roche & Lcag mo tshe ring** Notes on the Maintenance of Diversity in Amdo: Language use in Gnyan thog village annual rituals. — **T. Salmenkari** Language in Taiwanese Social Movements. — **C. Schönig** Die Modernen Türkisprachen: Skizze zu einem Familienportrait. — **M. Suutarinen** Arabic Script among China’s Muslims: A Dongxiang folk story. — **Wuqi Chenaksang** A Short Introduction to Tibetan Kinship Terms in A-mdo. — **V. Zikmundová** Several Observations Concerning the Sibe Practice of the Deoci and Andai Rituals of the Khorchin Mongols. €20
114. 2014. xii + 578 pp. **Travelling through Time: Essays in honour of Kaj Öhrnberg**. Ed. Sylvia Akar, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila & Inka Nokso-Koivisto. — **S. Akar, J. Hämeen-Anttila & I. Nokso-Koivisto** Foreword. — **H. Halén** Kaj Öhrnberg: A Biographical sketch. — Bibliography of the Publications of Kaj Öhrnberg. — **M. Anhava** An Enchanted Wanderer. — **P. Berg** Like-Minded Scholars Through the Centuries: Mission Georg August Wallin. — **I. Lindstedt** The Transmission of al-Madā’ini’s Historical Material to al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī: A Comparison and analysis of two *khabars*. — **J. Hämeen-Anttila** Al-Kisrawī and the Arabic Translations of the *Khwadāynāmag*. — **T.P. Lankila** The Saracen Raid of Rome in 846: An Example of maritime *ghazw*. — **T. Heikkilä** Between East and West: The Many uses of the life of St Symeon of Trier. — **I. Perho** Ibn Taghribirdī’s Voice. — **V. Martínez Enamorado** Bronces de al-Andalus y epigrafía: el caso del hallazgo de Denia (siglo XI). — **R. El Hour** De nuevo sobre el cadiazgo de al-Ándalus almorávide: reflexiones acerca del cadiazgo de Almuñécar. — **J. Abellán Pérez** La derrota granadina en las Lomas de Diego Díaz (1483). — **M. Espinar Moreno** Noticias sobre el cadí Rodrigo Aben Chapela de Aldeire y su familia. — **M. Viitamäki** Modern Conveyances, Traditional Destinations: Khvāja Ḥasan Nizāmī’s 1911 tour of the Middle East. — **H. Weiss** „Katastrophen Sind Prüfungen Allahs“: Alltagserfahrungen Muslimischer Gelehrter in Nord-Ghana. — **M. Saarnivaara** From Terrorists to Celebrities: Deportation as a political opportunity for Palestinian Islamic Hamas. — **I. Nokso-Koivisto & S. Svärd** The Microcosm-Macrocosm Analogy in Mesopotamian and Mediaeval Islamic Contexts. — **J. Kaukua** Suhrawardī’s Knowledge as Presence in Context. — **J. Mattila** The Philosophical Lives of Ibn al-Haytham and Ibn Riḍwān: Autobiography as an expression of the philosophical way of life. — **T. Kukkonen** On Adding to the Names: The Camel’s smile. — **R. Tuori** Polish-Lithuanian Karaite Hebrew *Zemiroṭ*: Imitation only? A Review on a marginal genre. — **N. Nasrallah** Mediaeval Arabs Ate Sandwiches, Too: *Bazmāward* and *awsāt* for the record. — **M. Meouak** Palmiers-Dattiers et Dattes dans l’Occident Musulman d’après la ‘*Umdat al-ṭābīb fī ma’rifat al-nabāt li-kull labīb* d’Abū l-Khayr al-Ishbīlī (6^e/XII^e siècle). — **V. Prevost** Nourritures Médiévales: L’alimentation au Maghreb d’après les Sources Ibadites (XI^e–XIII^e siècle). — **M. Iliushina** A Journey to St Petersburg: On the fate of the manuscript *Kitāb riḥlat al-shitā’ wa-l-ṣaif* by Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī. — **T. Harviainen & K. Karttunen** The Outset of Arabic Studies in Finland with Notes on Finnish: Carolus Clewberg and Michael Avellan. — **H. Halén** Haik Bek-Arakelov: An Armenian officer and Islamic poet. — **F. Thomasson** Johan David Åkerblad: Orientalist, traveller, and manuscript collector. — Illustrations to Thomasson’s and Vasilyeva’s Articles. — **O.V. Vasilyeva** Åkerblad’s Collection in Suchtelen’s Orientalia: From Sweden to Russia. — **H. Palva** G.A. Wallin’s Contributions to the Study of Arabic Dialects. — **Fr. Moscoso García** Dos cuentos en árabe del norte de Marruecos: ‘El porqué el murciélago no tiene plumas’ y ‘¿Quién arma más lío?’. — **H. Juusola** Notes on the Orientalism Debate and Orientalism in Finland. — **S. Akar** Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language: From Grammar-Translation method to the Audio-Lingual approach. — A Note from the Editor. € 28

115. 2015. xiii + 332 pp. **Riika J. Virtanen** Tibetan Written Images: A Study of imagery in the writings of Dhondup Gyal. € 24
116. 2015. xvi + 454 pp. **Klaus Karttunen** Yonas and Yavanas in Indian Literature. € 24
117. 2016. x + 284 pp. **Crosslinguistics and Linguistic Crossings in Northeast Asia: Papers on the languages of Sakhalin and adjacent regions.** Ed. E. Gruzdeva & J. Janhunen. — E. Gruzdeva & J. Janhunen. Preface. — J. Janhunen *Reconstructio externa linguae Ghiliacorum.* — A. Vovin *On the Linguistic Prehistory of Hokkaido.* — H. Shiraishi & B. Botma *Asymmetric Distribution of Vowels in Nivkh.* — A. Pevnov *On the Specific Features of Orok as Compared with the Other Tungusic Languages.* — S. Kazama *On the Similarities and Differences between the Mongolic, Tungusic, and Eskimo-Aleut Languages.* — T. Sato *A Classification of the Types of Noun Incorporation in Ainu and its Implications for Morphosyntactic Typology.* — A. Bugaeva *On the Innovative Nature of Sakhalin Ainu: Focusing on nominalization.* — Y. Nagayama *Nominalization in Alutor.* — I. Nagasaki *Relative Clauses and Nominalizations in Kolyma Yukaghir.* — Ks. Shagal *Relative Clauses in the Languages of Sakhalin as an Areal Feature.* — E. Gruzdeva *Epistemic Modality and Related Categories in Nivkh.* — A. Anttonen, J. Luukkonen, E. Sandman, S. Santalahti, T. Ylitalo & E. Gruzdeva *Attritional Phenomena in the Nivkh Language on Sakhalin.* — N. Mamontova *The Sociolinguistic Landscape of the Island of Sakhalin.* — R. Länsisalmi *Northern Voices: Examining language attitudes in recent surveys on Ainu and Saami.* — A. Logie *Untold Tales: Two lesser known personal and social-linguistic histories of Sakhalin Koreans.* € 24
118. 2016. xiv + 302 pp. Katriina Ranne *The Image of Water in the Poetry of Euphrase Kezilahabi.* €24
119. 2018. xiv + 230 pp. Albion M. Butters. *Illuminating the Goal: rDzogs chen and Doxography in 14th-century Tibet.* €19
120. 2019. xiv + 316 pp. **Linguistic Diversity Research among Speakers of isiNdebele and Sindebele in South Africa.** Ed. Lotta Aunio & Axel Fleisch. — L. Aunio & A. Fleisch Preface. — A. Fleisch & L. Aunio Introduction. — R. Grünthal, S. Honkasalo & M. Juutinen *Language Sociological Trends in South African Ndebele Communities: A Pilot Survey.* — I. Jallow, M. Järvi, N. Väisänen, M.N. Masango & A. Fleisch *Language Dynamics among Speakers of Sindebele.* — H. Arjava & A. Dumitrescu *Spatial Forms and Functions in isiNdebele: A 3D-Stimulus Field Study.* — T.M. Crane & A. Fleisch *Towards a Fieldwork Methodology for Eliciting Distinctions in Lexical Aspect in Bantu.* — M. Miestamo, K. Helenius & J. Kajala *Use of the Augment in Negatives and other Irrealis Contexts in isiNdebele.* — S. Schulz, A.O. Laine, L. Aunio & N. Philippova *Click Variation and Reacquisition in Two South African Ndebele Varieties.* — L. Aunio, S. Schulz, N. Philippova & A.O. Laine *Nominal Tone in isiNdebele.* €24