Nina Mirnig, Marion Rastelli,
and Vincent Eltschinger (Eds.)

TANTRIC COMMUNITIES IN CONTEXT

**AUSTRIAN
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Table of Contents

TANTRIC COMMUNITIES IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

BEYOND TANTRIC COMMUNITIES:
THE INTERFACE WITH LAY COMMUNITIES

Preface

The present volume on the socio-religious history of Tantric communities in the early medieval Indic world is an outcome of research activities conducted at the Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia (IKGA) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (OEAW), in the context of the large-scale interdisciplinary research project "Visions of Community" (VISCOM), a "Special Research Programme" (Sonderforschungsbereich, SFB) funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, F 42). Over two four-year periods (2011–2015, 2015–2019), the project was carried out in collaboration with the Institute for Medieval Research and the Institute for Social Anthropology at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (OEAW), as well as the Department of History and the Institute for Eastern European History at the University of Vienna. The mission of VISCOM was to investigate, from a comparative perspective, ethnicity, region, and empire throughout medieval Eurasia, extending from Christian Europe to Buddhist Tibet via the Islamic Arabic peninsula. A central concern of the project was how Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam impacted the conceptions of religious and political communities in the medieval world, and how these were negotiated in discourses on the formation and legitimation of particular communities constructed around various religious, ethnic, or political interests. VISCOM was meant to go beyond a static comparison in the sense of a mere contrastive analysis of pre-interpreted social, cultural, and historical constructs; it sought, rather, to actively create comparative objects by fostering, on a regular basis, the collaboration of researchers of diverse disciplinary approaches – socio-historical, micro-historical, socio-anthropological, historical-philological, etc. – and to critically examine culturally-loaded, descriptive concepts that were too often employed uncritically.

While the IKGA's contribution to VISCOM initially focused solely on imperial Tibet, the research context was subsequently broadened to also include the Tantric traditions of early medieval and medieval India. This turn toward the Indian Tantric traditions was prompted by the following considerations: First, in their Buddhist versions, these traditions had played

a central role in shaping Tibetan religious identities, beliefs, and practices from the ninth and especially the eleventh century onwards. Second, while competing for royal patronage, the Indian Tantric traditions had developed close ties to political power, a major concern for VISCOM. And third, major advances in the field of Tantric studies in the last decades have led to the emergence of new data from manuscript sources and inscriptions, which open up the opportunity to investigate questions of community formation, boundaries, and identities at play as Tantric circles increasingly engaged with wider society. Rooted in this research context, the present volume aims to comprehensively investigate these trajectories by considering sources from the various Tantric schools active in the premodern Indic world. For this purpose, leading experts of the field were invited to contribute to this volume, based on papers and discussions held at the international symposium "Tantric Communities in Context: Sacred Secrets and Public Rituals," held at the IKGA, February 5–7, 2015.

We have adopted various conventions to present the material as consistently as possible. The Sanskrit spelling has generally been normalised, unless diplomatic editions are presented. Each of the Sanskrit passages is also translated into English. In order to ensure readability, abbreviations have been kept to a minimum; only if Sanskrit text titles are mentioned frequently within a chapter, abbreviations are used after the first mention of the text. The following introduction to this volume provides a brief overview of the broader research context as well as of the specific topics discussed in each contribution.

In publishing this volume, we are most grateful to the Holzhausen-Legat for providing financial support to cover the production costs. We would also like to express our thanks to Birgit Kellner, the series editor, and the publication commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences for having accepted the manuscript to be included in the series "Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens". Thanks also go to the staff at the Austrian Academy Press for their support in the production process. We also thank Dennis Johnson for proof-reading the volume, and Csaba Kiss for producing the index and providing some technical support. Last but not least, we are extremely grateful to the contributors of this volume for their excellent chapters and their patience during the production process.

Introduction

Starting with the middle of the first millennium, South Asia saw the emergence and rise of Tantrism within all major religious traditions, a development that resulted in the production of a rich textual corpus expounding the ritual and philosophical systems of Śaivism, the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra, the Buddhist Mantrayāna, and Jaina Tantra. Despite the fact that Tantric traditions grew to become such an integral part of the religious landscape of early medieval South, South-East, and East Asia, the social reality of how these initiatory groups were organised on the ground and concretely interfaced with the wider community of non-initiates or with competing traditions during this period is still little understood. This is partly due to the fact that the surviving Tantric textual sources are prescriptive in nature, propagating an idealistic vision of their position in society and rarely addressing questions of social relevance.

In order to address the resulting methodological challenge of using these sources for reconstructing the underlying social reality, specialists of the textual traditions and practices of pre-modern Tantric traditions were invited to investigate these largely normative texts for elements that inadvertently reveal aspects of the underlying social reality or larger political agendas at play. Departing from the notion of a religious community, that is to say, a community defined through a shared ritual repertoire and socio-religious visions, the contributors pursue a range of guiding questions that are at the heart of the VISCOM research project, such as: How does a community define itself and what binds it together? How is a sense of belonging expressed? Can we identify networks of relationships through concrete interactions such as collective activities and habitual practices? Which religio-political strategies may be at play in shaping community identity; or to what extent do religious propagators create new religious identities in order to appeal to the royal elite or reach out to mainstream communities? How are deeply embedded social identity norms related to

birth status – the caste and class system in South Asia – negotiated in the context of emerging religious movements that essentially challenge these existing socio-religious structures? And how do religious communities that have developed around esoteric Tantric cults appeal to mainstream communities?

Applying these research questions to ancient texts, often only preserved in unpublished manuscripts, the contributors trace aspects of the socio-religious history of the emergence and institutionalisation of these traditions in different literary genres, including Tantric scriptures, ritual manuals, philosophical treatises, and commentaries as well as non-Tantric sources that contain representations of Tantric communities such as the Purāṇas, early sectarian Dharma literature, and belletristic works. In addition, some contributions complement text-based approaches with field studies and art historical analyses. The themes of this volume include the development of Tantric rituals and symbols in relation to the political sphere, the domain of social ritual as an indicator of the various degrees to which Tantric communities were socially integrated at a given place or time, specific points of interface between initiatory and lay communities, and the modalities of the construction of broad as well as specific "confessional" Tantric identities.

Structure of the volume

The volume opens with a keynote article by Alexis Sanderson, based on a lecture he delivered at the Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna on February 5, 2015. In his contribution, Sanderson outlines the possibilities and ground-breaking advances in tracing the socio-religious history of South Asian Tantric traditions, based on his long-standing expertise and research experience with Śaivism also in interaction with other Tantric traditions, including the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra and Buddhist as well as Jaina Tantra. In many ways, Sanderson's ground-breaking research on the historical development of early Tantric traditions in South Asia and beyond has fundamentally shaped and influenced the field of Tantric studies.

Following the opening contribution, the book is divided into four parts. The first contains contributions investigating textual sources that detail certain "Tantric identities." These chapters offer insights into how various Tantric communities – or groups within a Tantric community – were conceptualised in a range of sources, including those inside and outside the Tantric textual genre.

Shaman Hatley examines the representation of female practitioners and the divinisation of women in the *Brahmayāmala* or *Picumata*. This voluminous Tantric Śākta-Śaiva text affords an unusually detailed (as well as early) window into women's participation in Tantric ritual. On the one hand, this includes their role as female consorts – called *dūtī*s – in the coital rituals performed for the *sādhaka* practitioner's purposes of attaining supernatural powers (*siddhi*). On the other, Hatley also points to passages that intimate independent female adepts in representations of *yoginī*s, a category which intrinsically blurs boundaries between women and goddesses. In doing so, he engages with the methodological challenge of deriving social-historical data from literary representations in this genre of Tantric literature.

Csaba Kiss presents a diachronic investigation into the term *bhasmāṅkura*, a term used to describe a social group defined as "the offspring of a fallen Śaiva ascetic and a Śūdra prostitute" in the well-known fifteenth-century Brahmanical, non-Tantric *Jātiviveka*, a treatment of the various castes and classes. Tracing references to this term in Śaiva Tantric literature, including Saiddhāntika ritual manuals as well as the Śaiva scholar Abhinavagupta's famous work *Tantrāloka*, Kiss locates the origins of this terminology and explores what these passages reveal about the social setting of certain Tantric communities at various times. He shows how the position of the Bhasmāṅkura as the son of a Śaiva ascetic was highly problematic in the Śaiva Tantric socio-ritual world and often condemned. At the same time, he draws attention to the extent to which these insider accounts differ from Brahmanical sources, in which the Bhasmāṅkura is at times associated with Devalakas, who are defined as temple priests that live of the offerings made to idols and thus considered of low status.

Robert Leach's paper deals with two important sub-traditions within the Vaiṣṇava tradition of Pāñcarātra – the Āgamasiddhānta and the Mantra-

siddhānta – in South India in the early centuries of the second millennium CE. He examines their relation to each other as well as the possible reasons why the Āgamasiddhānta has ceased to exist as a separate tradition in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. Leach shows how the textual evidence suggests that these traditions were in competition with each other for the control of public temples and the right to perform rituals for fee-paying clients. In this process, the followers of the Āgamasiddhānta characterised themselves as exclusively seeking liberation from rebirth and as worshipping Viṣṇu to the exclusion of all other deities. According to Āgamasiddhānta scriptural testimony, these two characteristics set them apart from other Pāñcarātrikas, and there are several passages in Āgamasiddhānta texts wherein the worship of God for mundane and heavenly rewards as well as the worship of gods other than Viṣṇu are roundly condemned. At the same time, there are a number of indications that at least some Ekāyanas modified their positions on both of these issues.

Klaus-Dieter Mathes depicts an example of how Buddhist monastic communities integrated Tantric elements, such as sexual *yoga* during empowerment (*abhiṣeka*) and subsequent practices that were considered problematic from the point of view of mainstream Buddhism. On the basis of thorough text analyses of works of Indian and Tibetan teachers, such as Maitrīpa (986–1063), his disciple *Sahajavajra, 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481), and Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal (1511–1587), he shows how the so-called *mahāmudrā* teachings were embedded into Madhyamaka philosophy concepts and thus Tantric and Sūtric methods were syncretically combined into a single system for liberation.

Christian Ferstl turns his attention to the value of Sanskrit poetry as a source for clues about the perceptions and representations of Tantric communities outside the body of Tantric prescriptive literature. Focusing on the *Kādambarī*, a work of the sixth-century court poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa, he examines the portrayal of an elderly Dravidian – often referred to as holy man (*dhārmika*) – living in a goddess temple near Ujjayinī. Identifying features that associate this holy man with practices and works of certain Śaiva initiatory groups, such as the Pāśupatas, Kālamukhas, or Tantric practitioners of the Bhairava branch, Ferstl attempts to trace the religious milieu and associated values envisaged by the poet in the seventh century.

The second part of the volume gathers contributions presenting sources that show how Tantric communities construct identities through rituals that draw boundaries to the non-initiated world by appealing to the exclusitivity of the respective Tantric circle.

Judit Törzsök explores the way in which Tantric communities saw themselves within a larger context by analysing their treatments of *samaya*s, that is to say, the rules a Tantric Śaiva or Śākta neophyte is to follow after he is introduced into his new community and has received an initiation name, thus essentially constituting part of what defines the Śaiva or Śākta Śaiva Tantric community. Investigating three different types of *samaya* sets, namely those of the Siddhānta, the heterogeneous lists of early Śākta scriptures, and the strictly "nondualist" rules of later Śāktas, she demonstrates to what extent they, on the one hand, relate to Brahmanical rules of the Dharmaśāstras, and, on the other, carefully demarcate various Śaiva and Śākta groups. Further, the author presents some material on lay Śaiva practitioners, showing that in spite of their overall conformity to traditional Brahmanical prescriptions, they also saw themselves as following a different set of laws and rules.

Ellen Gough, one of the rare scholars who studies Tantric aspects of the Jaina traditions, presents the history of the Digambara Jaina ritual of mendicant initiation (*dīkṣā*). This ritual that features Tantric elements, such as *maṇḍala*s and *mantra*s, was introduced into the Digambara tradition in the twentieth century. Modern Digambaras claim that this practice is a return to "ancient," that is, pre-sixteenth-century times. Investigating evidence for this statement, Gough tracks the historical development of this ritual from the first half of the first millennium to the sixteenth century based on thorough textual studies of relevant Jaina works. Thanks to her fieldwork undertaken in Rajasthan in 2013, she also vividly provides insight into the present-day practice and shows that Tantric ritual components have also been used to create Jaina communities.

Péter Szántó provides rare insights into the early history of the *gaṇacakra*, a ritualised communal feast as celebrated by followers of the Vajrayāna, i.e., Tantric Buddhist communities. The earliest Buddhist evidence for this ritual, which was probably originally designed by imitating a Śaiva ritual, dates to the early eighth century or possibly slightly earlier.

While several Buddhist works from this time onwards describe or refer to the *gaṇacakra* ritual, there are only two known complete, self-standing manuals surviving in Sanskrit, as Szántó demonstrates. One is found in the so-called Ngor Hevajrasādhana collection, the other one, the *Gaṇacakravidhi* attributed to Ratnākaraśānti and transmitted in a Nepalese manuscript, is presented here. Szántó delivers an annotated diplomatic edition of this work, which is supplemented by a – because of several difficulties of the text – tentative translation and a detailed explanation in order to make the content of this fascinating document accessible also to non-Sanskritists.

Turning to the sphere of Buddhist Tantric rituals for the public domain, Ryugen Tanemura examines surviving pre-modern ritual manuals and exegetical works on Buddhist Tantric death rites and explores how they may inform us about the potential clientele served by Buddhist Tantric priests. Having identified the relevant textual sources – all of which were edited by the author for the first time – he focuses in particular on the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, a manual of the funeral rite by Śūnyasamādhivajra, the final section (*Antasthitikarmoddeśa*) of Padmaśrīmitra's *Maṇḍalopāyikā*, and the final chapter (*Nirvṛtavajrācāryāntyeṣṭilakṣaṇavidhi*) of Jagaddarpaṇa's *Caryākriyāsamuccaya*. In his analysis, he principally concentrates on passages that indicate which kind of Tantric practitioner is intended as the recipient of a Tantric funeral, which, in turn, offers clues about the scope of Tantric community envisaged by the sources.

The third part of the volume consists of contributions that collect and discuss sources that provide insights into how certain Tantric communities construct a public identity, negotiated through apotropaic empowering rituals for the royal sphere or public rituals and festivals.

Marion Rastelli describes a specific strategy pursued by Tantric officiants of the Vaiṣṇava tradition of Pāñcarātra to convince rulers to employ their services. The *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā*, a South Indian work probably from the thirteenth century, expounds the ritual worship of Sudarśana, the discus of Viṣṇu. This worship mainly serves the purposes of kings, including, for instance, military purposes. These rituals are usually not performed by the king himself but by his personal priest (*purohita*, *purodhas*). Rastelli

demonstrates how it is a great concern of the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* to show the importance of a personal priest and his relation to the king, which is why it also presents several narratives. These narratives mostly follow a similar pattern: a particular king is in a certain form of distress and finally reaches a solution to his problem with the help of a *purohita*, namely, the *sudarśanamantra* and its ritual worship. While the primary purpose of these narratives is evident, they also throw light on the background of the redactor of the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* as well as its target audience, that is, kings and their specific needs.

Francesco Bianchini provides yet further insights into the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* by highlighting passages that exhibit the ruling elite's concerns and the services that Tantric officiants could supply, thereby adding to our understanding of how Tantric traditions advanced and spread in society through affecting and gaining support by the rulers. Among the issues that he addresses are the association of specific Tantric theological tenets with offices and concepts of the royal court, the methodological problem of identifying different classes of officiants on the basis of the kind of information given by the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā*, the main goals of the rulers, and the repertoire of rituals that the Tantric priest as described in the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* offered in comparison to that of a traditional Atharvavedic officiant.

Dominic Goodall examines the emergence and development of festivals (*mahotsava*) in Śaiva Tantric communities, i.e., the Śaiva Mantramārga. While such religious processions are commonplace in several South Indian Tantric scriptures, Goodall observes that these are never mentioned in pre-twelfth-century Tantric authoritative scriptures. First, he traces the earliest sources on Śaiva religious processions, namely the sixth/seventh century non-Tantric *Śivadharmaśāstra*. Second, he provides an in-depth analysis of the *damanotsava*, a festival in which Śiva is worshipped with the various parts of the Damana plant (Artemisia indica). His treatment demonstrates how Śaiva Tantric priests adopted a popular annual festival associated with spring and with love, transforming it into a Śaiva reparatory ritual with soteriological function, and he explores the socio-religious reasons that may have driven such changes in the Tantric ritual repertoire. In his analysis, he also includes critical observations on the transmission history of the

famous South Indian twelfth-century Saiddhāntika ritual manual *Jñāna-ratnāvalī*.

Gudrun Bühnemann deals with the worship of the monkey deity Hanumān under royal patronage in mid-seventeenth- to mid-eighteenth-century Nepal. Presenting rich sources including texts, such as inscriptions, accounts in chronicles (*vaṃśāvalī*), and ritual works, and both published and hitherto unpublished images of sculptures, paintings, and line drawings, she provides new insight into how the kings of the late Malla period promoted the worship of Hanumān in the Kathmandu Valley and what goals they wished to attain through the worship of both the public exoteric and the specifically esoteric, Tantric manifestations of the guardian deity.

The fourth part of the volume presents contributions that engage with the role of lay communities and examines how their shared community practices and self-representations relate to the emerging Tantric traditions.

Nina Mirnig turns to the sixth/seventh-century Śaiva text *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the earliest extant normative work to promote an entire Śaiva social order, which has proven pivotal for understanding the emergence of Śaivism and the Tantric traditions in the early medieval period. Against the historical backdrop of the religious milieu at the time – including the prominence of Vaiṣṇava devotional movements, Buddhism, and Śaiva ascetic traditions – Mirnig discusses the novel ways in which community identity is constructed in the *Śivadharmaśāstra* by promoting Śaiva devotees as divine beings on earth, granting them a superior spiritual status independent of the existing socio-religious system defined through caste and class, thereby also opening the system up to lower social classes. Identifying the various social and ritual implications initiated by this new conceptualisation, this contribution also traces the ritual and conceptual continuities into the Śaiva Tantric sphere, whose propagators build on the kind of socio-religious structures expounded upon in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*.

Peter Bisschop analyses the ways in which the earliest extant Śaiva texts of the sixth and seventh centuries deal with the worship of other gods than Śiva, thereby investigating how emerging Śaiva communities promoted their religion as superior to their competitors. Building on Paul Hacker's theory of inclusivism as "a specifically Indian way of thinking" and a

means of inclusion by subordination, Bisschop investigates three works
that were practically unknown at Hacker's time but provide important case
studies for tracing this phenomenon in early medieval South Asia: the sixth
chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, which contains a lengthy *mantra* of paci-
fication (*śāntimantra*) invoking all deities for protection; *Skandapurāṇa*
chapters 27–28, which are related in content to the teachings of the
Śivadharma; and the third chapter of the *Niśvāsamukha*, which deals with
mundane religion and has a lengthy section on the worship of different
gods. In his investigation, he presents the varying degrees of "inclusivism"
suggested by these early sources, a strategy that also reflects the socio-
religious setting in which these newly emerging Śaiva communities had to
secure their position among the dominant religious traditions of the time.

S.A.S. Sarma deals with the ritual worship of the female deities collec-
tively known as the Seven Mothers (*saptamātṛ*) with Bhadrakālī as the
principal deity. He investigates how these rites bind together certain Tan-
tric ritual communities, presenting hitherto unpublished Mātṛtantras com-
posed in South India and sharing his vast knowledge about the communi-
ties and temples associated with this worship. The first part of his paper
describes important works devoted to the worship of the Seven Mothers,
namely, two texts labelled *Brahmayāmala* and associated with the Kolā-
rammā Temple of Kōlār, the *Mātṛsadbhāva*, composed in Kerala before the
fifteenth century, three chapters of the *Śeṣasamuccaya* attributed to Śaṅka-
ra, and several texts on the rare cult of the goddess Rurujit, a specific form
of Bhadrakālī. The second part of the paper then deals with the Keralese
communities associated with the worship of Bhadrakālī and especially
Rurujit. These include the Nampūtiri Brahmins, who are the officiating
priests in Bhadrakālī temples, as well as three particular non-Nampūtiri
communities, namely, the Mūssads, the Piṭāras, and the Aṭikaḷ. Finally,
Sarma depicts illustrative examples of rituals in concrete South Indian
temples that also address the multifarious interactions of various communi-
ties of South Indian society.

Gergely Hidas turns to the earliest extant manuscript sources on Bud-
dhist *dhāraṇī*, a popular practice centered on spells. Focusing on the
Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī, a magical-ritualistic scripture of Dhāraṇī
literature that has likely emerged in North India between the third and sixth

centuries, he presents and examines newly identified fragments in the Gilgit collection and places them within the whole Mahāpratisarā corpus. His treatment also pursues the question why so many copies of the same scripture were likely to be kept in one collection and what this could tell us about the ritual practices of the Buddhist community in the area as well as its relation to esoteric Buddhism.

How public was Śaivism?

Alexis Sanderson

Introduction

The study of Śaivism in its many forms is certainly one of the areas within Indology that invites and benefits from a sociological perspective. However, in its infancy the subject suffered from the myopia that has hampered progress in many other areas in the study of Indian religion. I refer to the tendency to read texts with insufficient attention to their human context, avoiding questions that should be at the forefront of any attempt to understand their meaning, questions such as: What can the body of prescription and interpretation that make up this text or group of texts tell us about the position and aspirations of the authors and their audiences in the larger pattern of Indian society at that time? How far were these aspirations realised? How widespread were the practices that they prescribe? What impact did these forms of religion have on the adherents of other traditions? How were these traditions established and propagated? To what extent did they engage with and influence religion in the public and civic domains? What do these texts tell us about how the various groups that produced them saw each other?

It is easy to understand why such questions tended to be overlooked. The principal reason is that the texts do not foreground these issues, since awareness of them could be taken for granted when the texts were composed. Though this unstated lived context was a large part of the texts' meaning, the perception of this fact was further hindered, if not completely blocked, by the tendency of scholars to limit their interest to a single tradition and often to one strand of one tradition in one region of the Indian subcontinent. We had specialists of what was called the Śaivism of South India or the Śaivism of Kashmir, and their interest tended to be focused on

ritual or devotion in the former case and on esoteric mysticism or philoso-
phy in the latter. There was little consciousness of the need to question the
integrity of such disciplinary and regional divisions, to seek a larger picture
of the historical processes that led to the two clusters of learned Śaiva liter-
ature and practice stranded in modern times at opposite ends of the subcon-
tinent; and this hindered the development of a sociological perspective,
because it was largely when one looked at the nature of the coexistence of
these traditions and their views of each other that such issues tended to
come more sharply into focus, prompting one to go back to the texts to see
if there were not material relevant to these issues that one had been over-
looking.

In my own work I have tried to find this larger picture. I started in the
1970s with precisely the limitations I have described. After studying San-
skrit I spent several years in Kashmir reading the texts of what I knew as
Kashmir Śaivism and meeting regularly with Swami Lakshman Joo
(Rājānaka Lakṣmaṇa), the last surviving exponent of that tradition, to put
to him the questions that this reading was constantly throwing up. In this
way, with his more than generous assistance, I came to see the system from
the inside as it was understood then.

This was an immensely valuable start, but as I progressed, I began to
formulate more and more questions that could not be answered from the
surviving knowledge base and so realised the need to go beyond it.

In the first stage of my further endeavours I was mostly focused on
searching for manuscripts of scriptural sources that the Kashmirian authors
had drawn upon in constructing their system of doctrine and practice but
which had ceased to be copied in later centuries and had therefore disap-
peared, it seemed, without trace. By this time I was familiar enough with
the system to have located several of its exegetical fault lines and to have
seen that most of these were at points at which it seemed that elements of
diverse origin had been welded together into a supposedly seamless whole.
I hoped that by gaining access to texts that contained these elements prior
to their Kashmirian systematisation or independently of it I would gain
insights into how the systematisation had proceeded, to catch it in the act,
as it were, and thereby achieve a better understanding of the Kashmirian
authors' intentions, much of which surely resided in seeing how they were

using these sources, sometimes no doubt simply incorporating their testimony but at other times redirecting it to serve purposes that only the confrontation of source and interpretation would reveal. Moreover, in the magnum opus of the Kashmirian tradition, the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta, these scriptural materials were mostly presented in the form of paraphrases and these were often ambiguous for modern readers, since we, unlike Abhinavagupta's target audience, were unable to read these paraphrases with their sources in our memories or at least accessible.

So my work shifted its focus eastwards along the Himalayas to the Kathmandu valley, a stronghold of Tantric Śaivism from early times, with an abundance of early palm-leaf manuscripts of Nepalese and East Indian Śaiva texts, many of them dating from before or around the time of the Kashmirian authors, mostly preserved in Nepalese collections but also in libraries in India and Europe. My efforts were rewarded by the discovery of a good number of scriptural texts that had been lost in Kashmir and the realisation of the relevance of others that were known to exist but had not been read in depth or read at all. Many gaps still remain, but the materials I was able to assemble over the years have thrown a flood of light on the nature of the Kashmirian Śaiva project and at the same time opened to view a much more diverse panorama of Śaiva traditions, leading to many new questions about their history and distribution, and the nature of their coexistence. Kashmirian Śaivism of the kind that had attracted my initial interest was now beginning to be contextualised as one element in a much larger picture.

Once this process had begun it was natural, if not inevitable, that I should also start considering the question of the relations between the largely Śākta-oriented Śaiva traditions of my Kashmirian, Nepalese, and East Indian sources and the rich non-Śākta Saiddhāntika Śaiva tradition that had survived in the Tamil-speaking South. Here too early Nepalese manuscripts played an important role. It soon became apparent that though the two Śaiva traditions I had encountered at the beginning of my research at opposite ends of the subcontinent, the Śākta Śaivism of Kashmir and the non-Śākta Śaivism of the South, seemed to occupy different universes in modern times, they had in earlier centuries been intimately connected. In short it soon became clear that South Indian Saiddhāntika Śaivism, though

greatly enriched and diversified in its South Indian setting, was rooted in a tradition that had been dominant in much of the subcontinent, including Kashmir, and had spread beyond it into large parts of mainland and maritime South East Asia, in the centuries before and during the production of the Kashmirian Śākta Śaiva literature. It also became clear that it was necessary to understand the latter as attempting to synthesise its Śākta-oriented traditions with this established Śaiva mainstream in a multitiered hierarchy within which all levels of Śaivism were accepted as valid, the hierarchy residing in the belief that while the mainstream Siddhānta constituted the public, institutionalised face of Śaivism, the more Śākta systems offered private, more powerful methods of transcendence and supernatural effect.

It also became evident that both of these forms of Śaivism were much more than methods followed for personal salvation. Both were sustained by predominantly royal patrons who looked to enhance their power, the Siddhānta predominantly through the legitimation and sacralisation of royal authority and the Śākta Śaiva traditions by offering rituals of state protection particularly in times of danger. It is this service to patrons that explains the emphasis that we find in most of the practice-oriented Śaiva literature on rituals that aim to bring about such supernatural effects (*siddhiḥ*) as the warding off of dangers present or predicted (*śāntiḥ*), the restoration of vitality (*puṣṭiḥ*), the blocking, routing, or destruction of enemies (*abhicāraḥ*), and the control of rainfall.

To be beginning to understand the internal dynamics of Śaivism in such ways was definite progress; but this commitment to contextualisation could not proceed solely within the boundaries of the Śaiva traditions. It was necessary also to seek to understand how the Śaivas had understood and negotiated the relationship between their Śaiva obligations and those of mainstream Brahmanical religion and the extent to which the latter had accepted or rejected its claims. As one would expect, it became clear that this relationship was subject to change and was far from constant across the range of the Śaiva traditions in different regions and periods and that the history of Śaivism was in important respects the history of this unstable relationship.

Nor was the picture complete with the Śaiva traditions that I have mentioned so far. On the one hand there were also earlier Śaiva systems that

had left traces in the record, whose connections with the better documented traditions that followed them remained to be understood; and on the other there was a vast mass of literature articulating what we may call the lay Śaivism of the general population as opposed to the systems developed by religious specialists that had been engaging my attention. How should we understand the relationship between this Śaivism and those systems? Were the latter the source of this literature of lay devotion? Or should we rather see the Śaivism reflected in that literature as an independent phenomenon on which the more publicly engaged of the systems that I had been studying were dependent, even parasitic? I now incline to the latter view.

Finally there were questions concerning the relationship between the non-lay Śaiva systems and those of their principal rivals for patronage: the Buddhists, Vaiṣṇavas, and Jains. My work in that domain has, I believe, demonstrated that the Śaiva systems exerted a powerful influence on all three of these religious groups, causing them to develop ritual systems along Tantric lines derived from Śaiva models.

The picture that has been emerging is based primarily on textual sources, but these are not just the works of high learning and the scriptural texts that they interpret. There are also many much humbler and often anonymous works, mostly unpublished, that set out ritual procedures for the guidance of Śaiva officiants and other initiates. The great value of these materials is that they are as close as written prescriptions can be to a record of actual practice in specific communities. They therefore enable us to see which systems have been prevalent or left their mark. The elevated works of scholarship, such as the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta, present a wealth of information concerning this or that Śaiva system, but they do not enable us to know how widely these systems were adopted. By locating and examining materials of this humbler variety in the regions of the subcontinent in which they have survived we can hope that a differentiated pan-Indian history of Śaivism will emerge.

Nor is it sufficient to study the kinds of sources that I have mentioned so far. I have learned much that I could not learn from these prescriptive texts by reading inscriptions that record grants to religious officiants and foundations. These enable us to build up a picture of the patronage of the religion and its dissemination through the subcontinent; and in conjunction

with the study of material evidence in the form of temples or their remains and religious images they give us some idea of the strength of Śaivism in specific regions over time in relation to its rivals. They also provide on occasion a corrective to the tendency of the texts to idealise, revealing, for example, a degree of routinisation and mundane motivation that the texts tend not to acknowledge. Finally, there is much to be learned from modern ethnographic accounts of surviving religious practice and institutions. The Kathmandu valley and the Tamil South, where Śaiva traditions of both Śākta Śaiva and Saiddhāntika have survived, have much to teach us in this regard. One cannot simply read the present or recent past back into the early centuries of these traditions; but ethnographic data can prompt us to interrogate the textual evidence of the past in ways that might otherwise be overlooked.

The main constituents of Śaivism

In what follows I shall touch on all four of the divisions that in my present understanding make up the territory of the religion: lay Śaivism, the Atimārga, the Mantramārga, and the Kulamārga.

There is a primary dichotomy here between lay Śaivism and the other three, which we may distinguish from it as forms of initiatory Śaivism that demanded a much deeper commitment and promised much more. While lay Śaivism offered its observant adherents temporary translation at death to the paradise of Śiva (*śivalokaḥ*, *rudralokaḥ*, *śivapuram*), the systems within the Atimārga, Mantramārga, and Kulamārga promised their initiates the attainment of final liberation, either at death or in the case of the Śākta-oriented systems even in the midst of life, and, in addition, in the Mantramārga and the Kulamārga, the means of bringing about the supernatural effects already mentioned and of attaining before final liberation entry into paradises far more elevated than that of the laity.

The terms Atimārga and Mantramārga are taken by me from the litera-ture of the latter. The Atimārga in that testimony covers certain forms of Śaiva ascetic discipline that predate the emergence of the Mantramārga and coexisted with it. In our earliest testimony it comprises two systems: the Pāñcārthika Pāśupata and the Lākula, also called Kālamukha. While the

Pāñcārthika Pāśupata Atimārga and the Mantramārga seem radically different in many respects, what we now know of the Lākula tradition has shown that many of the key features that set the Mantramārga apart from the Pāñcārthika Atimārga were already present in the Lākula Atimārga, revealing the earliest Śaivism of the Mantramārga to have developed out of it.

Later doxography adds a third division of the Atimārga, that of the Kāpālika followers of a system known as the Somasiddhānta. My current view of this addition is that it evidences a Lākula tradition that incorporated into the Atimārgic framework radically new forms of Śākta worship that would have a lasting impact on the non-Saiddhāntika Mantramārga and Kulamārga by being carried forward into those traditions.

The Mantramārga comprises the Saiddhāntika Śaiva tradition and Śākta-oriented ritual systems primarily focused on the propitiation of various goddesses and Bhairava. While the former was more publicly engaged and generally stayed within the boundaries dictated by Brahmanical criteria of ritual purity, the non-Saiddhāntika Mantramārga drew its power from ritual transgression of these boundaries.

The same applies to the Kulamārga, which inherited the Śākta traditions that had entered the Atimārga with the Kāpālika development, stressing collective orgiastic worship, initiation through possession, the ritual consumption of meat and alcoholic liquor, and sexual contact with women regardless of caste.

Many of these Kaula elements are also to be found in texts of the Śākta-oriented Mantramārga. This lack of a clear boundary is not unique to the relation between the Mantramārga and the Kulamārga. The labels attached by our texts to the various traditions are used by them as though they apply to quite distinct unchanging entities. But in reality, the boundaries between the various branches of the Śaiva tradition were contested and shifting as the ascetic groups and householder communities that adhered to them worked to elevate their status in relation to each other or to achieve greater acceptance in Brahmanical society. We may never be able to see even the majority of these shifts, but we should remain alert to the fact that our texts are snapshots of an ever-changing situation. Moreover, while the learned exegetes tended to stress the separation between their own traditions and the others, we should not let this close our minds to evidence of a greater

degree of interaction, cofunctionalty, and hybridisation than reading the works of the learned systematisers leads us to expect. Here the humble manuals are revealing, since they show precisely the blurring of boundaries that the learned condemn.[1]

I turn now to the topic indicated by the title of my lecture: ''How public was Śaivism?''. Evidently one cannot claim to have a realistic picture of a religion if one does not have some sense of where the boundary lies between the private and the public, of how far the activities of adherents of the religion are publicly visible or at least publicly significant. For even rituals considered secret and conducted away from the public gaze may nonetheless be designed to have an impact in the public domain, not through being witnessed but through being known to have occurred. Thus, for example, in the case of the king, a status-enhancing Tantric ritual conducted in private may become a very public event by being framed by military parades and marked by a public holiday. Our sources tend to be parsimonious in revealing this civic dimension of the religion. One can read much without encountering it since the texts are focused on what the solitary individual initiate should do. But evidence is nonetheless present. I shall be drawing attention to some of it in what follows.

Lay Śaivism: joint agency and civic spectacle

I begin with the distinction between lay Śaivism and initiatory Śaivism, that is to say, between a Śaivism open to lay people (*upāsakāḥ*), who by adopting it were not thought to have radically changed their position in relation to orthodox Brahmanism, who were not considered to have taken on a religious identity that challenged the reach of Brahmanical authority, and who did not claim to have done so, and the Śaivism of other groups whose members by taking a personal initiation (*dīkṣā*) did consider themselves to have risen above the domain of religious efficacity proper to the mainstream religion and to have gained access to a personal liberation not accessible in their view to the followers of Brahmanism or its non-initiatory Śaiva inflections.

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[1] For a detailed review of these traditions and their literatures, see SANDERSON 2014.

The literature for initiates in the Mantramārga distinguishes two categories of lay Śaivas: (1) those who enacted their devotion to Śiva following orthodox Brahmanical authorities, either (1a) liturgies addressed to the Vedic Rudra, such as the lost *Rudrakalpa* of the Kaṭhas, or (1b) forms of worship of Śiva taught in the Purāṇas, thus either Śrauta (1a) and Smārta (1b), and (2) those who opted for what appears to have been an intensified form of lay commitment by following the injunctions of scriptures that we may call the Śivadharma texts, principally the *Śivadharma* and the *Śivadharmottara*, which instruct lay Śaivas on the forms of personal observance appropriate to them and exhort them to dedicate a considerable part of their wealth to the support of the religion.[2]

For some time, before I had given these texts a more than cursory examination, I assumed that this Śivadharma literature must have emanated from within the community of the initiated as a means of securing lay sup-

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[2] For this distinction between the modalities of lay Śaivism, see, e.g., Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, *Mataṅgavṛtti* on *Vidyāpāda* 4.49–50: *upāsakair anugrahasādhana-prāptinimittaṃ mataṅgamunineva pūrvaṃ śrutyādivihitena* (em. with the Kashmiri-an mss.: *śrutau vihitena* ed.) *śivadharmoditena vā vidhineśvaropāsanaiva kāryā.* "Lay devotees must, like the sage Mataṅga, first worship Śiva with the procedure ordained in Śruti or with that taught in the Śivadharma texts as the means of receiving the means of [Śiva's] grace." See also *Kiraṇavṛtti* on *Vidyāpāda* 6.22d–12: *tarhi kiṃ tair nityam anuṣṭheyam. laukikena rūpeṇa śivadharmoditena vā yathāśakti devagurutadbhaktaparicaraṇādikam eva svataḥ putrabhṛtyādipreṣaṇena vā.* "So what is the religious duty of these people [who are exonerated from the post-initiatory duties]? It is such activities as serving Śiva, the *guru*, and their devotees to the extent of their ability, either themselves or [if that is not possible] by sending their sons or servants [as proxies], either in the mundane modality or in that taught in the Śivadharma texts." *Mataṅgavṛtti* on *Vidyāpāda* 26.58–59b defines the mundane modality of observance as such activities as chanting hymns, singing, and bowing down to an image of Śiva, either a *liṅga* or anthropomorphic. I have preferred the reading *śrutyādivihitena* seen in the Kashmirian mss., not because they are generally more reliable than the South Indian witnesses used by the editor Bhatt, though they are, but because the reading *śrutau vihitena* that he has adopted is less satisfactory. For it is implausible that Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha would have restricted the non-Śivadharma option to Śrauta worship. For the Śrauta forms of worship envisaged by the Kashmirian Saiddhāntikas, see Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, *Mṛgendravṛtti* on *Vidyāpāda* 1.6. These include the lost *Rudrakalpa* of the Kaṭhas (p. 16, ll. 7–8: *tathā hi *kāṭhake sūtrapariśiṣṭīye rudrakalpe*, "in the Kāṭhaka Rudrakalpa that is a supplementary text of the [Kaṭhas' *Yajña*] *sūtra*)."

port. I have rejected that perspective now. My view is that these texts cannot plausibly be attributed to teachers of any of the initiatory systems. Although they show awareness of the Atimārga or the Mantramārga or both, they certainly cannot be read as teaching watered-down versions for the laity of either of these initiatory Śaivisms. There are too many discontinuities for that to be plausible. One can imagine that if *guru*s of the Atimārga or Mantramārga were to create a system for the laity, they might have omitted reference to the higher levels accessible to initiates, but not that they would have put forward a worldview such as we see in these texts which shows little continuity with the doctrines of either the Atimārga or the Mantramārga. I now consider that this literature represents a mainstream tradition within the Śaiva community on which the much smaller communities of initiates were parasitic, that they latched on to these traditions and imposed their authority on them, usually with royal patronage, becoming in this way the officiants of various Śaiva institutions which had their own independent histories. A strong indication of the proposed independence of this tradition can be seen in the program of deities installed in Śaiva temples, for this is quite distinct from the programs ordained for worship in the initiatory systems and remained largely unchanged when control of these foundations passed from the Atimārga to the Mantramārga.[3]

Many features set the Śaivism of the Śivadharma corpus apart from that of the initiatory traditions, but that which is most striking in the present context concerns the beneficiaries of the pious activities that are advocated. In initiatory Śaivism those who perform the rituals prescribed are acting as individuals for their own personal benefit or that of named clients. But in the Śivadharma corpus, the person performing the activity or having it performed, commonly the king, is considered to be acting not only in his own right but also as the representative of the community that he heads, so that the rewards of his piety are shared. Here, then, ritual is not a purely private and personal affair but has a strong social and civic dimension.

I shall give two examples of this concept of action for the group. The first speaks of the benefits of what it calls the *ṣaḍaṅgavidhiḥ* ("the six-element rite"), a simple form of *liṅga* worship requiring the offering of six

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[3] SANDERSON 2003–2004: 435–444.

products of the cow to be performed by the king and by extension by others
that is the subject of the first chapter of the *Śivadharmottara*. The relevant
passage is as follows:

> Through this six-element rite the deity becomes propitious. In both
> this world and the next he bestows all that one desires. So a king
> who is a devotee of Śiva should worship Śiva with this rite. He will
> rescue twenty-one generations [of his patriline]. Establishing them in
> heaven, he will ascend himself [above that level] to the eternal abode
> of Śiva. Moreover, every honest minister who has been employed in
> the king's service will proceed together with him to that great and il-
> lustrious paradise (*śivapuram*). After he has enjoyed endless pleas-
> ures [there] together with all his staff, he will in due course return to
> this world and become a universal sovereign who will rule the whole
> earth.[4]

The second passage concerns a ceremony taught in the second chapter of
the same text in which the king is to have a sacred text copied and then
donate it to a *guru*:

> The donor will dwell in the paradise of Śiva for as many thousands of
> aeons as there are syllables in the manuscript of the scripture of Śiva
> [that he has donated]. Having rescued ten generations of his patrilineal
> ancestors and the ten that will follow him,[5] he will establish them, his

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[4] *Śivadharmottara* 1.87c–91: *anena vidhinā devaḥ ṣaḍaṅgena prasīdati* || 88 || *iha
loke pare caiva sarvān kāmān prayacchati | ṣaḍaṅgavidhinā tasmān nṛpatiḥ pūjayec
chivam* || 89 || *śivabhaktaḥ samuttārya kulānām ekaviṃśatim | svarge sthāpya sva-
yaṃ gacched aiśvaraṃ padam avyayam* || 90 || *aśaṭhāḥ sarvabhṛtyāś ca devakārya-
niyojitāḥ | prayānti svāminā sārdhaṃ śrīmac chivapuraṃ mahat* || 91 // *bhuktvā
bhogān sa vipulān bhṛtyavargasamanvitaḥ | kālāt punar ihāyātaḥ pṛthivyām ekarāḍ
bhavet* ||.

[5] Similar promises are found in mainstream Brahmanical sources. See, for exa-
mple, *Manusmṛti* 3.37: *daśa pūrvān parān vaṃśyān ātmānam ekaviṃśakam |
brāhmīputraḥ sukṛtakṛn mocayaty enasaḥ pitṝn*. "When a son by a woman married
by the Brāhma rite (*brāhmīputraḥ*) performs a meritorious action, he frees from sin
the ten heads of his patriline before him, the ten after him, and himself as twenty-
first." Commenting on this, Medhātithi allows the claim that future generations can

mother, his father, and his chief wife in heaven and then go on to Śiva. He will go to Śiva's world by virtue of this gift of knowledge attended by his harem and accompanied by all his ministers.[6]

But the light that this body of texts for the laity sheds on the transpersonal

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be freed from sin is mere *arthavādaḥ*, that is to say, a promotional statement that is not to be taken literally. But he accepts the principle that a pious act can free one's predecessors from sin, since to deny this would be to deny that *śrāddha* ceremonies performed for one's ancestors are efficacious. I am not aware of any place in the Śivadharma literature in which this issue of the rites of the living benefitting unborn descendants has been addressed directly. But it can be argued that it has been covered by the claim that none of Śiva's statements are *arthavādaḥ*, that all are to be understood as literally true and that this should be kept in mind especially with regard to what the texts have to say about the consequences of meritorious and sinful actions. See *Śivadharmottara* 1.39–42, 44abv: *vidhivākyam idaṃ śaivaṃ nārthavādaḥ śivātmakaḥ | lokānugrahakartā yaḥ sa mṛṣārthaṃ kathaṃ vadet ||* 40 *sarvajñaḥ paripūrṇatvād anyathā kena hetunā | brūyād vākyaṃ śivaḥ śāntaḥ sarvadoṣavivarjitaḥ ||* 41 *yad yathāvasthitaṃ vastu guṇadoṣaiḥ svabhāvataḥ | yāvat phalaṃ ca puṇyaṃ ca sarvajñas tat tathā vadet || … 44 tasmād īśvaravākyāni śraddheyāni vipaścitā | yathārthaṃ puṇyapāpeṣu tadaśraddho vrajed adhaḥ.* "This teaching of Śiva consists [entirely] of literally true statements (*vidhivākyam*). There is no Śaiva *arthavādaḥ*. How could [Śiva], the saviour of all beings, utter a falsehood? For what reason would Śiva lie, he who is omniscient because he embraces the whole of the real, who is at peace in his transcendence, and free of all defects? Being omniscient he must relate every thing as it is by nature, with its virtues and defects, including the [actions that he advocates as] virtuous and the rewards [he promises to those who do them]. … Therefore the learned should put their trust in [all] the statements of Śiva concerning meritorious and sinful actions as corresponding to reality. If one lacks that trust, one will descend [into the hells]." See also *Tantrāloka* 4.232ab: *nārthavādādiśaṅkā ca vākye māheśvare bhavet,* "One should entertain no doubts about the teachings of Śiva, suspecting, for example, that they are *arthavādaḥ*;" and *Tantrāloka* thereon: *yad uktaṃ "vidhivākyam idaṃ tantraṃ nārthavādaḥ kadācana | jhaṭiti pratyavāyeṣu satkriyāṇāṃ phaleṣv api" iti | tathā: … nārthavādaḥ śivāgamaḥ.* "As has been stated [by Śiva himself]: 'This teaching (*tantram*) consists [entirely] of statements of fact. It is never *arthavādaḥ* particularly [in its statements] with reference to sin and the rewards of pious actions;' and 'The scriptures of Śiva are not *arthavādaḥ.*'"

    [6] *Śivadharmottara* 2.78c–81: *yāvadakṣarasaṃkhyānaṃ śivajñānasya pustake ||* 79 *|| tāvat kalpasahasrāṇi dātā śivapure vaset | daśa pūrvān samuddhṛtya daśa vaṃśyāṃś ca paścimān ||* 80 *|| mātāpitṛdharmapatnīḥ svarge sthāpya śivaṃ vrajet | sāntaḥpuraparīvāraḥ sarvabhṛtyasamanvitaḥ ||* 81 *|| rājā śivapuraṃ gacched vidyādānaprabhāvataḥ |.*

aspect of religious action is not limited to what may be inferred from its belief that pious activity benefits the group lead by the individual who carries out or commissions that activity. One of the severe limitations imposed on our understanding by most accounts of ritual in the texts of the initiatory forms of Śaivism is that they are generally concerned only with what a single individual, initiate, or officiant is having to do and say. They very seldom pull back to show us what is happening around this officiant that might involve other agents and even extend into the civic space. This is less so with the Śivadharma literature. For the *Śivadharmottara*, concerned as it is with forms of ritual that involve and benefit groups, does offer some intriguing views of this wider picture, opening a window on to the extension of ritual action into the civic domain. Its account of this ritual of text donation is rich in this regard. After describing how the new copy of the scripture should be prepared, the text tells us that after its completion a *pūjā* should be performed and the night passed in festivities. Then:

> *śivavidyāvimānaṃ ca kuryāt prātaḥ suśobhanam*
> 47 *pañcāṇḍakaṃ tribhaumaṃ ca dāruvaṃśādinirmitam*
> *vicitravastrasaṃchannaṃ sarvaśobhāsamanvitam*
> 48 *vidyāsanasthaṃ tanmadhye śivajñānasya pustakam*
> *hemaratnacitaṃ divyam athavā dantaśobhitam*
> 49 *vicitracitrayuktaṃ vā bahirutkīrṇakambikam*
> *pārśve carmasamāyuktaṃ dṛḍhasūtranibandhanam*
> 50 *saṃpūjya gandhapuṣpādyaiḥ pūrvoktavidhinā budhaḥ*
> *samutkṣipyānayed bhaktyā tad vimānaṃ śivāśramam*
> 51 *susthitaṃ rathamukhyena puruṣair vā balānvitaiḥ*
> *chatradhvajapatākādyair vimānais tūryanisvanaiḥ*
> 52 *maṅgalair vedaghoṣādyaiḥ sadhūpaiḥ kalaśaiḥ sitaiḥ*
> *cāraṇair vandibhir vādyaiḥ strīsaṃgītair vibhūṣitam*
> 53 *cārucāmarahastābhiś citradaṇḍaiś ca darpaṇaiḥ*
> *mahatā janasaṅghena purataś ca mahīpatiḥ*
> 54 *dharmavṛddhyai svayaṃ gacchet sarvaśobhāsamanvitaḥ*
> *athavā hastiyānasthaṃ kṛtvā pustakam ānayet*
> 55 *rājamārgeṇa mahatā nagarāntaḥ pradakṣiṇam*
> *sarvāyatanapūjāṃ ca svadhanaiḥ kārayen nṛpaḥ*

56 *daśa dikṣu baliṃ dadyān nagarasya samantataḥ*
mārge 'pi purato gacchan baliṃ dadyān nirantaram
57 *gandhapuṣpākṣatonmiśram udakaṃ ca tadānugam*
gaccheyur yatayaś cātra sarvāyatanavāsinaḥ
58 *purataḥ śivavidyāyāḥ śivamantram anusmaret*
śuklāmbaradharāḥ sarve bhaveyuḥ puravāsinaḥ
59 *ucchrayeyuḥ patākāś ca janās taddeśavāsinaḥ*
gṛhadevāṃś ca saṃpūjya kāryaś cāpy utsavo gṛhe
60 *brāhmaṇān bhojayeyuś ca gṛheṣu gṛhamedhinaḥ*
annapānair janapadā yātrāṃ kuryuḥ śivāśrame
61 *acchedyās taravaḥ kāryāḥ sarvahiṃsāṃ nivārayet*
bandhanasthāś ca moktavyā varjyāḥ krodhādiśatravaḥ
62 *akālakaumudīṃ kuryād divasadvayam īśvare*
śivāyatanam āsādya vimānasthaṃ tam arghayet
63 *puṇyāhajayaśabdaiś ca mahatā tumulena ca*
sthāne susaṃskṛte ramye śivasya purataḥ śanaiḥ
64 *sthāpayitvā guror bhaktyā tat praṇamya nivedayet*
śāntyartham ekam adhyāyaṃ gobrāhmaṇamahībhṛtām
65 *rāṣṭrīyanagarāṇāṃ ca vācayed vācakottamaḥ*
chandolakṣaṇatattvajñaḥ satkavir madhurasvaraḥ
66 *gāndharvavid vidagdhaś ca śreṣṭhaḥ pustakavācakaḥ*
śāntitoyena rājānaṃ samutthāya gurus tataḥ
67 *śirasy abhyukṣayed īṣat tatrasthaṃ ca janaṃ tataḥ*
avadhārya jagacchāntiṃ punar ante nṛpasya ca
68 *ācāryabhojanaṃ cātra nṛpaḥ kuryāt sadakṣiṇam*
svayam atraiva bhuñjīta sāntaḥpuraparicchadaḥ
69 *kāryā ca bahudhā prekṣā bhuktavatsu janeṣu ca*
evaṃ kṛte mahāśāntir nṛpasya nagarasya ca
70 *deśasya ca samastasya jāyate nātra saṃśayaḥ*
ītayaś ca praśāmyanti na ca mārī pravartate
71 *śāmyanti sarvaghorāṇi praśamanti bhayāni ca*
unmūlyante grahāḥ sarve praṇaśyanti ca śatravaḥ
72 *upasargāḥ pralīyante na durbhikṣabhayaṃ bhavet*
vināyakāś ca naśyanti saubhāgyaṃ paramaṃ bhavet

73 *rājyavṛddhiś ca vipulā nityaṃ ca vijayī nṛpaḥ*
vardhate putrapautraiś ca matir dharme ca vardhate
74 *vidyādānaprasādena nṛpasya ca janasya ca*

Śivadharmottara 2.46c–74. A = University Library, Cambridge, ms. Add. 1694, f. 47r4–; B = Add. 1645, ff. 42r4–; C = Bodleian Library, Oxford, ms: Or. B 125, ff. 55v2–; D = National Archives, Kathmandu, m. 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3), Śivadharmottara ff. 5v3–; E = National Archives, Kathmandu, ms. 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4).

47a *tribhaumaṃ ca* ACE : *tribhūmaṃ ca* B : *tribhūmaṃ vā* D **49a** *vicitracitrayuktaṃ vā* BD : *vicitravastrayugmam vā* A : *vicitracitravastraṃ vā* C : *vicitracitramvā* E **49c** *pārśve carmasamāyuktaṃ* BD : *pārśvenaścarmasaṃyuktaṃ* A : *pārśve carmasusaṃyuktaṃ* C : *pārśvacarmasusaṃyuktan* E **50b** *budhaḥ* ACE : *punaḥ* BD **50d** *śivāśramam* ABDE : *śivāśrame* C **51a** *rathamukhyena* ABD : *rathamukhena* C : *rathamukhyai* E **52b** *sitaiḥ* BCDE : *śubhaiḥ* A **52d** *strīsaṃgītair vibhūṣitam* BE : *strīsaṃgītaiḥ subhūṣitaiḥ* CD : *strīsaṃgītair anekadhā* A **54a** *dharmavṛddhyai* ADE : *dharmmavṛddhaiḥ* BC **54b** *sarvaśobhāsamanvitaḥ* ABE : *sarvaśobhāsamanvitaiḥ* C : *sarvaśobhāsamanvitam* D **55b** *nagarāntaḥ* CE : *nagarāntaṃ* BD : *nagarānta* A **55d** *nṛpaḥ* ABD : *budhaḥ* CE **56b** *nagarasya samantataḥ* ABDE : *nagarasyāsamantataḥ* C : *nagarāntaḥ pradakṣiṇam* E **56c** *gacchan* BD : *gacched* ACE **57b** *tadānugam* ABCE : *tadānugaḥ* D **57c** *gaccheyur yatayaś cātra* A : *gacchet pūrvaṃ tataḥ paścāt* BD : *gaccheyus tatparā sarvve* C : *gaccheyus tatpuraṃ paścāt* E **58b** *anusmaret* BE : *anusmaran* ACD **59c** *gṛhadevāṃś ca saṃpūjya* ABDE : *gṛhadevā svayaṃ pūjyā* C **61b** *sarvahiṃsāṃ* BCDE : *satvahiṃsāṃ* A **62b** *īśvare* ABDE : *īśvaraṃ* C **63b** *tumulena* BCDE : *maṅgalena* A **63d** *śivasya purataḥ śanaiḥ* AC : *purataḥ śanaiḥ śanaiḥ* B **64a** *guror* AE : *guruṃ* BCD **64b** *tat* AE : *taṃ* BCD ● *nivedayet* ABD : *nivesayet* CE **65d** *madhurasvaraḥ* ABCD : *madhurasvanaḥ* E **66d** *samutthāya gurus tataḥ* ABD : *samutthāya punar gurum* E : *saṃsnāpya ca punar gurum* C : *samutthāpya punar guruḥ* E **67a** *abhyukṣayed īṣat* CE : *abhyukṣayet tena* A : *abhyukṣayed īśaṃ* B **69a** *bahudhā prekṣā* B : *bahudhā pekṣā* A : *vividhāprekṣā* E **70c** *praśāmyanti* ACDE : *praṇaśyante* B **71a** *sarvaghorāṇi* BCDE : *sarvarogāś ca* A **73d** *vardhate* ABCD : *varttate* E

Early next morning [the king] should prepare a beautiful shrine for the scripture of Śiva. It should have five spires and three stories, and be made of materials such as wood and bamboo. It should be draped with lengths of cloth of many colours and provided with every adornment. In it [he should place] the manuscript of Śiva's teaching on a text-throne. It should be splendid in appearance, inlaid with gold and precious stones or adorned with ivory, or it should be beautified with a charming painting, or have [two] boards that are engraved on their outer faces.[7] It should be bound in leather and have a strong cord to secure it. After making offerings to it of scented powders, flowers, and the rest following the aforesaid procedure, the wise [monarch] should lift that shrine and with devotion bring it to the Śaiva monastery (*śivāśramam*) firmly secured on a superior vehicle or [carried] by strong men [on their shoulders], beautified with parasols, flags, and banners, palanquins (*vimānaiḥ*),[8] and the sound of musical instruments, with such auspicious sounds as the chanting of the Vedas, with burning incense, and fine vases, with singers and bards, with instrumental music, with singing by women, [with women] holding beautiful fly whisks, with mirrors with elegant handles. To promote the faith, the king himself should lead the procession decked out with every adornment together with a large crowd. Alternatively he may conduct the manuscript [to the hermitage] after placing it provided with every adornment in a howdah on an elephant (*hastiyānasthaṃ*). Following the great royal highway the king should proceed in a clockwise direction within the [boundaries of

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[7] My translation "or have [two] boards that are engraved on their outer faces" is no better than a guess, because the word *kambikā* in the Bahuvrīhi compound *bahirutkīrṇakambikam* is unknown to me in any relevant sense. My guess is guided by the fact that the text speaks of the *kambikā-* being engraved on the outside. I note, stepping outside my competence, that KITTEL's dictionary of Kannaḍa gives as one of the meanings of *kambi* "a plate with holes for drawing wire" (1894: 368a7–8). Boards used for manuscripts commonly have holes through which the binding cord can pass; see, for example, the illustrations in FOGG 1996: 48, 119, 121, 127, 132, and 137.

[8] *vimānaiḥ*. I am uncertain of the meaning intended here. The word *vimānam* means a vehicle of various kinds, terrestrial or aerial, a bier, a palanquin or sedan, a palace, a temple, or a shrine. My decision to take it to refer to a palanquin is a guess.

the] capital, and he should have offerings made at every temple at his personal expense. He should make *bali* offerings in the ten directions all around the city, and as he proceeds make such offerings continuously along the route, following these with water mixed with scented powders, flowers, and unhusked rice grains. With him here should go the ascetics that live in all the temples. [As he walks] in front of the [manuscript of] Śiva's scripture he should meditate on Śiva's [six-syllable] *mantra* [*oṃ namaḥ śivāya*]. All the inhabitants of the capital should be dressed in white and those that dwell in the region (*taddeśavāsinaḥ*) should erect banners. After making offerings to their house gods, people should hold festivities in their homes. The married heads of households should feed Brahmins in their houses with food and drink. The populace should go on pilgrimage to the hermitage [attached to the temple] of Śiva. The king should enact a ban of the cutting down of trees, forbid all harm [to living beings], release those being held in prison, avoid the [six] enemies beginning with anger, and arrange for an extra-calendrical *kaumudī* festival (*akālakaumudī*) for two days in honour of Śiva (*īśvare*).[9] When he has reached the [main] Śiva temple, he should

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[9] The term *kaumudī* refers to a joyful festival celebrated on the full-moon day of the months of Kārttika. An *akālakaumudī* is an extra-calendrical (*akāla-*) festival of the same kind decreed to mark some auspicious occasion such as a king's victory in war. The Ur-*Skandapurāṇa*, a text of the sixth or seventh century, describes such a non-calendrical *kaumudī* festival in some detail (75.11–47). It is decreed by Hiraṇyākṣa, leader of the Asuras, to be held for eight consecutive days and seven nights in honour of Śiva to celebrate his victory over the gods. A proclamation is made in every square and assembly hall in his city. Guests are invited from far and wide. The streets are to be cleaned and annointed. The citizens are to bathe with full submersion and put on previously unworn clothes and flower-garlands. Singers and dancers are to perform. Banners must be raised in every private home, in the streets, and in the markets. Houses must be annointed. Flowers must be strewn in them and garlands draped. Brahmins should be fed and text-recitations staged. The Vedas should be chanted and "auspicious day" declared throughout the city. At night oil lamps must be kept fuelled and burning on the royal highway and in every home. Young men should stroll about in the company of young women, enjoying themselves, laughing, singing, and dancing. There should be performances of drumming and the wives of the Asuras must dance. Offerings of all kinds must be made to Śiva. Domestic animals should be slaughtered and the best of Brahmins fed. Whoever

prostrate before the god and make an offering of guest-water to him in the shrine. Then with shouts of "auspicious day" and "victory" and amid great noise he should slowly set down [the shrine] in a pleasing and ritually well-prepared place in front of Śiva and then donate that [manuscript] to the *guru* after bowing before him with devotion. An excellent cantor should then recite one *adhyāya* of the text for the warding off of dangers from cows, Brahmins, the king, and the inhabitants of the country and capital. The cantor should be of the finest quality. He should be a scholar who has a thorough understanding of the metres and he should be a fine poet, with a melodious voice and a knowledge of music. The *guru* should then rise and wet the king on his head with a little of the water prepared for the warding off of danger (*śāntitoyena*), and then all the people assembled there. Having asserted the removal of danger from all (*avadhārya jagacchāntim*), he should end the ceremony by doing the

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does not obey will receive corporal punishment. On each day of the festival, Hiraṇyākṣa bathes [a *liṅga* of] Śiva with the five products of the cow and pure, fragrant oil, pouring over it vessels filled with milk, ghee, yoghurt, and other liquids, flowers, fruits, seeds, jewels, scented ash, and water, a thousand vessels of each. He then feeds Brahmins, and honours them with gifts. The other Asuras do the same. The festival is clearly non-calendrical though the text refers to it only as *kaumudī* rather than as an *akālakaumudī*. However, that expression is used to describe the revelries with which the Asuras Sunda and Upasunda celebrated their having been granted a boon from Brahmā (*Mahābhārata* 1.201.29: *akālakaumudīṃ caiva cakratuḥ sārvakāmikām | daityendrau paramaprītau tayoś caiva suhṛjjanaḥ*).

The element of compulsion to which this mythological narrative refers no doubt reflects historical reality. The extent to which religious observance in early medieval India was not a matter of personal choice is an issue that has received insufficient attention. Considering the ability of the king to mobilise the citizenry for an event such as this narrative assumes, one can readily understand the emphasis that the *Śivadharmottara* places on converting the king to the religion of Śiva. For, it says, if he is converted, the rest of the population will follow, out of respect for his authority and out of fear: *jagaddhitāya nṛpatiṃ śivadharme *niyojayet* (B : *nivedayet* A) || *tanniyogād ayaṃ lokaḥ śuciḥ syād dharmatatparaḥ | yaṃ yaṃ dharmaṃ naraśreṣṭhaḥ samācarati bhaktitaḥ || taṃ tam ācarate lokas tatprāmāṇyād bhayena ca* (A f. 43v3–4; B f. 39v1–2). "For the good of all, [the *guru*] should establish the king in the Śivadharma. If the king commands it, these people will be pure and devoted to religion. Whatever religion the king follows with devotion the people follow, because they consider him authoritative and fear [his displeasure]."

same for the king. The king should then feed the *guru* and give him a
fee. He should eat there himself in the company of his harem. When
the people have eaten, he should mount spectacles of many kinds
[for their entertainment]. When all this has been done in the manner
stated, there will follow without a doubt a warding off of all ills
(*mahāśāntiḥ*) from the king, the capital, and the cities of the [whole]
realm. Calamities will cease. Plague will not take hold. All horrors
will disappear along with all dangers. All possessing spirits will be
rooted out. Enemies will perish. Natural disasters will fade away.
There will be no danger of famine. Impeding spirits will be de-
stroyed. The greatest good fortune will prevail. There will be a vast
expansion of the realm and whenever the king goes to war, he will
be victorious. He will have ever more sons and sons of his sons; and
by grace of this donation of knowledge both the king's and the peo-
ple's respect for the faith will grow.

So here we are shown a ceremony of a very public kind, one which dis-
plays to the inhabitants of the capital in unambiguous terms an enactment
of the king's empowerment by his Śaiva *guru*. Here there is no Tantric
secrecy. All could witness the king's progress with the enthroned text
round his capital in the company of the Śaiva ascetics who reside in its
temples,[10] see the king's meeting with the *guru* at the latter's residence,
hear the recitation of the text, see the *guru* blessing the king with the water
to ward off ills, and, if they were fortunate enough to be within range, feel
drops of this liquid being scattered over themselves. One imagines an eager
even ecstatic crowd pressing forward for this privilege. There is no indica-
tion here of anything happening behind closed doors. On the contrary, the
public is obliged to turn out to participate in this civic event; and the bene-
ficiaries are not only the king himself but all his subjects. As we shall see,
sources of the Mantramārga mention the king's going to meet his *guru* in
full military parade and returning to his palace in the same way, mounted

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[10] That is to say, ascetics who reside in *maṭha*s, also called *śivāśrama*s, attached
to these temples, and perform or supervise the performance of the rituals that take
place in those temples. The *Śivadharmottara* gives a detailed description of the de-
sign of a *śivāśrama* (2.137–162).

on an elephant, with the citizenry lining the route. Perhaps we should imagine a similar arrival and return in this case too.

Initiatory Śaivism: *sādhaka*s and *ācārya*s in the Atimārga

I turn now to initiatory Śaivism and, within that, to the Atimārga. To what extent were the forms of Śaivism so classified engaged in the public domain? If we look at the literature of the first of the strata of the Atimārga, the Pāñcārthika Pāśupata tradition, and look only at the earliest of our sources, namely the *Pañcārthabhāṣya*, the commentary of Bhagavat Kauṇḍinya on the *Pañcārtha*, otherwise known as the *Pāśupatasūtra*, we get a picture of ascetics seeking complete detachment from the world of Brahmanical values, openly courting abuse by apparent rejection of those values in order to intensify their separation from that world. Yet we have evidence from inscriptions of Pāñcārthika ascetics who appear to be powerful and well-integrated members of society. One might take this as evidence that the religion attested in these epigraphical records has fallen from its textual ideals, losing its original vitality in a process of domestication. But this inference requires the assumption that Kauṇḍinya's account of Pāñcārthika practice is comprehensive. It certainly seems to be. It recognises two kinds of practitioner, whom it terms *sādhaka*s and *ācārya*s. It outlines the ascetic practices required of the *sādhaka* and tells us little about the *ācārya* other than his role as teacher and initiator; but one may be forgiven for assuming that since the *ācārya* or *guru* is the *sādhaka*'s superior and no alternative discipline is prescribed for him, he would be a person who had gone through the *sādhaka*'s discipline and then been elevated to the office of *ācārya* in recognition of his superior spiritual attainments. However, there is an obvious flaw in this reasoning. For the *sādhaka*'s discipline is described as one of progressive isolation, culminating in his ending his life in a cremation ground by means of a meditation technique in which he was to cut the connection between his soul and his body. It follows that the *ācārya* could not be a person who had completed the discipline of the *sādhaka* but rather one who had perhaps begun it but had turned aside from it at some point in order to take up the role of teacher and initiator. Nothing to this effect is found in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya*. But this is

not the only authoritative text of the Pāñcārthikas that has reached us. We
also have the *Gaṇakārikā* and a commentary on it (*-ratnaṭīkā*) attributed to
a certain Bhāsarvajña; and this commentary contains a passage, presented
as a dialogue between teacher and disciple, that clarifies the difference
between the *sādhaka* and the *ācārya* and does so in terms that remove the
need to assume that the inscriptions, which are referring to *ācārya*s rather
than *sādhaka*s, testify to a decline in the rigorousness of the Pāñcārthika
ascetic discipline:

> O Lord, is the observance of all the injunctions of the *Pañcārtha* the
> only means of attaining the end of suffering? No, that is not the only
> means. It is also possible for a person to attain it even though he
> does not have the capacity to put all those injunctions into practice,
> if [as a holder of the office of *ācārya*] he properly favours [through
> initiation and the rest] such outstanding Brahmins as approach him
> as candidates. Why? Because he is [thereby] safeguarding the tradi-
> tion. For by doing so he enables many who seek to attain the end of
> suffering through the power of that tradition to achieve their goal.
> By this means he accumulates merit that will bestow infinite reward.
> It is through this [merit] that he will attain union [with Rudra] and
> thence, through [Rudra's] favour, the end of suffering.[11]

The *ācārya*, then, is declared here to be a person who lacks the capacity to
follow the ascetic discipline. His role is rather to maintain the tradition by
enabling others to follow it. He is nonetheless promised the liberation that
the *sādhaka* achieves by adopting and completing that discipline through
the argument that by executing his duties he will achieve infinite merit,
merit, that is, that will somehow transcend the limitation of religious merit

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[11] *Gaṇakārikāratnaṭīkā* p. 2, ll. 7–12: *kiṃ nu bhagavan pañcārthasamastaniyo-
gānupālanād eva duḥkhāntaḥ prāpyata iti. ucyate. na kevalaṃ tataḥ kiṃ tu samasta-
niyogānuṣṭhānaśaktivikalenāpi brāhmaṇaviśeṣāṇāṃ śiṣyatvenopagatānāṃ samyag-
anugrahakaraṇād api duḥkhāntaḥ prāpyate. kasmāt. saṃpradāyarakṣaṇāt.
saṃpradāyaṃ pālayatā hi tatsaṃpradāyasāmarthyena duḥkhāntaṃ gamiṣyatāṃ
bahūnām api duḥkhāntaḥ saṃpādito bhavati. tato 'nantaphalapuṇyopacayaḥ. tato
yogaprāptau prasādād duḥkhānta iti.*

as generally understood in India, namely that however great it may be it is finite and can bestow only a finite reward. The *ācārya* is revealed, then, as a figure standing at the interface between the world of the inner community of liberation-bent ascetic *sādhaka*s and the outer community of merit-accumulating lay devotees; and this is underlined by a passage in this text which is more specific about how the *ācārya* is to accumulate the infinite merit that will carry him to the *sādhaka*'s goal. He is to achieve this not only by initiating and instructing would-be *sādhaka*s but also by being the public face of the tradition, making himself available to lay devotees, conversing with them (*saṃbhāṣanam*), or simply granting them the sight of his person (*darśanam*).

> *Ratnaṭīkā* on *Gaṇakārikā* 1cd, p. 3, ll. 6 and 12–14: *suparīkṣitaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ dīkṣāviśeṣeṇa pañcārthajñānaviśeṣeṇa ca śiṣyaṃ saṃs-kurvan saṃskartā ity ucyate. sa ca tajjñair mukhyata eva gurur ucyate. gurur ācāryaḥ śraddhāvatām āśramiṇāṃ darśanasambhāṣa-ṇādibhir api pāpaghnaḥ puṇyātiśayakārī cety arthaḥ.*

> [The *guru*] is one who prepares a Brahmin [for the path], after thoroughly examining him, by bestowing on him the superior initiation [of this tradition] and, once he has become his pupil [through initiation], prepares him by imparting the superior knowledge contained in the *Pañcārtha*. This is the primary sense in which the learned use this word. But the *guru* or *ācārya* also destroys sin and generates superior merit by such means as showing his person to those members of the community of householders who have faith [in Śaivism] and conversing with them.

There is therefore no reason to read the inscriptions as evidence of a decline. For the followers of the Atimārga that they reveal to us are not *sādhaka*s. They are *ācārya*s.

The contrast between the world of the *sādhaka* and that of the *ācārya* at the interface with the laity is even more striking in the Lākula and Kāpālika forms of the Atimārga, since Śaiva textual sources reveal that the obser-

vances of their ascetics were more extreme, involving such practices as using a human skull as a begging bowl, carrying a staff topped by a human skull, living in cremation grounds, wearing a sacred thread made from twisted hair gathered from corpses, and rejecting all Brahmanical restrictions on food and drink.[12] We can see this contrast clearly in the case of the Lākulas, also called Kālamukhas, followers of the Lākula division of the Atimārga, since they are recorded in an extensive body of inscriptions in Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Andhra. The stark contrast between their epigraphic and textual representations has been noted, in reliance for the latter on a brief characterisation found in the South Indian Vaiṣṇava authors Yāmuna and Rāmānuja, and has been explained away by the hypothesis that these influential theologians were attempting to discredit their Kālamukha rivals by attributing to them the extreme practices that characterised the Kāpālikas.[13] We also have a number of statues of Kālamukha ascetics from this region that confirm the contrast. These Kālamukhas have the appearance of Śaiva ascetics, but with no sign of skull begging bowls, skull staffs, ornaments made from human bone, or sacred threads made of twisted human hair taken from corpses.

In the light of the evidence of the commentary on the *Gaṇakārikā*, we can now read this contrast not as evidence of expurgation but rather as evidence that we are looking here not at *sādhaka*s but at *ācārya*s at the tradition's interface with Brahmanical society. It may well be the case that Kālamukha *sādhaka*s or some division of them had moderated their ascetic discipline. But we cannot infer this from the appearance of their *ācārya*s.

This laxity of the *ācārya* in comparison with the *sādhaka* is much more than a matter of external appearance. Inscriptions show us *ācārya*s of the Atimārga as owners of property – and this is as early as the fourth century CE – with the funds that enable them to make endowments of their own. Moreover, we find endowments for religious foundations that are not strictly within their own tradition. If *ācārya*s were bound by the restrictions that apply to *sādhaka*s this would be highly irregular. For when a person took

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[12] SANDERSON 2006: 163–166.
[13] LORENZEN [2]1991: 4–6. GHURYE too noted the discrepancy ([2]1964: 128) but interpreted it as evidence that by the twelfth century, the date of his evidence, the sect had purged itself of the objectionable practices mentioned by Yāmuna and Rāmānuja.

initiation to begin the Pāñcārthika discipline, he was required to own noth-
ing thereafter other than the basic accoutrements required for his ascetic
observance, and he was required to undertake to discontinue the worship of
his ancestors and all other gods. Indeed he was required in the course of the
ceremony to request their pardon for abandoning them now that he would
be offering worship to Rudra alone. But in our epigraphical evidence, and
in its earliest period, we find Pāñcārthika *ācārya*s founding shrines for the
worship of the Mother-goddesses, deities who lie very much outside the
focus of the tradition as recorded in our prescriptive sources.[14] In later
times, when epigraphic evidence is more plentiful, we also find them mar-
ried, passing on office through hereditary lines to their sons. In the thir-
teenth century in the west of Saurashtra at Somnath Patan, a major
Pāñcārthika stronghold, we see king-like *ācārya*s in charge of the sacred
city, with the means of establishing new foundations, engaging in major
building projects, and building fortifications.[15] These are very far from the
ideal of the *sādhaka* presented in the prescriptive texts.

I have mentioned the *ācārya*'s contact with the laity. Naturally this ex-
tended to interactions with the monarch, such as we have seen in the pas-
sage of the *Śivadharmottara* presented above. Here too we see a major
departure from the ascetic discipline of the *sādhaka*, who is expressly for-
bidden to have any dealings with the court.[16]

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[14] This epigraphical evidence is found in seven copper-plate grants of Mahārāja
Bhuluṇḍa of Valkhā (modern Bagh in the Dhar District of Madhya Pradesh), part of
a hoard of 27 plates discovered there in 1982 and published in 1990. The seven were
issued in years 50 to 59 of an unstated era. This might be the Kalacuri, in which case
the dates would correspond to 299–308 CE. But on palaeographic grounds it is more
probable that it is the Gupta, in which case the years covered by these grants are
370–379 CE. They refer to unnamed Pāśupatas as being among those with rights to
enjoy, cultivate, and inhabit the temple lands granted; and one issued in year 56 (376
CE) records a gift of land made by the Mahārāja to support the worship of the
Mothers in a temple of those deities (*mātṛsthānadevakulam*) that, we are told, had
been established by a Pāśupata officiant or teacher (*pāśupatācārya*) called Bhagavat
Lokodadhi. For the inscription, see RAMESH & TEWARI 1990: 21–22 (no. 10);
SANDERSON 2009: 52, n. 28.

[15] See the Somnāthpattan Praśasti of 1169 CE (OZHÂ & BÜHLER 1889) and the
Cintra Praśasti (ed. BÜHLER, EPIGRAPHIA INDICA 1: 32).

[16] *Pañcārthabhāṣya*, p. 22, ll. 14–15: *ato 'trāsaṃvyavahāras tantre siddhaḥ.*
saṃvyavahāraś ca dvividhaḥ. tad yathā krayavikrayasaṃvyavahāro rājakula-

Ascetics and householder initiates in the Mantramārga

The learned literature of the Mantramārga or Tantric Śaivism encourages
the impression that this division of the Śaiva religion, unlike the traditions
of the Atimārga, was Śaivism brought from the domain of ascetics into the
domain of those in the midst of the social world, a Śaivism designed to
accommodate them. There is much truth in this perception. It is certainly
the case that unlike the Atimārga the Mantramārga was open to men in the
world. They could receive initiation without having to abandon their
Brahmanical obligations, merely adding above these a new and more ex-
acting layer of Śaiva observances; and they could aspire as initiates to be-
comes *guru*s by receiving the *ācārya* consecration (*ācāryābhiṣekaḥ*).

However, this did not entail the exclusion of ascetics from the Man-
tramārga's forms of the religion. The Śaiva asceticism of the Atimārga was
carried over into the Mantramārga, and although the doctrinal apparatus
and rituals underwent fundamental changes in this process, ascetic *guru*
lineages continued to flourish. This is not apparent from the works of such
learned authors as Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha, Ab-
hinavagupta, and Kṣemarāja, the Kashmirian giants of the Śaiva exegetical
traditions both Saiddhāntika and Śākta Śaiva. For these were evidently
writing for an audience consisting largely if not exclusively of household-
ers. But the epigraphical record enables us to see that the alliance of other-
worldy asceticism and royal power exemplified in the passage cited above
from the *Śivadharmottara* remained central to the Mantramārga's public
self-presentation. For it is ascetic *guru*s of the Saiddhāntika tradition that
appear repeatedly in our inscriptions in the role of the royal preceptor
(*rājaguruḥ*) who empowers the king through Śaiva initiation; and it ap-
pears to have been believed that the more unworldly the ascetic the greater
the empowerment that the king could expect. The ideal, therefore, would
be to induce an illustrious hermit to agree to be enthroned as the royal pre-
ceptor in a *maṭha* in the king's capital. Whether such a transformation was
ever achieved cannot be determined now. But it was certainly believed to

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saṃvyavahāraś ceti. "Therefore it is established in this teaching that practitioners
should not engage in transactions. These are of two kinds: buying and selling and
having dealings with the royal palace."

have occurred, as we can see from the account of the ninth-century Guru
Purandara, the royal preceptor of a king Avantivarman and founder of two
major Saiddhāntika monasteries, at Mattamayūra and Araṇipadra in the old
princely state of Gwalior, given in an inscription found in the remains of
the second of these monasteries, composed to commemorate works under-
taken there by a certain Vyomaśiva, a spiritual successor of Purandara four
preceptorial generations later:

> Then came the Guru Purandara,[17] befitted a *guru* had the gravity that
> comes from the highest wisdom, whose teachings concerning the du-
> ties [of Śaiva initiates] are never to this day contradicted by scholars
> learned in the way of discipline, whom the glorious and virtuous
> king Avanti[varman] made efforts to bring to this land, because he
> desired to receive [Śaiva] initiation and had heard from one of his
> agents that there was a certain holy ascetic in the vicinity of Ut-
> tamaśikhara shining in unimaginable glory, shedding his radiance
> like the sun. Avantivarman then went to [Purandara], who was prac-
> tising austerities in Upendrapura, and having striven to win his fa-
> vour succeeded in bringing him back to sanctify his kingdom.[18]

[17] Saiddhāntika ascetics have initiation names, generally ending in -*śiva* or, in our
earliest evidence, also -*jyotis*. So Purandara might seem not to be an initiation name.
However, I propose that, since Purandara is a name of the deity Indra, it is a familiar
substitute for the initiation name Indraśiva that is attested elsewhere in Saiddhāntika
records. The Bangarh Praśasti of Mūrtiśiva reports that a Saiddhāntika *guru* of this
name was given a monastery (*maṭha*) near Koṭivarṣa in Northern Bengal by the Pāla
king Mahīpāla (r. ca. 977–1027) (v. 9: *śrīmān indraśivaḥ … samabhavac chiṣyo sya
puṇyātmanaḥ | yasmai … -maṭhan dadāv iha mahīpālo nṛpas tattvavit* (SIRCAR
1983). An Indraśiva is anthologised in *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* 742; and another Indraśiva
is reported as a royal preceptor (*rājaguru*) in an inscription in the Dharwar District
(SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS 11: 156). It appears from the first of the verses I have
cited here, v. 10, that this *guru* was the author of a ritual manual, a Paddhati, for the
guidance of initiates. But I am not aware of any other reference to it.

[18] The identity of Upendrapura is not known to me, but it is probable that it was
in Mālava, since EPIGRAPHIA INDICA 20: 11, an inscription of 1110 CE issued by
Naravarman, the Paramāra ruling that region, speaks of the village of Kadambapad-
raka in the Mandāraka Pratijāgaraṇaka in the Upendrapura District (ll. 5–6: *upen-
drapuramaṇḍale mandāraka pratijāgaraṇake mahāmaṇḍalīkaśrīrājyadevabhujya-
mānakadambapadrakagrāme*). It is likely that it was founded by the early Paramāra

Then, having served him with devotion he duly received Śaiva initiation [from him]. The wise king then presented him with the best part of the wealth of his kingdom as *guru*'s fee and so brought his human birth to fulfilment. In the splendid town of Mattamayūra the sage then caused a richly endowed Meru-like monastery to be built, a treasury of jewel-like ascetics, the fame of which has reached [throughout the continent] to the oceans. This foremost of sages, himself unmatched in his virtues, built and richly endowed a second and most splendid monastery, [this] hermitage of Araṇipadra.[19]

Initiating the monarch and the spread of the Saiddhāntika Mantramārga

The often very large amounts of revenue that kings would make over to their royal preceptors as payment for initiation must have been a more than

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king Upendra to bear his name (*svanāmnā*). In the account of the Paramāra lineage given by Padmagupta in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, Upendra is the first historical king mentioned in the lineage after the "Ādirāja" Paramāra (11.76–80). His foundational status in this dynasty is suggested by the tradition reported there by Padmagupta that he sanctified the land with golden *yūpa*s commemorating his Śrauta sacrifices (11.78: *akāri yajvanā yena hemayūpāṅkitā mahī*). Uttamaśikhara is otherwise unknown, as is this king Avantivarman.

[19] EPIGRAPHIA INDICA 1: 41 (the Ranod inscription, ed. F. Kielhorn), vv. 10–15:

10 *tasmāt purandaragurur guruvad garimṇaḥ*
prajñātirekajanitasya babhūva bhūmiḥ
yasyādhunāpi vibudhair itikṛtyaśaṃsi
vyāhanyate na vacanaṃ nayamārgavidbhiḥ
11 *vandyaḥ ko 'pi cakāsty acintyamahimā tulyaṃ munir bhāsvatā*
rājann uttamaśabdapūrvaśikharābhyarṇam prakīrṇadyutiḥ
dīkṣārthīti vaco niśamya sukṛtī cāroktam urvīpatir
yasyehānayanāya yatnam akaroc chrīmān avantiḥ purā
12 *gatvā tapasyantam upendrapūrve pure tadā śrīmadavantivarmā*
bhṛśaṃ samārādhya tam ātmabhūmiṃ kathañcid ānīya cakāra pūtām
13 *athopasadyāpya ca samyag aiśīṃ dīkṣāṃ sa dakṣo gurudakṣiṇārtham*
nivedya yasmai nijarājyasāraṃ svajanmasāphalyam avāpa bhūpaḥ
14 *sa kārayām āsa samṛddhibhājaṃ munir maṭhaṃ sanmuniratnabhūmim*
prasiddham āvāridhi merukalpaṃ śrīmatpure mattamayūranāmni
15 *punar dvitīyaṃ svayam advitīyo guṇair mmunīndro 'raṇipadrasaṃjñam*
tapovanaṃ śreṣṭhamaṭhaṃ vidhāya preṣṭhaḥ pratiṣṭhāṃ paramāṃ nināya.

sufficient inducement to surrender an ascetic's tranquillity for this publicly conspicuous role. With the funds thus acquired, the Saiddhāntikas were quickly able to expand their power across the subcontinent, founding new monasteries and installing their disciples in them as *guru* abbots who would repeat the process, creating a far-reaching network of branch-organisations.[20] In this way there arose major *guru*s whom inscriptions report to have been the *dīkṣāguru*s, the initiating preceptors, of not one but numerous kings spanning the Indian subcontinent, exercising in this way a religious authority that spread far beyond the borders of a single kingdom.[21]

The initiating of kings became, then, the principal motor of the spread of the Saiddhāntika Mantramārga. However, to accomplish this required a major adjustment to the institution of Śaiva initiation. The benefit promised to all initiates was that the ceremony would destroy the bonds of the soul on a subliminal level in such a way that one would achieve liberation at death. But until death came the initiate was obliged to adhere to a new life of regular and time-consuming ritual obligations added to the Brahmanical. Such a life of intensified observance was evidently incompatible with the duties of a ruling monarch. So the Mantramārga circumvented this obstacle on the back of the doctrine that it is initiation itself that frees the soul rather than a particular lifelong routine of post-initiatory duties. This enabled them to claim that only those who were able to take on the usual post-initiatory duties need be required to do so and that those who were unable to take them on, notably the monarch, could be freed of them yet still reap the reward of initiation. It was enough according to the Saiddhāntikas that such a king should continue to observe the much less-demanding duties of a lay Śaiva monarch as prescribed in the Śivadharma literature, the essence of which was to support the faith and its institutions.[22] Kings, then, were offered the benefit of initiation without the inconvenience of a regular initiate's lifelong routine. Moreover, as though in admission that the promise of liberation at death might not provide a sufficient incentive, we find inscriptions praising royal initiation as a means of enhancing the king's prestige and military might.[23]

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[20] SANDERSON 2009: 263–268.
[21] SANDERSON 2009: 267–268.
[22] See here n. 2.
[23] SANDERSON 2009: 258–259.

Consecrating the monarch in the
Saiddhāntika Mantramārga

By the tenth century at the latest, the practice of bestowing Śaiva initiation on monarchs was extended through the creation of a Śaiva version of the Brahmanical royal consecration ceremony (*rājyābhiṣekaḥ*) for an initiated king and his chief queen. We have a rich description, unfortunately somewhat lacunose, of this new ceremony in our earliest surviving ritual manual for the use of officiants of the Saiddhāntika tradition, the *Naimittika-kriyānusaṃdhāna* of Brahmaśambhu, completed in Śaka 860 (937/8 CE).

I wish to draw attention to two features of this ceremony. The first is its hybrid character. Properly Śaiva and Brahmanical elements are combined and the royal weapons, royal standards, and royal armour are added to the recipients of worship, embedding the power of the esoteric Śaiva elements in an exoteric, more public context. Moreover, although the ceremony is added to the Saiddhāntika repertoire as a variant of the consecration of a *guru* (*ācāryābhiṣekaḥ*) or *sādhaka* (*sādhakābhiṣekaḥ*), the stated purpose of the ritual remains that of the Brahmanical ritual, namely to consecrate the monarch to his non-Śaiva office as the person responsible for the preservation of the Brahmanical order of the caste-classes and religious disciplines,[24] and for this purpose the consecration *mantra* is not Śaiva at all. Rather it is the Brahmanical text prescribed for this purpose.[25]

The second feature I wish to bring to your attention is the fact that this account, like that of royal text donation in the *Śivadharmottara*, gives us a rare glimpse of the impressive public setting of what we might otherwise

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[24] *Naimittikakriyānusaṃdhāna*, f. 74v1, 4.118*: varṇānām āśramāṇāṃ ca guru-bhāvāya bhūpateḥ | yo 'bhiṣekavidhiḥ sopi procyate dīkṣitātmanaḥ*. "I shall now also teach that [form of the] ritual of consecration whose purpose is to empower the king, once he has been initiated, to be the guru of the caste-classes and religious disciplines."

[25] This is the *mantra* for periodic royal reconsecration, beginning with the words *surās tvām abhiṣiñcantu*, that is given by the sixth-century Varāhamihira in 47.55–70 of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, the well-known classic on divination. He reports there that he is basing his account of this ritual on that of the Elder Garga (47.2), who received it from Bhāguri. He refers, I presume, to the *Gargasaṃhitā*, a huge treatise on divination whose first version, according to PINGREE (1981: 69), was composed during the first century BCE or CE. I am unable at present to ascertain whether or not this royal consecration text is found in that work.

have taken to be a purely private event. I give here a brief synopsis of the account.

In a large pavilion constructed for the ceremony equipped with various altar platforms, the *ācārya* should worship the Lokapālas and their weapons in vases filled with river water. Then he should worship Śiva, Agni, the [royal] weapons, and the [royal] banners on the altar-platforms. He should summon, gratify, and worship the eight Śaiva Cakravartins from Ananta to Śikhaṇḍin,[26] in vases set up on another platform, and, in vases below it, the Rudras, Mātṛs, Gaṇas, Yakṣas, Grahas, Asuras, Rākṣasas, and Nāgarājas.[27]

In the Śivāgni, a sacrificial fire consecrated through the transformation of the deity Fire (*agniḥ*) into Śiva, he should make 108 oblations to each of the deities and put out *bali* offerings for the various classes of supernaturals in each of the directions.[28] This ends the preparatory rites.

The king should be brought into the pavilion accompanied by his [chief] minister (*mantrī*) and his chaplain (*purohitaḥ*) and then the chief queen (*devī*) accompanied by an elderly female companion (*vṛddhasakhī*). When they have been made to offer worship to Śiva, the Fire, the [royal] weapons

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[26] These are the deities more commonly called the Vidyeśvaras. See, e.g., *Rauravasūtrasaṃgraha* 2.9–13; *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, *Vidyāpāda* 5.5–16, *Svacchanda* 10.1103c–1104, *Tantrāloka* 8.342–343. In Saiddhāntika scriptural texts, they are commonly required to be worshipped surrounding the core *mantra*-group (*garbhāvaraṇam*) consisting of Śiva and his ancillaries, with the Lokapālas and the Lokapālas' weapons forming two outer circuits, as in *Niśvāsamūla* 4.4c–5: *pūrvoktena vidhānena madhye devaṃ tu pūjayet || vidyeśvarān dvitīye tu lokapālāṃs tṛtīyake | caturthe pūjaye 'strāṇi gandhapuṣpair yathākramam.* "Following the aforesaid procedure, he should worship in the [proper] order Śiva in the centre, the Vidyeśvaras in the second [circuit], the Lokapālas in the third, and the weapons in the fourth."

[27] *Naimittikakriyānusaṃdhāna* 4.129–133: *sravantīvāripūrṇeṣu yathālaṃkārahāriṣu | ghaṭeṣv abhyarcya lokeśān sāstrān *indrapuraḥsarān (corr. : indrapurasarān cod.) || 130 śivam agniñ ca hetīś ca *ketūṃś (conj. : ketuś cod.) ceśādivediṣu | samnidhīkṛtya saṃtarpya pūjayec cakravartinaḥ || 131 udagvediśiraḥstheṣu kalaśeṣūktalakṣmasu | *anantādiśikhaṇḍyantān antān (corr. : antā cod.) digvidikṣu yathākramam || 132 tasyās tadvad *adhaḥstheṣu (corr. : adhastheṣu cod.) rudramātṛgaṇārthadān | *grahāsurapalāśākhyān palāśākhyān (conj. : palāsākhya cod.) bhoginām adhipān api.*

[28] *Naimittikakriyānusaṃdhāna* 4.137: *śatam aṣṭottaraṃ hutvā pratyekaṃ ca śivānale | digbhūtagaṇasaṅghebhyo dattvā dikṣu bahirbalim.*

and the [royal] banners, the *ācārya* has them spend the night sleeping in the pavilion. He says a prayer that an auspicious dream may be seen by the king, his queen, their companions, or himself.[29]

After sleeping there himself, the next morning he examines the dreams and counters with oblations any that are inauspicious. He then summons the deities that are the guardians of the hall of sacrifice and worships them as before. He pours oblations to Śiva, to the royal weapons, the royal banners, and the king's armour (*kaṅkaṭāni*). He makes offerings to the Vidyeśvaras on their platform as before and to the Rudras and the others in the vases. Then he spreads the skins of a fighting bull and a cat on each of the platforms.[30] A lacuna of one folio follows. But the missing action was no doubt to prepare the platforms to receive the king and queen for their consecration, since such skins are required in Brahmanical sources to cover the platform before the king sits on it to receive the consecration to his office (*rājyābhiṣekaḥ*).[31]

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[29] *Naimittikakriyānusaṃdhāna* 4.138–146: *tatas tam avanīnātham anāhāram anākulam | snātaṃ candanaliptāṅgaṃ sitrasragvastrabhūṣaṇam || 39 praveśya dvāramārgeṇa dakṣiṇena pracetasaḥ | sārdhaṃ mantripurodhābhyāṃ śivam arcāpayet kramāt || 140 devīṃ *vṛddhasakhīñ cāsyāḥ (em. : vṛddhasakhī cāsya cod.) saumyenaivāmbhasaḥ pateḥ || praveśya pātayec chambhor niyamasthāṃ padābjayoḥ || 141 śivāgnihetiketūnāṃ kāritābhyām athārcanam | pañcagavyaṃ caruṃ tābhyāṃ dattvā ca dvijaśodhanam || 142 sthāpayitvā tu tau tatra sarakṣau vedikādvaye | *pṛthak (corr. : pṛtha cod.) prākśirasau mahyāṃ saṃyatau kṣaumaśayyayoḥ || 143 yad vā tatpratimau viprau śivabhaktāv upoṣitau | śubhasvapnāvabodhāya tayor vaṃśakramāgatau | 144 *samabhyarcyāpi (conj. : samabhyarccepi cod.) saṃhṛtya śivaṃ sthaṇḍilato nale | tatra hutvā ca carvādi doṣāṇām upaśāntaye || 145 nṛpasyāmuṣya devyā vā tadāptānāṃ mamāthavā | svapnaṃ śubhāśubhaprāptihāniliṅgaṃ pradarśaya | 146 ity adhyeṣya praṇamyāpi pūjayitvā prarocya ca | tatraiva rodhayed yāvac caturthābhiṣeca*nam (corr. : na cod.).*

[30] *Naimittikakriyānusaṃdhāna* 4.147–152: *athādhvaraśraman tasmin nirasya niśi nidrayā | prātar nityavidher ante sādhusvapnān niśamya ca || 148 samāvarjitasarvāṅgaṃ gośakṛddi + + + + | nṛpābhiṣecanāyālam adhitiṣṭhed gurus tataḥ | 149 tatra *yajñasadaḥpālān yajña (corr. : yajñaḥ cod.) āmantryeṣṭvā ca pūrvavat | kāraṇaṃ kāraṇānāñ ca tarpayi[tvā + + +]kam | 150 hetīn astreṇa ketūṃś ca varmaṇā kaṅkaṭāny api | sugandhapuṣpadhūpādyair naivedyāntaiḥ prapūjya ca || 151 anantādīṃś ca ved + + + + + vedyāś ca pūrvavat || rudrādīṃś ca ghaṭeṣv iṣṭvā vedyor ūrdhvam athāstaret || 152 bṛhadukṣṇo 'tiśūrasya vṛṣadaṃśasya carma ca | caturṇāṃ aśu.* With this f. 76v ends.

[31] *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 47.43--44: *ādāv anaḍuhaś carma jarayā saṃhṛtāyuṣaḥ | praśasta-*

When the text returns, the king is being consecrated with the liquid from the vases, and Brahmins are being made to chant the consecration benedictions (*abhiṣekāśiṣaḥ*) "known in mundane usage (*loke*) and in the Veda" and [then] "the verses taught by the Ṛṣis." The last are then given in full and they are the Brahmanical royal consecration *mantra* taught for this purpose by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*.[32]

After his consecration, the king is to give the pavilion and its ritual equipment to the officiants, make large donations of money to the Brahmins and of mounts to the bards. There follows an account of the spectacle of the king's return. He is to come out of the pavilion with his queen, mount a fine elephant or white horse and, shaded by a white parasol with a golden handle and fanned with white chowries, set forth to return to his palace in a procession with his army of elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry (*caturaṅgabalopetaḥ*), all obstacles removed by the row of war banners (*ketumālayā*) that precedes him fluttering in a favouring breeze, and acknowledging his being showered with parched grain by women of good family positioned on platforms on the tops of their whitewashed mansions. He should reenter the palace "worshipped by the citizens with their long eyes wide in wonder that surpass the beauty of blue lilies." The heir-apparent should be consecrated to his office in the same way.[33]

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lakṣaṇabhṛtaḥ prācīnagrīvam āstaret || *tato vṛṣasya yodhasya carma rohitam akṣatam* | *siṃhasyātha tṛtīyaṃ syād vyāghrasya ca tataḥ param*. "First he should spread the hide of an ox that possesses auspicious characteristics, that has died of old age, with the neck to the west, then the undamaged red hide of a fighting bull (*vṛṣasya yodhasya*). That of a lion should be third and that of a tiger should follow."

[32] *Naimittikakriyānusaṃdhāna* 4.167–168: + + + + + + + + + [*ā*]*dibhir alaṃkṛtaiḥ* | *satkriyānantaraṃ bhūyaḥ kalaśair abhiṣecayet* | 168 *loke vede prasiddhāś ca viprān etarhi pāṭhayet* | *abhiṣek*āśiṣaḥ* (em. : *āsikaḥ* cod.) *ślokān ṛṣi*proktāṃś* (corr. : *proktāś* cod.) *ca tad yathā*. The verses of the consecration text follow (4.169–181).

[33] *Naimittikakriyānusaṃdhāna*, f. [84?]r1–5, 4.269c–276b: + + + + + + + + + + + *mbarabhūṣaṇaḥ* || 270 *deśikebhyaḥ sayajñāṅgaṃ dattvā taṃ yajñamaṇḍapam* | *prabhūtaṃ vasu viprebhyo vāhanāni ca vandinām* | 271 *pūrvadvāreṇa niḥkramya svamahiṣyā samanvitaḥ* | *ārūḍho bhadramātaṅgam athavā vājinaṃ sitam* | 272 *ātapatreṇa śubhreṇa hemadaṇḍena copari* | *nigṛhītātapaḥ śvetair vījyamānaś ca *cāmaraiḥ* (em. : *cāparaiḥ* A) || 273 *caturaṅgabalopetaḥ purataḥ ketumālayā* | *astavighno 'nukūlena dhūtayā mātariśvanā* || 274 *saudhāgravedikāsthābhiḥ kulapatnībhir ādarāt* | *prayuktaṃ lājavarṣaṃ ca manyamāno *bahu* (conj. : *vaha* cod.)

That the king should appear in a full military parade shows the extent to which the Śaivism of the Mantramārga had succeeded in spite of its Tantric and therefore esoteric character in making itself visible in the public domain. Though the ceremony of consecration takes place within a closed pavilion, the whole population of the city is mobilised to witness that the ceremony has occurred; and the impact on the populace is magnified by the king's processing back to his palace in a full military parade.

That this was the norm in the case of royal Tantric ceremonies is indicated by similar prescriptions found in other sources. A guide for the initiation of the Amṛteśa form of Śiva based on the *Netratantra*, which has come down to us in a Nepalese manuscript, rules as follows:

> Then [on the day] after [his initiation] the pupil should [go] with a joyful heart accompanied by his wives and sons, with his ministers, soldiers, and mounts [and] offer himself before his *guru* in thought, speech, and, above all, in deed.[34]

There can be no doubt that the initiand envisaged in this guide is the king, since the compound *sabhṛtyabalavāhanaḥ*, which I have translated "with his ministers, soldiers, and mounts," can have no other reference and is in any case a stock epithet in metrical descriptions of monarchs.[35]

There is further evidence in the account of rites concluding the initiation ceremony prescribed by the Saiddhāntika scripture *Bṛhatkālottara*. For that states that the *guru* should close the initiation by sprinkling with the water from the vase of the weapon-*mantra* (*astrakalaśaḥ*), one of the two main vases prepared in the course of the ceremony, the horses, elephants, chariots, and soldiers of the army "in order to remove all obstacles and to ensure

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priyam || 275 *praviśet svapuraṃ paurair arcyamāno vikāsibhiḥ | nīlanīraruha-cchāyātaskarair āyatekṣaṇaiḥ* || 276 *anenaiva vidhānena yuvarājābhiṣecanam.*

[34] Viśveśvara, *Amṛteśadīkṣāvidhi*, f. 16v6, vv. 44–45b: 44 *sabhāryaḥ sasutaḥ paścāt sabhṛtyabalavāhanaḥ | śiṣyaḥ prahṛṣṭamanasā guror agre nivedayet* || 45 *ātmānaṃ manasā vācā karmaṇā ca viśeṣataḥ |.* **45a** *ātmānaṃ* em. : *ātmanā* cod.

[35] See, e.g., *Mahābhārata* 1.63.14; 3.82.63; 3.195.10; 7.123.15.

victory in battle."[36] Evidently the initiation being described here is that of a monarch; and it seems reasonable in the light of the other passages cited to understand from this remark that the king would have come for the ceremony in a full military parade.

The Mantramārga, then, in spite of its Tantric emphasis on secrecy, had found ways of ensuring that the rites with which it empowered the monarch were fully public events of the kind that occasioned national holidays. Indeed the very secrecy of its rituals must have heightened the impression made by these events on the populace, who could believe that their monarch had emerged having received an empowerment of such intensity that the ceremony itself, unlike the Brahmanical royal consecration, had to be concealed from the uninitiated, that his power and consequently their security had been enhanced to a degree not possible by more exoteric means.

The Śaiva-Brahmanical social order

I have said that the Śaiva adaptation of the royal consecration ritual prescribed by Brahmaśambhu in his *Naimittikakriyānusaṃdhāna* served the Brahmanical purpose of consecrating an initiated Śaiva monarch in his traditional role as the *varṇāśramaguruḥ*, the guardian of the Brahmanical order of caste-classes and religious disciplines. But it should be understood that what is envisaged here, indeed what is enacted by the ritual, is not a purely Brahmanical social order but a two-tiered Śaiva-Brahmanical hierarchy within which the monarch's duty is not only to maintain the boundaries that separate the castes and disciplines but also to ensure that Śaivism is maintained as a higher level of religious observance above the Brahmanical, one that does nothing to destabilise the Brahmanical social order but which offers members of that social order a means of transcendence not available through its religious practices. This obligation is no more than implicit in the *Naimittikakriyānusaṃdhāna*; but it is fully expressed in the following passage of the *Mohacūḍottara*, a Saiddhāntika scripture whose specialised subject matter is *pratiṣṭhā*, the design and consecration of tem-

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[36] *Bṛhatkālottara* f. 45v2–3 (22.24c–25b): **hastyaśvarathayodhānāṃ yodhānāṃ* (em. : *yodhyānā* cod.) *secanam astravāriṇā | kartavyaṃ vighnaśamanaṃ saṃgrāme jayakāraṇam.*

ples, monasteries, images, royal palaces, and new settlements. Indeed we
are told that if he maintains the Brahmanical social order in this modified
form his kingdom will prosper. The unstated corollary is that if he does not
it will not:

> 4.275 *prajāpālaḥ smṛto rājā tasmān nyāyyaṃ tu rakṣaṇam*
> *varṇānām anupūrveṇa dharmaṃ deśāpayen nṛpaḥ*
> 276 *śrutismṛtipurāṇāni āgamā dharmadeśakāḥ*
> *etair yo vartate rājā sa rājyaṃ bhuñjate ciram*
> 277 *purāṇaṃ bādhyate vedair āgamaiś ca taduktayaḥ*
> *sāmānyaṃ ca viśeṣaṃ ca śaivaṃ vaiśeṣikaṃ vacaḥ*
> 278 *bādhyabādhakabhāvena no vikalpyaṃ vicakṣaṇaiḥ*
> *yad yathāvasthitaṃ vastu sarvajñas tat tathā vadet*
> 279 *āgamānāṃ bahutve tu yatra vākyadvayaṃ bhavet*
> *kiṃ pramāṇaṃ tadā grāhyaṃ pramāṇaṃ śāṃkaraṃ vacaḥ*
> 280 †*granthād granthāntaraṃ ṭīkā*† *sāpekṣanirapekṣayoḥ*
> *samādhānaṃ tayoḥ kāryam arthāpattyādisādhanaiḥ*
> 281 *evaṃ jñātvā surādhyakṣa nirvṛtiṃ paramāṃ vraja*
> *evaṃ dharmānvite rājñi svarāṣṭre sarvadā śivam*

> *Mohacūḍottara*, ff. 21v6–22r2

> **278b** *vikalpyaṃ* conj. : *vikalpaṃ* cod. **278d** *tat tathā* conj. : *tat tadā* cod.

> Tradition declares that the king is the protector of his subjects.[37]
> Therefore it is right that he should protect the caste communities and
> ensure that they are instructed in their duties, each according to its
> station. The sources that convey these duties are Śruti, Smṛti,
> Purāṇa, and the [Śaiva] scriptures (*āgamāḥ*). If the king abides by
> these, he enjoys a long reign. [The correct order of authority in
> which they should be applied is as follows.] The Vedas [comprising
> both Śruti and Smṛti] take precedence over the Purāṇas, and the
> [Śaiva] scriptures take precedence over the teachings of the Vedas.

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[37] See the Brahmanical sources given in SANDERSON 2009: 244, n. 594.

There is the common [Brahmanical authority of Śruti, Smṛti, and Purāṇa] (*sāmānyam*), and then there is the special (*viśeṣam*). The Śaiva [scriptures] (*śaivam*) are the latter (*vaiśeṣikaṃ vacaḥ*). [So] the learned should not doubt their authority when they find that they conflict with [a Brahmanical injunction]. Being omniscient, [Śiva] can only state everything just as it is.[38] Given the plurality of scriptural authorities, whenever there is a question as to which of two [conflicting] statements takes precedence, he should adopt that which has been taught by Śiva. He should reconcile the two, whether self-sufficient or depending for the understanding of its meaning on [examination in the light of] other sources of the same kind, related sources, and, [where they fail], learned exegesis, by applying such modes of reasoning as presumption (*arthāpattiḥ*). Understand this, O Indra, and thereby attain the ultimate bliss. When the king understands the duties of religion in this way his realm will always prosper.

Public engagement in the non-Saiddhāntika Mantramārgic ritual systems

In comparison with the Saiddhāntika Mantramārga, the Mantramārga's non-Saiddhāntika cults seem to have been rather less engaged in activities in the public domain. Saiddhāntika *guru*s, for example, appear to have dominated officiation in the Mantramārga's very public and prolonged rituals for the consecration of temples and fixed substrates of worship, notably the consecration of the major temple and its *liṅga* that any Śaiva king worthy of the name would establish in his name to mark his reign.[39] In

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[38] My emendation of *tat tadā* to *tat tathā* restores proper syntax by balancing the *yad yathā* of the subordinate clause. But it also has the support of a close parallel in *Śivadharmottara* 1.41: *yad yathāvasthitaṃ vastu guṇadoṣaiḥ svabhāvataḥ | yāvat phalaṃ ca puṇyaṃ ca sarvajñas tat tathā vadet*. The parallel also supports the optative *vadet*. It might otherwise be tempting to emend *tathā vadet* to *tadāvadat*, making this a statement that Śiva *has* taught things exactly as they are.

[39] A Śiva installed in a fixed *liṅga* was given a two-part compound name whose first half would generally be that of the founder and whose second half would be -*īśvara*. Thus, for example a Śiva founded by an Avantivarman would be named Avantīśvara. If the deity were a Viṣṇu then the name would be Avantisvāmin. The purpose of such naming was not merely to immortalise the founder. It also served a

marked contrast, Abhinavagupta, speaking for the non-Saiddhāntika Mantramārga in his *Tantrāloka*, insists that the *mantra*s of his tradition must never be installed in fixed images, which is to say, in the relatively public environment of the temple, where their worship would be the responsibility of no one individual. They may be installed only in small, mobile substrates for the personal cult of an individual initiate:

> 2 *eteṣām ūrdhvaśāstroktamantrāṇāṃ na pratiṣṭhitim*
> *bahiṣ kuryād yato hy ete rahasyatvena siddhidāḥ*
> 3 *svavīryānandamāhātmyapraveśavaśaśālinīm*
> *ye siddhiṃ dadate teṣāṃ bāhyatvaṃ rūpavicyutiḥ*
> 4 *kiṃ ca śāktasamāveśapūrṇo bhoktrātmakaḥ śivaḥ*
> *bhogalāmpaṭyabhāg bhogavicchede nigrahātmakaḥ*
> 5 *śāntatvanyakkriyodbhūtajighatsābṛṃhitaṃ vapuḥ*
> *svayaṃ pratiṣṭhitaṃ yena so 'syābhoge vinaśyati*
> 6 *uktaṃ jñānottarāyāṃ ca tad etat parameśinā*
> *śivo yāgapriyo yasmād viśeṣān mātṛmadhyagaḥ*
> 7 *tasmād rahasyaśāstreṣu ye mantrās tān budho bahiḥ*
> *na pratiṣṭhāpayej jātu viśeṣād vyaktarūpiṇaḥ*
> 8 *ata eva mṛtasyārthe pratiṣṭhānyatra yoditā*
> *sātra śāstreṣu no kāryā kāryā sādhāraṇī punaḥ*

Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka* 27.2–8

2b *pratiṣṭhitim* em. : *pratiṣṭhitam* WZYN **2c** *kuryād yato hy ete* WN : *kuryāt tato hy ete* Z K_{ED} **4a** *kiṃ ca* Z K_{ED} : *kintu* WNY ● *śāktasamāveśa* W : *śāktapadāveśa* NY : *coktaṃ samāveśa* Z K_{ED}

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legal purpose. Giving a personal name to the deity installed in the principal idol of a temple enabled it to be the locus of the foundation's juristic personality. It was then possible to appoint officials who could, when necessary, go to court to defend its legal rights, notably its right to whatever properties and revenues had been gifted to it by the founder, and any later donors, to fund its activities.

He should not install in the public domain (*bahiḥ*) these *mantra*s that have been taught in the higher scriptures, because it is by their remaining hidden that they grant success. The success that they bestow abounds in the power that comes from [their] ability to lead one into the vastness of the bliss that is their inner vigour. For such *mantra*s to be installed externally [in fixed substrates] is for them to fall from their nature. Moreover, when Śiva is fully expanded [as Bhairava] through immersion in Śakti he tastes the offerings of food and drink with much greater eagerness to devour them, and if his pleasure is ever interrupted [through omission] he will be eager to punish. If a person installs a deity form that is energised by this urge to devour that arises from rising above the tranquil transcendence [of the Saiddhāntika *mantra*s], he must feed it without fail. If he does not do so he will be lost. It is this that the Supreme Lord refers to in the *Jñānottara[saṃhit]ā* in the words:

Śiva is all the more attached to his offerings when [as Bhairava] he is the midst of the Mothers. For this reason, an initiate should never install the *mantra*s [taught] in the esoteric scriptures outside his private cult, particularly not with anthropomorphic form.

This is why the installation [of a Bhairava] on behalf of the deceased that has been taught elsewhere must not be done with [the *mantra*s of] these [non-Saiddhāntika] scriptures. It should be done instead with one of the exoteric *mantra*s.[40]

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[40] Seven such *mantra*s, termed universal (*sādhāraṇāḥ*), are listed by Abhinavagupta in *Tantrāloka* 22.20: *praṇavo mātṛkā māyā vyomavyāpī ṣaḍakṣaraḥ | bahu-rūpo 'tha netrākhyaḥ sapta sādhāraṇāḥ amī.* "The following are the universal *mantra*s: OM, the syllabary, HRĪM, [the 81-unit)] Vyomavyāpimantra, OM NAMAḤ ŚIVĀYA (*ṣaḍakṣaraḥ*), Bahurūpa (the 32-syllable Yajurvedic Aghoramantra), and OM JUM SAḤ (Netra, Mṛtyuñjaya)." The Saiddhāntika Vidyākaṇṭha also lists seven but with the Prāsāda in place of the Netra in *Bhāvacūḍāmaṇi*, f. 4v16-5r2, quoting an unidentified source: *sādhāraṇena mantreṇeti. sādhāraṇā mantrāḥ sapta. yad uktaṃ saṃhitāntare* "*praṇavo mātṛkā <māyā> vyomavyāpī ṣaḍakṣaraḥ | *prāsādo* (corr. : *prasādo* cod.) *bahurūpaś ca sapta sādhāraṇāḥ smṛtā*" *iti*. The Prāsādamantra is HAUŪM, the seed-syllable of Śiva in the Saiddhāntika system of the *Kālottara* recensions. See *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 1.11 and Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha

The last verse of this passage establishes that the *mantra*s of "the higher scriptures" that should not be installed in fixed, non-private substrates of worship are not just those of the Trika, the Śākta system being expounded in the *Tantrāloka*. For the scriptural source to which Abhinavagupta is referring here without naming it is *Netra* 18.120–121, which enjoins the installation of a Bhairava image accompanied by two, four, or eight Śaktis in the cremation ground on behalf of a deceased and cremated initiate. The *mantra*s that should not be installed in this case are not those of the Trika but those of the worship of Bhairava taught in texts of the Mantrapīṭha. From this we can infer that the prohibition was intended to apply to the whole range of non-Saiddhāntika *mantra*s.

How strictly observed, one is bound to ask, was this boundary between the outer world of public installations, recognised as the domain of the Saiddhāntika Mantramārga or of non-Saiddhāntika officiants using Saiddhāntika procedures, and this strictly private world of non-Saiddhāntika practice? After all, the separation between the two is presented to us through a prohibition; and a prohibition is more likely to be designed to stop a practice that was current than to prevent a practice that was not.

I am aware of one major case in which this prohibition was not observed, and I suspect that there are others that further work with ritual manuals, inscriptions, and ethnographic data may bring to light. The case to which I refer to is that of the South Indian *Brahmayāmala* tradition. For that has its roots in the non-Saiddhāntika cult of the goddess Aghorī and her Śaktis taught in the *Picumata/Brahmayāmala* but has the nature of a temple-based cult in the hands of non-Brahmin officiants whose primarily purpose was state protection.[41]

Other cases that may well be of this kind are the cults of the royal goddesses Siddhalakṣmī, Guhyakālī, and Kubjikā, who have several inaccessible but conspicuous temples in the Kathmandu valley.[42] If these Tantric cults among the Śaiva Newars of the Kathmandu valley did cross the line drawn by Abhinavagupta, then they no doubt did so as elements of a

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thereon, giving HAUŪṂ; also Trilocanaśiva, *Siddhāntasārāvali*, vv. 33 and 36. Kṣemarāja recognises all eight as *sādhāraṇā mantrāḥ* in *Netroddyota* vol. 2, p. 10, ll. 9–17.

[41] SANDERSON 2007: 277–278 and 2014: 30–32, 40–42, and 50-52.

[42] SANDERSON 2003–2004: 366–372.

broader process that is widely attested, namely the co-opting of non-Saiddhāntika Śaiva cults by royal patrons for the protection of their persons and the state.

I have drawn attention to a number of such cults in previous publications, notably the state cult of the goddess sisters Jayā Vijayā, Jayantī, and Aparājitā and their brother Tumburu[bhairava] that was established in the Khmer realm early in the ninth century to guarantee the state's enduring independence;[43] the cult of Svacchandabhairava incorporated in the *Uttarabhāga* of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* as a means of warding off danger from the king and restoring him to health;[44] the elaborate ritual of consecration for victory (*jayābhiṣekaḥ*) that co-opts the goddess pantheon of the *Kubjikāmata*, which is taught in the same Purāṇic source;[45] and the cult of Bhadrakālī practised by the Paippalādin Atharvavedin officiants of Orissa to enhance the power of kings and protect them when they go into battle, which has co-opted the *mantra*s of the Kaula Kālīkula tradition.[46]

The Kulamārga and the state

With the examples of the application of non-Saiddhāntika cults to the empowerment of the monarch and protection of the monarch, I have crossed from the Mantramārga into the Kulamārga, since that is the territory of the Kālīkula and the cult of Kubjikā. Here more than in any other area of Śaiva practice, the reader of the learned literature might expect to find worship operating in an entirely private world cut off from and indeed concealed from mainstream religion. For these were extreme cults that involved orgiastic celebrations, contact with women of low caste, the consumption of meat, alcohol, and other impure substances,[47] and they surely needed to keep their heads down if they were to avoid the hostile intervention of state authorities. There certainly was a degree of hostility; but as the examples cited indicate this may have been stronger in the case of mainstream Brah-

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[43] SANDERSON 2003–2004: 355–358; 2005b: 236–238.

[44] SANDERSON 2005b: 235.

[45] SANDERSON 2005b: 236.

[46] SANDERSON 2007: 255–298.

[47] On these substances, see SANDERSON 2005a: 110–114, n. 63.

manical thinking than it was among actual and potential royal patrons. The
notion that the transgressive cult of the Mothers was an effective source of
state protection is well illustrated in the South Indian *Brahmayāmala* tradi-
tion and in the cults of the royal lineage goddesses of the Kathmandu val-
ley. Indeed this view is made explicit in the treatment of Kaula worship
given in the Kashmirian *Netratantra*, a text devoted to the rituals to be
performed by a variety of Śaiva officiants who had moved into the territory
traditionally reserved for the king's Brahmanical chaplain (*rājapurohitaḥ*):

> The [Mothers] should be worshipped with abundant offerings for the
> warding off of danger from all living beings by one desiring power
> in accordance with his particular aim. As for the *guru*s of kings, O
> goddess, they should worship them with special lavishness. For it is
> by their favour alone that any king on this earth enjoys sovereignty
> in good fortune, with all his enemies destroyed.[48]

Thus while it appears that it was Saiddhāntika officiants that were the pub-
lic, institutional face of the Mantramārga, interacting in a manner visible to
the public with royal and other patrons in the context of such ceremonies as
initiation, royal consecration, and the installation of fixed images in royal
and other temples, presenting themselves as protectors of the Brahmanical

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[48] *Netra*, f. 30v3–4 (K$_{ED}$ 12.6c–8): *sarveṣāṃ caiva śāntyarthaṃ prāṇināṃ bhūtim
icchatā ‖ 7 ‖ bhūriyāgena yaṣṭavyā yathākāmānurūpataḥ | viśeṣeṇa tu yaṣṭavyā
bhūbhṛtānāṃ tu daiśikaiḥ ‖ 8 ‖ āsām eva prasādena rājyaṃ nihatakaṇṭakam | bhu-
ñjate sarvarājānaḥ subhagā hy avanītale ‖.* **6c** *sarveṣāṃ caiva* N : *sarveṣām eva* K$_{ED}$
7b *yathākāmānurūpataḥ* K$_{ED}$: *yathākarmānurūpataḥ* N **7c** *viśeṣeṇa tu yaṣṭavyā* N :
viśeṣād devi yaṣṭavyā K$_{ED}$ **7d** *bhūbhṛtānāṃ tu* N : *bhūbhṛtām api* K$_{ED}$.

I have edited the text here on the basis of a Nepalese palm-leaf ms. of 1200 CE,
which transmits the text as it was prior to the expurgation of most of its non-Paninian
forms that we see in the Kashmirian mss. that are the basis of K$_{ED}$. For my reasons
for judging that this is a Kashmirian text and one that was composed between about
700 and 850 CE, probably towards the end of that period, see SANDERSON 2005:
273–294. The colophon of the ms. reports that the ms. was penned by a Paṇḍita
Kīrtidhara who was commissioned to do so by Viśveśvara (f. 89r4–5*: saṃvat 320
caitra śu di 9 śanidine viśveśvareṇa likhāpitam idaṃ pustakaṃ ‖ paṃḍitakīrtti-
dhar<eṇ>a likhitaṃ mayā*). It is probable that the commissioner was the Viśveśvara
to whom we owe the *Amṛteśadīkṣāvidhi.*

social order, it was by no means the case that the non-Saiddhāntika Śākta-oriented cults of the Mantramārga and Kulamārga were entirely domains of private spiritual practice. For learned Kashmirian authorities such as Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja this may seem to have been the case, because they place such stress on these cults as means of liberation. But they do not suppress evidence that these cults were also engaged in rituals designed to protect the king, the royal family, and indeed their subjects from all forms of misfortune. What is known of the role of Tantric ritual in the Kathmandu valley strongly supports the notion that while such ceremonies were no doubt carried out away from the public gaze, the populace was not unaware of their occurrence, especially when they were embedded in calendrically fixed ritual complexes in which the whole populace participated in the manner exemplified by Brahmaśambhu's account of royal consecration. Indeed in Newar society, in which Tantric rituals have played a vital role down to modern times, major calamities such as the massacre of the Nepalese royal family in 2001 have been attributed by traditionalists to failure to perform or perform correctly some Tantric ritual considered vital to their welfare and that of the whole community. As we have seen, Abhinavagupta warns of the danger of neglecting the worship of such deities. Where the cult is entirely private, as it is in the context in which Abhinavagupta refers to it, the only person endangered is the individual who has committed himself to it. Where the cult is for the benefit of all, the welfare of all, from the king down, is jeopardised.

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TANTRIC IDENTITIES

Sisters and consorts, adepts and goddesses: Representations of women in the *Brahmayāmala*

Shaman Hatley[1]

Women, revelation, and esoteric community

In the study of early-medieval India's Tantric traditions, we face enormous difficulty recovering substantive glimpses of historical women. The prospects for meaningful recovery of women's own voices seem particularly discouraging.[2] Nonetheless, discourse on women abounds in Tantric literature and may afford scope for reconstructing at least limited aspects of their participation in some early Tantric traditions. One of the richest potential sources is the *Brahmayāmala* or *Picumata*, a voluminous Śaiva Bhairava-tantra of the goddess-centred Vidyāpīṭha division which may date in some

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[2] Notwithstanding the controversial claims of SHAW (1994). For a striking exception to the relative absence of women's voices, albeit from early twentieth-century Tibet, note the case of Sera Khandro, admirably studied by JACOBY (2014).

form to the mid-seventh to early-eighth centuries.[3] Spanning more than 12,000 verses, the *Brahmayāmala* (hereafter "BraYā") affords a comparatively broad as well as early window into women's involvement in a Śakta-Śaiva cultic context, tinted though this is by preoccupation with the virtuoso male *sādhaka* and his quest for supernatural attainment (*siddhi*).[4]

While the *sādhaka*'s rites frequently demand solitude, the BraYā nonetheless intimates the existence of an esoteric community structured around the institution and person of the *guru*. Initiates contravene conventional social identities, entering into new modes of relationality based on initiatory lineages and hierarchies. Practitioners also enter into "kinship" with the deities, a bond established by entry into particular deity clans (*kula*) during initiation. Unfortunately, the social dimension and corporate ritual of the BraYā's cult receive minimal elaboration and must to a large degree be inferred through scattered remarks.[5] Despite their disinterest in codifying or describing social religion, the redactors nonetheless articulate a detailed, if highly idealised vision of the BraYā's textual community.

In the revelation narrative of chapter (*paṭala*) 1, the BraYā portrays its redaction as a cosmogonic process, narrating the "descent" (*avatāra*) of the primordial scriptural wisdom (*jñāna*) into the world in the bounded form of text. This narrative simultaneously articulates a social vision by delineating the scripture's lineage of redactors, a metacommunity spanning levels of the cosmos (*tattva*) and cycles of time. More than 25 persons find mention, in the majority of cases with specification of caste identity and region of origin.[6] Details such as affiliations with Vedic schools (*śākhā*), pre-initiatory names, native villages, or even the name of a parent flesh out some of the descriptions. Mirroring revelation's vast temporal and cosmological framework, the narrative invokes an expansive Indic geography: individuals involved in the BraYā's transmission span from Oḍradeśa in the east to Sindh (*sindhuviṣaya*) and the Swat Valley (*oḍḍiyāna*) in the northwest, and Kashmir (*kaśmīra*) and Lampā in the far north. Two facets

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[3] For an overview of Tantric Śaivism's branches and literatures, see SANDERSON 1988 and 2014. On the *Brahmayāmala*, see HATLEY 2007 and 2018, and KISS 2015.

[4] The rites of the *sādhaka* form the focus of volume II of the BraYā, published by KISS 2015.

[5] Note, for instance, passing reference to a communal meal in the *guru*'s home, in BraYā 45.227–230; and to a feast involving non-initiates following the rite of image-installation (*pratiṣṭhā*), in BraYā 4.707–709 (quoted in n. 92 below).

[6] Cf. the discussions of SANDERSON (2009: 296, n. 703) and HATLEY (2007: 228–234).

concerning the persons described stand out: the prominence of male Brahmins in the production and transmission of scripture, and the simultaneous inclusion of a spectrum of other castes. 11 Brahmin males figure among the individuals named, representing a variety of regions and Vedic *śākhā*s. The lineage features two Kṣatriyas and two Śūdras and includes two members of the "tribal" *mātaṅga* community as well; the remaining individuals belong to unspecified castes. This inclusive metacommunity may reflect the actual diversity of participants in the BraYā's cult, for caste and gender, in principle, do not determine eligibility for initiation. The lineage of the text's redactors also intimates the reality that textual production and the status of officiant were likely domains in which male Brahmins predominated.

From the outset, the BraYā articulates a vision of its readership community, its idealised community of practice, that explicitly incorporates women. In the opening chapter, Bhairava prophesies, "'In home after home, O great goddess, whether they be men fit for *siddhi*, or women fit for *siddhi*, [the *Brahmayāmala*] shall spread to all of their homes. But those unfit for *siddhi*, whether a man or women, shall not attain even the mere *vidyā-mantra*, O great queen.' Thus did speak Bhairava."[7] This is not isolated rhetoric, for references to initiated women abound in the text, and two women figure prominently in the revelation narrative. One of these participates directly in the text's transmission. She is in fact the goddess Bhairavī or Aghorī herself, the divine interlocutor whose questions to Bhairava structure the text. Incarnate in the world in response to a curse, she was born as the girl Sattikā[8] in a village near Prayāga to a Brahmin named Meghadatta and is said to possess intellect (*buddhi*) and the marks of auspiciousness (*lakṣaṇānvitā*). Worshipping the *liṅga* perpetually with great devotion, at the age of thirteen she attained perfection (*siddhā*) through the grace of the supreme *śakti*,[9] thence ascending into the skies where she re-

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[7] BraYā 1.116c–118 (edition of HATLEY 2018): *gṛhe gṛhe mahādevi ye punsāḥ siddhibhājanāḥ* || 116 || *striyo vā siddhibhāginyas teṣām api gṛheṣv atha | pracariṣyati deveśi evam vai bhairavo 'bravīt* || 117 || *asiddhibhājanā ye tu puruṣo 'tha striyo 'tha vā | vidyāmātram apiś caiva na prāpsyanti mahādhipe* || 118 ||.

[8] The name appears only once in the BraYā's old manuscript, where the orthography is ambiguous: both *santikā* and *sattikā* are possible. I consider the latter more probable and interpret this as the Prakrit equivalent of Sanskrit *śaktikā*.

[9] BraYā (HATLEY 2007) 1.24–30: *tatas tvām vihvalān dṛṣṭvā gṛhītaḥ karuṇayā hy aham | evam uktāsi kāruṇyān mahāmanyubhṛtena tu* || 24 || *bhūrlokaṃ gaccha deveśe avatāraṃ kuruṣva 'tha | brāhmaṇasya gṛhe deham aparaṃ gṛhṇa suvrate* || 25 || *tatrasthāyās tatas tubhyaṃ bhaktyāhaṃ saṃpracoditaḥ | anugrahaṃ kariṣyāmi*

gained her consort, Bhairava, and the divine name Aghorī. This sets the
stage for Bhairava once again to reveal to her the BraYā, which Śrīkaṇṭha
had earlier imparted to him, setting in motion the process by which the
scripture once more reaches the world in redactions of various length.

One other woman participates in revelation, though indirectly: Deikā of
Ujjayinī. After numerous miscarriages, she bathed and approached the
Mother-goddesses, praying for a son; impelled by the *śakti*, the Mothers
placed in her womb a failed *sādhaka* named "Without a Mantra"
(Amantrin), an initiate who in a previous birth had broken the initiatory
pledges (*samaya*).[10] Belying this ignominy, Amantrin's combination of
Tantric initiation and breach of the initiatory pledges in a past life defines
the exalted type of *sādhaka* known as the *tālaka*, whose virtuoso transgres-

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*tavāhaṃ śakti-r-ājñayā | mayā sārddhaṃ punas tv aikyan tat sarvvaṃ prāpsyasi
priye* || 26 || *tato 'vatīrṇṇā madvākyāt prayāgasya samīpataḥ | kaṇavīre mahāgrāme
meghadattagṛhe śubhe* || 27 || *chandogasya mahādevi utpannā lakṣaṇānvitā | sattikā
tatra saṃjātā tava nāman na saṃśayaḥ* || 28 || *tato mahā tvayā bhaktyā buddhisam-
pannayā hy ahaṃ | ārādhito mahādevi satataṃ liṅgapūjayā* || 29 || *tatra trayodaśe
varṣe siddhā tvaṃ śaktyanugrahāt | khecaratvam avāpnoṣi saṃprāptā ca mamānti-
kam* || 30 ||. ("[24] After this, seeing you agitated, I was overcome by compassion. I
spoke to you thus – out of compassion but filled with great anger: [25] 'Go to the
mundane world (*bhūrloka*), O queen of the gods; incarnate yourself. Take on another
body in the house of a Brahmin, O pious lady. [26] Then, impelled by your devotion
while you dwell there, I shall bestow my grace upon you, by command of the *śakti*.
Oneness with me again – you will obtain all this, my dear.' [27] Then, by my order,
you took incarnation near Prayāga in the large village of Kaṇavīra, in the good home
of Meghadatta. [28] O great goddess, you were begotten of *chāndogya* [Brahmins]
and possessed the marks of auspiciousness. Born there, undoubtedly, your name was
Sattikā. [29] Then, endowed with intelligence, you paid reverence to me through
constant *liṅga* worship, with great devotion. [30] There, in [your] thirteenth year,
you attained *siddhi* by the grace of the *śakti*. You attained the state of a Sky-traveller
and reached my proximity.").

[10] The narrative concerning Amantrin or Svacchandabhairava and his disciples,
spanning two Kaliyugas, comprises BraYā 1.78c–118 (published in HATLEY 2018).
See especially BraYā 1.81–86b: *ujjainyāyān tu saṃjāto viprajo †ukaputrakaḥ† |
deikā tasya vai mātā bahugarbhaprasāritā* || 81 || *snātācāmati mātṛṇāṃ purataḥ
putrakāṅkṣiṇī | japtavidyo mahāvīryaḥ samayalaṅghaprabhāvataḥ* || 82 || *kṣipiṣyanti
hy asiddhatvān mātarāḥ śakticoditāḥ | tasyā garbhe mahābhāge amantrīnāmakas
tathā* || 83 || *tatas tasya mahādevi tāsāṃ caiva prabhāvataḥ | vidyāṃ prāpya japaṃ
kṛtvā tataḥ śāstraṃ sa vetsyati* || 84 || *tato nibaddhagranthaś ca divyasaṅgānu-
bhāvataḥ | daśasāhasrakenārtham aśeṣaṃ kathayiṣyati* || 85 || *tatas tenaiva jñānena
paścāt siddhiṃ sa lapsyati* |.

sive rituals are among the BraYā's paramount concerns.[11] Reborn, Amantrin regains the BraYā's *vidyā-mantra* "by the power of the Mother-goddesses" and attains *siddhi*. Consecrated as Svacchandabhairava, he learns a redaction of the BraYā from Krodhabhairava, the primordial disciple of the goddess. His own disciples preside over ever-diminishing redactions of the scripture at the twilight of the cosmic cycle, at the end of which goddesses known as *yoginī*s hide away the teachings altogether.

Of contrasting pedigree and attainment, the women of this narrative share in more than having vernacular, Prakrit names: both appear to lack Tantric initiation, engaging in lay devotional worship which ultimately bears fruit by divine grace. This is particularly striking in the case of Sattikā, who in effect recovers her former, forgotten divinity through devotional worship (*liṅgapūjā*) alone rather than Tantric methods. Given the abundant evidence in the text for female initiation, this invites questions concerning the nature of women's roles in the religion.

Terms for women, terms for goddesses

Discourse concerning women occurs primarily in the BraYā's descriptions of ritual, whose paradigmatic agent is the male *sādhaka* or *mantrin* (less frequently, *yogin*). Initiation binds him to the demanding ascetic and ritual regimens delineated over the course of this twelve-thousand verse scripture, above all in chapter 45, recently edited and studied by KISS (2015). In addition to the *sādhaka*, who is of three grades,[12] the text envisions two other categories of initiated practitioner: the neophyte, called the *samayin* or pledge-holder; and the *ācārya* (also *deśika* or *guru*), the Tantric officiant who is entitled to confer initiation.[13] Supernatural attainment (*siddhi*) is the predominant ritual aim, and in contrast to the mainstream of the Mantramārga, the BraYā does not envision a category of liberation-seeking practitioner distinct from the *sādhaka* (known in other sources as the *pu-*

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[11] On the *tālaka*, whose ritual program is a key topic of BraYā 45, see KISS 2015: 35–55.

[12] See KISS (ibid.). The grades of *sādhaka* are the transgressive *tālaka*, the *miśraka* of "mixed" purity, and the vegetarian, celibate *carubhojin*. A somewhat different fourfold typology of *sādhaka*s appears in the latter chapters of the BraYā (*paṭala*s 91–94).

[13] Initiation (*dīkṣā*) and consecration (*abhiṣeka*) are mainly treated in a cycle of seven voluminous chapters, *paṭala*s 32–38.

traka, "son [of the *guru*]").[14] A number of rituals also require the participation of one or more individuals referred to as "assistant *sādhaka*" (*uttarasādhaka*) or "friend/companion" (*sakhāya*), presumed male. These expressions indicate a ritual function rather than grade of initiation, though the *uttarasādhaka* may typically have been a neophyte.[15]

A distinct and more nebulous vocabulary applies to the women involved in ritual. Multiple words may refer to female practitioners, terminology which TÖRZSÖK (2014) has fruitfully analysed in the contexts of the BraYā and the closely-related *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*. Generic Sanskrit words for women occur throughout the BraYā, such as *strī*, *vanitā*, *nārī*, and *abalā*. In some cases, these may apply to female practitioners; in particular, TÖRZSÖK (2014: 358–364) highlights the frequent occurrence of *abalā* ("powerless," a member of the "weaker sex"), suggesting that this usage contrasts the "powerless" condition of womanhood with the possibility of apotheosis through Tantric ritual: a transformation from *abalā* to a state of divine power and autonomy. More often, the BraYā employs terms which specifically intimate a woman's status as an initiated practitioner, principally *śakti*, *dūtī*, and *yoginī* (or *yogeśī*), and secondarily *bhaginī*, *bhairavī*, and *adhikāriṇī*. In contrast to the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, the term *sādhakī*, feminine of *sādhaka*, does not occur in the BraYā, nor does *sādhikā*, a term appearing in numerous much later sources.[16]

Notably, each of the BraYā's main terms for female practitioners possesses a double sense, potentially designating female initiates, but in other contexts referring to female divinities. In contrast, few terms for male practitioners apply also to deities (one of these exceptions being *vīra*, "hero"). This distinction may reflect the emphasis on female divinisation prevalent in Śākta-Śaiva traditions. These two levels of meaning obtain even with lesser-used designations for initiated women, namely *bhaginī* ("sister"), which also designates the cult goddesses of the *vāmasrotas* (the "leftward

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[14] The possibility that a *sādhaka* might seek liberation alone is intimated in BraYā 25.342cd: "These three pantheons are taught for the *sādhaka* who desires liberation" (*etad yāgatrayaṃ proktaṃ mumukṣo[ḥ] sādhakasya tu*).

[15] *sakhāya* is a variant stem of the irregular Sanskrit *sakhi* ("companion"); see EDGERTON (1953, vol. I: §10.8). On the desired qualities of the *uttarasādhaka*, which include knowledge of the initiatory pledges (*samaya*), see BraYā 21.51–54 (KISS 2015).

[16] Concerning *sādhakī*, which occurs in chapter 10 of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, see TÖRZSÖK 2014. *sādhikā* seems mainly to occur in late-medieval East Indian Śākta Tantras, for instance *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya* 9.94.

stream" of scriptural revelation); and *bhairavī*, a common name for the supreme goddess herself. An exception to the double valence of terms for women is the descriptor *adhikāriṇī*, "authorised/entitled," which the BraYā uses occasionally in the sense of "woman entitled to the teachings [by initiation]."[17]

To a large degree, context dictates the use of terms for women. While the expressions *śakti* and *dūtī* appear almost exclusively to designate a female participant in sexual rites, the BraYā avoids the expressions *yoginī* and *bhaginī* in this context. These two pairs of terms thus correlate with strikingly divergent representations of women.

dūtī, "female messenger/go-between," in this literature has the sense of "female companion," i.e., ritual consort. Applied to deities, *dūtī* designates four of the eight goddesses who comprise the core retinue of Kapālīśabhairava, the BraYā's principal male deity. Known also as "the handmaidens" (*kiṅkarī*), their status is secondary to the tetrad of *devī*s or *guhyakā*s. All eight goddesses serve as *dūtī*s of Kapālīśabhairava, who, in the BraYā's opening verse, is said to sport as a *liṅgam* in their lotuses with unexcelled pleasure.[18] Applied to women, in the BraYā *dūtī* refers exclusively to female participants in sexual ritual, in alternation with *śakti*. Though similarly restricted to the context of sexual ritual, *śakti* is in fact the most widely occurring term for initiated women in the BraYā. This accords with the fact that -*śakti* is appended to female initiation names, much as male names end with -*bhairava*. Doctrinally, *śakti* denotes the power (gendered female) of the (male) supreme deity, both in its totality and as differentiated into various aspects, such as Śiva's powers of knowledge, action, volition, and grace. Personified as the singular supreme goddess, *śakti* also pervades the cosmos as the myriad female deities who are her rays (*raśmi*, *gabhasti*, etc.). These embodiments include the flesh-and-blood *śakti*s who serve in ritual as conduits to this transcendent power.

In contrast, the category *yoginī* may designate women as autonomous ritualists or even living goddesses beyond the context of sexual ritual. Integral to the category *yoginī* (synonym *yogeśī*) is its blurring of boundaries between the divine and human, for this category of divine female repre-

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[17] This term occurs in BraYā 45.575a and thrice in *paṭala* 24, which uses the expressions *anadhikāriṇī* ("a woman not authorised," 24.74a), *pūrvādhikāriṇī* ("previously [but no longer?] authorised," 24.75a), and *guptādhikāriṇī* ("secretly authorised," 24.85d).

[18] BraYā 1.1b: *dūtīnāṃ padmaṣaṇḍe 'samasukhavilasal liṅgarūpaṃ bibharti |.*

sents a state of being women seek to attain through ritual perfection.[19] Applied to goddesses, *yoginī* ("female yogi" or "possessed of yogic power") designates flying, shapeshifting deities central to Vidyāpīṭha cults such as the BraYā's, goddesses with whom *sādhaka*s sought visionary, power-bestowing encounters (*melaka*). A sextet of *yoginī*s belongs to the BraYā's core deity pantheon, and its extended pantheon incorporates multiple similar sets. Applied to women, the BraYā uses *yoginī* in a sense close to "female *sādhaka*" (/*mantrin* or *yogin*), as illustrated by these terms' occasional pairing. Note, for instance, BraYā 22.72cd, which promises, "A *sādhaka* or *yoginī* [becomes] perfected [through this worship system (*yajana*)], without a doubt, O goddess" (*siddhas tu sādhako devi yoginī vā na saṃśayaḥ*).[20] Strikingly, in the BraYā this usage mainly occurs in ritual contexts of a non-sexual nature. In other words, unlike the terms *śakti* and *dūtī*, the BraYā avoids using *yoginī* in the sense of "ritual consort." It is thus ironic that WHITE's (2003) monographic treatment of Tantric sexual ritual revolves so squarely around the figure of the *yoginī*, whom he conflates with the Tantric ritual *dūtī* or *śakti*, counter to the usage prevalent in many, if not most, early Tantric Śaiva sources. If the term *śakti* suggests a view of female practitioners as necessary complements to the male, conduits to the ultimate source of power – Śiva's *śakti* – *yoginī* reflects a vision of female practitioners as independent and powerful, as actual or potential goddesses. Even in a rare instance where *yoginī* describes a woman potentially engaging in sex with a *sādhaka*, she is represented as instigating the encounter herself, stirred by the supreme *śakti*.[21] As I will argue subsequently, in the *yoginī* we glimpse the possibility of women as autonomous ritualists who act to attain their own objectives rather than facilitating the aims of men.

A similar possibility underlies the term *bhaginī* or "sister." This occurs sparsely in the BraYā, but is notable for suggesting, as TÖRZSÖK (2014: 360) observes, a non-sexual relationship based upon initiatory kinship: *bhaginī* occurs mainly in explanations of the verbal and non-verbal codes (*chomma*) used to identify and communicate with other initiates – the

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[19] For analysis of the category *yoginī*, see TÖRZSÖK 2009 and HATLEY 2013.

[20] See also the introduction to *paṭala* 14, cited below in n. 96.

[21] BraYā 24.75c–76b: *āsām madhye kadā cit syād yoginī śakticoditā* [em.; °*coditaḥ* ms.] ‖ 75 ‖ *icchate sādhakaṃ devi bhoktavyā -m- aviśaṅkite* [em.; *avaśaṅkite* ms.] |. ("If a *yoginī* among those women at some point desires the *sādhaka*, impelled by the *śakti*, she may be enjoyed without hesitation, O goddess.").

sādhaka or *bhrātṛ* ("brother") and *yoginī* or *bhaginī* ("sister").[22] This category of women receives meagre attention, perhaps on account of lacking immediate relevance to the male *sādhaka*'s ritual life – the text's predominant concern.

It should be emphasised that the contextual, relational nature of these terms for women leaves open the possibility of significant overlap. A woman represented in one context as a *śakti* or *dūtī* could be viewed in another as a *yoginī* or *bhaginī*.[23] Nonetheless, I will argue that the BraYā's divergent ways of representing female practitioners point toward women of diverse status and accomplishment, and not merely a multiplicity of ritual roles.

Women as ritual consorts

The BraYā's most extensive references to women occur in the context of rituals involving coitus, where *dūtī* and *śakti* serve as their main designations. Descriptions of the *dūtī* or *śakti* in sexual ritual provide a vivid, though entirely one-sided window into women's ritual roles. Much data derives from the BraYā's *sādhakādhikārapaṭala*, chapter 45, a treatise of 674 verses on the disciplines of *sādhaka*s published by KISS (2015). Of the three grades of *sādhaka*, who is unambiguously male, only the disciplines of the *tālaka* or "pure" (*śuddha*) *sādhaka* mandate ritual coitus. While the *tālaka*'s demanding disciplinary regimen is delineated with abundant detail, the *dūtī* with whom he consorts finds mention only when she features in his ritual. Her religious life is little expanded upon beyond her role in the *tālaka*'s practices.[24] Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear that the BraYā envisioned ritual consorts as initiated practitioners.

Delineating the characteristics desirable in a consort, a passage in chapter 45 of the BraYā (vv. 186–189b) depicts the ideal *dūtī* as an accomplished ritualist. Beauty appears among her desired qualities (186d), but this is not expressed in particularly erotic terms. On the other hand, her capacity for asceticism and meditation, devotion, learning, and her understanding of nondualism (*advaita*) are key. The ideal female partner, in other words, is an accomplished Tantric adept:[25]

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[22] See BraYā 56.98c–102, quoted in n. 123 below.

[23] Cf. TÖRZSÖK's (2014: 341–342) cogent remarks on the fluidity of the categories of women she identifies in early Śākta-Śaiva works.

[24] This omission is not entirely determined by gender; a similar silence surrounds the *sādhaka*'s male assistant (the *uttarasādhaka*).

[25] Text as constituted by KISS 2015, except as noted; translation mine. This pas-

guru-m-ādeśasamprāptā śobhanā lakṣaṇānvitā || 186 ||
jitāsanā mahāsattvā tantrasadbhāvabhāvitā |
gurudevapatibhaktā kṣutpipāsājitaśramā || 187 ||
advaitavāsitā nityaṃ nirvikalpā hy alolupā |
samādhijñātha yogajñā jñānajñā saṃśitavratā[26] || 188 ||
tām avāpya mahāprājñaḥ[27] *kalpoktaṃ tu samācaret* |

[186c–87] Obtained by the command of the *guru*, lovely, possessing
the marks of auspiciousness, who has mastered the sitting postures
(*jitāsanā*), possessing great spirit, purified by the true essence of the
Tantras, devoted to the *guru*, the deity, and her husband (*pati*), unfa-
tigued by hunger and thirst, [188–89b] ever steeped in nonduality,
free of discriminative thoughts and lust, well-versed in trance
(*samādhi*), *yoga*, and scriptural wisdom (*jñāna*), steadfast in the ob-
servances (*vrata*): after obtaining [a woman like] her, a man of great
wisdom should practice what is taught in his ritual manual (*kalpa*).

Despite this emphasis on her skill and virtue, the *dūtī* or *śakti* is represented
as having minimal ritual agency, and the BraYā expands little upon her
religious life beyond her sexual role. She enters into action in chapter 45
after nearly 200 verses dedicated to the male *sādhaka* and his preparatory
rituals. "Firm in her resolve" and with hair unbound, she is naked but for
the Five Insignia (*mudrāpañcaka*) fashioned of human bone. The *sādhaka*
worships her vulva and prepares a bed. They copulate and then consume
the mixed sexual fluids "joyfully."[28] Their alternating patterns of worship,
coitus, *mantra* incantation, and fire sacrifice have numerous inflections, as

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sage is also discussed by TÖRZSÖK 2014: 343.

   [26] *saṃśita°*] em.; *saṃśṛta°* ms.; *saṃśrita°* ed.

   [27] *°prājñaḥ*] em.; *°prājñoḥ* ms., ed.

   [28] BraYā 45.198–202 (edited by KISS 2015): *agrataḥ śaktim āropya ūrdhva-*
rūpāṃ digāmbarām | *mudrāpañcakasaṃyuktaṃ muktakeśī dṛḍhavratām* || 198 ||
pīṭhaṃ tu-m-ārcayet tasyā astrodakasamanvitām | *vilepayitvā gandhais tu āsanaṃ*
tatra kalpayet || 199 || *yāgaṃ pūrvavidhānena aśeṣaṃ tatra vinyaset* | *bhūmyāṃ*
tathāsanaṃ kṛtvā svalpaprastaraṇāntikam || 200 || *upaviśyāpayet tatra cumbanā-*
dyāvagūhanam | *kṛtvā kṣobhaṃ samārabhya pavitraṃ gṛhya sādhakaḥ* || 201 ||
prāśayitvā tu tau hṛṣṭau yāgadravyāṇi prokṣayet | *arcanaṃ hi tataḥ kṛtvā naivedyāni*
tu dāpayet || 202 ||.

do their costumes and sexual positions.[29] Throughout the performance, the *sādhaka* is the principal ritual agent. She stands, sits, lays down, or is entered into as the ritual demands. Along with the *maṇḍala* and fire, her vulva serves as a primary locus for installation (*nyāsa*) and worship of the *mantra*-deities. Her role is passive to such an extent that she is repeatedly instructed not to rise from the bed while the *sādhaka* performs worship (*yāga*) or fire sacrifice (*homa*).[30] Indeed, at least in this chapter, it is unclear whether she actively engages in worship with the *sādhaka* at all between bouts of coitus. A passage from another chapter (30) epitomises the consort's lack of ritual agency: the *tālaka*, in the absence of a flesh-and-blood *śakti*, is instructed to create a substitute made of clay or *kuśa*-grass.[31]

The degree to which the BraYā's sexual rituals are framed in terms of the *sādhaka*'s religious aspirations is illustrated by the rites for seeing his past lives.[32] A rather unique "Tantric community" obtains in these virtuoso sexual performances. These rites are a form of ritual diagnostics: through them, an unsuccessful *sādhaka* seeks a vision of his past lives to identify obstacles impeding his quest for *siddhi*. Playing on the double meaning of *yoni*, the premise is to use a woman's womb (*yoni*) to see one's past births (*yoni*). To have knowledge of three lives, the *sādhaka*'s own consort will suffice, but a vision of seven lives requires the participation of seven initiated

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[29] KISS (2015: 47–48) summarises the pattern of worship as follows: "The basic ritual ... includes ritual bathing (*snāna*), mantric installation (*nyāsa*), him entering the ritual site (*devāgāra*) and the performance of worship (*pūjā*). The *sādhaka* should perform pantheon worship (*yāga*) and fire rituals (*homa*), facing south, his hair dishevelled, naked, his body covered in ashes. His female partner should be standing, naked, her *pīṭha*, i.e., her genitals, are to be worshipped, and the installation of the pantheon (*nyāsa*) should be performed on them. She then sits down, he kisses and embraces her, he brings her to orgasm, collects the sexual fluids, and they eat these sexual fluids together. *Homa* is performed again with transgressive substances such as cow flesh. He inserts his *liṅga* in her *pīṭha*, and finally *homa* of meat is performed." This basic pattern is inflected for different ritual aims, for details of which see the edition and translation.

[30] See BraYā 45.278cd, 282, 309, 312, etc.

[31] BraYā 30.218–219b: *naktabhojī mahāvīraḥ śaktiyuktas tu tālakaḥ | śaktyālābhe mahādevi mṛnmayīṃ* [em.; *mṛnmayī* ms.] *kārayed budhaḥ* ‖ 218 ‖ *kuśamayīṃ vāpi deveśi śaktihīno na kārayet |*. ("The greatly heroic *tālaka* should eat by night, together with the *śakti*. In the absence of a *śakti*, O great goddess, a wise man should fashion [an effigy of one] out of clay or *kuśa*-grass. He should not perform [the ritual] without a *śakti*, O queen of the gods" [understanding *kārayet* as non-causative in sense]).

[32] BraYā 45.529c–636.

women. Led by his consort, the women sit in a row, dressed in red. Over a period of seven days, the *sādhaka* copulates with each in turn in the course of the daily rites. During interludes, they are instructed to pass the time in song and other pleasant diversions (*vinoda*).[33] The most elaborate version of the rite requires eight women, performed while sequestered in an earthen hut or cave (*bhūgṛha*) for a period of six months. The women recruited should be "led by one's consort, lovingly devoted, full of faith, initiated, and free of shame and aversion."[34] They enter the dark chamber with hair unbound, naked but for a *yoga*-cloth, or else wearing red garments.[35] Arrayed like goddesses in the eight directions around the Bhairava-like *sādhaka*, he copulates with them in turn in the daily rites. No reward is promised to the women for their trouble, while the *sādhaka* may attain mastery over all *mantra*s and omniscient vision.[36] One is left to imagine the claims and incentives motivating women's participation, on which the text is silent.

Who served as Tantric consorts, and under what circumstances? What kinds of relationships obtained outside of ritual? In general, the prescriptive literature affords meagre insight into such questions. Some useful data nonetheless emerges from the study of chapter 24 of the BraYā and a section of chapter 22, which concern the "secret nectars" (*guhyāmṛta*).[37] These include alcoholic drinks, for which the text provides numerous recipes (*āsavalakṣaṇa*, BraYā 24.129c–189). Its principal concern, however, is with sexual and menstrual fluids. In this context the consort's role is like a milch cow prised for her ritual-sustaining fluids and her *mantra*-empowered vulva.[38] One remarkable rite even uses her body as catalyst for producing magical pills (*guḍikā*), which are made from a pulverised dildo

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[33] BraYā 45.540c–542b.

[34] BraYā 45.597c–98b (KISS 2015): *nāryaṣṭaka samāhṛtya śaktyādyā bhakti-vatsalā || 597 || śraddadhānādhikārī ca nirlajjā nighṛṇās tathā |.*

[35] BraYā 45.608c–609 (KISS 2015): *yogapaṭṭakṛtāṅgābhi digvāsābhis tathaiva ca || 608 || raktavāsottarīyābhir muktakeśābhir āvṛtāḥ | praviśet sādhako dhīras tādṛgbhūto na saṃśayaḥ || 609 ||.*

[36] BraYā 45.649 (KISS 2015): *aṇimādiguṇaiśvaryaṃ tadā tasya prajāyate | mantrā kiṅkaratāṃ yānti tadā devi na saṃśayaḥ || 649 ||.*

[37] Both of these chapters were read, in part, in the Second International Workshop on Early Tantra of 2009, in a session led by Alexis Sanderson. My understanding of the material has benefitted considerably from this. Emendations not my own have been noted as such.

[38] For a detailed account of the BraYā's rites of the "secret nectars," see TÖRZSÖK 2014: 343–344.

fashioned of various impurities, including beef and faeces, after it has been churned in her *yoni*.[39]

This discourse on fluids furnishes valuable detail concerning the *tālaka*'s sexual regulations and the women he consorts with. We learn, for instance, that a *tālaka* may either be "wedded to a single consort" (*ekaśaktiparigrāhin*) or consort with multiple women. The path of committing to a single *śakti* bestows rapid success; yet, as the BraYā twice asserts, such monogamy is "difficult, even for Bhairava."[40] A monogamous *sādhaka* must avoid intercourse with all other women,[41] even if divine *yoginī*s perfected in *yoga* hanker after him.[42] Comparative ease marks the path of the *tālaka* having multiple consorts, but his ritual bears fruit more gradually. A polygamous *sādhaka* "resorts" to his consorts alternately in the daily rites (*āhnika*),[43] apparently maintaining ritual relationships with multiple women concurrently, in addition to his actual wife or wives (who may or may not be Tantric consorts).

How a *tālaka* meets and enters into relations with potential consorts receives scattered attention. One passage speaks of him taking as consort a woman he identifies as a secret initiate.[44] Most of the BraYā's discussions, however, characterise the *dūtī* using kinship terms: "Mother, sister, daughter, and wife are indeed held to be consorts."[45] Problems attend interpreta-

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[39] The recipe for these magical dildo pills appears in BraYā 22.153–155: *dravyaprāsya[ṃ] purā kṛtvā gomānsaṃ kiñcisaṃyutaṃ | surāṣṭhinā samāyuktaṃ piṣṭaṃ piṇḍīkṛtan tathā || 153 || kṣobhadravyeṇa saṃmardya liṅgākāran tu kārayet | prakṣiped yonimadhye tu nimiṣaṃ cālya pīḍayet || 154 || mantram uccārayen mantrī saṃkhyāyāṣṭasatan tathā | karṣayitvā tu taṃ liṅgaṃ guḍikāṃ kārayet tataḥ || 155 ||.* In this passage and elsewhere in the BraYā, *kiñci/kiṃcit* ("a little [something]"?) can refer to faeces, oddly enough; the meaning of *surāṣṭhi* is uncertain.

[40] BraYā 24.110: *ekaśaktiparigrāhī āśu* [corr.; *āśuḥ* ms.] *sidhyati tālakaḥ | duścaraṃ bhairavasyāpi ekaśaktiparigraham || 110 ||* (110cd is repeated in 114cd).

[41] Presumably the *ekaśaktiparigrāhin* is either unmarried or else married to his ritual consort, but this is not clarified.

[42] BraYā 24.111c–112: *manasāpi hi deveśi ekaśaktiparigrahe || 111 || yoginyo yogasiddhās tu yadā tā icchayanti hi | tābhiḥ sārddhan na karttavyaṃ saṅgo vai siddhim icchatā || 112 ||* (understanding *karttavyaṃ* as agreeing with *saṅgo*).

[43] BraYā 24.115–117b: *bahuśaktiparigrāhī sidhyate kālagocarāt | sukhopāyaprakāreṇa* [em.; *°opāyā* A] *nānāśaktivijṛmbhakaḥ || 115 || īpsitāṃ* [em.; *ipsitāṃ* ms.] *labhate siddhiṃ samayāpālanatatparaḥ | bahavaḥ śaktayo yasya paripāṭyā samācaret || 116 || kṣobhaṃ tālakamārgge tu āhnike cāhnike tathā |.*

[44] BraYā 24.85c–87b, quoted below, p. 63.

[45] BraYā 24.32cd, quoted below.

tion of these terms; as TÖRZSÖK (2014: 345) observes, it is unclear "whether they express the relationship of the *dūtī* with the *sādhaka*, or the status of these women, or denote certain conventional types of *dūtī*s defined by the tradition itself." Some statements imply that kinship terms express modes of relationship rather than blood kinship. Take for instance BraYā 24.32c–35b, which has multiple difficulties:

> *mātā ca bhaginī putrī bhāryā vai dūtayaḥ smṛtāḥ*[46] || 32 ||
> *dātavyan tantrasadbhāvaṃ nānyathā tu kadācana*[47] |
> *svaśaktiḥ*[48] *sādhakasyātha adhikārapade sthitā*[49] || 33 ||
> *avikalpakarā nityaṃ jñānatatvārthabhāvitā* |
> *nānyaṃ †vai taraṇe†*[50] *caiva svāmivat sarvvabhāvataḥ* || 34 ||
> *bhrātaraṃ pitaraṃ putraṃ patiṃ vā paśyate sadā* |

[32c–33] Mother, sister, daughter, and wife are indeed held to be consorts. The essence of the Tantras should be given [to them], but never otherwise. The *sādhaka*'s own *śakti* then has entitlement [to perform ritual] (*adhikārapade sthitā*). [34–35b] Always free from discriminating thought (*vikalpa*), purified by the essential meaning of the scriptural wisdom (*jñānatattvārtha*), †she truly …[serves him?]…†[51] and no other as master, with all her heart. She ever looks upon him as brother, father, son, or husband.

The verb *paśyate* implies an affective relationship: she "sees," i.e., looks upon the *sādhaka* as brother, father, etc., a choice perhaps dictated by age difference or the nature of their interactions outside of ritual, including actual kinship. Another point of interest is the suggestion, in 33ab, that a *sādhaka* may himself initiate a woman as a *śakti*, giving her "the essence of the Tantras" and becoming, in effect, her *guru*, despite lacking formal consecration as an officiant (*ācāryābhiṣeka*).[52]

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[46] *smṛtāḥ*] em.; *smṛtā* ms.

[47] *kadācana*] em.; *kadācanaḥ* ms.

[48] *svaśaktiḥ*] corr.; *svaśakti* ms. (unmetrical)

[49] *sthitā*] em.; *sthitāḥ* ms.

[50] *patiṃ*] em.; *patis* ms.

[51] I am unable to interpret *taraṇe* and suspect that a finite verb such as *sevate* underlies this. Csaba Kiss suggests the possibility of *tarpayet*, on a diagnostic basis.

[52] This is consistent with indications in chapter 38 that a *sādhaka* – and not only the *ācārya* – may bestow the initiation for neophytes (*samayīkaraṇa*), an issue meriting closer study.

Subsequent passages both enrich and complicate this picture. BraYā 24.49–61 seems relatively unambiguous in envisioning actual kinswomen as consorts:

> *mātā siddhipradā proktā bhaginī ca tathaiva ca |*
> *putrī caiva nijā śaktiḥ*[53] *sarvvasiddhipradāyikā*[54] *|| 59 ||*
> *tatkālavyatirekeṇa punar lobhā*[55] *na saṃbhajet |*
> *garbhiṇīṃ*[56] *naiva kṣobhīta dravyārthaṃ sādhakottamaḥ || 60 ||*
> *bhāryām āhṇikavarjyā*[57] *tu garbhiṇīm api kṣobhayet |*
> *bhaginīṃ vātha putrīṃ vā na kuryā*[58] *kurute yadā || 61 ||*

[59] Mother, sister, and likewise daughter are said to bestow *siddhi*; one's own consort (*nijā śakti*) bestows all *siddhi*s. [60] Aside from the time [of ritual], one should not copulate with them out of lust. The excellent *sādhaka* must not sexually stimulate a pregnant woman to procure substance (*dravya*). [61] Excluding the daily rites, he may [however] sexually stimulate his wife, even if she is pregnant. He should not do so to sister or daughter; when he does do so …

There follows a rite of reparation by which the inappropriately-bedded "sister" or "daughter" becomes fit (*yogyā*) again for ritual. In restricting coitus with consorts to ritual, prohibiting ritual coitus with pregnant women, and allowing for non-ritual coitus with one's wife, even if pregnant, this passage evokes a realistic domestic milieu. The distinction made between "one's own consort" (*nijā śakti*) and "mother, sister, and daughter" could also suggest that in addition to his principal consort (his wife?), a *sādhaka* might have various auxiliary consorts drawn from among kinswomen. There is little to suggest that terms such as "sister" here refer to affective relations or consort types rather than actual kinship relationships. A subsequent passage reinforces this impression, delineating a large num-

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[53] *śaktiḥ*] corr.; *śakti* ms.

[54] °*pradāyikā*] ms. (after correction); °*pradāyikāḥ* ms. (before correction)

[55] *lobhā*] em. (Cs. Kiss; understand as ablative, with loss of the final consonant); *llobho* ms.

[56] *garbhiṇīṃ*] em.; *garbhiṇī* ms.

[57] Understand as ablative (°*varjyāt*), or perhaps emend to the accusative.

[58] Understand *kuryā* as optative in sense, with loss of the final consonant.

ber of familial relationships and ending with the statement, "One should take these and other women as consorts."[59]

Although sexual fidelity is expected of a *śakti*,[60] a *sādhaka* may apparently lend or transfer her services to someone else. A problematic section on this subject (24.91c–96b) merits quoting in full. Depending upon how one resolves a textual problem in the initial verse quarter (91c), this passage may address both the circumstances in which a *sādhaka* lends or transfers his consort as well as what to do when he wishes to end his relationship with her:

> *utsṛṣṭā tu*[61] *sadā deyā svaśaktyā*[62] *sādhakena tu* || 91 ||
> *abhyāgatasya*[63] *deveśi devakarmaratasya ca* |
> *prārthitena svayaṃ vāpi yāgakāle na saṃśayaḥ* || 92 ||
> *sāmānyasyāpi dātavyā srotaśuddhiprapālanāt*[64] |

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[59] BraYā 24.68–72b: *bhaginī putriṇī bhāryā yāgakāle* [conj.; *ādyākāle*] *vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ* | *mātāmahī pitāmahī tathā mātṛṣvasā* [corr.; °*svasā* ms.] -*m- api* || 68 || *pitṛbhrātus* [em.; °*bhātṛs* ms.] *tathā bhāryā bhrātur* [em.; *bhrātu* ms.] *bhāryā* [em.; *bhāryās* ms.] *tathaiva ca* | *bhāgneyī tu snuṣā caiva pautṛdohitṛkās* [em.; °*pautṛdohitṛkān* ms.] *tathā* || 69 || *mātulasya tathā pitṛmātṛṣvasā* [corr.; °*svasā* ms.] *tathā* †*pitṝn* | *bhrātā tathā pitā vāpi putṝṃ bhrātaras tathāpi vā*† || 70 || *evamādi tathā cānyā*[ḥ] *śaktayaś caiva kārayet* | *mātuḥ sapatnī* [em.; *svapatnī* ms.] †*māte vā*† *śaktyā vā* [conj.; *vai* ms.] *kārayed budhaḥ* || 71 || *anyathā kurute mohāt prāyaścittaṃ samācaret* |. ("[68–69b] At the time of worship, [this] is said to be the procedure: sister, daughter, wife; or else maternal grandmother, paternal grandmother, mother's sister, paternal uncle's wife, brother's wife, [69c–70] sister's daughter (*bhāgneyī*), daughter-in-law (*snuṣā*), granddaughters and daughters of one's maternal uncle, one's maternal or paternal aunt (*pitṛmātṛṣvasā*), † and ... or else one's brother's daughters†. [71–72b] One may take these and other women as consorts. Otherwise, a wise man should take as a consort the co-wife of one's mother † ... †. One who does otherwise, due to infatuation, should perform expiation."). The interpretation of this problematic passage is somewhat conjectural. In 71d, *śaktyā* is accusative singular in sense, though formally nominative, *śaktyā* being a non-standard alternative stem of *śakti*. Cf. the stem *devyā* (for *devī*), which occurs throughout the BraYā. On the accusative for nominative in –*ā* stems, see EDGERTON (1953, vol. I: §9.20–22).

[60] BraYā 45.89cd: "A wise man should take as consort a woman who does not give sexual company to other men" (*nānyasaṅgamasañcārāṃ śaktiṃ kuryād vicakṣaṇaḥ*).

[61] *utsṛṣṭā tu*] conj.; *utkṛṣṭas tu* ms. (see the discussion below)

[62] Understanding *svaśaktyā* as nominative (with the irregular stem -*yā*).

[63] *abhyāgatasya*] em.; *ābhyāgatasya* ms.

[64] °*prapālanāt*] em.; °*prapālanā* ms. (otherwise understand as ablative in sense,

svaśiṣyasyāpi[65] *dātavyā ācāryeṇa mahāyaśe* || 93 ||
svayāge śiṣyayāge vā nirvvikalpena cetasā |
svatantrasamayo hy eṣa bhairaveṇa prabhāṣitam || 94 ||
karttavyo[66] *siddhikāmena*[67] *īrṣāyā varjitena tu* |
tatkālāt[68] *tu mahādevi pralobhaṃ naiva kārayet* || 95 ||
yasya śakti samarppīta tena devi na saṃśayaḥ |

[91c–92] O queen of the gods, when she has been released (? *utsṛṣṭā*),
a *sādhaka* should undoubtedly always give over his consort to a vis-
iting [*sādhaka*] who is devoted to deity worship, at the time of pan-
theon worship (*yāga*), either on request or of his own accord.[69]
[93ab] She may also be given to someone of the same lineage
(*sāmānyasya*) in order to guard the purity of [one's] stream of
transmission (?). [93c–94b] An *ācārya* may also give her to his own
disciple, O woman of renown, with a mind free of conceptualisation,
whether in his own pantheon worship or his disciple's. [94c–95b]
For this is the autonomous convention declared by Bhairava. It is to
be done by one desiring *siddhi*, but devoid of jealousy. [95c–96b] O
great goddess, one who has offered over his *śakti* must not, undoubt-
edly, lust for her afterwards (?).[70]

A number of questions arise: Does the entire passage concern the *śakti*
whom a *sādhaka* releases? Do some cases of transfer apply only for the
duration of ritual? Were consorts economically or socially dependent in
ways that warranted assignation to another *sādhaka* – a kind of "remar-

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with Middle-Indic loss of final -t).

[65] *svaśiṣyasyāpi*] em.; *svaṃ siṣyāpi* ms. Alternatively, read *svaśiṣye 'pi*, as con-
jectured by Alexis Sanderson (in the Pondicherry Early Tantra workshop).

[66] *karttavyo*] em.; *karttavyā* ms.

[67] °*kāmena*] corr.; °*kāmeṇa* ms.

[68] *tatkālāt*] em. (Cs. Kiss, personal communication); *tatkālan* ms.

[69] This interpretation depends on the conjecture of *utsṛṣṭā tu* ("[a woman] let
go/dismissed) in 91a for the ms.'s phonetically similar and contextually unintelligible
utkṛṣṭas tu ("[an] eminent [man]"). While the emendation is conjectural, the reading of
the ms. seems implausible here. I had initially conjectured *utkṛṣṭasya* instead, in which
case 91c–92b could be understood thus: "O queen of the gods, to a visiting [*sādhaka*]
who is distinguished (*utkṛṣṭasya*) and devoted to deity worship, a *sādhaka* should
undoubtedly give over his own consort, either on request or of his own accord."

[70] The construction in 24.95c–96b is grammatically flawed, and the interpretation
somewhat speculative.

riage" – if abandoned? Was continued alliance with a *sādhaka* integral to a woman's belonging and status in the esoteric community? Less ambiguous is the presumption of a *sādhaka*'s control over his consort, to the extent of exclusive power to transfer his ritual "conjugal" rights. (An early twentieth-century Tibetan woman, Sera Khandro, writes of precisely this experience: being transferred from the custody of one Lama to another without consultation.[71]) This *śakti*-sharing finds justification in "ritual nondualism:" the transcendence of discriminative, dualist conceptualisation (*vikalpa*), based most fundamentally on the false dichotomy of "pure" and "impure."[72]

A somewhat different picture emerges from a contrasting passage (BraYā 24.85c–87b), which may speak of male and female initiates forming temporary, voluntary relationships:

> *ādiṣṭo vātha nādiṣṭo*[73] *jñātvā guptādhikāriṇīṃ* || 85 ||
> *śaktyā tu kārayed devi nityam eva hi sādhakaḥ* |
> *pakṣam māsaṃ ritum vāpi ṣaṭmāsam abdam eva vā* || 86 ||
> *āgantūnām*[74] *vidhi hy eṣā śaktīnāṃ tālakasya tu* |

> If he comes to know that a woman is secretly an initiate, whether he is instructed to or not, a *sādhaka* should always make a consort of her,[75] O goddess – for a fortnight, month, season, six months, or year. This is the procedure for the *tālaka* and for adventitious (*āgantū*) *śakti*s.

Qualifying *śaktīnāṃ*, the expression *āgantūnāṃ* could have the sense of "unexpected visitors,"[76] but I would suggest that it has a more technical meaning. A classification of *yoginī*s in chapter 14 of the BraYā, discussed in the next section of this essay, describes the *āgantū* as a woman who attains the wisdom of *yoginī*s through her own ritual accomplishment (14.266). While ambiguous, the passage seemingly intimates a scenario in which a *sādhaka* recognises a woman as a secret initiate and approaches her to enter into a temporary relationship (perhaps by recourse to secret

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[71] JACOBY 2014.

[72] On "ritual nondualism" in early Śākta Tantras, see TÖRZSÖK 2013.

[73] *vātha nādiṣṭo*] em.; *nātha vādiṣṭo* ms.

[74] *āgantūnām*] corr.; *agantūnām* ms.

[75] In 86a, *śaktyā* appears to be accusative singular in sense, though ostensibly a nominative formed on the extended stem *śaktyā* (for *śakti*); see n. 59 above. One might instead emend to *śaktyāṃ*.

[76] Cf. the reference to visiting (*abhyāgata*) *sādhaka*s in BraYā 24.92, quoted above.

signs, *chomma*). As with the subsequently-discussed descriptions of hidden *yoginī*s, the female practitioner envisioned here seems to have a degree of autonomy.

On the whole, the BraYā's representations of sexual ritual ascribe minimal agency to women, treat them as subordinate to the male practitioner, if not as chattel, and largely ignore the question of whether and how they might derive spiritual or temporal benefit. While the *sādhaka*'s goals, ritual actions, and subjective states are delineated minutely, few such instructions are directed toward the consort. There are, for instance, no indications that she should meditate or incant *mantra*s during copulation. In these respects her subjectivity is virtually ignored; yet in contrast, female desire, pleasure, and sexual agency do sometimes feature as concerns.[77] This may seem incongruous with the emphasis on ascetic and religious virtues as preconditions for a consort's selection but accords entirely with the rites' emphasis on the flow of the "secret nectar" (*guhyāmṛta*).

Did the BraYā envision all women involved in sexual ritual as initiated practitioners? Two cases might suggest otherwise: those of the coital ritual known as the *asidhārāvrata* ("sword's edge observance") and the sexual rites of the *miśraka*, the *sādhaka* of "mixed" purity. In the *asidhārāvrata*, the subject of chapter 40, the description of the ideal consort contrasts sharply with that of chapter 45. In this case her erotic appeal receives overwhelming emphasis (40.2–8b):

> [2–3b] [One should find] a woman desirous of lovemaking who possesses the aforementioned qualities (*pūrvalakṣaṇasaṃyuktā*), endowed with surpassing beauty, proud of her pristine youth; [3c–4] flirting with humour and amorous dance, making coquettish gestures and so forth, possessing [fine] garments and jewellery, adorned with all [kinds of] ornaments – endowed with necklaces, armlets, rubies, and strings of pearls – or obtained to the extent of one's means, even if she has very little adornment. [5-6b] Smeared with perfumes and lac (?), ever marked with sandalwood paste, possessing plump, raised breasts very round in girth; her nipples are beautified by flower strands, and her breasts firm. [6c–8b] Devoted and loving, [having] superlative bangles (?), endowed by nature with good conduct, clever and flirtatious, either a Kṣatriya woman, or a woman belong-

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[77] On women's sexual agency, note for instance BraYā 24.75c–76b, quoted above in n. 21.

ing to another caste; and he should adorn himself with apparel of the
same kind.[78]

I would suggest that this emphasis on the consort's beauty and concupisc-
ence is a departure reflecting the distinctive history and aims of the
asidhārāvrata. This observance has roots in an orthodox ascetic discipline
of the same name by which men strove to attain self-restraint in the face of
extreme temptation. As I argue elsewhere (HATLEY 2018), earlier Tantric
versions of the observance emphasise the erotic appeal desired of a consort
but do not envision her as initiated. The BraYā's version of the *asidhārā-
vrata* maintains the emphasis on erotic beauty but departs in envisioning
the consort as an initiate. This is intimated, in particular, by the fact that
following the evening meal, the consort and *sādhaka* perform worship
together.[79] Her erotic appeal serves to augment the *vrata*'s difficulty and
potential efficacy, and it is a stipulation additional to the *dūtī*'s usual quali-
fications. This is signalled by the statement that she should, first of all,
possess "the aforementioned qualities" (*pūrvalakṣaṇasaṃyuktā*, 2a) – in all
likelihood a reference to the list of virtues cited above from chapter 45.[80] In
other words, the consort's dazzling sexiness in the BraYā's *asidhārāvrata*
is merely an inflection of ritual syntax, of the same order as variations in
garb, gesture, paraphernalia, and *mantra*. She must still be an initiated *dūtī*.

In contrast, the rites of the "mixed" (*miśraka*), middle-grade *sādhaka*
more clearly evince the possibility of non-initiated women's participation.
His disciplines in most respects mirror those of the *tālaka* or "pure" *sādha-
ka*, yet, as a general rule, exclude coitus.[81] As an exception to his ritual

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[78] Text and translation from HATLEY (2018); see the latter for discussion of the
passage's numerous problems of text and interpretation. BraYā 40.2–8b: *pūrvva-
lakṣaṇasaṃyuktāṃ yoṣitāṃ suratocchukām | atīvarūpasaṃpannāṃ navayauvanada-
rppitām || 2 || hāsyalāsyavilāsinyāṃ vibhramādividhānakām | vastrālaṅkārasaṃpa-
nnāṃ sarvvābharaṇabhūṣitām || 3 || hārakeyūramāṇikyamuktāvalisusaṃsthitām |
yathāvibhavasaṃprāptāṃ svalpabhūṣaṇakāpi vā || 4 || sugandhamālyā kālā tu ga-
ndhapaṅkāṅkitā sadā | pīnonnatastanopetām ābhogaparimaṇḍalām || 5 || cūcukā sra-
gdāmaśobhā saghanā tu payodharā | bhaktāñ caivānuraktāñ ca valayām uttamo-
ttamā || 6 || prakṛtyā śīlasampannāṃ vidagdhāṃ ca vilāsinīm | rājānayoṣitāṃ vāpi
anyavarṇṇagatām api || 7 || tādṛgvidhopabhogaiś ca ātmānaṃ samalaṅkaret |.*

[79] BraYā 40.18cd: *nityavrataṃ tu niṣkramya tayā sārddhaṃ samācaret |.*

[80] That a passage from chapter 45 is referred to as "earlier" (*pūrva*) suggests that
the chapters were reordered at some point; see HATLEY 2018: 70.

[81] On the *miśraka*'s chastity, note, e.g., BraYā 45.435a, "He is always engaged in
celibacy" (*brahmacaryarato nityaṃ*); and 447cd, "And he should not have intercour-

chastity, he may perform coital ritual by command of the *guru* (*ādeśena*), but only if he succeeds in magically summoning a female being, whether human or divine.[82] It seems that any which female one magically attracts becomes a suitable consort, with no stipulations or restrictions concerning initiation. He must in fact accept whomever appears, at the pain of expiation.[83] Minimal detail concerning women emerges from these passages, beyond vague indications that celestial maidens (*divyakanyā*) were the preferred targets of magical summoning (*ākarṣaṇa*).[84] Nonetheless, an encounter with an initiated, flesh-and-blood woman is key to the curious circumstance by which a *miśraka* takes up the *tālaka*'s path (*tālakamārga*), as a somewhat doubtful passage describes (BraYā 45.523c–526b):[85]

> *ādeśaṃ tu vijānīyād yadāsau lakṣaṇānvitā*[86] || 523 ||
> *upatiṣṭhe svayaṃ śaktiḥ ādiṣṭā śakticoditā |*
> *puṣpakāle bhaven nityaṃ phalaṃ yasya*[87] *na saṃśayaḥ* || 524 ||

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se with women" (*strīsaṅgaṃ ca na kurvīta*).

[82] The circumstances permitting coitus are first addressed in BraYā 45.439: "By command, O great goddess, [the *miśraka*] may attract and enjoy [a woman]; conjoined with [this] consort, he may accomplish all rites." (*ādeśena mahādevi ākṛṣyākṛṣya bhuñjayet | sādhayet sarvakarmāṇi śaktiyuktas tu miśrakaḥ ||*). This accords with a discussion of the *miśraka* in BraYā 24.100c–101.

[83] BraYā 45.505–508 (ed. Kɪss 2015; translation mine): "Having repeatedly magically attracted a beautiful divine maiden, he [the *miśraka*] should enjoy her. Together with them [i.e., her], the *mantrin* should again observe what is stipulated in his ritual manual, in due sequence. The *miśraka sādhaka* should without hesitation take a woman attracted by *mantra*s as his consort, undoubtedly. Otherwise, the *miśraka* should always observe celibacy. Without a doubt, he attains *siddhi* while situated in a sacred field – not otherwise. But he must not [in this case] enjoy a [woman who is] attracted; [if so,] the *miśraka* must perform expiation of 12,000 *mantra* recitations." (*ākṛṣyākṛṣya bhuñjīta divyakanyāṃ manoramām | tābhi sārdhaṃ caren mantrī kalpoktāni punaḥ kramāt || 505 || ākṛṣṭā ya bhaven mantrai sa śaktiṃ nātra saṃśayaḥ | kartavyaṃ miśrakenaiva sādhakenāviśaṅkinā || 506 || athavā brahmacaryeṇa vartayen miśrakaḥ sadāḥ | sidhyate hy avicāreṇa kṣetram āśritya nānyathā || 507 || ākṛṣṭāṃ na tu bhuñjīta prāyaścittaṃ samācaret | daśasāhasrikaṃ jāpyaṃ kartavyaṃ miśrakena tu || 508 ||*).

[84] Note for instance BraYā 45.532ab: *ākṛṣyākṛṣya mantrais tu divyakanyāṃ manoramām |*.

[85] Text as per Kiss 2015, except as noted; my translation departs in a few respects and is somewhat conjectural.

[86] *lakṣaṇānvitā*] em.; *lakṣaṇānvitaḥ* ms., ed.

[87] Perhaps emend to *phalaṃ yasyā*: "[a woman] from/of whom there are results," i.e., who enables the fruition (*siddhi*) of the *sādhaka*'s ritual.

samayī bhaktisampannā yadā tasya prajāyate |
tadā devi vijānīyād ādeśo mama nānyathā || 525 ||
yogibhir kathito 'py evaṃ tadā mantrī vilakṣayet |

[523c–24] He should recognise [my] command [to become a *tālaka*] when a consort possessing the auspicious marks would spontaneously approach him, by [divine] command, impelled by the [cosmic] *śakti*. In all cases she would be in her menses, which undoubtedly give results [in ritual] (?). [525–26b] When a female neophyte endowed with devotion appears to him, then, O goddess, he should recognise my command;[88] not otherwise. A *mantrin* should likewise discern [my command] when it is spoken by *yoginī*s.[89]

As will be elaborated further below, ritual imbues a *sādhaka*'s encounters with female beings with meaning, whether nocturnal visions of airborne goddesses, sightings of villagers, or chance encounters with a solitary woman. In the *miśraka*'s case, an auditory exchange with goddesses or fortuitous meeting with a menstruating female initiate serves as the sign to embark on the *tālaka*'s discipline, which requires a qualified consort. Unusually, here her initiatory status is stated explicitly: that of the neophyte (*samayī*, an irregular feminine for *samayinī*).

Beyond the magically summoned consorts of *miśraka*s, non-initiated women are largely peripheral to the BraYā's ritual. To some extent the cultic focus on goddesses translates into ritualised reverence for women. Respectful behaviour is mandated for those undertaking ascetic observances (*vrata*): a *sādhaka*, for instance, must address women he encounters as

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[88] In 525d, *ādeśo* should be understood as accusative in sense; cf. EDGERTON (1953, vol. I: §8.36).

[89] As KISS (2015) notes, *yogibhiḥ* (526a) is non-standard, occurring for the feminine *yoginībhiḥ*. I have interpreted this line somewhat differently, primarily in light of BraYā 45.184–185ab. The latter passage seems to state that one commences the *tālaka* path either by command of the *guru* or of the *yoginī*s, as received in *melaka*, a visionary encounter: *eva[ṃ] melakam āpanno ādiṣṭaṃ tair varānane | tālamārga[ṃ] tadā kuryād yadā śuddhas tu sādhakaḥ || 184 || gurvādeśena vā kuryād yogibhiś ca samarpitaḥ |.* ("Having thus attained a visionary encounter, he is commanded by them [the *yoginī*s], O fair woman. He should undertake the path of the *tālaka* when he becomes pure. He should do so either by the command of the *guru* or when offered over [?] by the *yoginī*s.").

"mother" or "sister," and never display anger.[90] Sexual violence is prohibited emphatically.[91] Reverence for women is also a formal element of a ritual involving the wider, non-initiated community. Following *pratiṣṭhā*, the rite by which an officiant empowers a religious image, rendering it fit for worship, one is to feed the leftover food offerings (*naivedya*) to maidens and women, including those of the lowest social status (*antyajā*), alongside the more usual suspects – Śaiva ascetics and Brahmins.[92] Despite such ritualisation of respect for women, their erotic conquest remains one of the BraYā's most widely advertised magical attainments (*siddhi*). An accomplished *sādhaka* "becomes like the god of love, bringing joy to the hearts of women."[93]

Women as ritualists, women as goddesses

A degree of ambiguity surrounds female initiation. The BraYā's cycle of chapters devoted to initiation (*dīkṣā*) and consecration (*abhiṣeka*), *paṭala*s 32–38, is largely silent on the subject. However, its instructions for the assignation of initiatory names based upon the cast of a flower into the *maṇḍala* (*puṣpapāta*) provide a naming convention for females.[94] This silence, punctuated by a note on women's initiatory names, in all likelihood reflects the matter-of-fact acceptance of female initiation at this level of the tradition. As noted by TÖRZSÖK (2014: 355–361), the BraYā and

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[90] BraYā 21.24: *striyo dṛṣṭvā namaskṛtya mātā ca bhaginīti ca | evaṃ saṃbhā-ṣayen mantrī kroṣaṇan tu na kārayet ||*.

[91] E.g., BraYā 84.17cd: *divyākṛṣya* [em; °*kṛṣyan* ms.] *tu bhuñjīta na ca strī sa-balāt* [em.; *śabalā* ms.] *kvacit*. "One may draw down a divine maiden (*divyā*) and enjoy her, but must never [take] a woman by force." (In 17c, *divyā* should be understood as accusative in sense; cf. *śaktyā*, discussed above in n. 59.)

[92] BraYā 4.707–709: *pratiṣṭhāyāṃ na cāśnīyā naivedyaṃ sādhakottamaḥ | tato niṣkramya deveśi samayi sādhu striyān tathā || 707 || kumāryo* [em.; *kumāryau* ms.] *bhojayen mantrī antyajās tu striyo 'pi vā | vratīnāṃ brāhmaṇāṃ* [em.; *brāhmaṇā* ms.] *caiva śivaśāsanadīkṣitām || 708 || bhojayitvā yathāśaktyā bhakṣabhojyādivista-raiḥ | gandhapuṣpaṃ tato datvā kṣamāpya ca visarjayet* [em.; *visarjayat* ms.] *|| 709 ||*. (One might emend *vratīnāṃ* to *vratināṃ*, but cf. EDGERTON 1953, vol. I: §10.201.)

[93] BraYā 64.161ab: *bhavate 'naṅgavat* [em.; *bhavete naṅgava* ms.] *strīṇāṃ hṛda-yānandakārakaḥ |*.

[94] BraYā 34.199c–201b: *nārīṇān* [corr.; *nārīnān* ms.] *tu yadā pātaḥ sthāneṣv* [corr.; *sthānesv* ms.] *eteṣu jāyate || 199 || tena gotreṇa tan nāmaṃ śaktisaṃjñam tadā bhavet | yā yasmiṃ saṃsthitā gotre vīro vā yoginī pi vā || 200 || svagotraṃ rakṣa-yantīha sādhakaś cābalā* [em.; *sādhakañ ca balā* ms.] *tathā |*.

other Vidyāpīṭha and Kaula sources frequently refer to practitioners as belonging to either gender, not only in the context of the initiation of neophytes (*samayadīkṣā*), but in a broad range of ritual contexts. In its more than 750 verses concerning initiation rites, the BraYā makes no allusion to exclusions or modifications for women, and there are no grounds to assume that the ritual differed in substance. In the narrative of the girl Sattikā's apotheosis and her role in transmitting revelation, the BraYā even tacitly provides a model for female guruship.

Chapter 14 of the BraYā, the "chapter of the wheel of the sky-travellers" (*khecarīcakrapaṭala*), stands out among early scriptural texts for presenting a practice system designated specifically, though not exclusively, for initiated women.[95] Demanding though it may be, this teaching is framed as a concession to women's supposed limitations. The goddess complains that the process of worship Bhairava had taught earlier is too elaborate. She characterises female initiates – here referred to as *yoginī*s – as weak in both intellect (*buddhi*) and spirit (*sattva*), yet dedicated to their husbands and full of devotion to the *guru*s. On this account, she requests an easy means (*sukhopāya*) for them to attain *siddhi*.[96] The system expounded in response has as its basis an alphabetical diagram known as the "wheel of the sky-travellers" or "wheel of the flying *yoginī*s" (*khecarīcakra*). From this are formed three principal *mantra*s: the *samayavidyā* or lower (*aparā*) *kulavidyā* ("*vidyā*-mantra of the goddess clans") for neophytes, the *kulavidyā* proper, and the higher (*parā*) *kulavidyā*, also called "heart of the *yoginī*s" (*yoginīhṛdaya*).[97] Rites based on the *khecarīcakra* differ little in most respects from those of the BraYā's various other alphabetical circles (*cakra*), such as the *vidyācakra* of chapter 17 or *bhautikacakra* of chapter 19. What may somewhat set them apart is an emphasis on the aggressive magical acts

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[95] An edition of chapter 14 of the BraYā may be included in volume III of the *Brahmayāmala* (currently in progress).

[96] BraYā 14.1–5: *devy uvāca ǁ yoginyo svalpabuddhyās tu svalpacittālpasatvikāḥ | bhartuḥ śuśrūṣaṇaparā gurubhaktisamanvitāḥ | tāsāṃ siddhir yathā deva tan me brūhi samāsataḥ ǁ 1 ǁ evam vai pṛcchito bhaktyā saṃkṣepārtham mayā purā | yāgan tathaiva deveśa vistaraṃ kathitaṃ tvayā ǁ 2 ǁ saṃkṣepe yāgamārgeṇa sukhopāyena caiva hi | kulakramañ ca vai tāsāṃ yena tāḥ siddhim āpnuyāt ǁ 3 ǁ deva uvāca ǁ vistaraṃ kathitan devi sādhakānāṃ hitāya vai | adhunā sampravakṣyāmi yoginīnāṃ mahodayam ǁ 4 ǁ yāgakramavidhiñ caiva tan me nigadataḥ śṛṇu | sadā karmaratā yās tu yena siddhiṃ labhanti tāḥ ǁ 5 ǁ.*

[97] Cf. the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*'s *mantra khphreṃ*, the "heart of the *yoginī*s" (*yoginīhṛdaya*), which, as TÖRZSÖK (2014: 361) points out, is described as particularly efficacious for women.

sometimes associated with *yoginī*s, such as entry into another's body (*parakāyapraveśa*) and extraction of the vital fluids (*amṛtākarṣaṇa*).[98]

While chapter 14 of the BraYā ostensibly expounds practices for women, much of its content seems strikingly incongruous with this purpose. Some material might more accurately be characterised as rites for a *sādhaka* to attain mastery over both divine and mortal females. One short passage, for instance, teaches the "technique for making [a woman] wet" (*kṣaraṇaprayoga*), aimed at rendering her mad with desire for the *sādhaka*.[99] The chapter also has a lengthy exposition of *haṭhamelaka*, techniques for forcibly drawing down and mastering dangerous goddesses, in which there is little ambiguity concerning the maleness of the ritual subject.[100] As a whole, the chapter appears oriented toward male mastery of ritual disciplines associated with *yoginī*s, practices envisioned as those women perform in their quest for divine apotheosis. Only in this limited sense does the chapter concern women's ritual. It seems implausible to conceive of initiated women as the true intended audience; at most, one might envision the chapter as a basis for oral instructions to female disciples.

The BraYā's conceptions of "female" ritual practice receive further elucidation in this chapter's creative taxonomy of accomplished women. Appended to chapter 14 is a notable passage classifying the *yoginī*s who possess mastery of the *khecarīcakra* (BraYā 14.260c–266). This threefold classification differs in both premise and detail from the text's threefold typology of *sādhaka*s. Among the three categories of *yoginī*, the *āgantukā* ("adventitious" or "newcomer") likely represents the normative female practitioner who attains awakening through ritual means. In the other two cases, notable by its absence is formal initiation: the *jñānagarbhā* ("wisdom-in-the-womb") *yoginī* and *kulodbhavā* ("clan-born") *yoginī* both learn the *kulavidyā mantra* directly from their mother, either in the womb or after birth, experiencing the awakening of wisdom (*jñāna*) later in life. This transformative gnosis defines

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[98] See especially BraYā 14.193–260. Concerning these techniques, see *nāḍyudāya*, *pañcāmṛtākarṣaṇa*, and *parakāyapraveśa* in TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA, vol. III.

[99] BraYā 14.230–235; this is called *kṣaraṇasya prayogaḥ* in 235cd. Upon completion of the rite, the woman in question "being agitated, assuredly approaches and follows after the *sādhaka*, afflicted with passion" (234d–235b: … *kṣubhite madanāturā* || *upaviśyati sāvaśyaṃ sādhakaṃ cānugacchati* |; understand *upaviśyati* as active in sense; cf. EDGERTON 1953, vol. I: §37.22–23).

[100] *haṭhamelaka* is treated in BraYā 14.204–217. The maleness of the subject in this section of the text is explicit in the aforementioned passage on "love magic," 14.230–235.

them as *yoginī*s, a designation which slips here into its double-sense of both female Tantric adept and Tantric goddess:

> *kauliko 'yaṃ vidhiḥ*[101] *prokto yoginīkulanandanaḥ* || 260 ||
> *yasyāś*[102] *cakrasya saṃprāpti -m- avaśyaṃ tasya jāyate* |
> *kulavidyā*[103] *ca deveśi tāṃ śṛṇuṣva samāhitā*[104] || 261 ||
> *jñānagarbhā bhaved yā tu tathā caiva*[105] *kulodbhavā* |
> *āgantukā*[106] *tu yogeśī*[107] *prāpnuvanti na saṃśayaḥ* || 262 ||
> *jñānī mātā pitā caiva jñānagarbheti kīrttitā* |
> *garbhasthāyās tu vai mātā*[108] *kulavidyāṃ*[109] *samarpayet* |
> *ardhatrayodaśe varṣe jñānaṃ*[110] *prāpnoti sā dhruvam* || 263 ||
> *parijñānavatī mātā nādhikārī pitā smṛtaḥ* |
> *sā bhave tu kulotpannā mātā tasyās tu kārayet* || 264 ||
> *karṇajāpan*[111] *tu jātāyāḥ ṣaṇmāsaṃ*[112] *kulavidyayā* |
> *caturviṃśatime*[113] *varṣe jñānaṃ tasyāḥ*[114] *prajāyate* || 265 ||
> *caruṇā yāgamārgeṇa*[115] *amṛtasya tu prāśanāt*[116] |
> *yasyā jñānaṃ*[117] *prajāyeta āgantuḥ*[118] *sā prakīrtitā* || 266 ||
> *anena kramayogena jñānakośa*[119] *suvistarāḥ*[120] |
> *siddhāḥ*[121] *siddhiṃ gamiṣyanti yoginyo nātra saṃśayaḥ* || 267 ||

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[101] *vidhiḥ*] ms. B (paper); *vidhi* ms. A (palm-leaf)

[102] *yasyāś*] B; *yasyā* A

[103] °*vidyā*] °*vidyāś* AB

[104] *samāhitā*] em.; *samāhitāḥ* AB

[105] *caiva*] em.; *caiva tu* AB (unmetrical)

[106] *āgantukā*] em.; *āgantukān*

[107] *yogeśī*] B; *yogeśī* A

[108] *mātā*] B^pc; *mātāṃ* AB^ac

[109] °*vidyāṃ*] em.; °*vidyā* AB

[110] *jñānaṃ*] B^pc; *jñānāṃ* AB^ac

[111] *karṇa*°] A; *varṇa*° B

[112] °*viṃśatime*] B; °*viṅśatime* A

[113] *tasyāḥ*] A^pc; *tasya* A^ac

[114] *yāga*°] A; *yoga*° B

[115] *prāśanāt*] cor.; *prāsanāt* A; *prā(sa)nāt* B (marked as error)

[116] *jñānaṃ*] B; *jñāna* A

[117] *āgantuḥ*] B^pc; *āgantu* AB^ac (unmetrical)

[118] °*kośa*°] B; °*kosa*° A

[119] °*vistarāḥ*] em.; °*vistaraḥ* AB

[120] *siddhāḥ*] B; *siddhā* A.

[121] BraYā 1.29–30.

[260cd] This [aforementioned ritual] is called Rite of the Clans (*kaulika vidhi*), [for it] gives delight to the clans of *yoginī*s. [261] She who obtains the Wheel of the Clans ([*kula*]*cakra*) will assuredly gain [the *mantra* known as] the *kulavidyā*, O queen of the gods. [Now] hear of her, being well-composed. [262] She who is [known as] "wisdom-in-the-womb," the one "born of a clan," and the "newcomer *yoginī*" – [all of them] obtain [the *kulavidyā*], undoubtedly. [263] [One whose] mother and father both possess the wisdom, [and whose] mother would bestow the *kulavidyā* to her while in the womb, is known as "wisdom-in-the-womb." At [the age of] half of thirty years she certainly obtains the wisdom. [264–265] The mother fully possesses the wisdom, [but] the father has no entitlement: she is[122] [one] "born in a clan." Her mother would whisper the *kulavidyā* in her ear for six months when she is born. After twenty-four years, the wisdom arises in her. [266] She in whom the wisdom would arise through [consuming] the oblation gruel (*caru*), through the path of deity worship (*yāga*), or through consuming the [secret] nectars, is known as the "newcomer." [267] The perfected *yoginī*s shall attain *siddhi* in this order, without a doubt, possessing vast troves of wisdom.

A remarkable view of female Tantric adepts emerges from this passage. While males seek communion with the goddess clans (*kulasāmānyatā*), or their mastery, women seek to awaken their identity as goddesses, or simply come to manifest this spontaneously. This calls to mind the girl Sattikā of the revelation narrative, who regained her lost divinity at age thirteen through devotional worship. Apotheosis, either through ritual or by sudden awakening, is thus a key theme in the representation of accomplished women. As this passage indicates, their attainment may be congenital, predicated on birth to initiates (either the mother alone or both parents) as well as matrilineal transmission of the *kulavidyā*. This custom of informal, matrilineal transmission points toward the possible existence of female communities of practice only nominally aligned with the Tantric lineages established through formal initiation.

The BraYā's treatises on coded communication and "the characteristics of *yoginī*s" (*yoginīlakṣaṇa*) (chapters 56 and 74) provide glimpses of women as initiated ritualists operating beyond the constraints of coital ritual,

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[122] *bhave* should be understood as optative, with loss of the final consonant (cf. EDGERTON 1953, vol. I: §29.42).

though these representations are obscured by elements of visionary fantasy.
Here the focus lies not on the "sister" initiate, mentioned mainly in passing,
but on encounters with *yoginī*s secretly inhabiting the world (*martya-*
saṃgatāḥ, BraYā 74.40d).[123] These living goddesses are represented as
potential sources of power and as guardians of esoteric knowledge, oral
"lineage teachings" (*saṃpradāya*) which men may learn only by their pro-
pitiation.[124] This vision of Tantric wisdom laying hidden within the circles
of *yoginī*s, beyond direct access by *sādhaka*s, undergirds a gendered ritual
logic by which men seek out encounters with accomplished female adepts
as well as goddesses. In this context the boundaries between women and
divine beings readily collapse. *yoginī*s assemble in the sacred fields (*pīṭha*,
kṣetra, etc.), but may also live inconspicuously in the village or town. In
chapters 56 and 74 the BraYā delineates taxonomies by which *sādhaka*s
can recognise concealed *yoginī*s and identify their Mother-goddess clans
(*mātṛkula*), clans to which *sādhaka*s themselves belong through initiation.

The distinguishing qualities (*lakṣaṇa*) by which one recognises *yoginī*s
span bodily appearance, comportment, food preferences, and the decorative

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[123] On the purpose of coded communication (*chomma*) and the distinction in this
context between "sister" initiates and semidivine "*yoginī*s," note especially BraYā
56.98c–102: *cchommakāḥ kīdṛśā deva kulānāṃ sādhakasya ca* || 98 || *prajñāyate*
yathā bhrātā bhaginī vā viśeṣataḥ | caryāyuktasya deveśa yathā jñāsyanti yoginīḥ ||
99 || *parasparañ ca vīrāṇām ekatantrasamāśrayām | ālāpārthe mahādeva katha-*
yasva prabhāṣataḥ || 100 || *bhairava uvāca* || *śṛnu devi pravakṣyāmi cchomakānāṃ*
tu lakṣaṇam | yena vijñāyate bhrātā bhaginī vā maheśvari || 101 || *jñātvā ca yoginīṃ*
mantrī śivecchācoditātmavān | sādhakas tu tato dadyād vācikaṃ mudralakṣaṇam ||
102 ||. ("[98c–100] 'O god, what are the secret signs of the [goddess] clans and
sādhaka like, such that one may specifically recognise a brother or sister; such that
one carrying out the observances (*caryā*) recognises *yoginī*s, O lord of the gods; and
for the mutual conversation of heroes who follow the same Tantra? Tell [me this], O
great god, by way of explanation (? *prabhāṣataḥ*).' Bhairava spoke: [101] 'Listen, O
goddess; I shall teach the characteristics of secret signs, by which a brother or sister
is recognised, O Maheśvarī. [102] Having recognised a *yoginī*, himself propelled by
the will of Śiva, the *mantra*-bearing *sādhaka* should then give [her] a verbal message
characterised by *mudrā* [names].'" For a discussion of the interpretation of this pas-
sage, see HATLEY 2007: 378–379.

[124] The idea of "attaining the lineage teachings" appears in the context of encoun-
ters with *yoginī*s in multiple sources, often expressed in similar terms; the phrase
saṃpradāyaṃ ca vindati occurs as *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 27.16d and BraYā 3.230d,
45.295d, and 73.13b. Cf. *saṃpradāyaṃ na vindati*, BraYā 85.143b. Similar expres-
sions occur in the *Tantrasadbhāva* (e.g., *dadante saṃpradāyakaṃ*, 13.60b) and
Jayadrathayāmala (e.g., *saṃpradāya[ṃ] prayacchanti*, III, 28.21c).

emblems women draw on their homes. Take for instance the description of a *yoginī* belonging to the clan of the Mother-goddess Vārāhī (BraYā 74.61–65):

> [61] [A woman] with full lips and large eyes, whose frontal locks have tawny ends, who is ever fond of the act of painting, skilful in dance and music, [62] always fond of spirits and meat, lusty and deceitful; she draws on her house the insignia of the fang, or else the staff or chain, [63–64] and she likewise draws a snout, an angle, or a cremation ground, a lotus, or pot. One should know her sacred day to be the twelfth of both lunar fortnights, O fair woman; both Vārāhī and Vaiṣṇavī are ever fond of the same sacred day. [65] She should be recognised [thus] by the best of *sādhaka*s, his mind suffused by *mantra*. After one sees such characteristics, following the [appropriate] response-*mudrā*s, after one month she bestows *siddhi* upon the *mantrin* carrying out the observances, O goddess. [125]

This creative taxonomy reads the female body, comportment, and domestic art as potential signifiers of membership in matriarchal esoteric lineages. Though initiated into the same divine clans, which span levels of the cosmos, the *sādhaka* remains on the periphery by virtue of his gender and lack of ritual accomplishment. His preparatory period of wandering asceticism (*vratacaryā*) thus entails an almost voyeuristic fascination with women, whom he carefully observes for signs of concealed divinity.

Recognised and duly propitiated, the living goddesses disguised as women of the village or town may respond to *sādhaka*s of their own initiatory clans. Exchanges of coded communication take the form of *mudrā* or verbal utterance, or they may combine verbal and nonverbal codes. The

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[125] Text and translation from Hatley (2007: 331, 412–413), with minor changes: *lamboṣṭhī ca viśālākṣī piṅgalāgrāgrakeśinī | citrakarmapriyā nityaṃ nṛtyagandharvvapeśalā ‖ 61 ‖ māṃsāsavapriyā nityaṃ lolupā sarpasātvikā | svagṛhe daṃṣṭramudrā draṇḍaśṛṅkhalam eva vā ‖ 62 ‖ likhate ca tathā ghoṇaṃ koṇaṃ vātha śmaśānakam | padmam vā karpparañ caiva ubhe pakṣe tu parvvaṇī ‖ 63 ‖ dvādaśī tu vijānīyāt tasyāḥ sā varavarṇṇini | vārāhī vaiṣṇavī caiva ekaparvvaratā sadā ‖ 64 ‖ jñātavyā sādhakendreṇa mantrāviṣṭena cetasā | īdṛśaṃ lakṣaṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā pratimudrānusāriṇā | māsaikāt siddhidā devi caryāyuktasya mantriṇaḥ ‖ 65 ‖*. In 62b, I have emended the unintelligible *sarvasātvikā* to *sarpasātvikā*. As Törzsök (2014: 349–351) notes, highlighting the example of Kaumārī-clan *yoginī*s, descriptions of women belonging to the clans of Mother-goddesses are remarkably similar across Vidyāpīṭha texts.

living *yoginī* may bless the *sādhaka* by prognosticating future occult attainments, or enable a visionary, power-bestowing encounter with her divine clan sisters. The following exemplifies the liminal encounter envisioned between a *sādhaka* and concealed *yoginī*, who foretells his future attainments through gesture (BraYā 56.132–135):

> [132] When [she] puts her hands on the tip of the nose and moves her head around, she in that way relates "[you shall attain] an encounter with the Nine [deities] in a vast forest." [133] She who would look down and begin to draw on the ground [with her toes indicates], "[you shall have] an encounter with female beings of the netherworlds in a temple of the Mother-goddesses." [134] She who gazes at her own tongue, and afterwards trembles, [fore]tells of an encounter with female beings dwelling in the waters. [135] She who shakes her hands from feet to head would indicate an encounter [with the goddesses] at whichever level of the cosmos (*tattva*) she abides, beginning with the *śivatattva*. [126]

After receiving the prognostication, a *sādhaka* venerates the perfected adepts (*siddha*) of the past and wanders forth until he attains a power-bestowing, visionary encounter with the specified goddesses.[127] The embodied *yoginī* who dwells in the world, concealing her identity, hence forms a vital link between the male aspirant and the goddesses whose divine realms and powers he seeks. These encounters with worldly *yoginī*s paint a picture of autonomous, powerful living goddesses who straddle the female social world, communities based on initiatory kinship, and unseen realms. These representations, no matter how stereotyped and suffused with fantasy, may intimate the existence of female initiatory communities, oral teachings, and ritual traditions existing at some remove from the more

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[126] BraYā 56.132–135 (HATLEY 2007: 320–321, 385–386, with minor modifications): *nāsāgre tu yadā hastau kṛtvā cālayate śiram | navakasya tathākhyāti melakan tu mahāvane ‖ 132 ‖ adhomukhī tu yā bhūtvā bhūmilekhanam ārabhet | pātālacāriṇīnān tu melakaṃ mātṛmandire ‖ 133 ‖ svajihvālokanaṃ yā tu kṛtvā paścāt prakampate | jalāntarvāsinīnāṃ tu melakaṃ kathate tu sā ‖ 134 ‖ ā pādān mūrddhaparyantaṅ kṛtvā hastaprakampanam | yā sā śivāditatvasthā tatsthaṃ melakam ādiśet ‖ 135 ‖.*

[127] BraYā 56.136–137 (ibid.): *so 'pi mudrāpatiḥ pūjya tathā manthānabhairavam | bhaktyā paryaṭanaṃ kuryād yathātantraprabhāṣitam ‖ 136 ‖ namo 'stu digbhyo devebhyaḥ pūrvvasiddhavināyakām | datvārghaṃ parayā bhaktyā tato melāpakaṃ bhavet | tatsāmānyaṃ mahādevi sarvvakalyāṇasampadam ‖ 137 ‖.*

official, male-dominated Tantric lineages whose writings come down to us. This is precisely the scenario the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* intimates when it ascribes the "heart of the *yoginī*s" to women's oral tradition, a *mantra* never before written down and only rarely mastered by men.[128]

Gender, text, and Tantric communities

Despite the BraYā's large scale and detailed vision of its community of readership, the text provides only a limited window into the social dimension of one somewhat marginal Tantric tradition. There are, moreover, severe limitations to our knowledge of the text's social and historical contexts and the kinds of community which coalesced around its cult. As the preceding discussions have highlighted, the text nonetheless may have much to contribute towards understanding women's involvement in early Tantric traditions.

In reviewing the BraYā's discourse on women, two divergent kinds of representation have come into view. These more or less map to the categories of *dūtī* and *yoginī*, and their respective ritual milieux: initiated women functioning as consorts in coital ritual, on one hand, and comparatively independent, potentially powerful women pursuing their own ritual aims, on the other. Both play essential, albeit contrasting roles in the *sādhaka's* quest for supernatural attainment (*siddhi*). Depictions of coital ritual combine lurid detail with near silence on women's subjectivity and ritual agency. Whatever the social reality may have been, the BraYā envisions ritual consorts (*dūtī* or *śakti*) as subordinate to the aims and authority of male *sādhaka*s, despite partaking of Tantric initiation. Contrasting representations of female practitioners emerge in discourse on *yoginī*s, who embody the possibility of a religious life neither defined nor constrained by ritual consortship.

These contrasting representations may of course obscure the real possibility that *yoginī*s were sometimes *dūtī*s: such divergent images of women are likely in some measure to be contextual. Much as the categories *yoginī* and *devī* ("goddess") may blend to the point of being indistinguishable,[129] at the opposite end of its semantic field, *yoginī* overlaps with other desig-

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[128] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 28.41–42b: *puruṣeṇādhikāro 'sti asmin strīvidhikarmaṇi | striyāyāḥ siddhido hy eṣaḥ kadācit puruṣasya ca || vaktrād vaktragataṃ strīṇāṃ na ca likhyati pustake |* (see TÖRZSÖK 2014: 361 for a translation and some discussion).

[129] Note also the overlap of *yoginī* with terms such as *mātṛ*, *ḍākinī*, etc.; see the articles on these lexemes in the TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA.

nations for initiated women (*dūtī, śakti, bhaginī, samayinī, adhikāriṇī, sādhakī*). Despite these convergences, the BraYā's contrasting representations nonetheless seem likely to intimate women of varied status and circumstance, and not merely different ritual roles. While the data is limited, the BraYā tends to portray consorts as belonging to the *sādhaka*'s immediate social world, if not family – women potentially under his own tutelage whose religious commitment could in some cases be limited to ritual consortship. In contrast, representations of *yoginī*s seemingly intimate independent female adepts and matriarchal lines of transmission beyond the *sādhaka*'s orbit and control. The extremes of these types – the kinswoman consort and the *yoginī* as liminal, living goddess – may have disproportionate prominence in the BraYā on account of their essential roles in the *sādhaka*'s ritual life. In contrast, the text says little about the kind of initiated woman referenced, usually in passing, by *bhaginī* – the "sister" initiate who, valued neither as a source of sex nor of potent blessings, remains somewhat peripheral.

An enigma presented by the BraYā is its explicit embrace of women in its readership community and systems of ritual while simultaneously neglecting to articulate their perspectives. Its myopic focus on the *sādhaka* entails virtual silence on women's ritual aims and motivations, particularly in the context of sexual ritual. What were the respective roles of coercion and the allure of sexual or emotional fulfilment, social status, and ritual power (*siddhi*)? In chapter 14 – devoted, promisingly, to ritual for women – this silence becomes particularly conspicuous, for the predominant concern emerges as the revelation of *yoginī*s' inner secrets for the benefit of male *sādhaka*s. Here the BraYā reveals itself as a text fundamentally *about* women, both human and divine, but rarely for them. Despite the rhetoric of female inclusion, the pretence of a mixed-gender community of readership, and pervasive references to initiated women, male concerns dominate: women feature primarily as vehicles for the *sādhaka*'s perfection. Nonetheless, in its narrative of the girl Sattikā's ascent to divinity and her role in revelation, in its matter-of-fact embrace of female initiation, in its teaching of a *mantra*-pantheon (*yāga*) specifically for women, in its imaginative anthropology of accomplished females, and in the very figure of the *yoginī*, who straddles the human and divine, the BraYā provides glimpses of an esoteric community in which women's participation was both normative and multiply enacted, and at least in some contexts not under male control.

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The Bhasmāṅkura in Śaiva texts

Csaba Kiss[1]

This short article focuses on a fascinating but not very well-known category of person in mediaeval India: the Bhasmāṅkura. After examining how the Bhasmāṅkura appears in published and unpublished texts of the Jātiviveka genre, I will deal with earlier, Śaiva sources that are mainly in the form of unpublished manuscripts to explore the origin and history of the term. I will then try to raise some questions, rather than giving answers, concerning the figure of the Bhasmāṅkura: What are the origins of the Bhasmāṅkura? Why is he denied certain rights? And most importantly: Can he tell us anything about the social setting of Śaivism in the Śaiva Age?[2] Indeed, to what extent can Śaiva texts in general help us in mapping the actual social environment of mediaeval India? SANDERSON (2009: 298) raises this question, and while addressing the extension of Śaivism beyond the higher classes he also draws to attention the daunting problem of making any definite statements concerning the socio-religious changes brought about by Śaivism (italics mine):

> Our sources reveal, then, that the Śaivas extended their recruitment beyond the high-caste circles from which most of our evidence of the religion derives. But, of course, they do not readily reveal the extent to which it was adopted outside these élites. The epigraphical

[2] I borrow the term "Śaiva Age" from Prof. Sanderson's grandiose article published in 2009: "The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period." The period referred to is the fifth to eleventh centuries CE (SANDERSON 2009: 41).

evidence is almost entirely restricted in this regard to records of the pious activities of rulers and brahmins, and the Śaiva sources, being largely prescriptive in their concerns, tell us much about what should or could be done by or for various categories of person but give us no sense of how widely these prescribed activities were adopted or supported. *One of the tasks of future research, then, should be to gather data that will improve our ability to address this question.*

That prescriptive texts are insufficient if we strive to understand to what extent the prescribed activities were actually performed at a given time is a chronic problem, and I am unable to offer any remedy for it. Rather, in accordance with Sanderson's piece of advice, here I will only attempt to gather and display small pieces of data, in the hope that this may be useful for further investigations.

The first time I became aware of the category "Bhasmāṅkura" was while reading a manuscript of the *Jātiviveka*. This text, attributed to Gopīnātha, was probably composed in the fifteenth century and discusses the complex network of mixed castes (*saṃkarajāti*).[3] It has never been published or translated properly[4] but is relatively well-known. For instance, the work has been used by Kane for his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, in which he paraphrases the *Jātiviveka*'s definition of a Bhasmāṅkura as an offspring "from a Śaiva fallen ascetic and a Śūdra prostitute" and confirms that the Bhasmāṅkura is also "called Gurava by the Jātiviveka." [5] More precisely, the *Jātiviveka* (2.126–129) defines the Bhasmāṅkura as the offspring of a fallen (*patita*), i.e., outcaste, Śaiva or Pāśupata ascetic and a Śūdra prostitute:[6]

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[3] For more information on the *Jātiviveka* and related texts, see O'HANLON & HIDAS & KISS 2015.

[4] Riccardo Nobile's edition and translation of the *Jātiviveka* ("*Jātivivecana*," NOBILE 1910) is rather fragmentary and unreliable. Note also that a great number of passages cited in the *Bālambhaṭṭi* ((1), pp. 294–305) are closely parallel with the *Jātiviveka*.

[5] In vol. 2, part 1, p. 102.

[6] The following conventions for Sanskrit texts are used in this article: em. (X) = emendation (by X), corr. = correction, acorr = ante correctionem (before correction), pcorr = post correctionem (after correction), ms(s) = manuscript(s), fol. 2r = folio 2 recto side, fol. 2v = folio 2 verso side, cod. = codicum, '≈' means 'approximately,' text in ()s should be eliminated from the Sanskrit text, '(?)' after a letter or syllable in italics means that its reading is uncertain, text in []s is supplied by the editor, text cancelled (e.g. ~~kuhāpoha~~) was cancelled by the Sanskrit scribe, '°' indicates that the lemma or variant is part of a longer compound or word, '•' separates variants found

śaivāḥ pāśupatāś caiva tapodharmaparāyaṇāḥ |
ārūḍhapatitās te syuḥ śūdrapaṇyāṅganāratāḥ ||126||
tebhyas tābhyaś ca saṃjāto bhasmāṅkura iti smṛtaḥ |
sa jaṭābhasmadhārī ca śivaliṅgaṃ prapūjayet ||127||
tāṃbūlam akṣatā dravyaṃ gāvaḥ kṣetrāṇi śākinī |
śivāya prāṇibhir dattam anyat kim api bhaktitaḥ |
caṇḍāṃśaṃ tad iti khyātaṃ tena tasyeha vartanam ||128||
śaivāḥ pāśupatāś proktāḥ mahāvratadharās tathā |
turyāḥ kālāmukhāḥ proktāḥ bhedā ete tapasvinām ||129||
ya eva śivadharmāḥ śivabhaktānāṃ tāpasānāṃ ta eva bhasmāṅkurāṇām |
iti bhasmāṅkura gurava ||

Witnesses:
A = BORI no. 233 of the Viśrama (ii) collection, *Paraśurāmapratāpa* fol. 50v
B = 1638B, Eggeling Catalogue, British Library, *Jātiviveka*, fol. 13v

126a *śaivāḥ*] A ; *śevāḥ* B **126b** *tapo°*] A ; *naro°* B ● *°parāyaṇāḥ*] em. ; *°parāyaṇaḥ* AB **126c** *ārūḍha°*] A ; *āroḍhya°* B **126d** *°paṇyā°*] A ; *°pāṇyā°* B **127b** *bhasmāṅkura*] em. ; *bhasmāṅkuru* AB **2.127d** *śivaliṅgaṃ*] AB^*pcorr* ; *śi cavaliṃgaṃ* B^*acorr* **128b** *śākinī*] A ; *śālinī* B **128c** *prāṇibhir*] A ; *pāṇibhir* B **128d** *api*] A ; *ami* B **128e** *caṇḍāṃśaṃ*] B ; *caṇḍīśaṃ* A (also *Bṛhajjātiviveka*, see n. 9, and *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi*, see n. 11) ● *tad*] A ; *taṃ*(?)d B **128d** *tena*] A ; *tene* B **129a** *pāśupatāś*] A ; *pāśumatāḥ* B **129b** *°dharās*] B ; *°carās* A **129c** *turyāḥ*] B ; *kuryāt* A **129d** *tapasvinām*] em. ; *manīṣiṇaḥ* A; *tapaścinā* B   **Prose after 129:** *ya eva ... bhasmāṅkurāṇām*] omitted in A ● *ya eva*] em. ; *sa evaṃ*(?) B ● *°dharmāḥ*] em. ; *°dharmā* B ● *tāpasānāṃ*] em. ; *tāpasāṃ* B ● *iti bhasmāṅkura*] B ; *nasmāṃkuru* A ● *gurava*] em. ; *gurucu* A ; *gurova* B

   The Śaivas and Pāśupatas are devoted to asceticism. They fall from
   their elevated status (i.e., they become outcastes) if they enjoy Śūdra
   prostitutes. [The offspring] born from them (i.e., from Śaiva/Pāśupata

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in the same *pāda*, '- - -' indicate syllables marked as missing/illegible by the scribe,
IFP = Institut Français de Pondichéry/French Institute of Pondicherry, EFEO = Ecole
française d'Extrême-Orient, BORI = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

males and Śūdra prostitutes) is called a Bhasmāṅkura. He wears twisted
locks of hair and [besmears his body with] ashes and worships the *śiva-
liṅga*. People offer betel, unhusked barley-corns, goods, cows, landed
properties, lands planted with vegetables, and many other things to Śiva
out of devotion. These [offerings] are called Caṇḍa's share
(*caṇḍāṃśa*).[7] He (i.e., the Bhasmāṅkura) makes a living from that in
this life. The classes of ascetics are taught to be these: Śaivas, Pāśu-
patas, the Mahāvratins, and fourthly the Kālāmukhas. The Bhasmāṅ-
kuras should follow the same Śaiva *dharma*s (regulations/rights/duties)
as devotees practising asceticism. This is [the definition of] the
Bhasmāṅkura, [also known as] the Gurava.

Just before the *Jātiviveka* concludes that the Bhasmāṅkura's duties are the
same as those of Śaiva ascetics, in some recensions of the text extensive
quotations are inserted from the *Śivadharmśāstra* as well as from the *Pura-
ścaryārṇava* on the Śaiva's rosary, on bathing in ashes, on the worship of
ashes, and on the *nirmālya*, the remains of a garland-offering to a deity (see
text in Appendix 1). This insertion probably serves to evoke the duties of
Śaiva ascetics, from which the duties of the Bhasmāṅkura, in the absence
of such prescriptions addressed exclusively to him, are to be deduced.

Later recensions of the *Jātiviveka* and texts that draw on it, or at least
resemble it, contain several variants of the definition found in the *Jātivi-
veka*: The *Bṛhajjātiviveka* repeats the *Jātiviveka*'s definition, together with
all the quotations from the *Śivadharmśāstra*.[8] The probably sixteenth-
century *Śataprasnakalpalatā* gives a prose paraphrase of the *Jātiviveka*'s
definition, omitting the remark on *caṇḍāṃśa*/*caṇḍīśa* and emphasising that

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[7] Note that some mss. read *caṇḍīśa* for *caṇḍāṃśa*. In both cases, the Bhasmāṅku-
ra may be associated with, or even represented as, (a human form of) Caṇḍeśa, "the
consumer of offerings that have been made to Śiva" (GOODALL 2009: 351).

[8] The Bhasmāṅkura in the *Bṛhajjātiviveka* (fol. 22vff.): *śaivā yāḥ pāśupatāś*
[corr.; *pāśupataś* cod.] *caiva mahāvrataparās tathā | turyā[ḥ] kalāmukh(y)āḥ pro-
ktā[s] tapo* [em.; *tayor* cod.] *dharmaparāyaṇāḥ* [corr.; °*parāyaṇaḥ* cod.] *svakarma-
niratās te syuḥ śūdrapaṇyāṅganāratāḥ* [corr.; -*taḥ* cod.] | *tebhyaś ca tābhyaś ca jāto
bhasmāṅkura itīritaḥ | sa jaṭābhasmadhārī ca śivaliṅgaṃ prapūjayet | tāmbūlam
akṣatā dravyaṃ gāvaḥ kṣetrāṇi śākinī || śivāya prāṇibhir dattam anyat kim api bha-
ktitaḥ | caṇḍīśaṃ tad iti khyātaṃ tena tasyeha jīvanam || dhārayec chivanirmālyaṃ
bhaktyā lobhān na dhārayet | bhakṣaṇān narakaṃ gacchet bhūṣaṇā[c] caiva
mūḍhadhīḥ | nandikeśvaraṃ prati | śivadharmāna uvāca...*

the Bhasmāṅkura collects the highly impure *śivanirmālya*.[9] The *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* does not omit the reference to *caṇḍāṃśa/caṇḍīśa*, but it modifies the definition by stating that the mother of a Bhasmāṅkura is a Śūdra wife (*śūdrapatnī*), not a prostitute as such.[10] The same is true for the seventeenth-century *Śūdrakamalākara*.[11] The gloss by Bālambhaṭṭa on the commentary *Mitākṣara* on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* in the eighteenth-century also echoes the *Jātiviveka*'s definition.[12] Bālambhaṭṭa classifies the Bhasmāṅkura, quite logically, as an Anuloma, or permitted birth, in which the father's *varṇa* is higher or equal to that of the mother.[13]

Most of these sources add that a Bhasmāṅkura is called a Gurava in the vernacular, more specifically in Marathi. The etymology of the term

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[9] The *Śataprasnakalpalatā*'s prose paraphrase (fol. 68rff.): *ye śūdrāḥ pāśupatās tapodharmaparāyaṇās ta ārūḍhapatitāḥ* [em.; *ānūpatitā* cod.] *syus ta eva śūdra-paṇyāṃganāratā*[s] *tebhyas tābhyaś ca saṃjāto yaḥ sa bhasmāṃkuraḥ sa*(ṃ) *bha-smajaṭādhārī śivaliṅgaṃ prapūjayet | śivaliṅgasyākṣatāphalatāṃbūlavastradravya-kṣetrādi śivāya datta*[ṃ] *tat sarvaṃ tenaiva śivanirmālyaṃ bhasmāṃkureṇa grā-hyam* (= prose paraphrase of *Jātiviveka* 2.126–128) | *śivasvādhikārī sa eva bhasmā-ṃkura bhedāḥ śaivāḥ pāśupatāḥ mahāvratadharā turyā kālamukhā jaṅgamādayo nandikeśvareṇoktāḥ jñātavyāḥ | vistarabhayāt nātra* [em.; *tātra* cod.] *likhitāḥ | sarve pi te bhasmarudrākṣadhārakā loke jaṭilādayaḥ kālau draṣṭavyāḥ | bhasmāṅkuro* [em.; *smābhekuro* cod.] *loke guravasaṃjñaḥ* ||39||.

[10] *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* (16th c.?, p. 21): *śaivaḥ pāśupataḥ kaścid ārūḍhaḥ patito yadi | tasmāj jātaḥ śūdrapatnyāṃ putro bhasmāṅkuraḥ smṛtaḥ || śivārcanaṃ tu tat-kāryaṃ śivadāyena jīvitam | sa jaṭābhasmadhārī ca śivaliṅgaṃ prapūjayet || tā-mbūlam akṣatā dravya gāvaḥ kṣetrāṇi śakinī* (*śākinī?*) | *śivāya prāṇibhir dattam anyat kim api bhaktitaḥ || caṇḍīśan tad iti khyātaṃ tena tasyeha jīvikāḥ |.*

[11] See *Śūdrakamalākara*, p. 284.

[12] See n. 4 above.

[13] This is Bālambhaṭṭa's gloss on the *Mitākṣara* (18th c., in: *The Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Volume XXI, p. 204; note that the remark in brackets in the translation stating that the Bhasmāṅkura is "the priest of a Śiva temple" is not in the Sanskrit text of Bālambhaṭṭa's gloss.): "(22) Bhaṣmâṅkura. 'The Śaivas, and the Pâśupatas following the path of Yoga, when having attained a certain stage, fall down from it, and connect themselves with Śūdra and other public women, they give rise to children called 'Bhaṣmâṅkuras.' [sic] A Bhaṣmâṅkura keeps matted hair and besmears the body with ashes and worships the Śivaliṅga. (He is the priest of the Śiva temple) and maintains himself with the offerings made by the pious to that temple.' He is an Anuloma and is called Gurava in the Mahârastra language." Sanskrit text in *Bâlambhatti*. Book I. p. 297: *śaivaḥ pāśupataḥ kaścid āsūtaḥ*[→ *ārūḍhaḥ*] *patito yadi | tasmāj jātaḥ śūdra-patnyāṃ putro bhasmāṅkuraḥ smṛtaḥ || śivārcanaṃ tu tatkāryaṃ śivadāyena jīvitam | sa jaṭābhasmadhārī ca śivaliṅgaṃ prapūjayet || tāmbūlam ityādijīvikety antam ity anyatra | ayam anulomo gurava iti mahārāṣṭrabhāṣayā prasiddhaḥ.*

Gurava is unclear. One could suggest that it stands for Sanskrit *gaurava*, meaning "of the *guru*," i.e., "the *guru*'s son," but the Guravs/Guraos are also a known *jāti* in Maharashtra, in parts of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh, and some of them insist on *gurava* being the plural of Sanskrit *guru* (*guravaḥ*).[14] Traditionally, they have been temple priests as well as musicians. They even have their own Jātipurāṇas, composed at the beginning of the twentieth century, to support their earlier claim to Brahminhood. In one of these modern Jātipurāṇas, they are identified with the Devalakas, or temple priests, in another one, a lustrous being called Bhasmāṅkura(!) is born from the earth when the Śuddhaśaivas engage in battle with the god Agni.[15]

Turning back to the Bhasmāṅkura, it is easy to see that the term has managed to maintain a blossoming career up to modern times, from a rather low status Devalaka-type figure to a *jāti* claiming Brahminhood. An examination of the Bhasmāṅkura as he appears in sources that *predate* the *Jātiviveka*, i.e., those prior to the fifteenth century, could broaden our perspective even more. While I have been unable to find any occurrences of the term in pre-Tantric texts, the Bhasmāṅkura does appear in Śaiva Tantric texts: Chapter 23 of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, for example, paraphrases certain prohibitions that are taught in Tantras and concern categories of men ineligible for consecration such as *ācārya*s. A citation from the lost[16] *Devyāyāmala* also mentions the Bhasmāṅkura next to the *vratisuta* ("an ascetic's son") and the *duḥśīlātanaya* ("the offspring of a woman of ill repute"). In *Tantrāloka* 23.9, the same two categories, *vratisuta* and *duḥśīlātanaya*, seem to be distinct from and non-synonymous to the Bhasmāṅkura, at least that is what *tathā* suggests.[17] Or do they rather clari-

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[14] See SOUTH ASIAN FOLKLORE: AN ENCYCLOPEDIA, p. 274 (with *guru* spelt *gūṛū*).

[15] BAPAT 2001: 66. On the Guravas/Guravs/Guraos in general, see RUSSEL 1916: 175–181; BAPAT 1993 and 2001; PEOPLE OF INDIA: MAHARASHTRA. Part One. Volume XXX, pp. 768–777; SOUTH ASIAN FOLKLORE: AN ENCYCLOPEDIA, p. 272–274. Photos of Guravs can be found, e.g., in RUSSEL 1916: 176 and SOUTH ASIAN FOLKLORE: AN ENCYCLOPEDIA, p. 273.

[16] See SANDERSON 2014: 41.

[17] *Tantrāloka* 23.7cd and 9–10: *samastaśivaśāstrārthaboddhā kāruṇiko guruḥ* ||7|| (...) *paśvātmanā svayambhūṣṇur nādhikārī sa kutracit | bhasmāṅkuro vratisuto duḥśīlātanayas tathā* ||9|| *kuṇḍo golaś ca te duṣṭā uktaṃ devyākhyayāmale | punarbhūś cānyaliṅgo yaḥ punaḥ śaive pratiṣṭhitaḥ* ||10|| (…), "The guru should be knowledgeable in the meaning of all Śaiva Śāstras and should be compassionate. (…) The Svayambhūṣṇu is nowhere [held to be] entitled [to become an *ācārya*] because he is a bound soul (*paśu*). The Bhasmāṅkura, the son of an ascetic, also the

fy the meaning of Bhasmāṅkura, stating that a Bhasmāṅkura is the son of both a *vratin* and a woman of ill repute, so the Bhasmāṅkura is the son of a Śaiva ascetic and probably a prostitute, just as the *Jātiviveka* puts it? Jayaratha the commentator remains silent on this matter.

In any case, the Bhasmāṅkura is mentioned here in a list which also contains the Kuṇḍa, "the son of a woman by another man than her husband while the husband is alive," and the Gola, "a widow's bastard."[18] These suggest that the Bhasmāṅkura must indeed be somebody with a problematic origin, resembling the Kuṇḍa and the Gola. Apparently though, for Abhinavagupta this is not problematic to such an extent that it would pose a problem, for he states that no prohibition concerning these categories is taught in the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, the root scripture, and as Jayaratha summarises: "In our religion there is no such rule, except for [the requirement that the *guru*] must be knowledgeable."[19] This fits in well with the *advaitācāra* attitude of non-Saiddhāntika Tantras in general, or to put it very simply, with the notion that one should usually not distinguish between good and bad, pure and impure, high and low.

Naturally, the Śaivasiddhānta's view is different from that of Abhinavagupta. For example, in the *Uttarakāmika* a Bhasmāṅkura is not allowed to be consecrated as *ācārya*, like all others characterised by impure practices, impure bodily and mental features, and problematic origins.[20]

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son of a woman of ill repute, the Kuṇḍa and the Gola, they are impure: this is taught in the Devyāyāmala. Also the Punarbhū, who was attached to another religion and then returns to Śaivism (...)" (On the Svayambhūṣṇu [a self-appointed guru] and the Punarbhū, see TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA III in the entry on punarbhū.)

There is the theoretical possibility the *tathā* connects *bhasmāṅkura* with *svayambhūṣṇu*, as suggested by Judit Törzsök (personal communication).

[18] Both in MONIER-WILLIAMS sub vocibus.

[19] *Tantrāloka* 23.11 with Jayaratha's introduction: *asmaddarśane tu jñānavattvam antareṇa na kaścid ayaṃ niyama ity āha* "*śrīpūrvaśāstre na tv eṣa niyamaḥ ko 'pi coditaḥ | yathārthatattvasaṅghajñas tathā śiṣye prakāśakaḥ |.*" "In our religion there is no such rule, except for [the requirement that the guru] must be knowledgeable. This is why the author says: In the root scripture, there is no such prohibition taught. [The guru] knows all the various ontological entities as they really are, and he exposes them to the disciple according to truth." See also *Tantrāloka* 23.16c-17b: *ato deśakulācāradehalakṣaṇakalpanām || anādṛtyaiva sampūrṇajñānaṃ kuryād gurur gurum |.* "Therefore the guru creates an omniscient guru without considering his place of birth, family, conduct, and bodily features."

[20] *Uttarakāmika* 24.12-14 (before the 12th c.?, see SANDERSON 2009: 279, n. 663;

Since the *Dīkṣādarśa* cites the *Kāmika* (see Appendix 2), initially the instructions here are similar to the ones above. However, when it subsequently cites the *Cintyaviśva*, it also provides further details (see verse 9 and the following). The text states that *guru*s are essentially defined by their being guardians of good conduct (*ācāra*). Those who fall from good conduct (*ācārāt tu paribhraṣṭās*) should be avoided and ignored, just as one abandons a broken stone *liṅga*. The offspring born as a result of a broken religious observance is called a Bhasmāṅkura, and he should not be allowed to grant initiation or to consecrate *liṅga*s. His offspring is named Antara, and the Antara's offspring in turn is termed Kauśika. A transcript of a manuscript of the *Jñānaratnāvalī* reads *bhagnāṅkura* instead of *bhasmāṅkura*,[21] but it helps in understanding the previous passage, the one in the *Dīkṣādarśa*. Here the Bhasmāṅkura's offspring is called Kandhaka, whose offspring is named Kogika. The same text also refers to the Bhasmāṅkura with the synonym *bhasmapraroha* in a citation of the beginning of the fourth *pariccheda* of Brahmaśambhu's unpublished *Naimittikakriyānusandhāna*, completed in the tenth century.[22] The context here is categories of people that are unqualified for *abhiṣeka*, and again, the Bhasmāṅkura/Bhasmapraroha is mentioned next to the Kuṇḍa, the Golaka, and a certain

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Ācāryābhiṣeka, p. 1297): *abhakṣyabhakṣakaṃ caiva kuṇḍaṃ bhasmāṅkuraṃ tathā | khaṭvāṅgiśyāmadantau cāpy ārūḍhaṃ patitaṃ tu vā* ||12|| *alasaṃ vṛṣalaṃ caivaṃ vrātyaṃ vaiśyāpatiṃ (veśyā-?) tathā | asacchāstrakṛtaṃ* [em.; *-chastra-* cod.] *klībaṃ vyādhitaṃ kunakhaṃ tathā* ||13|| *atha vyasaninaṃ pāradārikaṃ vṛṣalīpatim | citrakaṃ gāyakaṃ caiva nartakaṃ ca vivarjayet* ||14||. "He should not allow these [to be consecrated as ācāryas]: anybody who consumes things that are forbidden, the son of a woman by another man than her husband while the husband is alive, the Bhasmāṅkura, one with a khaṭvāṅga [perhaps emend to khalvāṭa- ("bald"), see commentary by Jayaratha ad Tantrāloka 23.12, who cites Svacchandatantra 1:24ab: *kāṇo vidveṣajananaḥ khalvāṭaś cārthanāśanaḥ*], one with blackened teeth, one who has fallen from his elevated status [i.e., an outcaste], who is lazy, a Śūdra, a Vrātya, a harlots's husband[?], the composers of heretic texts, an unmanly person, anyone who is ill or has ugly nails, anybody with addictions, who is with somebody else's wife or is the husband of a Śūdra woman, a painter, a singer, or a dancer."

[21] *Jñānaratnāvalī* (12th c.?, p. 313): *tāvat te guravo jñeyā yāvad ācārapālakāḥ* || *ācārāt tu paribhraṣṭās tyājyās te bhagnaliṅgavat | bhagnavratāt samudbhūto yo 'sau bhagnāṅkuraḥ smṛtaḥ || tajjātāḥ kandhakā jñeyās te [taj-?]jātāḥ kogikā matāḥ | dīkṣāsthāpanayoḥ [ete] santyājyā* [em.; °*ātyā* cod.] *śubhakāṃkṣibhiḥ* [corr.; *śubhā*° cod.] ||.

[22] I am grateful to Prof. Alexis Sanderson for this reference and for sending me the e-text of this passage in the *Naimittikakriyānusaṃdhāna* edited by him, together with additional pieces of information (personal communication, August 18, 2015).

Katthaka/Kanthaka.[23] The *Somaśambhupaddhativyākhyā* echoes the *Jñāna-ratnāvalī*'s definition of the Bhasmāṅkura, and connects the Bhasmāṅkura with a certain *bhasmaprada*, which is most probably corrupted from *bhagnavrata*.[24] Note also the variants of names here for the offspring: Kalara and Kuśika. The (*Pratiṣṭhā*)*lakṣaṇa*(*sāra*)*samuccaya*, which may have been composed in the tenth century,[25] after giving definitions for the Svayambhū, the Punarbhū, and the Gola, defines the Bhasmāṅkura as follows (chapter 2, Ācāryādiparīkṣā, variants omitted here):

> *ācāryadharmapatnīṣu yo jātaḥ sa guroḥ suta*[ḥ] |
> *prāvrājyān naśyate pūrvaṃ strīyogād aparaṃ tathā* ||99||
> *ubhābhyāṃ yaḥ pranaṣṭaḥ syāt tasyāpatyas tu katthakaḥ* |
> *trikarṇotthās trikarṇāś ca trikapānātmakarṇakā*[ḥ] [?] ||100||
> *nityanaimittikāgantugurudevāgnyapūjanāt* |
> *bhasmāṅkuras tu katthotthas*[26] *tatsutāḥ kauśikādayaḥ* ||101||
> *bhojakā vratiputrāś ca kauśikānyāś ca kutsitāḥ* |

> The one who is born from the *ācārya*'s faithful wife is the *guru*'s son. [If] he first abandons his asceticism and [then sins] by union with a woman: the offspring of one who fails in both [matters] will be called a Katthaka. Those born from the Trikarṇas and the Trikarṇas are *trikapānātmakarṇakas*[?], because they do not worship the *guru*, the *deva*s, and the fire during the daily, occasional, and optional [rituals]. Now, the Bhasmāṅkura is born from the Kattha. His offspring are the Kauśika etc. The Bhojakas, the sons of ascetics, the Kauśikas, and others are contemptible.[27]

This passage is problematic. For example, the Trikarṇa is a category obscure to me, but what seems to be taught here is that the *guru*'s illegitimate

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[23] *Jñānaratnāvalī* (p. 407–408): *avikhaṇḍitacāritro na punarbhūr* [em.; *punarbhin* cod.] *na kanthakaḥ* [em.; *kaṃdhanam* cod.] | *nāpi bhasmaprarohākhyaḥ ṣaṇḍhaḥ* [corr. SANDERSON; *ṣaṇḍaḥ* cod.] *kuṇḍaś ca golakaḥ* |.

[24] *Somaśambhupaddhativyākhyā* (p. 190): *tāvat te guravo jñeyāḥ yāvad ācāra-pālakāḥ* | *ācārāt tu paribhraṣṭās tyājyās te bhagnaliṅgavat* || *bhasmapradāt* [→ *bhagnavratāt*?] *samudbhūto yo 'sau bhasmāṅkura*[ḥ] *smṛtaḥ* | *tajjātā*[ḥ] *kalarā jñeyās tajjātāḥ kuśikā matāḥ* || *dīkṣāsthāpanayor ete santyajyāś śubhakāṅkṣibhiḥ* |.

[25] According to SANDERSON 2014: 28.

[26] *katthotthas*] corr.; °*sthas* cod.

[27] The translation of this passage, especially of the second sentence, is tentative.

son is called Katthaka, and the Bhasmāṅkura is the Katthaka's son. This is
slightly different from what we see in other sources. Note also that there
seems to be another reference to Caṇḍeśa in the following passage:

> *rāṣṭrakṣayakarā hy ete ye ca pāṣāṇḍino*[28] *narāḥ* ||102||
> *samayādi(ṃ) vinā mūḍhaḥ sthāpanaṃ kurute tu yaḥ |*
> *śāstrāvilokanād*[29] *eva caṇḍeśas tasya śāsakaḥ* ||103||
> *yo 'śaivaḥ sthāpayed īśaṃ lobhavyāmūḍhamānasaḥ |*
> *sa yāti narakaṃ sadyo yājñikaiḥ saha daiśikaḥ* ||104||

These and the heretics are the destroyers of the kingdom. A fool who
would perform without [conforming to] the appropriate rules etc.
will be chastised by Caṇḍeśa, because he has neglected the Śāstric
prescriptions.[30] If a non-Śaiva teacher, his mind confused by greed,
installs Śiva['s image], he will go to hell immediately together with
the sacrificers.

Finally, the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* mentions the Bhasmāṅkura in a
puzzling manner (or simply in a corrupted form): it mentions the term in the
dual when stating that the Bhasmāṅkura should be excluded from rituals. He
is defined here as the offspring of somebody whose observance (*vrata*) has
been ruined, or broken, and thus is fallen, or an outcaste (*patita*).[31]

As regards the names of the Bhasmāṅkura's offspring (and in the case
of the (*Pratiṣṭhā*)*lakṣaṇa*(*sāra*)*samuccaya* also that of his father), it seems
certain that we are dealing with a fixed pair of terms modified by textual
corruption and/or local variants. One appellation emerges from Kantha-
ka/Kandhaka/Kandhana/Katthaka/Kalara/Antara, the other from Kauśi-

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[28] *pāṣāṇḍino*] corr.; *paṣāṇḍino* cod.

[29] *śāstrāvilokanād*] em. Törzsök ; *śāstrāvalokanād* cod.

[30] I am indebted to Judit Törzsök for the emendation in the Sanskrit of this sen-
tence and for its translation.

[31] *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, after 3.11.10, on who cannot be a guru: *atra yo-
gaśivapaddhatau |* [...] *kāverīkoṅkaṇodbhūtā ninditā guravaḥ smṛtāḥ | kuṇḍādayaś ca
rogārtā nindyāḥ syur deśajā api || bhraṣṭavratāc ca patitād utpanno yo narādhamaḥ |
bhasmāṅkurāhvayau*[?] *tyājyau ninditau sarvakarmasu.* "gurus born near the River
Kāverī and in the Koṅkaṇa area are prohibited. The Kuṇḍa etc. and those who are ill
are prohibited even if they were born in proper places. The vile man, who is born [from
a man whose] vow has been broken [and is thus] an outcaste, is a Bhasmāṅkura and is
to be excluded, and he is to be prohibited from [performing] any rituals.."

ka/Kuśika/Kogika. It is safe to say that of these Kanthaka (perhaps from *kanthā*, "a rag, patched garment [especially one worn by certain ascetics]")[32] and Kauśika are the most probably correct Sanskrit forms. Regarding the exact meaning of the term *bhasmāṅkura*, one may suppose that its meaning is "a sprout grown from ashes," i.e., an offspring of an ascetic who uses ashes during his observances, typically a Pāśupata or Śaiva ascetic, and who should be non-reproductive, dry as ashes, so to say, but from whom new life has now been produced. More specifically, the ashes here may refer to a Śaiva ascetic's ash-bed,[33] where the Bhasmāṅkura is conceived. To demonstrate that modern researchers are not always familiar with the connotations of the term *bhasmāṅkura*, we can refer to Gnoli's Italian translation of this passage from the *Tantrāloka*.[34] He translates *bhasmāṅkura* as "somebody who besmears his hair with ashes." In fact, Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* gives the secondary meaning "hair" for the word *aṅkura*. This may have been the reason for understanding *bhasma-aṅkura* as "ash-hair" or "hair with ashes." To refute this interpretation, we can remark that it would be odd for any Śaiva text to say that those who use ashes in their daily rituals, a common practice among Śaivas, should be excluded from the office of *ācārya*.

As we have seen above, the descriptions of the Bhasmāṅkura point in the same direction but are richly varied. The original concept and some descriptions of the Bhasmāṅkura are possibly based on earlier models. One such model is the Brahmanical Avakīrṇin, a *sannyāsin* who has broken his *brahmacarya* vow.[35] In the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (chapter 1, verses 222–224), for example,[36] the Avakīrṇin occurs in a list of categories unfit for *śrāddha* rituals, a list that is reminiscent of those containing the Bhasmāṅkura found in the Śaiva Paddhatis and in Jātiviveka texts:

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[32] Monier-Williams s.v. I am grateful to Prof. Alexis Sanderson for this suggestion.

[33] I am grateful to Prof. Alexis Sanderson for this suggestion.

[34] Gnoli's translation of *Tantrāloka* 23.8cd-9 (Gnoli 1999: 474, emphasis mine): "[Riprovati come maestri in talune scritture] sono anche coloro che **portino i capelli sparsi di cenere**, che siano figli di asceti, figli di donne di facili costumi, figli adulterini e di vedove. Secondo il *Devyāyāmalatantra*, riprovati sono anche coloro che, dopo aver portato segni settari, hanno sì aderito alla doctrina di Śiva, ma debbono [per il loro passato] nascere un'altra volta."

[35] See *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3.280ab: *avakīrṇī bhaved gatvā brahmacārī tu yoṣitam*. ("The Brahmacārin becomes an Avakīrṇin if he approaches a woman [sexually].")

[36] See also, e.g., *Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra* 12.8.25.

rogī hīnātiriktāṅgaḥ kāṇaḥ paunarbhavas tathā |
avakīrṇī kuṇḍagolau kunakhī śyāvadantakaḥ ||222||
bhṛtakādhyāpakaḥ klībaḥ kanyādūṣy abhiśastakaḥ |
mitradhruk piśunaḥ somavikrayī parivindakaḥ ||223||
mātāpitṛgurutyāgī kuṇḍāśī vṛṣalātmajaḥ |
parapūrvāpatiḥ stenaḥ karmaduṣṭāś ca ninditāḥ ||224||

Of these categories, the following terms occur in the Śaiva passages quoted in this article: *rogin/rogārta/vyādhita*, *kāṇa*, *paunarbhava/punarbhava/punarbhū* (albeit in different senses), *kuṇḍa*, *gola*, *kunakhin/kunakha*, *śyāvadantaka/śyāmadantaka*, *klība*, *vṛṣala/vṛṣalī*. Note especially that the Bhasmāṅkura is usually placed next to the Kuṇḍa and the Gola in lists of this kind, as is the Avakīrṇin here. The main difference between the two categories is of course that the Bhasmāṅkura is the offspring of somebody who has broken a vow, while the Avakīrṇin is one who has broken his own vow.

As regards later occurrences of the term and later models, the Bhasmāṅkura seems to be a Śaiva version of the Brahmanical Dola, which is defined thus, e.g., in *Jātiviveka* 2.184:

vipraḥ svīkṛtya saṃnyāsam ārūḍhapatito bhavet |
brāhmaṇīṃ kāmayed raṇḍāṃ tasyāṃ ca janayet sutam |
sa dolaḥ karmacāṇḍālo 'sya sparśāt pātakaṃ mahat ||184||

184 omitted in A **184a** *svī*°] conj. ; *strī*° B ● *saṃnyāsam*] corr. ; *sa(?)nyāsam* B **184c** *brāhmaṇīṃ*] em. ; *brāhmaṇī* B ● *kāmayed*] em. ; *kāyamed* B **184d** *tasyāṃ*] corr. ; *nasyāṃ* B

If a Brāhmaṇa who has entered upon a life of renunciation falls from his elevated status and has sex with a Brāhmaṇa widow and begets a son, this [son] will be a Dola, a Cāṇḍāla by deed. It is highly sinful to touch such a person.

Although the circumstances of the conception of the Bhasmāṅkura and the Dola are similar, there is one significant difference in their descriptions in the *Jātiviveka*: the Bhasmāṅkura is not condemned as harshly as the Dola. By this time, the Bhasmāṅkura may have reached a status somewhat above that of a *karmacāṇḍāla* (see below). Alternatively, the author Gopīnātha's

Śaiva affiliation[37] may have caused him to tone down his description of the Bhasmāṅkura.[38] Further, in texts of the *Jātiviveka* genre, the Bhasmāṅkura also seems to represent a variant of the Devalaka, the temple priest (unfit for *śrāddha* and sacrifice, see, e.g., *Manu* 3.152) who subsists on the offerings made to an idol, as noted above.[39]

But the main question remains: to what extent can we suppose that the definitions found in the *Jātiviveka* and related texts are applicable to Śaiva texts, such as the Saiddhāntika Paddhatis or the *Devyāyāmala* cited in the *Tantrāloka*? The main difference between the two kinds of definitions concerns the Bhasmāṅkura's association with the temple. We have no Śaiva reports on the Bhasmāṅkura as someone who lives on offerings made to an image in a temple, like a Śaiva Devalaka does, something that is confirmed, or at least suggested, by all Jātiviveka sources. Thus, there must have been a process in the course of which the Bhasmāṅkura, first only a category excluded from certain offices and rituals, was transformed into a Śaiva temple priest. But when was the category of the Bhasmāṅkura first associated with the Gurav *jāti*? Was it around or before the time of the composition of the *Jātiviveka*, i.e., the fifteenth century? Or is it a later interpretation inserted into that text? Several eleventh-century Old Kanarese inscriptions that are mentioned by LORENZEN (1991: 115) seem to refer to Goravas, who are said to have been the supervisors of temples.[40] Were these Goravas really "Śaiva mendicants"? Do they have anything to do with Bhasmāṅkuras?

And how real, or how theoretical, is this category as it appears in the earlier sources, before it is associated with a well-defined *jāti* with its own rights and duties? There is no reason to suppose that Śaiva ascetics never

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[37] See O'HANLON & HIDAS & KISS 2015: 108.

[38] On Devalakas not being condemned in some communities, see SANDERSON 2009: 277.

[39] See, e.g., *Jātiviveka* 2.3–5 (O'HANLON & HIDAS & KISS 2015: 127, n. 53) and SANDERSON 2009: 277.

[40] See EPIGRAPHIA INDICA XV, pp. 85–94 (*goravar* in line 49, verse 14 on p. 90) and also ibid. p. 156: "*Goraga* [...] is the Telugu form of the Kanarese *gorava*, which according to Kittel means a Śaiva mendicant. It is now obsolete in Telugu. In the inscription [the Bezwada Pillar Inscription of Yuddhamalla] it is used in the sense of a Śaiva devotee or teacher." N. 1 (ibid.) mentions "erotic *goravas*" in the "Yēwūr inscription of A.D. 1077" (EPIGRAPHIA INDICA XII, p. 290, from the translation of the inscription: "Whether it be the head of the establishment, or the Gorava, or such as are under the rules of this establishment; if there should be a man who lusts for venery in this establishment, the establishment and the king must expel him.").

broke their *brahmacarya* vows, never visited Śūdra women or prostitutes, and never begot illegitimate children, so it must have been a real-life issue.[41] (The Bhasmāṅkura might also originally have something to do with offspring produced as a result of Tantric sexual rituals,[42] in which case there are no broken vows.) Also, the fact that the social status of a category of man is repeatedly discussed, with an emphasis on the fact that this category is denied certain rights, may suggest that we are not dealing with theoretical possibilities here. In fact, it may seem that prohibitions concerning groups of people could sometimes tell us more about what exactly happened in the past than prescriptive passages do when they tell us what should be done. The fact that the Bhasmāṅkura became a distinct category (probably long before Abhinavagupta's time) indicates that sons born from Śaiva ascetics were not an isolated and negligible phenomenon, and they posed a problem for the Śaiva socio-ritual world.

Another question could be raised about the extent to which the term was widespread. The oddities in the Sanskrit texts – the dual in the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, the corruption of the term itself elsewhere, and the various obscurities – could be just the usual errors introduced randomly by scribes, or they could indicate that even the redactors sometimes had little idea what a Bhasmāṅkura was. Jayaratha's silence on the matter is again inconclusive, but it might be indicative: either he considered the Bhasmāṅkura sufficiently well-known to not comment on it, or he was himself unfamiliar with it. We are also left wondering when the Bhasmāṅkura ceased to be a well-known category.

Moreover, one would suppose that the Bhasmāṅkura may have posed less of a problem for non-Saiddhāntika sources than for the Siddhānta. Non-Saiddhāntika traditions "have shown themselves much less willing to tolerate such compromises [concerning peoples' origins and caste than the Siddhānta], seeing them as a contamination of the true Śaiva tradition [...]" (SANDERSON 2009: 292). Most of our available Śaiva sources for the Bhasmāṅkura are Saiddhāntika, and we have seen that all of our sources, apart from the *Tantrāloka*, condemn the Bhasmāṅkura. Even our only non-Saiddhāntika scriptural source, the lost *Devyāyāmala*, which is cited by Abhinavagupta and was probably a Vidyāpīṭha/Trika text,[43] treats the

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[41] See KANE vol. 2.2: 952 on *sannyāsin*s having wives and concubines.
[42] Such as described, e.g., in *Brahmayāmala* 45, see KISS 2015.
[43] See SANDERSON 2002: 4 and 2014: 41.

Bhasmāṅkura as problematic. Is Abhinavagupta's approach to categories such as the Bhasmāṅkura filled with idealisation or exaggeration? Were Bhasmāṅkuras ever really consecrated as *ācārya*s in non-Saiddhāntika communities?

And what is the exact problem with a Bhasmāṅkura in Śaiva texts that prohibits him to become an *ācārya*? Some sources, such as the *Dīkṣādarśa*, state that only those that belong to the four *varṇa*s, plus the offspring of the six Anuloma unions in which the father's *varṇa* is higher or equal to that of the mother, can be consecrated as *ācārya*s. Theoretically, the child of a Śaiva ascetic and a Śūdra woman, even a prostitute, is very likely to be an Anuloma offspring, as Bālambhaṭṭa rightly tells us.[44] However, if the Bhasmāṅkura's father is supposed to be an ascetic, then his son is certainly the result of a sin, and this fact that the ascetic has broken a vow is relevant here. The issue is not primarily a problem of caste/*jāti* that concerns possible combinations of mother and father, but rather a question of sinful conception. One's sin makes one a *karmacāṇḍāla*, someone who would not be a *cāṇḍāla*, an outcaste, normally, but whom some sinful deed, some adharmic karma makes one. So it may be only secondarily, by his father sinking to the status of a special kind of *cāṇḍāla*, before the birth of his son, that the Bhasmāṅkura can be denied the office of *ācārya*. This is exactly what we see in the case of the Dola, a category which strikingly resembles the Bhasmāṅkura (see above, p. 94). This fact that the Bhasmāṅkura has neither truly condemnable caste-affiliations nor repulsive personal features may have acted as an important factor in his later rise to a higher status. It is also interesting to note that our texts never dwell on the impurity of the Bhasmāṅkura's mother. On the contrary, it is always the breaking of a vow by the father that is emphasised. One reservation concerning the Bhasmāṅkura could have been that he may inherit his father's lack of discipline, but more importantly, we may see in the rejection of the Bhasmāṅkura a hint at the office of *ācārya* being hereditary. The existence of an illegitimate son may have caused tension when the retiring *ācārya* chose his successor.[45] Prohibitions that stop a supposedly Brahmacārin *ācārya* of a *maṭha* to consecrate his son as his successor may well have been needed to maintain the integrity of the institution.

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[44] See p. 89 above.

[45] On hereditary rights of a priestly community and *guru*s choosing their successors, see SANDERSON 2009: 255 and 279.

There could be many more questions raised, and there could hopefully be many more passages collected and edited concerning this exciting figure of the Bhasmāṅkura to see more clearly in these matters. His association with Caṇḍeśa is especially intriguing. What seems to be certain at this point is that the Bhasmāṅkura is the product of the Śaiva Age. It seems to be an original Śaiva category, based on earlier models of sinning ascetics, reflecting socio-ritual problems that were a result of Śaiva practices. It adds to our understanding as to what extent caste boundaries and problematic births were ignored in Śaiva ritual practice, and by doing so, it allows us to peek into the past and see a glimpse of real-life issues in mediaeval India, ones that usually remain obscured by our prescriptive texts.

Appendix 1

The *Jātiviveka* in the *Paraśurāmapratāpa* (sixteenth century?, fol. 50rff.) quoting the *Śivadharmaśāstra* (diplomatic transcription):

> rudrākṣa kaṃkaṇa haste syāj jaṭṭaikātha mastake |
> liṃgaṃ śivāśramaṃ sthānāṃ bhasmasnānaṃ trisaṃdhyakaṃ ||[46]
> kaṃṭhe mūrdhni pavitre vā rudrākṣān dhārayet tataḥ |
> āgamoddiṣṭasaṃkhyākān rudralokaṃ sa gacchati |
> rudrabhaktaiḥ śirasy ekā dhāryā rudrajaṭā sthirā ||
> dhvaṃsinī sarvaduḥkhānāṃ tayā rudratvam āpnuyāt |[47]
> kṣitena bhasmanā kuryāt trisaṃdhyaṃ yas tripuṃdrikaṃ ||
> sarvapāpavinirmuktaḥ śivaloke mahīyate |[48]
> mūrdhni haste śarīre ca dhṛtvā rudrākṣamālikā ||[49]
> yas tu bhuñjīta tadbhaktaḥ sa rudro nātra saṃśayaḥ |[50]
> rudrākṣadhāraṇaṃ yasmā nityaṃ loke pavitrakaṃ |
> sarvarogapraśamanaṃ sarvakleśavināśanam ||
> sarvatīrtheṣu yat puṇyaṃ sarvayajñeṣu yat phalaṃ |[51]

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[46] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 11.18 (pp. 129ff): rudrākṣaiḥ kaṅkaṇaṃ haste gale caiva hi mastake | liṅgaṃ śivāśramasthānāṃ bhasmanāṃ ca tripuṇtrakam ||.

[47] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 11.43c-44b: dhvaṃsanaṃ sarvaduḥkhānāṃ rudratvaṃ samavāpnuyāt || sitena bhasmanā kuryāt trisandhyaṃ yas tripuṇtrakam |.

[48] = *Śivadharmaśāstra* 11.44cd.

[49] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 12.91cd: mūrdhni hastopavīte vā kṛtvā rudrākṣamālikām ||.

[50] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 12.92: yaś ca bhuñjīta bhasmāṃgī rudrair bhuktan na saṃśayaḥ | rudrākṣadhāraṇan tasmān nityam eva praśasyate ||.

tat phalaṃ labhate sarvaṃ bhasmasnānān na saṃśayaḥ ||
bhasmasnānāt paraṃ snānaṃ pavitraṃ naiva vidyate |[52]
ity uktā munidevebhyaḥ snāto devaḥ svayaṃ śivaḥ ||
tataḥ prabhṛti brahmādyā munayaś ca śivārthinaḥ |[53]
sarvapravasu yat tena bhasmasnānaṃ pracakrire ||
duḥśīla[ḥ] śīlamukto vā yo pāpāpy upalakṣitaḥ |[54]
bhūtiśāśanasaṃyogāt sa pūjyo nātra saṃśayaḥ |
na go brāhmaṇa bhasmāni liṃga chāyāṃ padā spṛśet ||[55]
na laṃghayeta nirmālyam apsu tiṣṭhen na nagnakaḥ |[56]
dhārayec chivanirmālyaṃ bhaktyā lobhān na dhārayet ||
bhakṣaṇān narakaṃ gacchet bhūṣaṇāc caiva mūḍhadhīḥ |
na tatra sthānapūjāccāṃ pratigṛhṇāti śaṃkaraḥ ||[57]
yatra naivedyanirmālyaṃ malaṃ dhṛk pūjayec chivaṃ |[58]
asaṃspṛśyo bhavet so 'pi yas tasyāṃ gamalaṃ spṛśet ||[59]
tasmān naṃ saṃspṛśel liṅgaṃ naro nirmālyadūṣitaḥ|[60]
yatra naivedyanirmālyaṃ saṃkīrṇa kalaśāṃ śubhiḥ |[61]
snānādyaṃ kriyate bhaktyā na tad gṛhṇāti śaṃkaraḥ //

rudrākṣān kaṇṭhadeśe daśanaparimitān mastake viṃśati dve
ṣaṭ ṣaṭ karṇapradeśe karayugulagatān dvādaśa dvādaśaiva |
bāhvor indoḥ kalāni pṛthag iti gaṇitān ekam ekaṃ śikhāyāṃ
vakṣasy āṣṭādhikā yaḥ kalayati śatasaṃ sa(ḥ) svayaṃ rudra eva ||[62]

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[51] = *Śivadharmaśāstra* 11.50.

[52] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 11.52: *bhasmasnānāt paraṃ snānaṃ pavitraṃ naiva vidyate | uktaṃ tat sarvadevebhyaḥ snāto yena śivaḥ svayam ||.*

[53] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 11.53: *brahmādyāś ca tadārabhya munayaś ca śivārthinaḥ | sarvaparvasu yatnena bhasmasnānaṃ pracakrire ||.*

[54] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 11.55: *duśśīlaś śīlayukto vā yo vā ko vāpy alakṣaṇaḥ | bhūtir īśasya saṃyogāt saṃpūjyā rājaputravat ||.*

[55] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 12.11cd: *na gobrāhmaṇabhasmāgniliṅgacchāyān na laṃghayet ||.*

[56] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 12.12: *na laṃghayeta nirmālyam apsu bhūmau niveśayet | dhārayec chivanirmālyaṃ bhaktyā lobhān na dhārayet ||.*

[57] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 12.13: *bhakṣaṇān narakaṃ gacchet tadvilaṃghī ca mūḍhadhīḥ | na tatra snānapūjādyaṃ pratigṛhṇāti śaṅkaraḥ ||.*

[58] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 12.14ab: - - *naivedyanirmālyaṃ mardayan pūjayec chivam |.*

[59] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 12.15ab: *asaṃspṛśyo bhavet so 'pi yathāsvāṅgamalaspṛśī |.*

[60] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 12.15cd: *tasmān na saṃspṛśel liṅgaṃ naro nirmālyadūṣitaḥ ||.*

[61] ≈ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 12.16: - - - *vedyanirmālyaṃ saṃkīrṇaiḥ kalaśādibhiḥ | snānan tu kriyate bhaktyā na tadgṛhṇāti śaṅkaraḥ ||.*

Appendix 2

Dīkṣādarśa (of Vedajñānaśivācārya, sixteenth century, compare with *Utta-rakāmika* 24.12–14, see n. 20, verse numbering mine):

[*varjyagurulakṣaṇavidhiḥ*]

(...)
īśvaraḥ kāmike |
kāmīkādiśivajñānaṃ vedārthajñānam eva ca |
samaṃ yo manyate mohāt taṃ prayatnena varjayet ||4||
devayajñaṃ tathāmbaṣṭham ūhāpohavivarjitam |
samānagotrasaṃbandhaṃ kusumākṣaṃ ca varjayet ||5||
parivettā parivittā ca devalaṃ ca punarbhavam |
abhakṣyabhakṣaṇaṃ caiva kuṇḍa[*ṃ*] *bhasmāṃkuraṃ tathā ||6||*
khaṭvāṅgamad[63] *adantaṃ ca ārūḍhapatitaṃ tu vā |*
alasaṃ prakṣālanaṃ [*vṛṣalaṃ?*] *caiva prāśyaṃ* [*vrātyaṃ?*] *veśyāpatiṃ*
tathā ||7||
asacchāstraparaṃ klībaṃ śaktiṃ sutakaṃ tathā |
asa [*atha?*] *vyasaninaṃ pāradārikaṃ vṛṣalīpatim |*
citrakaṃ gāyakaṃ caiva nartakaṃ ca vivarjayet ||8||
(...)
cintyaviśve |
tāvat te guravo jñeyā yāvad ācārapālakāḥ |
ācārāt tu paribhraṣṭās tyājyās te bhagnaliṅgavat ||12||
bhagnavratāt samudbhūto yo 'sau bhasmāṃkuraḥ smṛtaḥ |
tajjātā antarā jñeyās tajjātāḥ kauśikāḥ smṛtāḥ ||13||
dīkṣāsthāpanayor ete saṃtyājyāḥ śubhakāṃkṣibhiḥ |
etaiḥ pratiṣṭhitaṃ liṅgaṃ bhuktimuktyor asādhanam ||14||
evamādiguṇair yukto na pūjyo hi mahītale |
asyaivācāryanāmatvam abhiṣekaṃ na kārayet ||15||
pramādād abhiṣekaṃ tu kṛtaṃ ced doṣabhāk bhavet |

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[62] ≈ *Puraścaryārṇava* 6.232 (part II, p. 438): *tantrāntare | rudrākṣān kaṇṭhadeśe daśanaparimitān mastake viṃśatī dve ṣaṭ ṣaṭ karṇapradeśe karayugalakṛte | bāhvor indoḥ kalābhir nayanayugakṛte caikam ekaṃ śikhāyāṃ vakṣasy aṣṭādhikaṃ yaḥ kalayati śatakraṃ sa svayaṃ nīlakaṇṭhaḥ ||.*

[63] Perhaps emend to *khalvāṭa-* ("bald"), see commentary by Jayaratha ad *Tantrāloka* 23.12.

Witnesses: IFP transcripts T. 76 pp. 38ff., T.153A pp. 59ff., and T.372B pp. 1296ff.

4a °*śiva*°] T372B ; omitted in T76, °*nivi*° T153A **4c** *samaṃ yo*] T372B ; *samayo* T76, T153A **5a** *devayajñaṃ tathāmbaṣṭham*] em. ; *devaya-jñas tathāmbaṣṭha* T76, T153A, T372B **5b** *ūhāpoha*°] em. ; *kuhāpoha*° T76, *kuhāpohaṃ* T153A, *kuhāpoha*° T372B **7a** *khaṭvāṅgamad adantaṃ*] T76 ; *khātavagaṃgamardaṃ* T153A, - - *āṅgam adantaṃ* T372B **7b** *ārūḍhapatitaṃ*] T76 ; *ārūḍapatanaṃ* T153A, *ārūḍhapatanaṃ* 372B **7d** *veśyāpatiṃ*] T372B ; *vaiśyāpatiṃ* T76, *peśyāpatiṃ* T153A **8a** *asa-cchāstraparaṃ klībaṃ*] T76, T372B ; *asatśāstrataraṃ klibaṃ* T153A **8b** *śaktiṃ*] T372B ; *yāpatiṃ* T76, *yāpintaṃ* T153A ● *sutakaṃ*] T372B ; *sunakaṃ* T76, T153A **8c** °*saninaṃ*] T76, T372B ; °*saniraṃ* T153A **8d** °*dārikaṃ vṛṣalīpatim*] T76, T372B ; *dārikā prakṣalīpatim* **8f** *nartakaṃ*] T76 ; *ratnakaṃ* T153A, - - *kañ* T372B (…) **12a** *tāvat* te] conj. ; *tatvato* T153A, *tavato* T76, T372B ● *guravo jñeyā*] T76, T372B ; *guruvo jñeya* T153A **9b** *yāvad*] conj. ; *yathād* T76, *yayād* T153A, *yathādāv* T372B **12c** *ācārāt*] conj. ; *ācāryaṃ* T76, *ācāryan* T153A, *ācāryān* T372B ● *paribhraṣṭās*] T153A, T372B ; *paribhraṣṭāḥ* T76 **12d** *tyājyās te*] T76, T372B ; *yajyā te* T153A ● *bhagnaliṅgavat*] T76, T153A ; *bhagnannaliṅgaka* T372B **12a** *bhagnavratāt*] conj. ; *bhagnavratān* T76, *bhagnaprātānya* T153A, *bhagnavratā* T372B ● *samudbhūto*] T76, T153A ; *samu* - - T372B **13b** *yo 'sau*] T76, T153A ; - *sau* T372B ● *bhasmāṃkuraḥ*] T76, *bhasmāṃkura* T153A, T372B **13c** *tajjātā*] T76, T153A ; - *jjātā* T372B ● *antarā*] T76, T153A ; - *ntirā* T372B ● *jñeyās*] T76, T372B ; *jñeyā* T153A **13d** *kauśikās*] T76, *kauśika* T153A, *kauśikā* T372B **14b** *saṃtyājyāḥ*] T76, T372B ; *saṃtyājyā* T153A **14d** *bhuktimuktyor asādhanam*] T76, T372B ; *bhu-ktimuktyopi sādhanam* T153A **15b** *pūjyo hi*] T372B ; *pūjyā hi* T76, *pūjyā hī* T153A

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Renegotiating ritual identities:
Blurred boundaries between Pāñcarātra ritual communities in South India

Robert Leach[1]

"In medieval India," writes GRANOFF (2000: 399), "rituals often served as identifying markers that divided one religious community from another." By adopting or rejecting a certain ritual or class of rituals, religious communities could define themselves in particular ways, and by placing limits on the authority to perform certain rituals or by introducing ideas of correct ritual performance, other communities could be differentiated and excluded (ibid.).[2] In medieval Tantric Śaiva traditions, as Alexis Sanderson has shown in a number of publications,[3] strategies for inclusion and exclusion often materialised in the form of hierarchies, both of particular rituals and of the practitioners who were qualified to perform them. Tantric Vaiṣṇava traditions used similar classificatory methods. As Granoff goes on to explore, participation in the same rituals could, by the same token, effect a transcendence of sectarian boundaries or a blurring of distinctions between communities. In the event of different communities practising the same rituals, those committed to preserving sectarian boundaries were forced to maintain that the important distinctions lay elsewhere, for example in the supra-ritual identity of one community of practitioners or in the particular

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[2] My thanks to Angelika Malinar for drawing my attention to this article.

[3] See especially SANDERSON 1995: 19–23, 78ff.

(i.e. different) mental attitude they adopt. The results of the present study may suggest, however, that such identity markers were less effective than ritual.

Numerous textual sources attest to the fact that in South India in the early centuries of the second millennium of the Common Era (CE) there were a number of distinct sub-traditions within the tradition of Tantric Vaiṣṇavism called "Pāñcarātra."[4] In the South Indian Pāñcarātra literature itself, the number of these sub-traditions is most commonly given as four, and these are usually named as the Āgamasiddhānta, the Mantrasiddhānta, the Tantrasiddhānta, and the Tantrāntarasiddhānta.[5] We also find this fourfold division in the *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* ("Defence of the Pāñcarātra") by the fourteenth-century Viśiṣṭādvaitavedānta author Veṅkaṭanātha, whom I shall refer to henceforth as Vedāntadeśika, the honorific by which he is now more commonly known.[6] Of the published Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās at our disposal, none, as far as I am aware, affiliate themselves with the Tantrasiddhānta or the Tantrāntarasiddhānta, though in his *Pāñcarātrarakṣā* (pp. 30,18–31,6) Vedāntadeśika reports that the *Śrīkarasaṃhitā*, an apparently lost scriptural work, aligns itself with the latter. Several extant South Indian Pāñcarātra texts, or portions thereof, do however associate themselves with either the Āgamasiddhānta or the Mantrasiddhānta,[7] and it appears, on the basis of these texts, as well as Yāmuna's *Āgamaprāmāṇya*[8] ("The Va-

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[4] In what follows, I refer to the tradition as "Pāñcarātra" unless I am referring to a particular text or passage which uses the earlier designation ("Pañcarātra"), since by the time of the composition of the (post-Yāmuna) South Indian Saṃhitās, which form the principal subject matter of this article, the former name, literally meaning "pertaining to" or "belonging to" the Pañcarātra and previously used to denote the followers of the tradition (see, e.g. Kumārila's *Tantravārttika* on *sūtra* 1.3.4 and Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's NPP 87.22ff.), had become the standard name for the tradition itself.

[5] For a discussion of these classifications and a list of the Pāñcarātra texts in which they appear, see RASTELLI 2006: 185–251 and LEACH 2014. The term *siddhānta*, ordinarily meaning an established conclusion or doctrine, is best understood here as, in RASTELLI's (2006: 185) words, "eine Lehre und die damit verbundene Tradition, die sich vor allem auf die religiöse Praxis bezieht" (a teaching and the tradition bound to it, which refers above all to the religious practice). The Saṃhitās provide their own explanations of the term (see RASTELLI 2006: 185–186).

[6] On the four Pāñcarātra Siddhāntas in the *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, see LEACH 2012.

[7] For instance, the PārS (e.g. at 19.522ff.) associates itself with the Āgamasiddhānta, while the PādS (1.1.86cd), the BhT (22.88, 24.17–50), the ŚrīprśS (16.31c–34), and the MārkS (1.26ab) associate themselves with the Mantrasiddhānta.

[8] Although he does not name either the Āgamasiddhānta or the Mantrasiddhānta, Yāmuna clearly distinguishes between two (unnamed) Pāñcarātra traditions: one

lidity of the Authoritative Texts [of the Pañcarātra]") and the aforementioned *Pañcarātrarakṣā*, that these were the two most prominent Pañcarātra traditions in South India between roughly the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries.[9] The textual evidence suggests that there were also two principal Pañcarātra traditions in North India in earlier centuries.[10]

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whose followers belong, by way of their family lineage, to the Vājasaneya branch of the Yajurveda, who perform their life-cycle rites in accordance with the domestic ritual manuals of Kātyāyana and so on (*yad ete vaṃśaparamparayā vājasaneyaśākhām adhīyānāḥ kātyāyanādigṛhyoktamārgeṇa garbhādhānādisaṃskārān kurvate*, ĀP 169.5–6); and one whose followers have abandoned the religious duties of the triple Veda ("from the recitation of the Sāvitrī [*mantra*] onwards") and who perform the 40 life-cycle rites enjoined only by the Ekāyana Śruti (*ye punaḥ sāvitryanuvacanaprabhṛtitrayīdharmatyāgenaikāyanaśrutivihitān eva catvāriṃśat saṃskārān kurvate*, ĀP 169.7–8). As will become evident below, the latter group are clearly followers of what is elsewhere (most likely later) called the Āgamasiddhānta. I provisionally accept YOUNG's (2007: 237) estimate for the lifetime of Yāmuna as ca. 1050–1125 CE, with the *Āgamaprāmāṇya* being written "in the late eleventh or early twelfth century" (ibid.: 260).

[9] It should be pointed out that these two traditions are not always called "Āgamasiddhānta" and "Mantrasiddhānta." For instance, in perhaps the earliest extant classification of the four aforementioned Pañcarātra sub-traditions, contained in the PauṣS (38.293c–294c), the Āgamasiddhānta is called simply "Siddhānta" (see RASTELLI 2006: 197). Meanwhile, in his NyP (p. 477), section 3.2, Vedāntadeśika calls the Mantrasiddhānta the "Divyasiddhānta," and in his PRR (p. 30,18) he reports that the *Śrīkarasaṃhitā* calls the Āgamasiddhānta the "Vedasiddhānta."

[10] See, for instance, Ratnākara's *Haravijaya* (ca. 830 CE), which distinguishes (at 47.55–56) between the Ekāyanas and the followers of the teaching (*śāsana*) of Saṃkarṣaṇa, and Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's *Nareśvaraparīkṣāprakāśa* (ca. 950–1000 CE) which distinguishes between the Saṃhitāpāñcarātras and the Sāṅkarṣaṇapāñcarātras. Sanderson, who has drawn attention to both of these passages, thinks it very likely that these two works refer to the same groups – in other words, that the Saṃhitāpāñcarātras are the Ekāyanas (SANDERSON 2009: 108). The two groups differ from each other, according to Rāmakaṇṭha, in their views on the embodied self (*jīva*). On the one hand, the Sāṅkarṣaṇapāñcarātras say that consciousness is merely a product of (the mental faculties comprising) the "internal organ" (*antaḥkaraṇacaitanikāḥ*, NPP 87.22). On the other hand, the Saṃhitāpāñcarātras, along with the "knowers of the Upaniṣads" who subscribe to the theory of the transformation of the original cause, say the following: "Embodied selves are truly distinct [from the mental faculties comprising the internal organ], but they are non-pervasive (i.e., atomic), and they originate from the imperishable supreme cause, which is either the referent of the word *brahman* [for the knowers of the Upaniṣads] or is called Nārāyaṇa [for the Saṃhitāpāñcarātras]. Like a pot, for example, [originates from

In this article, I argue that the available textual sources convey important information concerning the relations between the Āgama and the Mantra Siddhāntas and the apparent blurring of certain distinctions between these two traditions in consequence of the circumstances in which Āgamasiddhāntins found themselves in South India in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. In the first part of the article, I briefly describe certain aspects of the socio-religious context within which the Āgamasiddhānta and its adherents, the Āgamasiddhāntins or Ekāyanas, and the Mantrasiddhānta and its adherents, the Mantrasiddhāntins, existed in South India during the period in question. In the second part, I discuss the fact that by the end of this period, probably subsequent to the career of Vedāntadeśika, the Āgamasiddhānta appears to have ceased to exist as a separate tradition within the Pāñcarātra. Thereafter, I address several passages in scriptural works and in the *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, which may provide clues as to why this happened and as to what became of the Āgamasiddhāntins or Ekāyanas.

As RASTELLI (2006: 185ff.) has shown, the textual evidence indicates that, for at least part of the period between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries, the Āgamasiddhānta and the Mantrasiddhānta were in competition with each other for the control of Pāñcarātra temples and the right to perform rituals for fee-paying clients. An apparent outcome of this rivalry, which is recorded in several scriptural works as we will see below, was that Āgamasiddhāntin authors on occasion condemned or disparaged certain practices of the Mantrasiddhānta, at least partly, no doubt, as a means of asserting their own superiority over that tradition.[11] In a similar manner, Mantrasiddhāntins presented their own tradition as the superior one, and this involved claiming, for instance, that Āgamasiddhāntins do not belong

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clay and will eventually dissolve back into it, so] the independent natures [of embodied selves] originate from and [will eventually] dissolve back into their own cause" (*pariṇativedāntavidaḥ saṃhitāpāñcarātrāś cāhuḥ satyaṃ bhinnā eva jīvātmānaḥ, te tu paramakāraṇād anaśvarād brahmapadavācyād avyāpakā eva ghaṭādivat svakāraṇalayasvabhāvāś cotpadyanta iti*, NPP 91.18ff.).

[11] In keeping with this attitude, *ekāyana* was understood by South Indian Ekāyanas of this period to mean "the only way." See PārS 1.57c–58b (→ ĪS 1.19): *mokṣāyanāya vai panthā etadanyo na vidyate || tasmād ekāyanaṃ nāma pravadanti manīṣinaḥ |.* "There is no way other than this for going to liberation; therefore, the wise say that [this] is called Ekāyana (i.e. 'the only way')." Cf. the following excerpt from a version of the *Puruṣasūkta* contained in the Taittirīya recension of the Black Yajurveda and quoted by Rāmānuja in his *Śrībhāṣya* (on *sūtra* 2.2.35): *nānyaḥ panthā ayanāya vidyate* (excerpt from *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* 3.12.7).

to a Brahmanical kinship group (*gotra*)[12] and are not qualified to use Vedic *mantra*s[13] or to perform certain rites, including the investiture of God's icon with the sacred thread (*pavitrāropaṇa*), the rites relating to the construction of temples (*karṣaṇādi*), and the installation of divine images therein (*pratiṣṭhā*).[14] The *Pādmasaṃhitā*,[15] a South Indian Pāñcarātra scriptural work which affiliates itself with the Mantrasiddhānta, declares that an Āgamasiddhāntin should ask a Brahmin who has been initiated into the Mantrasiddhānta to perform these latter rites on his behalf.[16] The Āgamasiddhāntin author/s of the slightly later *Parameśvarasaṃhitā* counter several of these claims by enjoining adherents of the Āgamasiddhānta to perform precisely these actions.[17] The discord between these two Pāñcarātra Siddhāntas during this period is conveyed well by the fact that in their texts the same reparative rites are prescribed for mixing ritual injunctions from separate Pāñcarātra Siddhāntas as for mixing ritual injunctions from separate ritual and doctrinal systems (*tantra*), whether the latter be Vaikhānasa or Pāśupata according to the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā* (19.520, 549). Indeed, the *Pādmasaṃhitā* (4.19.125ff.) explicitly states the equivalence between the mixing or confusing of Pāñcarātra sub-traditions (*siddhāntasaṅkara*) and the mixing or confusing of the Pāñcarātra with other religious systems (*tantrasaṅkara*).

At least in normative terms, then, the divide between Siddhāntas is radically more pronounced than the distinctions found in apparently earlier classifications of different types of Pāñcarātra devotees, such as the distinction between those "with desires" (*sakāma*) and those "without desires"

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[12] See e.g. PādS 4.21.41ab.

[13] See e.g. PādS 4.21.37c–39b; ŚrīprśS 16.31c–34.

[14] See e.g. PādS 4.21.33–35b, 43–46.

[15] As is the case with much of the anonymous Pāñcarātra literature, it is extremely difficult to establish the date of the composition of the *Pādmasaṃhitā*. RASTELLI (2003) argues that it can be determined only in relation to other Saṃhitās and places the bulk of its composition between that of the *Paramasaṃhitā*, from which it borrows, and that of the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā*. Her suggestion that it is subsequent to the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* as well as to the lifetime of Rāmānuja would most likely place it towards the end of the twelfth century, or shortly thereafter.

[16] PādS 4.21.45: *yāceta mantrasiddhānte dīkṣitaṃ viprasattamam | pūjārtham ātmano bimbapratiṣṭhākarṣaṇādiṣu* (corr., *karaṇādiṣu* ed.) ||. For a fuller discussion of this and aforementioned passages in the *Pādmasaṃhitā*, see RASTELLI 2006: 198–216.

[17] For instance, the claim that Āgamasiddhāntins are not qualified to perform the rites involved in the construction of temples and the installation of images of God is countered at PārS 15.14c–20 (on which see RASTELLI 2006: 203).

(*akāma*, *niṣkāma*) which we find in the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* and the *Sātvata-saṃhitā*. Although the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* reports, for example, that devotees with desires and those without desires perform divergent rites on different days of the month during the yearlong vow (*vrata*) to worship the four differentiated forms of God (*vyūha*) (SS 7.37ff.), and that they recite the Heart Mantra with different endings (SS 19.84c–85) etc., there is no indication of any rivalry between these different types of worshippers, or indeed any sign that such worshippers organised themselves into groups. In fact, the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* even claims that once devotees with desires, or those who seek "enjoyments" (*bhoga*), are satiated by such pleasures, they practice "disengagement" (*nivṛtti*), which means that they renounce their desires.[18] This implies, if we are to take it literally, that a worshipper may go from being *sakāma* to being *niṣkāma* purely according to his own inclinations. As we will see below, this is not the case with regard to membership of a Siddhānta.

According to scriptural testimony, as with the *sakāma* and *niṣkāma* worshippers, members of each of the four Pāñcarātra Siddhāntas could belong to any of the four social classes (*varṇa*).[19] The four Siddhāntas are differentiated from each other in a variety of ways, including the different principal deity or deities worshipped and the different *mantra*s used, though many of the accounts we have of these matters contain conflicting information, with "insider" and "outsider" descriptions of a particular Siddhānta only occasionally in agreement with one another.[20] One distinguishing feature between the Āgama and the Mantra Siddhāntas which is reported in several Mantrasiddhānta sources and does not appear to be contradicted by any Āgamasiddhānta account (see RASTELLI 2006: 193–195) is that the Āgamasiddhānta cannot be joined via a ritual of initiation (*dīkṣā*).[21] Rather, there are a number of textual clues, including those found

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[18] PauṣS 19.51–52b: *pravṛttiś ca nivṛttiś ca karma caitad dvidhā 'bjaja | jayanti bhogaikaratāḥ pravṛttena tu karmaṇā || paritṛptās tu sambhogair nivṛttenācaranti ca |.* "And action, this is twofold, O Lotus-born: engagement with worldly activities and disengagement from worldly activities. Those intent upon enjoyments only, they acquire [those], to be sure, by means of engaged action. But those satiated by [such] enjoyments, they proceed with disengaged [action]."

[19] See e.g. PādS 4.21.37–73b on the Āgama, Tantra, and Tantrāntara Siddhāntas, and 3.1.15c–17b and 4.2.61c–64 on the Mantrasiddhānta.

[20] In the cases of the Tantra and the Tantrāntara Siddhāntas, as already mentioned, we have no insider accounts.

[21] See e.g. PādS 4.21.53 (→ BhT 24.25): *na dīkṣā naiva dehasya dahanādi-*

in several passages which I address below, which indicate that the Āgamasiddhānta is accessible only by birth.[22] To my knowledge, the earliest reference to the idea that one is born an Ekāyana is found in the so-called *Saṃvitprakāśa* by the Kashmirian author Vāmanadatta. In the closing verses of each chapter (*prakaraṇa*) of this work, the author claims that he is a Brahmin "born into the Ekayana."[23]

Another of the distinctions between the Āgamasiddhānta and the Mantrasiddhānta which appears to have been uncontroversial is the fact that in South India in this period the adherents of the former tradition claimed to base their teachings on a certain Ekāyanaveda, an apparently mythical ur-text which Āgamasiddhāntins declared both antecedent to and superior to the Vedas, for which reasons they call it the "original" or "principal" Veda (*mūlaveda*). In reality, this Ekāyanaveda, the earliest clear references to which occur only in the *Āgamaprāmāṇya* (in the form of *ekāyanaśruti*, ĀP 169.7, 170.4),[24] may have been represented by the three scriptural works which were, from around the fourteenth century (LEACH 2014), called the "three jewels" of the Pāñcarātra scriptural canon, namely the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*, the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, and the *Sātvatasaṃhitā*. This much, at least, has been hinted at in the *Śrīpraśnasaṃhitā*, one of the

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viśodhanam | nāṅganyāsādi sakalaṃ neṣṭam ekāyanādhvani ||. "Neither initiation, nor indeed the purification of the body through [visualising it as] burning etc., nor the assignation etc. [of *mantra*s to the various] parts of the body – none of this is desirable according to the way of the Ekāyanas."

[22] However, see PādS 4.2154ab (→ BhT 24.26ab), which speaks of "those familiar with the threefold knowledge (i.e. the three Vedas)" (*traividya*) who have "entered into the Ekāyana." As RASTELLI (2006: 195) points out, this must apply only to those *traividya*s who do not already belong to another Pāñcarātra Siddhānta, since at PādS 4.21.74–75b it is said that should a man abandon one Siddhānta and enter another, he is guilty of committing an offence (*kilbiṣin*).

[23] *Saṃvitprakāśa* 1.137c–138b reads: *ekāyane prasūtasya kaśmīreṣu dvijātmanaḥ || kṛtir vāmanadattasya seyaṃ bhagavadāśrayā |.* "Depending on the Lord, this is a work of Vāmanadatta, a Brahmin born in Kashmir into the Ekāyana [lineage]." Cf. verses 2.61, 3.60, 4.98, and 5.52 from later chapters. On the title of the *Saṃvitprakāśa*, see SANDERSON 2009.

[24] There is, however, a possible allusion to the Ekāyanaveda in a North Indian work, namely Bhaṭṭa Jayanta's *Āgamaḍambara* (composed between 883–902 CE). Here, the character known as Dhairyarāśi refers to "the designation 'Veda' that people apply to the texts (*vacana*) of the Pañcarātra" (see DEZSŐ 2005: 237). The earliest reference to an actual "Ekāyanaveda" may be that found in the PādS (4.1.3) or in the opening chapter of the PārS (1.32, 56).

later scriptural works which possibly postdates Vedāntadeśika,[25] as well
as by the nineteenth-century Śrīvaiṣṇava scholar Alaśiṅgabhaṭṭa who, in
his *Sātvatārthaprakāśikā*, a commentary on the *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, claims
that these three works constitute the "*sūtra*s" of the "original Veda."[26]

   In contrast to the Āgamasiddhāntins or Ekāyanas, Mantrasiddhāntins
claimed to belong to a Vedic school which was widely recognised as such,
namely the Vājasaneyaśākhā. In his *Āgamaprāmāṇya*, Yāmuna distin-
guishes several times between the Ekāyana and the Vājasaneya or
"Vājasaneyaka" schools (*śākhā*) and their respective followers within the
Pañcarātra,[27] while the later *Pādmasaṃhitā*, in its account of the origin of
the Mantrasiddhānta (at 4.21.2ff.), places this tradition firmly within that of
the White Yajurveda by claiming that the Mantrasiddhānta's first initiates
were 8,000 seers (*ṛṣi*) belonging to the Kāṇva and Mādhyandina recensions
(i.e., of the *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā*).[28] Once they had been initiated, we are
told, these seers were instructed to recite the "Kāṇvī" and "Mādhyandinī"
recensions, and to accompany their performance of Vedic rituals such as
somayāga with visualisation (*dhyāna*) and worship of Viṣṇu (*bhagavat*,
PādS 4.21.9–11b). A few verses later, the author of this section of the
Pādmasaṃhitā asserts that Mantrasiddhāntins "should meditate on" or
"should visualise" (*dhyāyeyuḥ*) and honour Vāsudeva's image (*bera*) with
Vedic *mantra*s (*trayīmantra*, PādS 4.21.28c–29). The *Pādmasaṃhitā* pre-
sents this amalgamation of Pāñcarātra Viṣṇu-worship and Vedic ritual as
indicative of the Mantrasiddhānta, and a later scriptural work which bor-
rows from the *Pādmasaṃhitā* and which affiliates itself with the same
Siddhānta, namely the *Bhārgavatantra*, calls Mantrasiddhāntins "mixed"
(*miśra*) as opposed to "pure" (*śuddha*) Vaiṣṇavas (the latter being the
Āgamasiddhāntins), apparently for this reason.[29] Another important con-

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[25] See ŚrīprśS 49.471c–473, wherein the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā*, *Sātvatasaṃhitā*, and
Pauṣkarasaṃhitā are presented as offering different versions of the Mūlaveda, tailo-
red to suit the varying abilities of students. See also the *Adhikaḥ Pāṭhaḥ* section of
the JS (1–12b), wherein the "three jewels" are presented as constituting a single
teaching (*ekaśāstra*).

[26] SāPr on ĪS 1.64–67: *idaṃ sātvatapauṣkarajayākhyatantratrayaṃ mūlavedasya
sūtrarūpam.*

[27] See ĀP 140.5–7, 141.8–10, and 169.5–8.

[28] See RASTELLI 2006: 229–230 for a brief synopsis of this passage.

[29] See BhT 24.17–18 and the discussion in RASTELLI 2006: 223. The mixed
Vaiṣṇavas are described here as "learned in the three Vedas" (*traividya*), while the
"pure" Vaiṣṇavas follow the Ekāyanaveda. COLAS (1990: 26) reports that the
Vaikhānasa work *Kriyādhikāra*, which was composed around the time of Yāmuna

trast with the Āgamasiddhāntins, who consider their own tradition superior to the Veda, is that Mantrasiddhāntins or "Bhāgavatas," as they are also called by the *Pādmasaṃhitā*,[30] claim that their tradition is "rooted in the Veda." It is *vedamūla* rather than *mūlaveda*.[31]

In spite of their differences and the apparent enmity which led followers of both Siddhāntas to criticise and subordinate the other, several Pāñcarātra works enjoin coparticipation in temple rituals between Ekāyanas and other Pāñcarātrikas, including those who, like the Mantrasiddhāntins, are described as having expertise in the Vedas. For instance, in the final two chapters of the *Sātvatasaṃhitā*, which are likely a later addition to this text (LEACH 2012: 144–146), four Ekāyanas are named among the professional assistants to the officiating temple priest (*guru*) – they are called the "guardians of the image" (*mūrtipa*) – in a sequence of rites relating to the construction of a temple (SS 24.282–433) and the subsequent installation and worship of an image of Viṣṇu (SS 25.39–260b). These Ekāyanas, who are to be seated by the *guru* in the four cardinal directions (SS 24.310cd) at the fire sacrifice during the installation of the pots, are identified as Brahmins (*vipra*, e.g. SS 25.118d), and they receive instructions from the officiating priest together with the other professional assistants (SS 25.106ab), who are also identified as Brahmins and who are said to be experts in one or another of the four Vedas (e.g., SS 24.291a, 25.157ab). These latter assistants are evidently also Pāñcarātrikas, and indeed they are explicitly identified as such for they are called *bhagavanmaya* ("consisting of the Lord," SS 24.288b, 326b), which is a common way of referring to Pāñcarātrikas both in the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* and in other scriptural works.[32] It is notable that throughout the installation rites the Ekāyanas are instructed to recite not only Pāñcarātra *mantra*s but also Vedic ones (e.g. at SS

(COLAS 2011), also divides the Pāñcarātra into *miśra* and *śuddha* sub-groups, and that according to the *Yajñādhikāra*, another Vaikhānasa work from the same period, the latter does not conform to Vedic norms (*vedamaryādā*).

[30] See e.g. PādS 4.21.14–15. It appears that in this period the label "Bhāgavata" was associated especially with Mantrasiddhāntins (see also PauṣS 38.41c–42). However, Ekāyanas also used the term in reference to their own tradition (e.g. PārS 1.77–78).

[31] See e.g. PādS 1.1.91cd: "This Tantra is rooted in Śruti and is an authority like the Kalpasūtras" (*śrutimūlam idaṃ tantraṃ pramāṇaṃ kalpasūtravat*). This verse is also found in the ViṣS (8.5ab) as well as in the later MārkS (1.38ab) and ŚrīpurS (1.26cd).

[32] See e.g. SS 6.74cd, 7.107c–109b, and 22.46. Elsewhere, see e.g. JS 16.7–9, 18.6 and PauṣS 27.207cd, 32.88–89.

24.333, 25.53–54b, 113d–115b, 253–257b),[33] and that they are enjoined to recite the latter together with the specialists in the relevant Veda from among the other Pāñcarātrikas. This prescription for the Ekāyanas to recite Vedic *mantra*s is, of course, at odds with the aforementioned claim in the *Pādmasaṃhitā* that Ekāyanas are not permitted to use Vedic *mantra*s. Chapter 42 of the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* presents a similar scenario to that given in the *Sātvatasaṃhitā*. Here it is said, for instance, that during the offering of whole grain barley (*sākṣata*) and sesame seeds into the sacrificial fire, which forms part of the sequence of rites in establishing the foundations of a temple, the Ekāyana Brahmins (*vipra*) are to be seated in the cardinal directions (*prāgādau*) and the Pāñcarātrikas with expertise in the Vedas are to be seated in the ordinal directions ("from northeast to northwest," *īśād vāyupathāvadhi*) (PauṣS 42.31–32).[34]

These sections of the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* and the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* are written in the optative mood, and should accordingly be interpreted as offering prescriptive rather than descriptive accounts of the rituals in question. However, as far as I am aware, there is little reason to doubt that these rituals were performed approximately according to instruction, albeit via the mediation of the officiating priest or preceptor who is the addressee of the injunctions.[35]The *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, which postdates the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*, informs us that (at the time of its composition, probably in the thirteenth or fourteenth century) Hari is worshipped according to the dictates of the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* in Yādavācala (Melkote or Melukote in modern-day Karnataka) and the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* in Śrīraṅgam, and the slightly later *Adhikaḥ Pāṭhaḥ* section of the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* corroborates these claims.[36] It is also noteworthy that the majority of these sections of the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* and the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* were incorporated into one or both

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[33] These are listed by HIKITA 2005.

[34] See also PauṣS 42.122c–126, where the Ekāyana Brahmins are seated together with the experts in the Sāmaveda "on the west side facing east" (*prāṅmukhaṃ paścime bhāge*) of the sacrificial hall (*yāgāgāra*).

[35] The bulk of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās have the function of manuals which are intended to guide the preceptor (usually *ācārya* or *guru*, less commonly *deśika*) through the officiation of rituals. As far as the other participants in the ritual are concerned, it is the preceptor rather than the text which acts as the guide. See LEACH 2012: 21–24.

[36] See ĪS 1.67: *etattantratrayoktena vidhinā yādavācale | śrīraṅge hastiśaile ca kramāt sampūjyate hariḥ ||*; and the Adhikaḥ Pāṭhaḥ of the JS 12c–13b: *sāttvataṃ yaduśailendre śrīraṅge pauṣkaraṃ tathā || hastiśaile jayākhyaṃ ca sāmrājyam adhitiṣṭhati |*. Yaduśaila is another name for Yādavācala or Melkote.

of the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā* and the *Īśvarasaṃhitā*, and that these texts were also used in, respectively, Śrīraṅgam and Melkote.[37] Moreover, although the epigraphical record from Śrīraṅgam is silent on the issue, the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā* provides testimony that a community of Ekāyanas was active in Śrīraṅgam, and participated in temple rituals there, at around the same time that Rāmānuja supposedly held the position of temple manager (*śrīkārya*) at the Raṅganāthasvāmin Temple (RASTELLI 2006: 243–244).[38] Neither Rāmānuja nor his predecessor Yāmuna, who himself includes the Ekāyanas among the Pāñcarātrika Bhāgavatas defended by him in the *Āgama-prāmāṇya*, were themselves Ekāyanas. Such considerations further indicate that there existed, at the least, a degree of cooperation between Ekāyanas and other Pāñcarātrikas who, like Yāmuna (see NEEVEL 1977: 35–36), performed or supported the performance of a combination (or "mixing") of Pāñcarātra and Vedic rituals. This cooperative ethos also extended to the production of scriptural texts, with Āgamasiddhāntin authors borrowing from works composed by Mantrasiddhāntins and vice versa.[39]

As well as textual borrowings, there are also signs of mutual influence between the two Siddhāntas, especially with regard to the classification of Pāñcarātra scriptures (LEACH 2014). Presumably the Ekāyana claim that the Ekāyanaveda is unauthored (or, literally, that it does "not derive from a [human or divine] person," *apauruṣeya*) is an instance of the Ekāyanas

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[37] For the parts of chapters 24–25 of the SS incorporated into the *Parameśvara-saṃhitā*, see RASTELLI 2006: 577–578; for the parts incorporated into the *Īśvara-saṃhitā*, see LEACH 2012: 143, n. 241. Chapter 42 of the PauṣS also contains parallel verses with the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā* (see RASTELLI 2006: 574) and the *Īśvarasaṃhitā*. In the latter case, these include PauṣS 42.18c–71 → ĪS 16.29c–82; PauṣS 42.115–117 → ĪS 14.58–60; PauṣS 42.121–123b → ĪS 18.45c–47; PauṣS 123c–126b → ĪS 11.102c–105b. That the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā* was used in Śrīraṅgam and the *Īśvara-saṃhitā* in Melkote (Yādavādri) is attested in the *Adhikaḥ Pāṭhaḥ* of the JS 13c–14b: *pādmatantraṃ hastiśaile śrīraṅge pārameśvaram || īśvaraṃ yādavādrau ca kāryakāri pracāryate |*. The *Adhikaḥ Pāṭhaḥ* is datable to the fourteenth century (SOUNDARA RAJAN 1981: 27). In addition, the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā* contains, in its tenth chapter (vv. 108cff.), a panegyric to the Raṅganāthasvāmin Temple in Śrīraṅgam, while ĪS 20.118ff. is written in praise of Melkote (Yādavācala or Yādavagiri).

[38] This is further corroborated by the later *Kōyiloḷuku* (see HARI RAO 1961: 45ff.), the Tamil "chronicle" or "record" of the Raṅganāthasvāmin temple, though this is, in itself, hardly a reliable source (ORR 1995).

[39] For instance, the Āgamasiddhāntin *Parameśvarasaṃhitā* borrows from the Mantrasiddhāntin *Pādmasaṃhitā* (see RASTELLI 2006: 570–571). On Mantrasid-dhāntin authors borrowing from Āgamasiddhāntins, see LEACH 2014.

having been influenced by the ideas of thinkers, such as Yāmuna, who were rooted in the tradition of Vedānta and venerated the Veda alongside the Pāñcarātra ritual texts.[40] However, in general the Ekāyanaveda is presented in contradistinction to the Veda. For example, in contrast to the exoteric Vedas which enjoin the worship of multiple deities for various mundane and heavenly rewards, the Ekāyanaveda is said by Ekāyanas to belong to a secret tradition (*rahasyāmnāya*) whose members worship only Vāsudeva, especially in his fourfold form (*cāturātmya*), and who pursue a single goal, namely liberation (*mokṣa*) from the realm of rebirth.[41] On account of their monotheism and their pursuit of liberation to the exclusion of all other goals, the South Indian Ekāyanas often called themselves "Ekāntins," after the paradigmatic liberation-seeking worshippers of Nārāyaṇa as depicted in the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata*.[42]

Monotheism and the pursuit of liberation alone are also, according to Ekāyanas, the principal characteristics which set the adherents of the Āgamasiddhānta apart from those of the other Pāñcarātra Siddhāntas, though Mantrasiddhāntin authors disputed this by claiming that their own tradition also worships Vāsudeva alone and pursues liberation to the exclusion of all other rewards.[43] According to the Ekāyanas, not only does their monotheism and their recognition of liberation as the single goal set them apart from other Pāñcarātrikas, these characteristics also mark them out as superior.

This attitude is exemplified in several passages in the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*. Modern scholars have commonly assigned a relatively early date and a North Indian provenance to this work, but as I have argued elsewhere (LEACH 2012), there are numerous indications that significant portions of the extant *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* were composed and added to the text in South India. At least some of these interpolations appear to have been authored by Ekāyanas (ibid.). Among such passages, we encounter several descriptions both of the Ekāyanas and of other Pāñcarātrikas. While the former are variously presented as Ekāntins (e.g., PauṣS 36.261a), as devotees without

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[40] See Yāmuna's claim that the authorlessness (*apauruṣeyatva*) of the Ekāyana recension (*ekāyanaśākhā*) is "treated at length" in the *Kāśmīrāgamaprāmāṇya* (ĀP 170.7–9). For the Ekāyana claim that the Ekāyanaveda is unauthored, see e.g. PārS 19.523–525b (→ ĪS 21.561b–563) and ŚrīprśS 2.38–41.

[41] See e.g. PārS 1.16c–19b, 32c–34, 74c–75; 10.145–146.

[42] On the figure of the Ekāntin in the *Nārāyaṇīya* and in later Pāñcarātra literature, see LEACH 2012: 177ff.

[43] See e.g. PādS 4.21.11c–12, 25 and the discussion in RASTELLI 2006: 230.

desires (*akāma*, PauṣS 31.203cd), as those who do not desire the fruits of worship (*aphalārthin*, PauṣS 31.286ab), and as those who worship no other God (*ananyayājin*, PauṣS 27.710c), other Pāñcarātrikas are presented as "mixed worshippers" (or worshippers that mix together their rituals, *vyāmiśrayājin*, e.g. PauṣS 36.79) who desire mundane and heavenly rewards, and who worship gods other than Viṣṇu, including his subordinate deities (*gaṇa*), as a means to achieving these.[44] Such worshippers, we are told in the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, attain lesser rewards than the Ekāyanas: "[Rituals] such as the sacrifice are known to grant only meagre fruits to worshippers with desires, even if they grant heaven."[45] The worshippers without desires, meanwhile, are granted the world of Acyuta (*acyutaloka*, PauṣS 31.203cd) and are united in the supreme self (PauṣS 31.227cd). Earlier in the same chapter, we are told that the approach to worship characteristic of the "mixed worshippers" is forbidden by God: "The omniscient abiding in the heart does not permit [worship that is performed with] desire. One who grants heaven to his devotees even when it is not asked for – what is it that is not given by him? Therefore, one should abandon requests!"[46] The following passage from the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* articulates what appears to be a representative Ekāyana attitude:

> Knowing thus [i.e., that Puruṣottama is the "inner ruler" (*antaryāmin*) of all gods], one should certainly never perform mixed devotion. (259) Indeed one who desires the supreme goal must avoid [that] with every effort. Those Brahmins that are called Ekāyanas are truly devotees of Acyuta. (260) They who worship Viṣṇu as a duty [that is] without fruit, worshipping no other [God], are Ekāntins who [will] exist in their true state after death. (261) [In other words,] at death they attain the state of Vāsudeva, O Lotus-born! And the oth-

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[44] The term "mixed worshipper" is not directly explained in either the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* or the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*. However, the latter text refers to the Vedas as the "mixed *dharma*" (*miśradharma*), apparently on account of the fact that they refer to deities (*deva*) other than Vāsudeva (PārS 1.45–52) and are concerned with the fulfilment of various desires (*kāma*), i.e., rather than being concerned only with liberation (PārS 1.78–89).

[45] PauṣS 31.202c–203a: *kratuvat svalpaphaladāḥ svargadā yady api smṛtāḥ || sakāmānām… |*. See also PauṣS 41.98–99.

[46] PauṣS 31.149c–150: *kāṅkṣitaṃ nānujānāti sarvajño hṛdaye sthitaḥ || aprārthito 'pi svargaṃ tu bhaktānāṃ yo dadāti ca | kim adeyaṃ hi tasyāsti tasmād abhyarthanāṃ tyajet ||.*

ers are mixed worshippers – they are, however, considered to be false devotees. (262) Those Brahmins are [easily] recognised on account of their worshipping the subordinate deities in various different ways.[47]

In the remainder of this article, I address the apparent disappearance of the Āgamasiddhānta as a separate tradition within the Pāñcarātra by focusing on several textual passages from the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and from Vedāntadeśika's *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, which may partly explain the manner of this disappearance and provide us with clues as to why it happened. In an earlier article (LEACH 2014), I have given a fuller account of the reasons we have for supposing that the Āgamasiddhānta ceased to exist as a distinct tradition within the Pāñcarātra, and in the following I begin with a summary of that account.

As is demonstrated in a number of works including the *Āgamaprāmāṇya*, the *Pādmasaṃhitā*, and the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā*, the idea of the Ekāyanaveda and the name "Ekāyana" were, for a certain period of time, probably during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, indubitably linked with one Pāñcarātra tradition in particular, namely that which called itself, according to certain sources, the Āgamasiddhānta. However, in several of the later scriptural works, we find the term *ekāyana* being used by non-Āgamasiddhānta authors to refer to the Pāñcarātra and its adherents in general. Among such works we can count the *Śrīpraśnasaṃhitā* (e.g. at 2.38ff. and 16.20, 31c–34) and the *Śrīpuruṣottamasaṃhitā* (1.12) (LEACH 2014). This apparent extension of the semantic scope of the term *ekāyana*, which can be found already in a passage in the PādS (4.13.66c–72b) and which probably represents, rather, a *reversion* to an older use of the term, coincides with an increasing tendency among the later Saṃhitās to present the Pāñcarātra as a single, integrated system with an extensive scriptural canon. In the majority of these later works, no mention is made of the distinct Pāñcarātra Siddhāntas (ibid.). As mentioned above, Ekāyana Pāñcarātrikas appear to have been responsible for the authorship of the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā*, and for parts of the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* and the *Sāt-*

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[47] PauṣS 36.259c–263b: *jñātvaivaṃ bhaktisāṅkaryaṃ na kuryād evam eva hi* || 259 *varjanīyaṃ prayatnena ya icched uttamāṃ gatim | viprā ekāyanākhyā ye te bhaktās tattvato 'cyute* || 260 *ekāntinaḥ sutattvasthā dehāntān nānyayājinaḥ | kartavyatvena ye viṣṇuṃ samyajanti phalaṃ vinā* || 261 *prāpnuvanti ca dehānte vāsudevatvam abjaja | vyāmiśrayājinaś cānye bhaktābhāsās tu te smṛtāḥ* || 262 *parijñeyās tu te viprā nānāmārgagaṇārcanāt |.*

vataṣaṃhitā. Judging by the extant Pāñcarātra scriptural corpus, the Āgamasiddhānta was not nearly as textually prolific as the Mantrasiddhānta, and we can assume on the basis of their relatively small literary output and the fact that we have little evidence for their existence outside of Śrīraṅgam that the Ekāyanas very probably represented a minority within the South Indian Pāñcarātra. While there is good reason to believe that a community of Ekāyanas still existed in Śrīraṅgam in the fourteenth century, when Vedāntadeśika authored the *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, there is no obvious indication that any of the Saṃhitās which probably postdate Vedāntadeśika were authored by Ekāyanas (ibid., LEACH 2012). Thus, it appears that the culture of rivalry between the Āgamasiddhānta and the Mantrasiddhānta subsided and was replaced by one in which non-Āgamasiddhānta Pāñcarātrikas represented the Pāñcarātra as a single and cohesive system.

In an effort to determine why such changes may have taken place, I will begin by addressing several short passages from the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* which I believe to have been authored by Ekāyanas:

Listen! I will explain the foundation provided by fruits, roots, and [other] foods, for those who desire the fruits [of worship, *phalārthin*]. In the three worlds there is no gift better than the gift of food. (143) It immediately gives pleasure [and] is appetising and re-storative to beings. Even at the stage of preparation [and] dressing the tastiness of food is well-known! (144) [All] living beings come into being from food. From that everything is founded, and by one who has dedicated that, by him everything is founded. (145) As long as he lives in this world [and] in the heavenly world called Brah-ma[loka], he [who dedicates food] may live without sickness and pain. (146) By means of [donating] food, he reaches lasting prosperi-ty, with sons, wives, and wealth. He receives the greatest, supreme honour from eminent persons. (147) The gods, seers, and perfected beings always consider carefully the highest welfare for him, togeth-er with increased longevity. (148) Thus, being joyful and well-nourished, he is ever-satisfied. Enjoying numerous pleasures, at death he goes to the abode of Nārāyaṇa (149) by means of moon-like chariots made by the gods. Abiding in all worlds, beginning with heaven, for many hundreds of Kalpas, (150) in the course of time he comes here again, to a supremely auspicious place. Achieving a birth in a respectable family, the most excellent birth, (151) he is born with handsome form, eloquent, devoted to learning and knowledge.

Evermore beloved, he is revered by all, even his enemies. (152) Possessed of good character, might, constancy, and strength, a donor is always best among Brahmins, intent upon the welfare of beings. (153) [He is] an Ekāntin, a knower of *dharma*, wholly devoted to Nārāyaṇa. Thoroughly enjoying the group of three (i.e. the three *puruṣārtha*s), possessed of the desired qualities, (154) repeatedly performing meritorious actions of endless qualities through [numerous] lifetimes, knowledge is reached, by which he advances to the supreme abode.[48]

There is little doubt that this passage has been inserted into the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, for the redactor responsible has made no effort to disguise the fact – the next verses follow on from those which precede this excerpt.[49] My reason for proposing that this passage has been authored by a self-identifying Ekāyana is that the donor (*dātṛ*) is promised a rebirth as an Ekāntin (I suggest that *Ekāntin* is to be understood synonymously with *Ekāyana* here, as it is elsewhere in this text),[50] a reward which is hardly likely to have been offered by a non-Ekāyana Pāñcarātrika, for whom the initiation rite (*dīkṣā*) establishes the candidate's eligibility to be liberated

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[48] PauṣS 41.143–155: *phalamūlānnapratiṣṭhāṃ śṛṇu vakṣye phalārthinām | nānnadānāt paraṃ dānaṃ triṣu lokeṣu vidyate* || 143 *sadyaḥprītikaraṃ hṛdyaṃ prāṇadaṃ prāṇinām api | utpattāv api saṃskāre rasam annasya kīrtitam* || 144 *annād bhavanti bhūtāni tasmāt sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam | tac ca pratiṣṭhitaṃ yena tena sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam* || 145 *ātmanā saha loke 'smin svarloke brahmasaṃjñite | yāvaj jīvaṃ ca nīrogo vased duḥkhavivarjitaḥ* || 146 *putradāradhanair annair vṛddhiṃ yāti kṣaṇāt kṣaṇam | prāpnoti paramāṃ pūjām utkṛṣṭebhyo mahattarām* || 147 *devatā ṛṣayaḥ siddhās tasya saṃcintayanti ca | nityam eva parāṃ vṛddhim āyuṣaḥ saha connatām* || 148 *hṛṣṭaḥ puṣṭas tato bhūtvā tṛpto bhavati sarvadā | bhuktvā bhogān suvipulān ante nārāyaṇālayam* || 149 *yāti candrapratīkāśair vimānair devanirmitaiḥ | svargādau sarvaloke tu sthitvā kalpaśatān bahūn* || 150 *kālāt punar ihāyāti deśe sarvottame śubhe | satāṃ kule samāsādya janma jātyuttamaṃ mahat* || 151 *jāyate rūpavān vāgmī vidyājñānaparāyaṇaḥ | dviṣatām api sarveṣāṃ pūjyaḥ priyataraḥ sadā* || 152 *śīlavān śauryasampanno dhṛtyutsāhasamanvitaḥ | dvijadevaparo nityaṃ dātā bhūtahite rataḥ* || 153 *ekāntī dharmavettā vai nārāyaṇaparāyaṇaḥ | trivargam akhilaṃ bhuktvā yathābhimatalakṣaṇaḥ* || 154 **janmabhyas* (corr., *janmābhyas* ed.) *taṃ śubhaṃ karma kṛtvānantaguṇaṃ punaḥ | jñānam āsādyate yena prayāti paramaṃ padam* || 155.

[49] The preceding section (PauṣS 41.98–142) is concerned with the establishment (*pratiṣṭhāpana*) of the stepwell (*vāpī*), vertical well (*kūpa*), tank (*taṭāka*), and pleasure garden (*ārāma*), and the following verse (PauṣS 41.156) returns to this theme.

[50] See e.g. PauṣS 32.72cd. See also 36.261, translated above, and LEACH 2012: 147–150.

from rebirth and to join Viṣṇu in his "supreme abode."[51] The idea expressed here which is especially relevant to the present discussion – that one can ensure one's future as an Ekāyana by making a donation to the temple – represents a radically different conception of the Ekāyanas from those which we ordinarily encounter. The fact that these verses are addressed to worshippers who desire fruits (*phalārthin*) only serves to emphasise the dramatic nature of this shift in attitude, for elsewhere in the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, as we have seen, such worshippers are openly censured. Here, they are presented with the opportunity to become worshippers who do *not* desire fruits (*aphalārthin*), as the Ekāntins (PauṣS 31.286) or Ekāyanas (PauṣS 36.260–261) are elsewhere characterised. Only then may they achieve the highest reward.

Elsewhere in the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* we find similar expressions of the same idea. For instance, in a passage concerned with the festival centred around the investiture of God's icon with the sacred thread (*pavitrāropaṇa*), it is said that a man who makes donations of cattle, land, and gold (*gobhūsuvarṇa*) on a daily basis (*pratyaha*) for as long as he lives will attain the fruit of these donations "during a maximum lifespan" (*paramāyuṣi*) and will then journey to heaven (*diva*) "by means of moon-like carriages" (*yānaiś candrapratīkāśaiḥ*) (PauṣS 30.174c–177). Born again into an auspicious family, he will become devoted to Nārāyaṇa in thought, word, and deed (*karmaṇā manasā vācā nārāyaṇaparo bhavet*, PauṣS 30.180cd), will live a long life free of sickness and sorrow (*vyādhiśokavinirmukta*), with sons and wives etc. (*putradārādika*), and will then go to White Island (*śvetadvīpa*), where he will achieve identification with the supreme Brahma (*paraṃ brahmatvam āyāti*) (PauṣS 30.178c–184b). Although there is no explicitly "Ekāyana" terminology employed in these verses, they are likely to have been authored by an Ekāyana (or "Ekāntin") for the same reasons I have put forward with regard to the passage concerning the donation of food to the temple: a worshipper who desires the "fruits" of his worship cannot attain liberation in this lifetime. The best he can hope for, soteriologically speaking, is an auspicious rebirth as one who is completely devoted ("in thought, word, and deed") to Nārāyaṇa.[52] Only then is he an Ekāntin who may go to White Island.

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[51] See e.g. PādS 4.21.15, LT 41.5c–6, ŚrīprśS 16.18c–19.

[52] Cf. PārS 13.114c–115, where rebirth as an Ekāyana is promised as the reward for the performance of one's ritual duties (see RASTELLI 2006: 194–195).

In another passage of the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* which conveys the same idea, the identity of the author is more explicit This passage is a continuation of the passage quoted earlier (PauṣS 36.259c-263b), wherein mixed worshippers are condemned as "false devotees" (*bhaktābhāsāḥ*) and the Ekāyanas are named as the true devotees of Acyuta. Having censured the "mixed worshipper" (*vyāmiśrayājin*) in this way, however, the author of these verses goes on to assert that provided he (the mixed worshipper) has undergone initiation and is completely devoted to Nārāyaṇa, to ceremonial rites such as *mantra*-repetition (*japa*), and the offering of gifts into the sacrificial fire (*homa*) as well as to singing the praises of God (*stuti*), "even he, indeed, can attain the world of Viṣṇu at death and, after obtaining a superior rebirth, he may become, from [the time of his] childhood, O best among the twice-born, a Tanmaya, well-versed in the rituals pertaining to the Lord and having him as his chief object. And not aiming at the fruit [of his worship], even in times of distress, after abandoning the body [at death], he does not achieve a rebirth in this world."[53] What does it mean to become a Tanmaya in this instance? The term *tanmaya* is used quite commonly in Pañcarātra texts to denote a meditative state in which there is a perceived identity between the meditating person and the object of their visualisation (see RASTELLI 2009), but in several works it is also used to refer to a particular group of Pāñcarātrikas, namely the Ekāyanas. For instance, in the aforementioned section of the *Sātvatasaṃhitā* which details a sequence of rites relating to the installation (*pratiṣṭhā*) and worship of a divine image in a temple, the four Ekāyanas who are named among the professional assistants to the officiating temple priest are referred to as Tanmayas (SS 25.132a).[54] Additionally, in the *Pādmasaṃhitā* the Tanmayas are instructed to recite *mantra*s belonging to the Ekāyana "school" or recension (*śākhā*) in contrast to "the most excellent knowers of *mantra*s" who recite from the four Vedas.[55] In this passage in the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, then, after contrasting the Ekāyanas and the "mixed worshippers," and condemning the latter, the author is declaring that an initiated mixed worshipper who is completely devoted to Nārāyaṇa and to performing his ritu-

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[53] PauṣS 36.265–267b: *dehānte vaiṣṇavaṃ lokaṃ prāpnuyāt punar eva hi | janma cāsādya cotkṛṣṭam ābālyād dvijasattama || bhagavatkarmaniṣṇātas tatparas tanmayo bhavet | nābhisandhāya ca phalam āpatkālagato 'pi vai || tyaktvā dehaṃ punar janma nāpnuyād iha... |.*

[54] Cf. the parallel references in the PārS (15.378a) and the ĪS (18.255a).

[55] PādS 4.11.242c–243b: *dikṣu vedāṃś ca caturaḥ paṭheyur mantravittamāḥ || vidikṣv ekāyanāṃ śākhāṃ tanmayāḥ sumukhās tathā |.*

al duties can be reborn as an Ekāyana and can in that way achieve liberation from future rebirths.

These passages in the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, which promise rebirth as an Ekāyana to those who make donations to the temple and to mixed worshippers who are completely devoted to worshipping Nārāyaṇa, show that, despite their professed ideals, Ekāyanas were active in advertising their ritual expertise, both to prospective patrons and to other Pāñcarātrikas. The verses concerned with the endowment of food (PauṣS 41.143–155) may be addressed specifically to royal patrons, since their description of a superior rebirth includes references to typically Kṣatriya qualities such as valour (*śaurya*), steadfastness or resolve (*dhṛti*), and strength or energy (*utsāha*)[56] as well as a reference to "enemies" (*dviṣat*).

In another chapter of the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, Pauṣkara asks God for a clarification as to the status of mixed worship, while pointing out that this has been repeatedly prohibited thus far.[57] God replies:

> This is true, O wise one, just as you have urged. But when this other type of ritual (i.e. "mixed worship") is performed, then there is no fault for those who are qualified, (48) since for them Acyuta is assuredly superior to all. [Therefore], because they are subordinate to him, there is indeed no fault in worshipping other gods, (49) just as in one's everyday life [there is no fault] in paying honour to a retinue (*gaṇa*) of servants (or "ministers," *bhṛtya*), or to one's brothers, or to one's lawful wives.[58]

What can we deduce from these verses? First of all, they were evidently composed after those portions of the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* which forbid the practice of mixed worship, for they refer directly to these prohibitions. Since the parts of the *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā* which forbid mixed worship were

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[56] See e.g. *Arthaśāstra* 6.1.3–5, where *utsāha* is listed among the exemplary qualities of a king (*svāmin*), and *śaurya* is named as one of its attributes (*guṇa*); and *Mahābhārata* 6.40.43 (*Bhagavadgītā* 18.43), wherein the duty of the Kṣatriya (*kṣatrakarma*) is said to involve *śaurya* and *dhṛti*.

[57] PauṣS 38.47ab: "O God, being a mixed worshipper is repeatedly prohibited" (*deva vyāmiśrayājitvaṃ pratiṣiddhaṃ punaḥ punaḥ*).

[58] PauṣS 38.48–50c: *satyam etan mahābuddhe yathā sañcoditaṃ tvayā | kin tu kriyāntare prāpte na dośas tv adhikāriṇām || 48 yasmāt sarvaparatvaṃ hi teṣām asty acyutaṃ prati | tadāśritatvād devānām anyeṣāṃ pūjanāt tu vai || 49 na doṣo hi yathā loke bhrātṛbhṛtyagaṇasya ca | mānanād dharmapatnīnām… || 50.*

most likely authored by Ekāyanas, who called themselves Ekāntins and
proclaimed themselves superior to mixed worshippers partly on account of
their monotheism, we must assume either that a.) these verses were au-
thored by a Pāñcarātrika who was himself a mixed worshipper as opposed
to an Ekāyana, or that b.) they were authored by an Ekāyana, and therefore
provide evidence that some Ekāyanas, at least, changed their attitude to-
wards "mixed worship" and adopted an attitude which is close to what
GRANOFF (2000) has called "ritual eclecticism."[59] I propose that the second
explanation is more likely to be the correct one, for the passage in which
these verses are found, concerned with the installation (pratiṣṭhā) of the
image of God (bhagavadbimba) in a temple, is almost certainly the work of
an Ekāyana. This is evident from the fact that the principal ordinance
(mukhyakalpa, PauṣS 38.41b) for the installation is assigned to knowers of
the five times who are "exclusive" devotees (ananyāḥ, PauṣS 38.31a), who
are devoted to the four Vyūhas and who "also perform the renunciation of
[the fruits of] ritual" (karmaṇām api saṃnyāsaṃ kurvanti, PauṣS 38.32),
while the secondary or "substitutive" ordinance (anukalpa) is to be per-
formed by initiated twice-born Bhāgavatas who are "established in the
dharma of the triple Veda" (trayīdharmasthitaiḥ, PauṣS 38.41c–42). The
former group clearly denotes the Ekāyanas, while the "initiated twice-born
Bhāgavatas" designates the Pāñcarātrikas who are elsewhere referred to as
"mixed worshippers."

   We also encounter an indication that some Ekāyanas may have changed
their attitude towards "mixed worship" in the Pārameśvarasaṃhitā:

> After worshipping Vāstu (or "Vāstvīśa," i.e., Vāstupuruṣa, the
> guardian deity of the temple), Kṣetreśa, Garuḍa, Dvārśrī (also known
> as Dvāralakṣmī), Caṇḍa, and Pracaṇḍa with arghya and so on, one
> should then worship the temple gods in the temple, in the pavilion at
> [each of] the four [entrance-]gates, and in the other [places]. (125c–
> 126) Then, at the three gates [one should worship] Dhātṛ and
> Vidhātṛ, and also Jaya and Vijaya, and Bhadra and Subhadra, and
> the Lord of the Gaṇas (Gaṇeśvara, i.e. Viṣvaksena). (127) Worship
> [performed] by a man [who is] an Ekāntin which is directed towards
> the subordinate class of deities which forms God's retinue,[60] begin-

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[59] GRANOFF (2000: 401) defines "ritual eclecticism" thus: "The group of insiders
explicitly acknowledges that others have rituals, and then enjoins or permits the
practice of those rituals along with the rituals specific to the group itself."

[60] I take aṅga here in the sense of "God's retinue" following Alaśiṅgabhaṭṭa, who

ning with the gatekeepers and ending with Viṣvaksena, assuredly causes distress to men who have little understanding. (128–129b) [But] not worshipping them, even if [this is done only] by the pupils [of the priest], causes obstacles to what is being accomplished.[61] (129cd) Therefore, worship with [one's] thought [directed upon] the [deities who are the] servants of God is enjoined in order to elicit their compassion, though [it should be done] without devotion and trust. (130) They (the subordinate deities), mentally visualising the supreme good in the heart, humbly receive with their mind[s] that which has fallen from the hands [of worshippers], even if it is given without respect. (131) Since they are all made of Acyuta, their minds are surrendered to his mind. Thus, from the worship of these [subordinate deities] by an Ekāntin *guru*, (132) strife will be cast out, since they are the servants of Hari.[62]

It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from this passage, the bulk of which is also found in the *Īśvarasaṃhitā*.[63] Indeed, we cannot even be certain that "Ekāntin" here is to be understood as meaning "Ekāyana." However, there are good reasons for believing this to be the case. First of all, there are other places in the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā* where the term *ekāntin* is used to refer to the Ekāyanas. Indeed, these include the only uses of the term *ekāntin* which occur in the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā* prior to the above passage. Both instances belong to the first chapter, where the Ekāyanaveda

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glosses *aṅgabhāvam* with *bhagavatparivāratām* in his commentary on the same verse in the ĪS. See *Sātvatārthaprakāśikā* on ĪS 4.2.

[61] Again, I follow Alaśiṅgabhaṭṭa here in taking *api* together with *śiṣyāṇām* rather than with *prakṛtasya*, which would be, grammatically speaking, the more orthodox reading. See *Sātvatārthaprakāśikā* on ĪS 4.4cd.

[62] PārS 6.125c–133b: *vāstukṣetreśagaruḍadvārśrīcaṇḍapracaṇḍakān ǁ 125 abhyarcyārghyādibhir devān prāsādasthāṃś ca pūjayet | prāsāde 'tha caturdvāre maṇḍape cetareṣu ca ǁ 126 dvāratraye 'tha dhātāraṃ vidhātāraṃ jayaṃ tathā | vijayaṃ cāpi bhadraṃ ca subhadraṃ ca gaṇeśvaram ǁ 127 yad aṅgabhāvam abhyeti dvārsthādyaṃ devatāgaṇam | viṣvaksenāvasānaṃ ca narāṇām alpamedhasām ǁ 128 jantor ekāntinas tad vai cittakhedakṛd arcanam | vighnakṛt prakṛtasyāpi śiṣyāṇāṃ tadanarcanam ǁ 129 atas tadanukampārthaṃ devabhṛtyadhiyārcanam | bhaktiśraddhojjhitaṃ caiva vihitaṃ tv evam eva hi ǁ 130 te tatpāṇicyutaṃ (corr. tatprāṇicyutaṃ, cf. ĪS 4.5c) prahvā dattam apy avahelayā | gṛhṇanti manasā śreyaḥ paraṃ dhyātvā dhiyā hṛdi ǁ 131 yataḥ sarve 'cyutamayās taccittārpitamānasāḥ | etāvad arcanāt teṣāṃ guror ekāntinas tu vai ǁ 132 syād virodhanirāsas tu yato bhṛtyas tu te hareḥ |.*

[63] PārS 6.125c–126b → ĪS 3.101; PārS 6.128–133b → ĪS 4.2c–7.

is called the *dharma* of the Ekāntins (*ekāntidharma*, PārS 1.60) and the *dharma* of the Lord (*bhagavaddharma*) which is followed by Ekāntins (*ekāntibhir anuṣṭhitaḥ*, PārS 1.85cd).[64] Secondly, it is very difficult to make sense of this passage if we take *ekāntin* in its alternative or, shall we say, its *primary* sense, which is merely descriptive, for then we are left with an account of a man or a *guru* who is described as being "devoted to one [God]" (*ekāntin*) in the same passage that he is described as worshipping multiple deities. Such a man is evidently not an *ekāntin* in the literal sense of the term, which supports my proposal that we take *ekāntin* here not in its literal sense, but in the only other sense which is authorised by its use in the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*, namely as a proper noun which is an alternative name for "Ekāyana."

The passage appears to indicate that Ekāntins or Ekāyanas were being criticised in some quarters for worshipping the subordinate members of Viṣṇu's entourage, such as Viṣvaksena, the gatekeepers to the temple, and other temple deities.[65] Presumably, if such criticism genuinely existed, it was based on the notion that worshipping these deities compromised the Ekāyanas' commitment to monotheism and, by extension (since the subordinate deities cannot grant liberation), to liberation as the exclusive goal to be sought. It is to be noted that in his *Āgamaprāmāṇya*, Yāmuna also makes the point that the subordinate deities are, like the lord of Viṣṇu's retinue (Viṣvaksena), "dependent upon Viṣṇu."[66] However, Yāmuna does not make this point in response to a specific criticism of the practice of worshipping Viṣṇu's subordinate deities. Indeed, there is no indication in the *Āgamaprāmāṇya* that the Pāñcarātra's traditionalist opponents included this practice among the litany of those which earned their opprobrium. If the criticism of the Ekāyana worship of Viṣṇu's entourage was not coming from traditionalist outsiders, then from where was it coming? This is a difficult question to answer, but we should not discount the possibility that it came from other Ekāyanas, perhaps those who were less flexible or less willing to adapt to the changing circumstances in which they found themselves. The author's strategy in the above passage appears to be to legitimate the Ekāyana worship of the subordinate deities by providing scriptur-

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[64] See also the first use of the term *ekāntin* which occurs after the quoted passage from the sixth chapter of the *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*. Here, at PārS 10.285–289, the names *ekāntin* and *ekāyana* are used interchangeably.

[65] On the mythical plane Caṇḍa, Pracaṇḍa, Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ, Jaya, Vijaya, Bhadra, and Subhadra are the gatekeepers of Vaikuṇṭha, Viṣṇu's heaven.

[66] ĀP 168.6–7: *devatāgaṇaḥ || guṇabhūtaḥ śruto viṣṇor viṣṇupāriṣadeśavat |*.

al authority for it, but he also attempts to minimise the "distress" that this may cause by emphasising that this worship is, and should be, performed without devotion, trust, and respect,[67] and that, in any case, the subordinate deities are "made of Acyuta," and so any charge of abandoning monotheism is inapplicable.

Finally, I turn to Vedāntadeśika's *Pāñcarātrarakṣā*, most likely composed in Śrīraṅgam during the early decades of the fourteenth century (HARI RAO 1976: 116–117). After quoting the PādS (4.19.131–132) to the effect that a Brahmin who is initiated into one Tantra or Siddhānta should not perform rites prescribed by another, Vedāntadeśika goes on to qualify this statement: "Having said this, it is also said, however, that there is authority in the lower Tantras for those following a higher Tantra."[68] He then quotes, without attribution, a passage which claims that there is an ascending order of Pāñcarātra initiates, beginning with those who belong to the Tantrāntarasiddhānta and culminating in those who follow the Āgamasiddhānta, and that all initiates are qualified to perform the rites not only of their own Siddhānta but also, as far as possible, of those Siddhāntas which are lower than their own. Thus, since the Āgamasiddhānta is at the top of the hierarchy, its followers are always entitled to worship God in accordance with the other three Siddhāntas, a Mantrasiddhāntin is additionally qualified for the Tantra and Tantrāntara Siddhāntas, and a Tantra-siddhāntin is also eligible for the Tantrāntarasiddhānta. A Tantrān-tarasiddhāntin is qualified only for his own Siddhānta and must worship in his own home.[69] Vedāntadeśika reports that it is also said here (i.e. in the same unnamed text) that members of each Siddhānta have the authority to worship in temples (*sthāna*) which have been established by a Siddhānta "inferior" (*apakṛṣṭa*) to their own,[70] which would mean that Āgama-siddhāntins are entitled to worship in any Pāñcarātra temple.

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[67] There are echoes here of a process which GRANOFF (2000: 409) describes as an "acknowledgement that rituals cross sectarian boundaries and that some explanation for this that preserves those boundaries is required." In this case, a boundary is preserved by the instruction that the subordinate deities should be worshipped "without devotion, trust, and respect."

[68] PRR 13.9: *ity uktvā punar apy uparyupari tantrasthitānām adho 'dhas tantrā-dhikāritvam uktam.*

[69] PRR 13.10–14.2.

[70] PRR 14.3–4: *atrāpy utkṛṣṭasiddhāntasthitenāpy apakṛṣṭasiddhāntasthāneṣu tattatsiddhāntaprakāreṇaiva pūjanīyatvam uktam.*

According to Vedāntadeśika's anonymous source, therefore, members of the Āgamasiddhānta have the authority to perform all rites which are enjoined in the Mantrasiddhānta, the implication being that they can execute this entitlement without being guilty of "mixing Siddhāntas," which is forbidden by both traditions as Vedāntadeśika elsewhere acknowledges.[71] He then quotes again the same anonymous text which reinforces this idea: "If they are qualified for the principal [ordinance, then] they are qualified for the secondary ordinance."[72] An initiate who is qualified for the Āgamasiddhānta is qualified also for the Mantrasiddhānta, and therefore for acts of "mixed worship" undertaken by that tradition's adherents. Here, it may be useful to ask whether this anonymous source might reflect and give legitimacy to what was actually taking place – in other words, whether Āgamasiddhāntins were, in fact, aligning themselves with the more dominant, Veda-congruent Pāñcarātra traditions. When read in tandem with the aforementioned scriptural passages which indicate that some Ekāyanas were changing their attitude towards, and participating in, acts of "mixed worship," we are perhaps in a reasonably good position to give a provisionally affirmative answer to this question. Certainly, this could help to explain the apparent disappearance of the Āgamasiddhānta, not only as a named Pāñcarātra tradition but also as a strand within the Pāñcarātra whose representatives claimed the superiority of their own tradition over that of the Veda.

The period of mutual animosity between the Āgamasiddhānta and the Mantrasiddhānta, which was probably current for a period during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, did not last long, and the main reason for this appears to have been that the Āgamasiddhāntins or Ekāyanas could not compete effectively with their more orthodox rivals.[73] This was, no doubt, primarily due to the fact that they could not claim affiliation with a recognised Vedic school (śākhā), and in the Śrīvaiṣṇava-influenced conservative religious environment of South India at this time were therefore less attractive than the Mantrasiddhāntins in the eyes of prospective patrons. Howev-

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[71] See e.g. PRR 9.6ff., where Vedāntadeśika reports that the *Caryāpāda* (the fourth section) of the *Pādmasaṃhitā* explains in detail the "offence" (*doṣa*) involved in the mixing of Siddhāntas and Tantras (*siddhāntasaṃkara* and *tantrasaṃkara*); and PRR 18.15–19.5, which quotes the PārS (19.545–548b) on the prohibition of the "mixing of Siddhāntas" (*siddhāntasāṃkarya*).

[72] PRR 14.6: *mukhyādhikāriṇaḥ santi yadi gauṇādhikāriṇaḥ.*

[73] By "orthodox" here, I am referring to the way in which Mantrasiddhāntins position themselves with regard to the Veda. For them, the latter remains, at least nominally, the highest textual authority.

er, another cause of the inability of Āgamasiddhāntins to compete effectively with their rivals may well have been self-inflicted, for in a commercially competitive environment wherein the ritual expertise of professional priests would have been shaped to a large degree by the needs of their clients, the Ekāyanas had given themselves a distinct disadvantage. For they could not promise these clients, as reward for loyalty and generous support, the attainment of liberation at death. The best they could offer them, soteriologically speaking, was rebirth as an Ekāyana.

An apparent consequence of the greater resources available to the Mantrasiddhānta in their efforts to attract patronage was that some members of the Āgamasiddhānta began to incorporate into their repertoire the same ritual practices that their Mantrasiddhāntin rivals engaged in – practices that their own tradition (i.e. the Āgamasiddhānta) had previously condemned. These included rituals granting rewards to those desirous of the "fruits" of worship (*phalārthin*) as well as acts of "mixed worship" such as the worship of Viṣṇu's subordinate deities for rewards other than liberation from rebirth. The PārS (6.125c–133b, and the parallel passage in the *Īśvarasaṃhitā*) appears to contain a small clue that some Āgamasiddhāntins or Ekāyanas continued to condemn such practices after others belonging to their tradition had begun to engage in them. But we hear little of these protests, and, if indeed they existed, they seem to have been otherwise excluded from the textual record. Rather, several sources attest to the fact that the religious identities of these two Pāñcarātra Siddhāntas began to merge, or rather that the need to draw distinctions between them disappeared, which is why in the later scriptural literature, including works roughly coeval with and succeeding Vedāntadeśika, we increasingly see the Pāñcarātra presented as a single homogeneous tradition with, for example, a single scriptural canon.

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*Sahajavajra's integration of Tantra into mainstream Buddhism: An analysis of his *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā and *Sthitisamāsa

Klaus-Dieter Mathes

During the final phase of Buddhism in India, monastic communities started to integrate more readily elements of Tantric Buddhism from the milieu of the great Siddhas.[1] While the philosophy of the methods of perfection (Pāramitānaya), i.e., non-Tantric Mahāyāna, could be easily brought in line with the methods of *mantra*s (Mantranaya),[2] certain elements of the latter, such as sexual *yoga* during empowerment (*abhiṣeka*)[3] and subsequent practices, remained problematic in mainstream Buddhism that continued to be dominated by monasticism. However, since empowerment was an important requirement for the Tantric path, though, ordained practitioners faced the conflict of either strictly following the monastic rules or practising the new powerful and effective techniques.

Such must have been the situation in a typical Buddhist community when Maitrīpa (986–1063 CE)[4] interrupted his career as a monk-scholar at

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[1] In other words, great accomplished adepts. The term *mahāsiddha* refers to any one of a group of Indian Tantric masters. Many of these were historical figures. See BUSWELL & LOPEZ 2014: 508–509.

[2] In his *Tattvaratnāvalī*, Maitrīpa includes Tantra within mainstream Mahāyāna by dividing the latter into non-Tantric Mahāyāna, which he calls Pāramitānaya, and Tantric Mahāyāna, which he calls Mantranaya. See TRĀ 342$_{9-10}$ and MATHES 2015: 59.

[3] Lit. "anointment," a term originally used to refer to the anointment of a king. By extension it was applied to the anointment of a Bodhisattva as a Buddha (see BUSWELL & LOPEZ 2014: 12). In Mantranaya, an *abhiṣeka* refers to a ritual that allows the adept to employ Tantric means of practice, such as visualising himself as a deity, reciting its magical formula (*mantra*), or generating exemplifying bliss in sexual *yoga* (see MATHES 2015: 10–14).

[4] ROERICH (1949–53: 842) settled on 1007/10–1084/1087, while TATZ (1994: 65) suggested ca. 1007 – ca. 1085. ROBERTS (2014: 4 and 212, n. 8) rightly points out, however, that 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal's (1392–1481) Tibetan historical sur-

Vikramapura Monastery[5] to search out the great Siddha Śavaripa. Having received empowerment and "great seal" (*mahāmudrā*)[6] teachings from him, Maitrīpa returned to the academic milieu and started composing several texts that embed *mahāmudrā* in his favoured Madhyamaka philosophy of non-abiding (*apratiṣṭhāna*).[7] The Sanskrit term *apratiṣṭhāna* also means "non-foundation," which conveys the idea that there is no foundation in anything whatsoever by which the latter can be reified in any conceivable way. Maitrīpa's student Rāmapāla equates *apratiṣṭhāna* with mental non-engagement (*amanasikāra*),[8] a term that Maitrīpa also interprets as luminous self-empowerment.[9] This means that the practitioner not only refrains from projecting mistaken notions (such as an independent existence or characteristic signs) onto anything arisen in dependence, whether *skandha*s, *dhātu*s, or *āyatana*s,[10] but also realises the luminous nature of mind. With such a fine blend of *mahāmudrā* and Madhyamaka, Maitrīpa and his disciples considerably contributed to integrating the new teachings and practices of the great Siddha into mainstream Buddhism.

A key role in this process is played by the *Tattvadaśaka*, or "Ten Verses on True Reality," a text in which Maitrīpa combines an analytic Madhyamaka path of excluding what true reality is not (via negationis) with a direct approach of experiencing true reality as luminosity (via emi-

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vey, called the *Blue Annals* (Tib. *Deb ther sngon po*), does not give any precise information on the specific elements attributed to the year, and that according to the life stories of Maitrīpa's disciples their master must have passed away already before Vajrapāṇi reached Nepal in 1066. See also MATHES 2015: 1.

[5] According to some Tibetan sources (the biography in the *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod*, Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba's *Chos byung mkhas pa pa'i dga' ston* and the one in the Tucci Tibetan fund (ms 1095) being an exception), Maitrīpa did not leave Vikramapura but was expelled from Vikramalaśīla for being involved with alcohol and women (BRUNNHÖLZL 2007: 511).

[6] In its Tantric context, *mahāmudrā* stands for the fruition of the path, but for *Sahajavajra the term is also used to qualify pith instructions and the true reality they reveal. See MATHES 2015: 229.

[7] Later known as the collection of texts on non-conceptual realisation (*amanasikāra*). For an edition and translation of this corpus, see MATHES 2015.

[8] This is very clear from the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* of Rāmapāla (one of the four main disciples of Maitrīpa), who glosses *apratiṣṭhāna* as "not to become mentally engaged" and "not to superimpose." See *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* on SN 29 (SNP 192$_6$): *apratiṣṭhānam amanasikāro 'nāropaḥ*.

[9] This will be further explained below. See also MATHES 2015: 20 and 247.

[10] SNP 192$_{5-6}$: *sarvasminn iti pratītyasamutpannaskandhadhātvāyatanādau...*

nentiae).[11] In his commentary on verse 8 of the *Tattvadaśaka* (i.e., the *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā*), Maitrīpa's disciple *Sahajavajra explains the via eminentiae in terms of a *mahāmudrā* practice that differs from the usual Tantric *mahāmudrā*. It seems to fall in between the distinction of Mahāyāna into Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya, since it takes the *Tattvadaśaka* as Pāramitānaya pith instructions that accord with, or follow,[12] Mantranaya.[13] To be sure, this kind of *mahāmudrā* path is beyond the pride of being a deity (*lha'i nga rgyal*) and the sequence of the four seals, i.e., the generation and completion stages of formal Tantric practice.[14] It could be argued that we have here an Indian predecessor of what came to be known in Tibet as *mdo lugs phyag chen*, i.e., "*sūtra*-style *mahāmudrā*."[15] The implication of *sūtra-mahāmudrā* is that the advanced practices of the great Siddhas are possible even without formal Tantric empowerment. In Tibetan Buddhism, there were of course also other strategies of adopting the empow-

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[11] MATHES 2006: 209–212.

[12] Tib. *rjes su mthun par*. Unfortunately, the Indian original of the *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā* has not come down to us, but in Maitrīpa's *Mahāyānaviṃśikā*, verse 4 (in which the term is used in a similar context) we find the Sanskrit equivalent *anusāreṇa*. (MATHES 2015: 451).

[13] TDṬ (B 1b4–2a$_2$, D 161a2, P 176a$_{4–5}$): "Having presented in detail the stages of penetrating the meaning of non-abiding in accordance with Pramāṇa, Madhyamaka and authoritative scriptures (*āgama*), [Maitrīpa] wished to compose brief Pāramitā[naya] pith instructions which accord with the tradition of the secret Mantra[naya]…" (*tshad ma dang | dbu ma dang | lung* $^{(a}$*rnams gis 'dir rab tu mi gnas pa'i*$^{a)}$ *don la 'jug pa'i rim pa rgyas par* $^{(b}$*bstan nas*$^{b)}$ $^{(c}$*gsang ngags kyi tshul dang*$^{c)}$ *rjes su mthun*^{d} *pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa'i*^{e} *man ngag mdor bsdus* $^{(f}$*pa byed par 'dod pas*$^{f)}$ */ ...* ^{a} B *bzhin* ^{b} D *nyid de bzhin nyid* ^{c} P *du* ^{d} P om. ^{e} D *brlabs* ^{f} BD *ba'i*). First quoted and translated in MATHES 2015: 215.

[14] The pride of being a deity, often referred to as *vajra* pride in the secondary literature, is an important element in the generation stage of Tantric practice, during which the adept not only generates himself as a deity but is also proud of that. The four seals are the *karmamudrā*, *dharmamudrā*, *mahāmudrā*, and *samayamudrā*. Their sequence describes the completion stage in the Yoginī Tantras. *mahāmudrā* corresponds here to the level of the fruit, and *dharmamudrā* to the ultimate (i.e., *dharmadhātu*, or the like), which is meditated upon or cultivated on the path. This path is fully in accordance with Pāramitānaya but can be effectively initiated with the help of a *karmamudrā*, which involves sexual union with an actual woman in order to identify the goal of co-emergent joy. The *samayamudrā* is the display of Tantric form *kāya*s for the sake of others as a result of having attained *mahāmudrā* (see MATHES 2009: 89).

[15] MATHES 2006: 201–203.

erment ritual to a monastic environment, such as substituting the critical parts with less-offensive ritual elements,[16] but *sūtra-mahāmudrā* offers a more elegant solution to this problem and also helps to legitimise the substitution in the case a formal empowerment is still preferred.

However, a third approach beyond the methods of *pāramitā* and *mantra* is absent in the only other known work by *Sahajavajra, the *Sthitisamāsa*. The possible explanation proposed in this paper is that Pāramitānaya pith instructions that accord with Mantranaya become part of the Mantranaya. It will be further argued that *sūtra-mahāmudrā* does not mean that *mahāmudrā* becomes "Sūtric," but that *sūtra* passages that support pith instructions become Tantric. This "upgrade" of *sūtra* passages must also be seen in the wider context of integrating the new *mahāmudrā* teachings into mainstream Buddhism by showing that they are in line with the view, conduct, and practice of traditional Mahāyāna. In the process, Tantric terms were explained in a broader Mahāyāna context with the purpose of demonstrating that their meaning was already latent in more traditional forms of Buddhism. By showing that *mahāmudrā* is compatible with more traditional presentations of view and meditation, such as *apratiṣṭhāna* and *amanasikāra* (see below), it must have been easier for Maitrīpa to propagate the teachings of his *guru* Śavaripa among the communities of the big monastic universities in Northern India. Once the bridge between *mahāmudrā* and *amanasikāra* had been built, it was possible to traverse it in both directions.

To what extent this was in fact intended by Maitrīpa is another question. In Tibet, however, sGam po pa (1079–1153) and the Dwags po bKa' brgyud lineages profited from this bridge by giving *mahāmudrā* teachings without Tantric empowerments on the basis of calm abiding and deep insight. The possibility of such a *sūtra-mahāmudrā* was already indicated in Jñānakīrti's *Tattvāvatāra* and (probably in dependence on that) in *Sahajavajra's *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā*. Later bKa' brgyud masters, such as 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481) and Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal (1511–1587), discerned in these Indian masters' writings a doctrinal foundation for their *mahāmudrā* approach of combining Tantric and Sūtric methods into a single system of liberation.

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[16] The *guhyābhiṣeka* is thus conferred by bestowing the adept a drop of alcohol from a skull (*kapāla*) instead of the sexual fluids from the *guru* and his consort; and the *prajñājñānābhiṣeka* is performed by showing the adept a small drawing (Tib. *tsak li*) with a Tantric couple, and not the adept's union with an actual consort.

In his *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* commentary, gZhon nu dpal thus claims, on the basis of the *Tattvadaśaka* and its *ṭīkā*, that what Maitrīpa called *mahāmudrā* is a Pāramitānaya path that accords with the secret Mantranaya (see below). The way in which the Pāramitānaya would accord with the Mantranaya is evident in gZhon nu dpal's description of how those who rely on pith instructions take refuge by seeing their *guru* as the Buddha:

> Those who rely on pith instructions must be certain about [their] ref-
> uge in the Three Jewels. For this reason, they have to take refuge
> with the confidence that [their] *guru* is a Buddha. The *guru*, further-
> more, cannot be anyone, but he must be one who has seen reality.
> This is what Maitrīpa called *mahāmudrā*, a Pāramitā[naya] path that
> accords (*rjes su mthun pa*) with the secret Mantra[naya]. This is the
> meaning derived from the *Tattvadaśaka* and its *ṭīkā*. Likewise, it is
> obvious that the well-known *guruyoga* exclusively accords with the
> Mantra[naya]. If it is not right for followers of Pāramitānaya[17] to
> practice something that only accords with [Mantranaya], then it is al-
> so not right for Śrāvakas to pacify sickness with *mantra* formulas,
> which lean on [Mantranaya].[18]

In other words, *guruyoga*,[19] or rather one's reliance on somebody who has seen true reality as it is, in this case upgrades ordinary Pāramitānaya into a system that deserves the label *mahāmudrā*. It could be argued that *guru-yoga* is tantamount to Tantric empowerment, since one receives the *guru*'s

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[17] Lit. "Pāramitāyāna."

[18] DRSM 190₈₋₁₃: *'dir man ngag pa dag ni dkon mchog gsum la skyabs su 'gro ba ni nges par bya dgos pa yin kyi | de las kyang bla ma nyid sangs rgyas su mos nas skyabs su 'gro bar bya ba yin la | bla ma de yang su yang rung ba ma yin gyi | bden pa mthong ba zhig zin no zhes bzhed de | 'di ni mai trī pas phyag rgya chen po zhes bya ba pha rol tu phyin pa'i lam gang zhig gsang sngags dang rjes su mthun pa yin no zhes bya ba'i don 'di de kho na nyid bcu pa'i rtsa 'grel du 'byung ba yin la | de bzhin du bla ma'i rnal 'byor zhes grags pa ni sngags dang rjes su mthun pa kho nar snang la | de pha rol tu phyin pa'i theg pa bas rjes su mthun pa tsam yang nyams su blang du mi rung na so sor 'brang ba'i rig sngags kyis nad zhi bar byed pa nyan thos rnams la mi rung bar 'gyur zhing | ….*

[19] That is, a Tantric ritual of *guru* devotion, during which the adept visualises his root *guru* as not being separated from the Buddha. It is mostly practiced together with three other preliminary practices, i.e., prostration, Vajrasattva purification, and *maṇḍala* offering (see BUSWELL & LOPEZ 2014: 339).

blessing and thus the wisdom of *mahāmudrā*.[20] The Eighth Karmapa Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554) clarifies this in his *sKu gsum ngo sprod rnam bshad* as follows:

> Sgam po pa explained: This *mahāmudrā* of our bKa' brgyud [tradition] first of all involves a fortunate disciple taking to the limit [his or her] devotion to a qualified teacher [in the way that] Nāro relied upon Tīlo, Mar pa upon Nāro, Mi la upon Mar pa, and 'Brom ston upon the master Atiśa. This is referred to as "making devotion the path." Its power makes it possible for the blessing of the *guru* to enter [the disciple]. When a [corresponding state of] mind (*blo*) arises, the *samādhi* of calm abiding and deep insight arises effortlessly. This is referred to as "making blessing the path." Through its power, the abiding mode of the true nature and the extent of all phenomena are seen directly. This is "making direct perception the path."[21]

The *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā

*Sahajavajra's commentary on the *Tattvadaśaka* has not come down to us in its Indian original, so that we have to rely on its Tibetan translation contained in the bsTan 'gyur. It was translated by Vajrapāṇi (b. 1017)[22] and mTshur ston Ye shes 'byung gnas (a translator related to 'Brog mi). This *paṇḍita*-translator pair is also known to have translated Maitrīpa's *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana*, *Mahāyānaviṃśikā*, *Premapañcaka*, *Sahajaṣaṭka*, and accord-

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[20] In the chapter on the transmission of *mahāmudrā* lineages In his *Deb ther sngon po* (984₁₈₋₂₀), gZhon nu dpal states that "… the remedy, which is not mere theory, is the wisdom of *mahāmudrā*. It arises from the blessing of the genuine *guru*." (*des na lta bar ma gyur pa 'di'i gnyen po ni phyag rgya chen po'i ye shes yin la | de ni bla ma dam pa'i byin rlabs nyid las 'byung ba yin no |*).

[21] Mi bskyod rdo rje: *sKu gsum ngo sprod rnam bshad*, vol. 21, 168₆–169₄: *rje sgam po pas | 'o bkol gyi bka' brgyud 'di'i phyag rgya chen po 'di la slob ma skal ldan gyis bla ma mtshan ldan la dang por mos gus tshad du skyol pa nā ros tai lo bsten pa dang | mar pas nā ro pa bsten pa dang | mi las mar pa bsten pa dang | 'brom gyis jo bo bsten pa ltar bston pa de la mos pa lam byed bya ba yin | de ltar mos pa lam du song ba'i mthus bla ma'i byin brlabs 'jug tu rung ba'i blo skye zhing de ltar skye ba la zhi lhag gi ting nge 'dzin rtsol med du skye ba de byin brlabs lam byed yin | byin brlabs lam du song ba'i mthus chos thams cad ji lta ba dang ji snyed pa'i gnas tshul mngon sum du mthong ba de la mngon sum lam byed yin |.* I thank Dr. Martina Draszczyk (Vienna) for this reference and also its translation.

[22] ROERICH 1949–53: 843.

ing to the Peking bsTan 'gyur[23] also the *Tattvadaśaka*. Compared to these translations, I did not find any evidence that would call into question the authenticity of the **Tattvadaśakaṭīkā*. Yet, Ulrich Timme Kragh raises doubts because *Sahajavajra's commentary quotes Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanā-krama*(s),[24] of which no Sanskrit manuscript "has ever been found outside Tibet."[25] However, there is an untold number of Sanskrit manuscripts that are not found outside of Tibet, and the fact that no other quotation of the *Bhāvanākrama*s could so far be identified is not very telling. Given the intense economic and cultural relations between Central Tibet and its southern neighbours at the time, it is difficult to see how such important texts of the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school should have remained unknown in India. On the contrary, the quotation of the *Bhāvanākrama*s in *Sahajavajra's commentary demonstrates their presence in eleventh-century India, just as there is evidence for the presence of Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka* in India from this time onwards.[26]

If the text was, however, for the sake of argument, composed within a Nepalese or Tibetan tradition that had been in need of scriptural support for Pāramitānaya-based *mahāmudrā*, the author would not have referred to the *Hevajratantra* (i.e., HT I.8.44cd)[27] in support of a non-conceptual access to the ultimate.[28] This reference to Maitrīpa's preferred Tantric source perfectly adds to the picture that this commentary on the *Tattvadaśaka* can be taken as a genuine Indian source.

Although *Sahajavajra already reports a *mahāmudrā* practice of firmly realising reality, the main context of *mahāmudrā* in Maitrīpa's system is

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[23] The Derge bsTan 'gyur mentions Tshul khrims rgyal ba as translator.

[24] There are, to be precise, three of them.

[25] KRAGH 2015: 75, n. 110.

[26] See KEIRA 2004: 7–8.

[27] HT I.8.44 (HT 95_{5-6}): "The whole world should be meditated upon [in such a way] that it is not produced by the intellect. Meditation is actually non-meditation (or non-production by the mind), the thorough knowledge of all phenomena." (*bhāvyate hi jagat sarvaṃ manasā yasmān na bhāvyate | sarvadharmaparijñānaṃ bhāvanā naiva bhāvanā ||*).

[28] In his subcommentary on the **Tattvadaśakaṭīkā*, Ti pi 'Bum la 'bar uses this opportunity to claim that the direct approach, or non-conceptual *bodhicitta*, manifests during empowerment: "As to the non-analytical [bodhi]citta here, in the secret Mantranaya a non-analytical realisation manifests during the fourth empowerment." (*'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod*, vol. *kha*, $184a_3$: *'di la dpyad pa med pa'i sems ni gsang sngags kyi theg pa 'di la dbang bzhi pa'i dus su ma dpyad rtogs pa 'char bas so |*).

provided in his *Sekanirdeśa*,[29] where it is embedded in the sequence of the four seals. In this context, it primarily represents the goal of Buddhahood that is attained through the experience of four joys on a physical *karmamudrā*-level and/or the four joys on a verbal *dharmamudrā*-level.[30] According to *Kāropa, another disciple of Maitrīpa, the *karmamudrā* is not required in order to embark on the path to enlightenment,[31] and Maitrīpa claims in his *Tattvaviṃśikā* that in Tantra, inferior practitioners rely on a *karmamudrā*, while a more direct approach to *mahāmudrā* is available to those with sharp faculties.[32] In other words, the sequence in which *mahāmudrā* is embedded is not so strictly prescribed, and it does not cate-

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[29] The *Sekanirdeśa* and the *Tattvadaśaka* belong to the same collection of Maitrīpa texts, referred to as *Yid la mi byed pa'i chos skor* in the Tibetan tradition (see MATHES 2015: 4–6).

[30] See Rāmapāla's commentary on the *Sekanirdeśa* (SNP 191$_{10-11}$): "Now that the *karmamudrā*, which has the nature of the four joys and is based on physicality, has been propounded, he teaches the *dharmamudrā*, which has the nature of the four joys and is based on speech." (*caturānandasvabhāvā kāyikī karmamudroktaiva* / *vācasīṃ dharmamudrāṃ caturānandasvabhāvām āha* /). For Maitrīpa and his disciples, the four joys are joy, supreme joy, co-emergent joy, and no-joy. They are first enjoyed physically with a *karmamudrā* (the technical term for a consort). This proceeds to the subsequent phase of *dharmamudrā* in which the practitioner realises the four joys again, but this time on the basis of teachings of how the manifold manifests in the co-emergent and so forth (see MATHES 2009: 89 and 112–113).

[31] In Rāmapāla's commentary on the *Sekanirdeśa*, we are informed that the *dharmamudrā* relates to a central practice of the outer creation phase, while *karmamudrā* practice extends through the perfect completion stage.[a] In other words, the way *dharmamudrā* is presented here suggests not so much a progressive succession following from the *karmamudrā* empowerment but rather the possibility of an alternative path which begins with the outer creation phase. According to *Kāropa, a disciple of Maitrīpa, the four moments and joys can also arise directly on the level of *dharmamudrā*, and one must rely on a *karmamudrā* only when this is impossible. See MATHES 2009: 94.

[a] It should be noted, however, that creation stage visualisations can occasionally be employed in the advanced levels of the completion stage.

[32] See TV 7 and 11 (TV 459$_{12-13}$ & TV 460$_{16-17}$): "Those with inferior capacities have perfectly cultivated the circle with the help of the *karma-* and *samayamudrā*. [With a mind] directed to the external in the matter of pure reality, they meditate on enlightenment. (TV 7) … The yogin who has seen true reality, however, is wholly devoted to *mahāmudrā*; his faculty being unsurpassable, he abides in [the realisation of the] nature of all entities." (TV 11). (*karmasamayamudrābhyāṃ cakraṃ niṣpādya bhāvitāḥ* / *dhyāyanti mṛdavo bodhiṃ śuddhatattve bahirmukhāḥ* // … *dṛṣṭatattvaḥ punar yogī mahāmudrāparāyaṇaḥ* / *sarvabhāvasvabhāvena vihared uttamendr iyaḥ* //).

gorically exclude *Sahajavajra's *mahāmudrā* as being outside the sequence of the four seals. Moreover, *mahāmudrā* is not only fruition (i.e., Buddhahood): in his *Sekanirdeśa*,[33] Maitrīpa introduces his purely Madhyamaka presentation of *mahāmudrā* by equating the latter with non-abiding, which Rāmapāla equates, as already mentioned, with the practice of *amanasikāra* (i.e., the withdrawal of one's attention from conceptually created duality[34]).[35] Rāmapāla also makes it clear that the doctrinal source for this is the *Jñānālokālaṃkārasūtra* as well as the *Avikalpapraveśadhāraṇī*, an earlier non-Tantric Dhāraṇī text. Here four sets of characteristic signs, i.e., the mistaken projections of the ordinary phenomenal world, remedies, true reality, and the fruit, are abandoned through the practice of not becoming mentally engaged. In the last of the eight verses on *mahāmudrā* found in the *Sekanirdeśa*, Maitrīpa takes up this topic and thus establishes, according to Rāmapāla's commentary, an essential link between *mahāmudrā* and the abandoning of characteristic signs through mental non-engagement.[36] It should be noted, however, that for Maitrīpa the term *amanasikāra* stands not only for mental non-engagement but also for "luminous self-empowerment."[37] For this reason, I propose to translate *amanasikāra* in its Tantric meaning as "non-conceptual realisation."

In his commentary on verse 7 of the *Tattvadaśaka*,[38] *Sahajavajra refers to precisely this context when he quotes verse 36 of the *Sekanirdeśa*. In

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[33] *Sekanirdeśa*, verse 29 (SN 386$_{11-12}$) reads as follows: "Not to abide in anything is known as *mahāmudrā*. Because self-awareness [i.e., *mahāmudrā*] is stainless, [the moments of enjoying] manifold [appearances] and so forth do not arise." (*sarvasminn apratiṣṭhānaṃ mahāmudreti kīrtyate | vimalatvāt svasaṃvitter vicitrāder na sambhavaḥ //*).

[34] See MATHES 2015: 248–258.

[35] SNP 192$_{2-3}$: *sarvasminn ... apratiṣṭhānam amanasikāro 'nāropaḥ |*.

[36] In his commentary on SN 36, Rāmapāla offers a nearly verbatim citation from the section of the *Avikalpapraveśadhāraṇī* that describes the abandonment of the four sets of characteristic signs through *amanasikāra*. For details, see MATHES 2016: 327–331.

[37] At least this is Maitrīpa's final analysis of the term *amanasikāra* in the *Amanasikārādhāra* (AMĀ 497$_{6-7}$): "[The letter] *a* stands for the word 'luminous,' and *manasikāra* for the word 'self-empowerment' (*svādhiṣṭhāna*). It is both *a* and *manasikāra*, so we get *amanasikāra*." (*a iti prabhāsvarapadam | manasikāra iti svādhiṣṭhānapadam | aś cāsau manasikāraś cety amanasikāraḥ /*).

[38] Verse 7 of the *Tattvadaśaka* (TD 487$_{6-7}$) reads as follows: "The world itself, which is free from knowledge and knowable objects, is taken to be non-duality. But even vain clinging to a state free of duality is taken, in like manner, to be luminous."

verse 5 of the *Tattvadaśaka*, Maitrīpa explains that phenomena are experienced as being luminous, and verse 7cd even takes helpful concepts such as the clinging to a state free from duality to be this way. *Sahajavajra then comments that for Maitrīpa the characteristic signs, which are abandoned through *amanasikāra* in the *Avikalpapraveśadhāraṇī*, are all realised as luminous. In other words, for Maitrīpa nothing is really abandoned. One simply realises everything for what it truly is: luminosity. This perfectly fits Maitrīpa's interpretation of *amanasikāra* as luminous self-empowerment in his *Amanasikārādhāra*.

To recapitulate, I suggest that *Sahajavajra here refers to the *mahāmudrā* part of the *Sekanirdeśa* not because of its being embedded in the sequence of the four seals, but because of its Madhyamaka context of non-abiding (i.e., Apratiṣṭhāna-Madhyamaka)[39] and the related practice of *amanasikāra* – understood as a practice of realising the luminous nature of everything. This calls into question whether *mahāmudrā* in the *Sekanirdeśa* stands only for fruition, as would be required by the strict Tantric context of the four seals. We have already seen that through its equation with non-abiding and *amanasikāra*, for Rāmapāla *mahāmudrā* also includes the path. In his *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā*, *Sahajavajra offers an additional interpretation following his citation of *Sekanirdeśa*, verse 36: "Here *mahāmudrā* [refers to] the pith instructions on the true reality of *mahāmudrā*."[40]

Thus, as true reality, *mahāmudrā* refers not only to the fruition and the path, but also to the foundation. In sum, this provides the familiar triad of foundation, path, and fruition (*gzhi, lam, 'bras bu*) *mahāmudrā*. In his *Phyag chen zla ba'i 'od zer*, Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal also comes to this conclusion with a particular reference to the definition of *mahāmudrā* in the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*:

(*jñānajñeyavihīnaṃ ca jagad evādvayaṃ matam | dvayahīnābhimānaś ca tathaiva hi prabhāsvaraḥ ||*). In the eyes of *Sahajavajra, here Maitrīpa replies to the possible objection that he postulates the same characteristic signs which are to be abandoned through *amanasikāra*. His reply then is that this is achieved through realising their luminosity.

[39] All eight verses on *mahāmudrā* in the *Sekanirdeśa* are Madhyamaka. Some of them are also found in the Apratiṣṭhāna section of Maitrīpa's *Tattvaratnāvalī*.

[40] See MATHES 2005: 24. In the quotation of the *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā* in his *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* commentary, 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal omits "reality" and only states: "Here *mahāmudrā* refers to *mahāmudrā* pith instructions." (DRSM 462$_{18-19}$): *'dir zang phyag rgya chen po zhes ba ba ni phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag ste |*).

In the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* composed by Rāmapāla [we find]:

"Then, given that it impresses its seal (*mudrā*) on the three [other] *mudrā*s, [*mahāmudrā*] is both great (*mahā*) and a seal. It is beyond analysis, and its nature is non-abiding.[41] It is made manifest [by] the diligent and continuous cultivation of the wisdom of the path. It is non-existent (i.e., lacks an own-being), free of the hindrances of the knowable, and the basis of everything perfect. It has the identity of [cyclic] existence and *nirvāṇa* as its nature, consists of universal compassion, and has the unique form of great bliss."

Such are the definition and the identification of *mahāmudrā*, by which foundation, path, and fruition *mahāmudrā* are recognised.[42]

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[41] The Sanskrit text which served as a basis for bKra shis rnam rgyal's Tibetan quotation must have read: **avicārāgatā-apratiṣṭhānarūpā*. In the edition by ISAACSON & SFERRA (SNP 190₁₃) we find instead: *vicārāgatāpratiṣṭhānarūpa-*, which means that both of the two compounds are in compound with what follows, thus describing the wisdom of the path instead of *mahāmudrā*. The other difference is that *vicāra* ("analysis") is not negated, so that we get a "wisdom of the path that is reached by analysis." ISAACSON's & SFERRA's Sanskrit edition is also supported by the Tibetan translations of the SNP in the bsTan 'gyur editions and the dPal spungs edition of the Karmapa VII's *Phyag chen rgya gzhung* (ISAACSON & SFERRA 2014: 236, l. 3–4). The compound *vicārāgatāpratiṣṭhānarūpa-* perfectly describes the path, but the path is not the main subject in this definition of *mahāmudrā*. Moreover, *avicārāgatā* and *apratiṣṭhānarūpā* are well-established attributes of *mahāmudrā*: In SN 29ab, *apratiṣṭhāna* is equated with *mahāmudrā*, and in his commentary on SN 30, Rāmapāla explains that *apratiṣṭhāna* is inexpressible wisdom that does not arise from analysis but is effortless and occurs in its own sphere (SNP 193₇₋₈: *tac cāpratiṣṭhānam acintyaṃ jñānaṃ na tad vicārāgataṃ kiṃ tarhy anābhogaṃ svarasābhyāgatam*).

[42] Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal: *Phyag chen zla ba'i 'od zer* (148₁₈–149₅): *dbang bskur nges bstan kyi bka' 'grel ra ma pā las mdzad pa las | phyag rgya gsum la rgyas gdab pa'i phyir | 'di chen po yang yin la phyag rgya yang yin te | dpyad pas ma 'ongs pa mi gnas pa'i ngo bo nyid | lam gyi ye shes gus pa dang bcas shing rgyun mi chad par goms par byas pa mngon du byas pa dngos po med pa | shes bya la sogs pa'i sgrib pa spangs pa | phun sum tshogs pa ma lus pa'i gzhir gyur pa | srid pa dang mya ngan las 'das pa ngo bo nyid kyis gcig pa | dmigs pa med pa'i snying rje chen po'i lus can | bde ba chen po'i sku gcig pu ni phyag rgya chen po'o | | zhes phyag chen gyi nges tshig dang ngo bo ngos 'dzin dang | de rnams kyis gzhi lam 'bras bu'i phyag chen ngos bzung dang…* First translated by LHALUNGPA (2006: 103–104).

Impressing its seal on the lower three seals means that *mahāmudrā* is the nature of these seals, and therefore it can be made to shine through by cultivating the wisdom of the path. Shortly after this, in a section entitled "Clearing away the confusion of other schools" (*Zhar bzung gzhan gyi log rtog gsal ba*), which is basically a response to Sa skya Paṇḍita's (1182–1251) critique of the author's *mahāmudrā* tradition, Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal writes:

> Moreover, in your *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal* [you claim that] if it is *mahāmudrā*, it must have arisen from empowerment. This is not acceptable for the following reasons: One would have to explain that the primordial abiding nature of all phenomena, i.e., foundation *mahāmudrā*, has arisen from empowerment. If one did not maintain such a foundation *mahāmudrā*, one would be forced to deny also path and fruition *mahāmudrā*, since the fruit must be actualised after having cultivated on the path that which abides as the foundation. Moreover, one would have to engage in the deeds of abandoning the *dharma* enunciated in many *mahāmudrā* works such as the ones by those gone before us – the elder and younger Saraha, Tīlopa, Nāropa, and Maitrīpa – as well as [other] works such as the seven works on accomplishment.[43]

The point made here is that if *mahāmudrā* is the fruit, it must also be the foundation, the true nature of all phenomena. This argument presupposes the position found in the *Caturmudrānvaya*, namely that an uncontrived fruit cannot be produced by something contrived.[44] While it is true that the

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[43] Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal: *Phyag chen zla ba'i 'od zer*, 156₃₋₁₁: *yang khyed kyi dgongs su | phyag rgya chen po yin na dbang las 'byung dgos pa'i khyab 'cha' ba'ang mi rigs te | de ltar na chos thams cad kyi gdod ma'i gnas lugs gzhi'i phyag rgya chen po de yang dbang bskur las byung tshul brjod dgos par 'gyur ba'i phyir dang | de 'dra ba'i gzhi'i phyag chen khas mi len na | gzhi la gnas pa lam gyis goms par byas nas 'bras bu mngon du byed dgos pas | lam gyi phyag chen dang 'bras bu'i phyag chen yang med par smra dgos pa'i phyir dang | sngar bshad pa'i sa ra ha che chung tai lo nā ro mai tri pa sogs kyi phyag rgya chen po'i gzhung dang | grub pa sde bdun la sogs pa'i gzhung mang po la chos spong gi las sgrub dgos par 'gyur ba'i phyir dang |...* First translated by LHALUNGPA (2006: 109).

[44] The *Caturmudrānvaya*, which is ascribed to the Tantric Nāgārjuna, served as a basis for the *Sekanirdeśa*, and thus it represents the most important source for Maitrīpa. The text explains how something artificially created, such as the physical experience of the four joys (i.e., the wisdom arisen from a *karmamudrā*), can initiate

nature of everything becomes manifest through empowerment, the questions remains which elements constitute the latter and whether formal empowerment is required at all. It may be argued that *mahāmudrā* can also be manifested by the practice of abandoning all characteristic signs through *amanasikāra* based on the kindness of the *guru*. In fact, this can be gathered from the commentary on verses 29 and 31 of the *Sekanirdeśa*, the latter being another one of the eight verses on *mahāmudrā* that are purely Madhyamaka. In his explanation on these two verses, Rāmapāla emphasises the importance of the *guru*'s kindness that enables a direct realisation of true reality.[45] In his commentary on the second part of SN 29,[46] Rāmapāla then adds that this occurs beyond the impure moments and joys. Isaacson and Sferra object to this that *mahāmudrā*'s freedom from the impure joys only refers to the "single undefiled moment within the sequence of the moments and the Blisses (i.e., joys) of the sexual union of the third consecration."[47] In my opinion, however, Rāmapāla addresses the possible ob-

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a process that leads to *mahāmudrā*, i.e., Buddhahood. The wisdom which arises from a *karmamudrā* or *prajñā* (i.e., the *prajñā* wisdom) is only an imitation of the real wisdom, with the *prajñā* wisdom of the third empowerment being only an exemplifying wisdom. It becomes a cause for *mahāmudrā* exclusively in combination with the teaching of the *dharmamudrā*. See MATHES 2008: 108.

[45] Rāmapāla on SN 29 (SNP 192_{10-12}): "One should not think that [this *amanasikāra* as taught in the *Jñānālaṃkārāloka*] cannot be practised, for by the kindness of [one's] venerable *guru*, *mahāmudrā*, which has the defining characteristic of being endowed with all supreme qualities, can certainly be made directly manifest." (*...aśakyānuṣṭhānatā ca na mantavyā. sadgurupādaprasādenāvaśyaṃ sarvākāravaropetalakṣaṇamahāmudrāyāḥ pratyakṣīkartuṃ śakyatvāt.*). First translated in MATHES 2007: 555–556. Rāmapāla on SN 31 (SNP 193_{12-15}): "If … this reality was to be experienced directly … [then] it should be known through an awareness [which is obtained through] the kindness of a genuine *guru*." (*yady … tat tattvaṃ pratyakṣam anubhūtaṃ syāt. … sadgurupādaprasādavitter jñeyam.*). First translated in MATHES 2011: 120.

[46] SN 29cd (SN 386_{12}): "As self-awareness (i.e., *mahāmudrā*) is stainless, [the moments of enjoying] manifold [appearances] and so forth do not arise." (*vimalatvāt svasaṃvitter vicitrāder na sambhavaḥ*.). The commentary (SNP 192_{13-15}) reads as follows: "How is it, then, that [*mahāmudrā*] does not have the nature of the four moments? [In 29c] it is stated: 'Because self-awareness [i.e., *mahāmudrā*] is stainless.' Being stainless, the three stained moments of the manifold and so forth do not occur in it. Therefore the three [impure] joys do not arise in it either." (*nanv atra kathaṃ na catuḥkṣaṇarūpatā. āha – vimalatvāt svasaṃvitter nirmalatayā vicitrādeḥ kṣaṇatrayasya samalasya nātra sambhavaḥ. tato nānandatrayasambhavaḥ /*). First translated in MATHES 2007: 556.

[47] ISAACSON & SFERRA 2014: 413.

jection that *mahāmudrā* does not have the nature of the four moments if the practice is exclusively *amanasikāra*, so to say. Rāmapāla's reply, then, is the reassurance that the three impure moments do not occur in *mahāmudrā*. While it is true that the third moment and co-emergent joy are related to *mahāmudrā* in the context of assigning the four joys to the four *mudrā*s (although *mahāmudrā* is beyond the four joys),[48] in his *Caturmudropadeśa* Maitrīpa explains the following just before referring *mahāmudrā* to co-emergent joy:

> *mahāmudrā* [stands for] the union of all phenomena into a pair with [their own] true nature of non-arising. It is free from [any] thought relating to a perceived object and a perceiving subject – the hindrances of defilements, knowable objects, and so forth having been abandoned. One experiences it as it truly is according to its specific characteristic. It is called the fruit which is stainless. As for its nature, it does not have a form [like] all phenomena everywhere, [and] it is all-pervading, unchangeable, and ever-present. *mahāmudrā* is therefore perfect enlightenment in a single moment, and not [something that can be] broken down into four moments and four joys…[49] [When it comes to] reality as it truly is, it needs to be learned from the mouth of the *guru* when [he sets] the wheel of the *dharma* [in motion].[50]

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[48] CMU (B 13a$_{2-3}$, D 214a$_7$–b$_1$, P 234a$_{1-2}$): "Still, there is a presentation of the four joys in relation to the four seals. The *karmamudrā* is joy, the *dharmamudrā* supreme joy, *mahāmudrā* co-emergent joy, and the *samayamudrā* the [joy of] no-joy." (*'on kyang phyag rgya bzhi la ltos nas dga' ba bzhir bzhag ste | las kyi phyag rgya ni dga'o | | chos kyi phyag rgya ni mchog tu dga' ba'o | | phyag rgya chen po ni lhan cig skyes pa'i dga' ba'o | | dam tshig gi phyag rgya ni bral lo |*).

[49] Here Maitrīpa explains how the four seals can be taken as the four joys in their relation to *mahāmudrā* (see below).

[50] CMU (B 12b$_5$–13a$_3$, D 214a$_5$–214b$_1$, P 233b$_6$–234a$_2$): *phyag rgya chen* $^{(a}$*po ni*$^{a)}$ *chos thams cad skye ba med pa'i ngo bo zung du 'jug pa | gzung ba dang 'dzin pa'i rtog pa dang bral ba | nyon mongs pa dang shes bya la sogs pa'i sgrib pa spangs pa | ji lta ba bzhin du rang gi mtshan nyid nyams su myong ba ste | dri ma med pa'i 'bras bur brjod do | | de'i ngo bo ni mtha' dbus kyi chos thams cad gzugs can ma yin pa dang | thams cad du khyab pa dang | mi 'gyur ba dang | dus thams cad pa'o | | des na phyag rgya chen po ni skad cig ma gcig^b la mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa ste | skad cig ma bzhi dang dga' ba bzhi dbye ba ni med do | … de nyid ji lta ba bzhin chos kyi 'khor lo'i dus su bla ma'i zhal la ltos par bya'o |.* ^{a} P po'i ^{b} P cig.

To be sure, "enlightenment in a single moment" does not mean here that *mahāmudrā* is experienced for a single moment only, but that it is attained instantaneously, for it is clear that once true reality is experienced as it is, this realisation remains.[51] That it is not the co-emergent joy of *karmamudrā* practice also follows from the closely related *Caturmudrānvaya* that calls the wisdom that arises from a *prajñā* an "image of the real co-emergent,"[52] and in verse 8cd of his *Mahāsukhaprakāśa* Maitrīpa must be referring to something similar when he notes that the "pure apparent [truth] should be known to be something in which there is a false manifestation of bliss."[53] This raises the question to what extent the verses on *dharmamudrā* and *mahāmudrā* in the *Sekanirdeśa* still belong to the *prajñā* wisdom empowerment. In his *Guruparamparākramopadeśa*, Maitrīpa's disciple Vajrapāṇi thus categorises empowerment under supreme, average, or inferior types: inferior empowerment corresponds to the outer creation stage (up to the master empowerment); average empowerment to *karmamudrā* (including both the profound creation stage and the completion stage proper); and supreme empowerment to *dharmamudrā* (the supreme creation stage). *mahāmudrā*, then, is taken as the most supreme empowerment (the natural completion stage).[54]

Based on this, I agree with ISAACSON & SFERRA (2014: 413) that the "reference to the necessity of the favour (i.e., kindness) of a true teacher (to directly manifest *mahāmudrā* or realize reality in the *Sekanirdeśa*) should

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[51] This can be compared to the *ekakṣaṇābhisamaya* in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, which refers to the Bodhisattva's simultaneous realisation of all aspects of the three knowledges in the *vajra*-like *samādhi* during the last moment of the tenth *bhūmi*, which is immediately followed by the attainment of Buddhahood (Brunnhölzl 2010:60). To be sure, "perfect enlightenment in a single moment" does not mean that it only lasts for a single moment, for once *mahāmudrā* is attained it will never be lost.

[52] CMA 392₅₋₆: "All that [appears as] co-emergent is called co-emergent because it duplicates the image of the [real] co-emergent. [This] image of the co-emergent leads [the adept] to realise [a type of] wisdom that is similar to the co-emergent. The co-emergent is thus [only in this limited sense] the wisdom based on a *prajñā*." (*sahajaṃ tat sarvaṃ sahajacchāyānukāritvāt sahajam ity abhidhīyate | sahaja-cchāyā sahajasadṛśaṃ jñānaṃ pratipādayatīti sahajaṃ prajñājñānam*). First translated in MATHES 2011: 110.

[53] MSP 453₁₆: *sātālīkaprakāśā tu vijñeyā śuddhasaṃvṛtiḥ ||*. First translated in MATHES 2015: 182.

[54] GPKU (B 299b₄–300a₆, D 170a₄–b₃, P 191a₅–b₅), for an English translation see MATHES 2015: 142–143.

rather suggest a Tantric context."[55] However, on this level these can hardly be pith instructions on *karmamudrā*. In this context, they are rather pith instructions on true reality (such as Dohā songs or Pāramitānaya pith instructions that accord with Mantranaya). As can be seen in the *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā*, such pith instructions on the reality of *mahāmudrā* (*mahāmudrā* pith instructions)[56] are also based on non-Tantric sources, such as the *Samādhirājasūtra*. In order to demonstrate that characteristic signs are luminous (or pure and unborn), *Sahajavajra quotes a group of verses from this *sūtra* (SRS 32.92–105), the content of which corresponds to a verse quoted below, i.e., verse 30 of the *Sekanirdeśa*, the second of the eight verses on *mahāmudrā*:[57]

> Effortless wisdom
> [Can] be taken as inconceivable.
> Something "inconceivable" that one has [been able to] conceive
> Cannot be truly inconceivable.[58]

One could argue that when passages of the *Samādhirājasūtra* are used as pith instructions that enable direct access to true reality or emptiness, they become Tantric or "accord with Mantranaya," to use *Sahajavajra's words. In this context, it is interesting to note that in his *Advayavivaraṇa-prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* Padmavajra[59] refers to the *Samādhirājasūtra* as *Samādhirājatantra* when he quotes verse 72 from the first appendix to the *Samādhirājasūtra*.[60] The Madhyamaka-based *mahāmudrā* explanations of

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[55] The additions in brackets are my own.

[56] That is, following gZhon nu dpal's reading of the *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā* (see above).

[57] For a translation of this part, see MATHES 2005: 24–27 and BRUNNHÖLZL 2007: 177–181, who also identified the verse following the *Samādhirājasūtra* quotes as SN 30.

[58] SN 386$_{18-19}$: *anābhogaṃ hi yaj jñānaṃ tac cācintyaṃ pracakṣyate | saṃcintya yad acintyaṃ vai tad acintyaṃ bhaven na hi ||.*

[59] The attribution of the *Advayavivaraṇaprajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* to Padmavajra is seen as critical by Adam Krug, because the text also quotes Anaṅga-vajrapāda's *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* (and in that text it is clear that Anaṅgavajra treats Padmavajra as his teacher). Communicated by e-mail on September 10, 2015.

[60] AVPUV 215$_{17-18}$: "Thus it has been said in the *Samādhirājatantra*: 'All living beings will become a Buddha, there is absolutely no sentient being who is unworthy.'" (*tathā coktaṃ samādhirājatantre (sūtre): buddha bhaviṣyati sarvajano 'yaṃ nāstiha kaścid abhājanasattvaḥ*). The quotation accords with SRS 317$_{13-14}$ (appendix 1, verse 72cd). I thank Adam Krug, UC Santa Barbara, for this reference.

the *Sekanirdeśa* fulfil a similar function as certain parts of the *Samādhirājasūtra*, in that they enable one to directly point out *mahāmudrā* in a process that Vajrapāṇi calls the most supreme empowerment. Whether such teachings then belong to the Pāramitānaya or Mantranaya was at times regarded as a difficult question, and this issue is very diplomatically addressed by Maitrīpa's disciple Vajrapāṇi in his pith instructions on the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra*:

> One may doubt whether these special instructions on the meaning of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*[*sūtra*] belong to the philosophical vehicles or the *mantra* vehicles. They appear differently in the mind of sentient beings, but in terms of the profound nature of phenomena [to which they refer] there is no difference.[61]

The Pāramitānaya-based pith instructions of Maitrīpa's *Tattvadaśaka* can be seen in the same light. Moreover, they may be used in a full-fledged empowerment or else in direct mind-to-mind transmission of realisation, such as the one Maitrīpa received from Śavaripa.[62]

The best support for the case of a *mahāmudrā* practice outside the sequence of the four seals remains the **Tattvadaśakaṭīkā* on verse 8, where *Sahajavajra identifies a *mahāmudrā* approach distinct from both the Mantranaya and Pāramitānaya. From the *Tattvadaśaka*:

> By [the power of] having realised this reality,
> The *yogin*, whose eyes are wide open,
> Moves everywhere like a lion,
> By any [chosen] means and in any [chosen] manner.[63]

*Sahajavajra immediately adds the commentary:

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[61] BhPHṬAP D 293a₁₋₂; P 317a₁₋₃: *shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po'i don gyi gdams ngag 'di mtshan nyid kyi theg pa yin nam sngags kyi theg pa yin zhes the tshom za na | sems can rnams kyi blo'i snang ba la tha dad du snang mod kyi zab mo'i chos nyid la tha dad med de | de lta bas na shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i sngags 'di ni gsang sngags rnams kyi don kyi snying po yin no |.*

[62] According to one version of Maitrīpa's life story reported in the *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod* (see MATHES 2014: 374–375).

[63] TD 487₁₅₋₁₆: *etattattvāvabodhena yena tena yathā tathā | vivṛtākṣo bhramed yogī keśarīva samantataḥ ǁ.*

Thanks to the yoga of firmly realising the previously taught nondual reality through the pith instructions of the genuine *guru*.[64]

He subsequently elaborates on this point as follows:

Well then, if one asks, what is the difference compared to a *yogin* who follows Mantranaya? [The answer is as follows:] because [the *yogin*'s practice] is [conducted] without [following] the sequence of the four seals, and because it takes a long time to perfect complete enlightenment through the type of equanimity that lacks the experience of great bliss resulting from pride in being the deity, there are great differences with regard to what is accomplished and that which accomplishes. On the other hand, it differs from the *yogin* in the Pāramitānaya, specifically because the suchness of indivisible union, the emptiness discerned through the instruction of a genuine *guru*, is firmly realised. Therefore, those who do not practice austerities [but rather] have perfect certainty that the reality of one taste is emptiness are like [skillful] villagers grasping a snake: even though they touch the snake, they are not bitten. Some call this the wisdom of reality [or] *mahāmudrā*.[65]

In reference to this passage, Kragh speculates that "certain passages, perhaps the text's reference[66] to a non-Tantric form of *Mahāmudrā*, could be

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[64] TDṬ (B, 23a$_6$–b$_1$; D 174b$_6$, P 191b$_{5-6}$): *'di'i sngar bstan pa'i gnyis su med pa'i de kho na nyid ni^a bla ma dam pa'i man ngag gis nges par rtogs pa'i rnal 'byor pas so* /. ^{a} B *du*.

[65] TDṬ (B 24a$_3$–b$_1$, D 175a$_{4-7}$ P 192a$_5$–b$_1$): *'o na gsang sngags kyi tshul gyi^a rnal 'byor pa dang bye brag ci yod ce na* / / *phyag rgya bzhi'i rjes su 'gro ba med pa'i phyir dang* / *lha'i nga rgyal gyi bde ba chen po'i ro med pas* / / *btang snyoms kyi rnam pas mngon par byang chub pa dus ring pos rdzogs pa'i phyir* / *bsgrub par bya ba dang sgrub par byed pa nyid^b kyi rnam pas^c bye brag nyid shin tu che'o* / / *gzhan gyis^d pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul gyi rnal 'byor pa las 'di khyad par yod de* / *bla ma dam pa'i man^e ngag gis^f dpyad pa'i stong pa nyid zung du 'jug pa'i de bzhin nyid nges par rtogs^g pas shin tu khyad par 'phags pa'i phyir ro* / / *de'i phyir 'di nyid dka' ba'i spyod pa med pa 'di nyid ni^h stong pa nyid du ro gcig pa'i de kho na nyid shin tu nges^i pa dag ni yul gyi grong gis sbrul 'dzin pa ltar sbrul la rtse yang de'i^j 'bigs par mi 'gyur ro* / / *'di nyid la de kho na nyid kyi ye shes phyag rgya chen po zhes kha cig brjod de* |) ^{a} BD *gyis* ^{b} B *gnyis* ^{c} DP *pa* ^{d} P *gyi* ^{e} B *gdams* ^{f} D *gi* ^{g} D *rtog* ^{h} D om. ^{i} BD *shes* ^{j} B *des* ni D *nges*. First quoted and translated in MATHES 2006: 220–221.

[66] For a translation of this reference, see below.

later interpolations." Moreover, he claims that "in Indian and Tibetan sources, the use of the pronoun 'some' (*kha cig*, *ke cid*, or *kaś cid*) often marks a rhetorical statement, in which the author distances himself from what is said by attributing it to someone else."[67] Besides the fact that there is no formal linguistic indication for taking this passage as an interpolation, there is also no reason to do so if one includes Pāramitānaya-based *mahāmudrā* within Tantra, even though it is outside of the sequence of the four seals. *Sahajavajra certainly does not call it non-Tantric,[68] which means that there does not need to be a contradiction between it and the *Sthitisamāsa*. In this context, it should be noted that Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal's path of direct cognition also belongs to the Vajrayāna, namely as a category separate from the path of blessing.[69] As for the issue of *ke cid* or *kaś cid*, even though these indefinite pronouns may introduce a state-ment opposed to the author's view, they are also found in Sanskrit philo-sophical texts with the connotation of "we" (i.e., "we are of the opinion that…"), which fits the context here much better.[70] Moreover, I cannot understand why Kragh has a "fundamental difficulty" with my "line of argument when it comes to establishing a connection between the Indian sources and the beginnings of '*Sūtra Mahāmudrā*' in Tibet. … The prob-lem is (i.e., according to Kragh) that the texts stemming from the Indian circle of Maitrīpa and his students are hardly ever referred to in the *Dags*

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[67] KRAGH 2015: 75.

[68] In my first publication on this topic, I used "non-tantric" (MATHES 2006: 220 and 224), but always in the sense of *Sahajavajra's "Pāramitānaya pith instructions that accord with Mantranaya." In MATHES 2008 I thus preferred "not specifically tantric."

[69] Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal: "This very tradition in the cycle of Dohās and cycles of *mahāmudrā* in symbolic transmission belongs, in terms of the *sūtra*/*mantra* divide, to the secret Vajrayāna. From among the latter's threefold [sub]division into the path of blessing, the path of reassurance, and the path of direct [cognition], it is explained as the last of [these three]. It has been [further] explained that a ripening empowerment is needed, an extensive or abbreviated one, whatever is appropriate." (*Phyag chen zla ba'i 'od zer* 156$_{15–19}$: *do ha'i skor dang | phyag chen brda brgyud kyi skor 'ga' zhig tu | lam srol 'di nyid mdo sngags gnyis kyi nang nas gsang sngags kyi theg pa dang | de la byin rlabs kyi lam dang | dbugs dbyung gi lam | mngon sum gyi lam gsum du phye ba'i phyi ma yin par 'chad la | smin byed du dbang rgyas bsdus gang yang rung ba zhig dgos par bshad pa dang …*). First translated by LHALUNGPA (2006: 109).

[70] I thank Prof. Diwakar Acharya for this observation.

po'i bka' 'bum...".[71] My own "fundamental difficulty" with Kragh's argument is that the *Tshogs chos* material of the *Dwags po'i bka' 'bum*, i.e., the larger part of the corpus based on notes taken by sGam po pa's disciples, contains hardly any quotations of original sources, and the texts of the *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs* feature a threefold division of the path similar to the one in the **Tattvadaśakaṭīkā*.[72] It is well-known that Indian and Tibetan masters incorporated ideas and whole systems of thought from others without acknowledging this. Abhinavagupta's works, for example, are strongly influenced by Śaṅkara, but the latter is not even referred to once.[73] In such cases, it makes perfect sense to look for similarities. According to gZhon nu dpal, the fact that the *Tattvadaśaka* and its commentary lend doctrinal support for sGam po pa's "*pāramitā-mahāmudrā*" was already observed by rJe rGod tshang pa (1189–1258).[74] Moreover, the importance of the **Tattvadaśakaṭīkā* for the Mar pa bka' brgyud schools is also stressed by the Eighth Karmapa Mi bskyod rdo rje.[75]

Finally, I would like to take issue with Kragh's statement that my "analysis has thus established that there were rare, isolated Indian cases of using the otherwise Tantric word *mahāmudrā* in its contemplative sense as referring to advanced non-Tantric stages of meditation."[76] I agree with Kragh that *mahāmudrā* is a Tantric term. But why should Pāramitānaya pith instructions that accord with Mantranaya not be labelled with this term? Moreover, as I have already pointed out in previous publications, the two main sources for Pāramitānaya-based *mahāmudrā* are not isolated but

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[71] KRAGH 2015: 76. The addition in brackets is my own.

[72] See MATHES 2008: 39–40.

[73] Oral information from Prof. Diwakar Acharya.

[74] As reported in MATHES 2006: 206. For a comparison of *Sahajavajra's passage with a similar one in sGam po pa's *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs*, see MATHES 2008: 40–41.

[75] Mi bskyod rdo rje: *sKu gsum ngo sprod kyi rnam par bshad pa*, vol. 21, 132_{1-3}: "If one wonders how the view of the two truths transmitted by the Mar pa bKa' brgyud is, it must be said here that it is roughly the one of Jina Maitrīpa's *Tattvadaśaka* and *Sahajavajra's **Tattvadaśakaṭīkā*. … They are taken to be Pāramitā[naya] pith instructions that accord with the Mantra[naya]." (*rje btsun mar pa lo tsa ba'i bka' brgyud las 'ongs pa bden gnyis kyi lta ba ji lta bu'o snyam na | rgyal ba mai tri pa'i de kho na nyid bcu pa zhes pa'i 'grel pa slob dpon chen po lhan cig skyes pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa de nyid kyi don che long 'dir brjod par bya ste | … sngags dang rjes su mthun pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag mdor bsdus mdzad par bzhed pas*).

[76] KRAGH 2015: 75.

closely related to each other, in view of the fact that *Sahajavajra quotes and comments on a verse from Jñānakīrti's *Tattvāvatāra* (still in the context of explaining TD 8):

> For outstanding *yogin*s
> The union of insight and means is simply meditation.
> The victorious ones call it
> *mahāmudrā* union[77].[78]
>
> [But] the followers of the [Mantra]yāna point out that the mere meditation of uniting means and insight is not *mahāmudrā* meditation; otherwise it would follow that the traditions of Pāramitā[naya] and Mantra[naya] are not different.[79]

The verse just cited is taken from the beginning of the fourth chapter in Jñānakīrti's *Tattvāvatāra*, which considers the mode of Mantranaya for those of superior faculties. The same verse is also found in the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, where it is explained at length. The *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha* leaves no room for Pāramitānaya-based *mahāmudrā*. Its purely Tantric description of *upāya* diverges from Jñānakīrti, however, in that the latter understands it in the more general Mahāyāna sense of the threefold compassion.[80] In his explanation of compassion without a focus, Jñānakīrti then

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[77] Lit. "*mahāmudrā* union is called meditation by the victorious ones." It should be noted that *mahāmudrā* union does not mean that one unites with an objective reality called *mahāmudrā*; it refers rather to a realisation that lies beyond a perceived object and a perceiving subject (oral information from Chetsang Rinpoche).

[78] TA (B $327b_{2-3}$, D $43a_7–b_1$ P $47b_{2-3}$): *thabs dang shes rab mnyam sbyor ba'i / / bsgom pa nyid rnal 'byor mchog gi*[a] *ni / / phyag rgya chen po'i*[b] *mnyam sbyor ba / / sgom*[c] *par rgyal ba rnams kyis gsungs* |. [a] B *gis* [b] BP *por* [c] D *bsgom*. For the Sanskrit of this verse, see *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha* (SBhS, part 1, 397_{8-9}): *prajñopāyasamāyogo bhāvanaivāgrayogināṃ | mahāmudrāsamāyogo*[*] *bhāvanā bhaṇyate jinaiḥ* ||.
[*] BENDALL reads *-yoga-* (I forgot to make this emendation in MATHES 2015: 238).

[79] TDṬ (B $24b_{1-3}$, D $175a_7–b_2$, P $192a_{1-3}$): *thabs dang shes rab mnyam sbyor bas*[a] *| | bsgom pa nyid ni rnal 'byor mchog / / phyag rgya chen por mnyam sbyor ba'i*[b] *| | bsgom pa ru ni rgyal bas bshad | | ces pa'o | thabs dang shes rab mnyam par sbyor ba bsgom pa tsam ni phyag rgya chen po bsgom pa ma yin te | pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul dang | sngags kyi tshul dag*[c] *tha dad med par thal bar 'gyur ba'i phyir ro zhes sngags pa dag go |*. [a] DP *ba* [b] B *bas* DP *ba* [c] DP om.

[80] That is, compassion directed towards sentient beings, compassion born from beholding the impermanent nature of phenomena, and compassion without a focus.

addresses the question whether or not insight and means are cultivated simultaneously:

> When cultivating compassion without a focus, the compassion of [the *yogin* who is] identical with means and insight is not at all like that of cultivating the opposite, [compassion with a focus.] … What then is the meditation like for someone who is identical with means and insight in the state of cultivating compassion without a focus? An answer is given in the following:

> In his identity with the nature of all phenomena,
> The *yogin* is [naturally] endowed with compassion.
> On a later meditation level,
> He will become identical with *mahāmudrā*.[81]

The relation between the *Tattvāvatāra* and the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha* requires further investigation, but it should be noted at this point that while the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha* accords with Jñānakīrti in the explanation of insight,[82] its Tantric presentation of the means does not. It is worth recalling here what I have already mentioned in previous publications: namely that for Jñānakīrti advanced Pāramitānaya practitioners of *śamatha* (calm abiding) and *vipaśyanā* (deep insight) are already in possession of *mahāmudrā* even at an initial stage.[83] Moreover, in his description of the Pāramitānaya, Jñāna-

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See TA (B 331a$_{1-5}$; D 45b$_{3-6}$; P 50a$_{3-8}$). See also MATHES 2015: 239–240.

[81] TA (B 331a$_6$–b$_3$; D 45b$_6$–46a$_2$; P 50a$_8$–b$_4$): *dmigs pa med pa'i snying rje sgom pa'i gnas skabs su ni thabs dang shes rab de'i bdag nyid can*[a] *gyi | snying rje cig shos sgom pa'i gnas skabs su ni ma yin te | … yang dmigs pa med pa'i snying rje sgom pa'i gnas skabs su thabs dang shes rab de'i bdag nyid can du bsgom par ji ltar 'gyur ro zhe na | | brjod par bya ste | dngos kun rang bzhin bdag nyid du | | rnal 'byor snying rje can gyur pa | | sgom pa'i rim pa phyi*[b] *nas ni | | phyag rgya che bdag nyid can 'gyur |.*[a] DP *yin*[b] B *phye.*

[82] Even though the explanation of insight is mainly Madhyamaka, a Tantric context is indicated by an unidentified verse quoted in the *Tattvāvatāra* and the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, in which insight is taken as the awareness of the mind-*vajra*.[a] See MATHES 2015: 239.

[a] In *Hevajratantra* 2.5.2cd (HT 110$_5$) "the lord of the *maṇḍala* (i.e., Hevajra) [is said] to have arisen from the [seed] syllable, which is the mind-*vajra* (*cittavajrasya bījena niṣpanno maṇḍaleśvaraḥ*)." "Seed [syllables, in turn arise] from the awakening towards emptiness." See *Mahāsukhaprakāśa* 4a (MSP 452$_{14}$: *śūnyatābodhito bījaṃ*).

[83] It should be added that Jñānakīrti structures his *Tattvāvatāra* according to the

kīrti links the traditional fourfold Mahāyāna meditation with *mahāmudrā* by equating the goal "Mahāyāna" in *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 10.257d with *mahāmudrā*.[84]

In summary, the fact that *Sahajavajra quotes Jñānakīrti's *Tattvāvatāra* demonstrates that he was familiar with Jñānakīrti's system of classification, and the same could probably be said of his master Maitrīpa. In other words, they could have picked up the idea of a *mahāmudrā* path outside of the sequence of the four seals from this famous master. It should also be noted that Jñānakīrti's work was translated, in cooperation with Padmākaravarman, by the translator Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), who helped the king Ye shes 'od (947–1024) to initiate the revival of Buddhism in Tibet known as the later dissemination of the *dharma*.[85]

The *Sthitisamāsa

The only other known work by *Sahajavajra is the *Sthitisamāsa*,[86] in which a summary of the four traditional "positions" (*sthiti*) of the Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra, and Madhyamaka is immediately followed by a presentation of Mantranaya. I have already observed[87] that the Mantranaya part of the *Sthitisamāsa* begins with a summary of the Madhyamaka-crowned analysis of true reality, which is the quintessence of Pāramitānaya (SS V.1–2b). The actual exposition of Mantranaya begins with line V.2c:

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distinction of three approaches to reality, namely those of the Mantranaya, Pāramitānaya, and "the path of freeing oneself from attachment" (i.e., Śrāvakayāna). Each of these three again has three distinct forms, for adepts with sharp, average, and inferior capacities. See MATHES 2008: 36.

[84] See MATHES 2008: 36.

[85] BUSWELL & LOPEZ 2014: 714.

[86] There is only one Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript which has been photographed. Confusingly, the microfilm of the manuscript (B 24/4) and the photos (B 25/5) were catalogued separately. Further, both texts (the original and the photographed text) were provisionally catalogued under the title *Kośakārikā* by the National Archives in Kathmandu and consequently also by the NGMPP. The text was identified by MATSUDA (1995: 848–843 (= 205–210) as *Sahajavajra's "*Sthitisamuccaya*" (SS). I thank Alexis Sanderson, who pointed out that the correct title of the work should be *Sthitisamāsa*.

[87] In MATHES 2006: 222–223.

> Based on the Mantra tradition,
> By virtue of its being linked with the four *mudrā*s,
>
> [True reality is realised] without confusion, [even] when not analysed.
> This is because of the special experience of emptiness [received]
> from the *guru*.
> It is the bliss of insight and means,
> Which must be experienced through self-awareness.[88]

It should be noted that the explanation of Mantranaya begins immediately after the one of the Pāramitānaya is completed. If *Sahajavajra had intended to formally distinguish a third category, i.e., a *pāramitā*-based *mahāmudrā* outside of Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya (as in the *Tattvadaśakaṭīkā*), this would have been the place. Moreover, such a third category is found nowhere in the *Sthitisamāsa*, and it is also ruled out in SS V.7cd:

> When [one's practice] is free from investigation,
> How can it be free from the tradition of *mantra*s?"[89]

Tantra is presented in the *Sthitisamāsa* in a way that diverges from Maitrīpa's system. First, *Sahajavajra still endorses Maitrīpa's preferred sequence of the four moments. This is evident from SS V.18ab, where *Sahajavajra claims:

> The [moment of] the co-emergent should be known as the third.
> In the empowerment of forceful [yoga] (*haṭhayoga*) it is the fourth.[90]

In his "Proof that master Nāropa's and Maitrīpa's presentation of empowerment are in accordance" (*mKhas grub nā ro mai tri dbang gi bzhed pa mthun par grub pa*), Zhwa dmar IV Chos kyi grags pa (1453–1524) takes *haṭhayoga* to refer to the empowerment found in Nāropa's *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, i.e., the system found in the *Kālacakratantra*.[91]

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[88] SS 11a$_4$–b$_1$: *mantranītiṃ* (em., *mantranīta* cod.) *samāśritya caturmudrānvayāgamāt* || *avicāram asaṃdigdhaṃ viśiṣṭānubhavād guroḥ* | *śūnyatāyāḥ svasaṃvedyaṃ prajñopāyamahāsukham* ||.

[89] SS 11b$_4$: *parāmarśaṃ vinaiva syāt kathaṃ mantranayaṃ vinā* ||.

[90] SS 12b$_4$: *tṛtīyaṃ sahajaṃ vidyāt | seke tu *turīyaṃ* (em., *turiyaṃ* cod.) *haṭhe* ||.

[91] Zhwa dmar Chos kyi grags pa, *mKhas grub nā ro mai tri dbang gi bzhed pa*

In the section of the *Sthitisamāsa* that follows verse V.18ab, *Sahajavajra surprisingly explains empowerment in line with the *Sekoddeśa*, with verses V.21–28 of the *Sthitisamāsa* being nearly identical with the verses 80–82, 135, and 139–143 in the *Sekoddeśa*:[92]

It has been said [in the *Sekoddeśa*]:

Joy is the descent of the semen
[From] the lotus at the crown [to the one at the] spot between the eyebrows.
[From] the throat to the heart it is supreme joy.
From there [further down] there is intense joy[93].[94] (SS V.21, see SU 80)

Through manifold play [with a consort, the semen] abides at the navel.
As long as one is inside the secret lotus,
[The semen] remains in the secret jewel.
As long as it is not emitted, there is co-emergent joy.[95] (SS V.22, see SU 81)

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mthun par grub pa $839_{5–6}$: "In forceful *yoga*, the generation stage, and so forth, venerable Maitrīpa places co-emergent [joy] at the end. This accords with Nāropa...." (*rje mai tri pas drag po'i sbyor ba'i dbang bskur dang bskyed rim sogs la lhan skyes mthar 'don pa ni nā ro pa dang 'thun* ...). In other words, *haṭhayoga* stands here for a Buddhist practice or empowerment in which co-emergent joy is taken as the last of the four joys (as explained, for example, in Nāropa's *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*). In the same text ($826_{22–24}$), Chos kyi grags pa tells us: "'Forceful *yoga*' means the stabilisation of the element (i.e., the drop of *bodhicitta*) in the jewel of the *vajra* through the forceful *yoga* of bodily exercise and the power of the subtle winds. Before, in the *Caturmudrā*[*nvaya*], it is referred to as *haṭhayoga*." (*drag po'i sbyor ba zhes byung ba'i don yang | lus kyi 'khrul 'khor dang rlung gi stobs drag shul gyi sbyor bas | khams rdo rje nor bur brtan par bzung ba ste | gong du phyag rgya bzhi par btsan thabs sbyor ba zhes pa dang |*).

[92] For the Tibetan edition of these verses from the *Sekoddeśa*, see OROFINO 1994: 81 and 100–103. The English translation of V.24–28 mainly follows OROFINO 2009: 32.

[93] That is, the meaning of *virama (for Tib. *dga' bral*) in a Kālacakra context.

[94] SS (B $185b_6$–$186a_1$, D $97a_3$, P $104b_{1–2}$): *de gsungs pa | dga' ba khu ba* (a'*bab pa*a) *ste | | gtsug tor* (b*smin phrag*b) *padma'i tshad*c *| | mgrin pa snying gar mchog dga' ste | | da*d *nas dga' ba dang bral bar 'gyur |*. a B '*babs* b B *smig phrag* P *smin phyag* c BD *tshal* d BP *de*.

[95] SS (B $186a_1$, D $97a_{3–4}$, P $104b_2$): | *sna tshogs rol mos lte ba gnas | | ji srid gsang ba'i padmar son | | de srid gsang ba'i nor bur gnas*a *| | ma 'phos bar bu lhan cig skyes |*. a DP *nas*.

It is non-abiding *nirvāṇa*,
[The state of the] lord full of great passion.
The bliss which is not emitted lacks [ordinary] passion
And one abides in *nirvāṇa*.[96] (SS V.23, see SU 82)

There does not exist a greater transgression than the lack of passion,
No greater merit than supreme bliss.
Therefore one should constantly seek to actualise
The mind of immutable bliss.[97] (SS V.24, see SU 135)

From emission is born dispassion.
From dispassion suffering is born.
From suffering the elements are ruined, and as it was handed down,
From the ruin of the elements death will come.[98] (SS V.25, see SU 139)

After death they will be born in another [existence],
Bound in cyclic existence, and born [again].
Therefore one must avoid
With all effort the loss of passion.[99] (SS V.26, see SU 140a–141b)

Without passion one would [even] not be a [good] lover,
And not seek out the *Kāmaśāstra*.
If this is so, why would a *yogin* create suffering
In accordance with the Tantra I proclaim?[100] (SS V.27, see SU 142)

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[96] SS (B 186a$_{1-2}$, D 97a$_4$, P 104b$_{2-3}$): | *mi gnas pa yi mya ngan 'das* | | *'dod chags chen pos*[a] *khyab bdag gtso*[b] | | *ma 'phos*[c] *bde ba chags bral te* | | *de*[d] *ni mya ngan 'das rab gnas* |. [a] P *po'i* [b] B *nyid* [c] D *'phros* [d] DP *'di*.

[97] SS (B 186a$_{2-3}$, D 97a$_{4-5}$, P 104b$_{3-4}$): | *chags bral las ni sdig pa med* | | *bde ba mchog las bsod nams med* | | *de phyir mi 'gyur bde ba'i sems* | | *rtag tu nges*[a] *gnas mos par bya* |. [a] D *der*.

[98] SS (B 186a$_3$, D 97a$_{5-6}$, P 104b$_{4-5}$): | *'pho ba las ni chags bral 'byung* | | *chags bral las ni sdug bsngal 'byung* | | *sdug bsngal las ni khams zad de* | | *khams zad pas*[a] *ni 'chi bar gsungs*[b] |. [a] B *las* [b] P *'gyur*.

[99] SS (B 186a$_{3-4}$, D 97a$_6$, P 104b$_5$): | *shi bas de dag* [a]*gzhan du*[a] *'byung* | | *srid par 'ching zhing skye ba ste* | | *de phyir 'bad pas*[b] *thams cad kyis* | | *chags pa dor ba rnam par spang*[c] |. [a] D *bzhin du'ang* P *gzhan du'ang* [b] B *pa* [c] DP *spangs*.

[100] SS (B 186a$_{4-5}$, D 97a$_{6-7}$, P 104b$_{5-6}$): | *chags bral 'dod ldan ma yin te* | | *'dod pa'i sbyor thabs mi*[a] *'dod na* | | *nga yis bstan pa'i*[b] [c]*rgyud du*[c] *yang* | | *ci ste rnal 'byor sdug bsngal bskyed* |. [a] D *'di* [b] DP *pa* [c] P *rgyun du*.

Taking advantage of the nature of immutable bliss,
One must attain the supremely immutable.
Once the support is released,
The supported [*yogin*] will be passionless.[101] (SS V.28, see SU 143)

There is no refutation or critical assessment of this relatively long quota-
tion. In other words, with his tacit acceptance of these verses, *Sahajavajra
not only contradicts his own initial statement but also stands against his
teacher in one of the most controversial debates in eleventh-century India.
On the other hand, it could also be argued that Maitrīpa himself had al-
ready given an explanation of this contradiction: in treatises such as the
Hevajratantra, the correct sequence was not made explicit in order to pro-
tect the instructions from those who do not rely on a *guru*.[102]

    The second problem with these *Sekoddeśa* verses in the *Sthitisamāsa*
is that *Sahajavajra implicitly endorses the strong emphasis of disad-
vantages that result from releasing one's semen, a teaching that is directly
opposed to what we find, for example, in Maitrīpa's *Caturmudropadeśa*,
where the co-emergent joy (in the third position) corresponds to two of
altogether four descending drops at the tip of the jewel and two on the sta-
men of the lotus. The fourth joy is then experienced when all four drops are
inside the lotus.[103] Khenpo Phuntsok, the abbot of Lekshay Ling Monastery
in Kathmandu, warned, however, against a too literal reading of these lines
from the *Caturmudropadeśa*, stressing that it is the real drop (*don gyi thig
le*) and not the material drop (*rdzas kyi thig le*) that is being released.[104]
    To summarise, there is a strong *Kālacakra* influence in *Sahajavajra's
Sthitisamāsa, which is missing in Maitrīpa's own works.[105] Given these
differences, one could be inclined to doubt whether the author of the
Tattvadaśakaṭīkā is the same person who composed the *Sthitisamāsa*. Of

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[101] SS (B 186a$_5$, D 97a$_7$, P 104b$_{6-7}$): | *bde ba mi 'gyur rang bzhin gyis* | | *mi 'gyur
mchog ni bsgrub par bya* | | *rten ni shor bar gyur pa yis* | | *brten*[a] *pa chags dang bral
ba yin* |. [a] D *rten*.

[102] CMU (B 11b$_{1-2}$; P 232b$_{6-7}$): *de ni bla ma la ltos*[a] *pa dang bral ba*[b] *glegs bam
gyis mkhas par byed pa'i gang zag gi ched*[c] *du dkrugs nas bshad de* |. [a] P *bltos* [b] P
om. [c] P *phyed*.

[103] See MATHES 2016: 314–316.

[104] For Khenpo Phuntsok, there are in reality not four drops but one drop.

[105] See also ISAACSON & SFERRA (2014: 83, n. 104), who notice early Kālacakra
influences in the *Sthitisamāsa*.

course there are other possible explanations, such as that *Sahajavajra may have adopted his doctrine in an environment of growing Kālacakra influence. But if this was the case, he could have also abandoned his idea of Pāramitānaya-based *mahāmudrā*.

Conclusion

To conclude this discussion, I would like to propose that Pāramitānaya-based *mahāmudrā* practice falls into the category of Mantranaya, although it can be independent of the formal Tantric practice of the creation and completion stages. What counts is that the adept is considered to profit from an immediate access to emptiness, just as in Tantra. In other words, since the particular form of Pāramitānaya under discussion here has, thanks to the pith instructions of the *guru*, an important Tantric element, it not only accords with, or follows, Mantranaya, but it is Mantranaya. This would then be in line with the direct access to *mahāmudrā* described in Maitrīpa's *Tattvaviṃśikā*, verse 11 ("The *yogin* who has seen true reality, however, is wholly devoted to *mahāmudrā*; his faculties being unsurpassable, he abides in [the realisation of] the nature of all entities"[106]), as well as the *mahāmudrā* union of insight and means taught in the verse from the *Tattvāvatāra* quoted by *Sahajavajra ("For outstanding *yogin*s the union of insight and means is simply meditation. The victorious ones call it *mahāmudrā* union"[107]). In other words, *sūtra-mahāmudrā* then does not mean that *mahāmudrā* becomes "Sūtric," but that *sūtra* passages that support pith instructions become Tantric. This reversal is a key point. That Padmavajra refers to the *Samādhirājasūtra* as a Tantra must be certainly seen in this light.

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[106] See above, n. 32.
[107] See above, n. 78.

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GPKU: *Guruparamparākrama-Upadeśa* (Tibetan translation)
  — B: dPal spungs block print of the *Phyag rgya chen po'i rgya gzhung*,
vol. *hūṃ*, 290b$_3$–320b$_4$.
  — D: Derge bsTan 'gyur 3716, *rgyud*, vol. *tsu*, 164b$_2$–183a$_5$.
  — P: Peking bsTan 'gyur 4539, *rgyud 'grel*, vol. *nu*, 184b$_2$–206b$_1$.
GAS: *Guhyādi-Aṣṭasiddhi-saṅgraha*
  Ed. by Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajvallabh Dwivedi. Sarnath, Varana-
  si: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1987
CMA: *Caturmudrānvaya*
  Ed. by MATHES 2015: 389–402
CMU: **Caturmudropadeśa* (Tibetan translation)
  — B: dPal spung block print of the *Phyag rgya chen po'i rgya gzhung*,
  vol. *hūṃ*, 9a$_1$–13b$_1$.
  — D: Derge bsTan 'gyur 2295, *rgyud*, vol. *shi*, 211b$_4$–214b$_5$.
  — P: Peking bsTan 'gyur 3143, *rgyud 'grel*, vol. *tsi*, 231a$_1$–234a$_5$.
TRĀ: *Tattvaratnāvalī*
  Ed. by MATHES 2015: 341–369
TA: *Tattvāvatāra* (Tibetan translation)
  — B: dPal spung block print of the *Phyag rgya chen po'i rgya gzhung*,
  vol. *hūṃ*, 320b$_5$–377a$_3$.
  — D: Derge bsTan 'gyur 3709, *rgyud*, vol. *tsu*, 39a$_2$–76a$_4$.
  — P: Peking bsTan 'gyur 4532, *rgyud 'grel*, vol. *nu*, 42b$_1$–84b$_2$.
TD: *Tattvadaśaka*
  Ed. by MATHES 2015: 485–88
TDṬ: **Tattvadaśakaṭīkā* (Tibetan translation)
  — B: dPal spung block print of the *Phyag rgya chen po'i rgya
  gzhung*, vol. *ā*, 1a$_1$–27a$_6$.
  — D: Derge bsTan 'gyur 2254, *rgyud*, vol. *wi*, 160b$_7$–177a$_7$.
  — P: Peking bsTan 'gyur 3099, *rgyud 'grel*, vol. *mi*, 176a$_2$–195a$_3$.

TV: *Tattvaviṃśikā*
  Ed. by MATHES 2015: 457–63

MSP: *Mahāsukhaprakāśa*
  Ed. by MATHES 2015: 451–56

BhPHṬAP: *Bhagavatīprajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkārthapradīpanāma* (Tibetan translation)
  D 3820, *shes phyin*, vol. *ma*, 286b$_5$–295a$_7$
  P 5219, *mdo 'grel*, vol. *ma*, 309b$_1$–319b$_8$

SN: *Sekanirdeśa*
  Ed. by MATHES 2015: 385–88

SNP: *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*
  Ed. by ISAACSON & SFERRA 2014: 165–204.

SBhS: *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha* (Part 1 and 2)
  Ed. by Cecil Bendall. In *Le Muséon* 4 (1903), 375–402 (Part 1); *Le Muséon* 4.4 (1903), 7–46 (Part 2).

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SS: *Sthitisamāsa*
  — NGMPP reel nos. B 24/4 & B 25/15.
  — See also MATSUDA 1995

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Bāṇa's literary representation
of a South Indian Śaivite

Christian Ferstl

Introductory remarks

Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* is an ornate prose composition with a fictional plot and fictional characters (a Kathā in terms of Sanskrit poetics) revolving around the love story between prince Candrāpīḍa and the celestially beautiful princess Kādambarī. Its composition was probably begun in the first half of the seventh century in Northern India under King Harṣavardhana's reign,[1] as can be assumed from the author's other prose work, the *Harṣacarita*. As tradition has it, Bāṇa did not complete the *Kādambarī* himself, and it was his son Bhūṣaṇabhaṭṭa who added the less-extensive, concluding "latter part" (*uttarabhāga*) to his father's larger "former part" (*pūrvabhāga*). Among a whole range of historical and cultural details, the novel contains a passage which deserves the attention of historians of both religion and literature because of its description of a certain South Indian Śaivite who lives in a North Indian temple of the goddess Caṇḍikā. The Sanskrit term used to denote the temple dweller is *dhārmika*, for which a satisfying translation is difficult to find.[2] As a preliminary working translation, I suggest

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[1] Harṣa is generally accepted to have ruled 606–647 CE; see, e.g., KULKE & ROTHERMUND 2010: 140. LIENHARD (1984: 248f.) states that Bāṇa probably "worked in the second half of King Harṣavardhana's reign," i.e. in the second quarter of the seventh century.

[2] This nominalised adjective literally indicates some kind of (habitual) relation to *dharma*, that is, to a (religious) law, custom, or virtue, or someone who is "characterised by *dharma*" in whatever sense of the word. See HALBFASS 1988: 310–333 on various notions of the term *dharma* and especially p. 328f. (§ 24) on orthodox Brahmanical interpretations of the term *dhārmika*.

the rendering "holy man,"[3] the limitations of which will be reconsidered towards the end of this paper.

The Caṇḍikā temple episode

To start with, I quote from the first and still well-known English translation of the *Kādambarī* by RIDDING (1896: 172):

> And on the way he [i.e., Candrāpīḍa] beheld in the forest a red flag, near which was a shrine of Durgā, guarded by an old Draviḍian hermit, who made his abode thereby.

Here, as in many other places of her translation, Ridding decided to give a "condensed" summary instead of an actual translation.[4] The original Sanskrit passage is really a lengthy and minutely descriptive composition that spans over several printed pages.[5] An English translation of it was available already in 1917,[6] and a translation of the complete *pūrvabhāga* was published in 1924,[7] followed by a number of partial and complete translations.[8] Nevertheless, despite the availability of editions, translations, and Sanskrit commentaries,[9] this passage is often omitted in summaries of the

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[3] Other renderings of *dhārmika* in this passage of the *Kādambarī* which have been brought forth are "hermit" (RIDDING 1896: 172), "asceet" (SCHARPÉ 1937: 361), "ascetic" (KALE 1924: 287, LAYNE 1991: 225, 228, HATLEY 2007: 73ff.), or "priest" (RAJAPPA 2010: 234, 236), each referring to a certain way of living or social-religious function, but neither of which is made explicit by the term or by the whole passage. SMITH (2009: 157) calls the *dhārmika* a "pseudo-saint," which is quite to the point but takes too quickly a decision on the ambiguous nature of the figure. BAKKER (2014: 131) translates the term with "pious ones" in a Gupta inscription from the seventh century.

[4] Ridding's abbreviations were all translated into Dutch by SCHARPÉ (1937); the description of the Caṇḍikā temple and the *dhārmika* is found in ibid.: 359–364.

[5] Nearly five full pages (p. 223, 9–228, 7) in the ed. PETERSON 1889 (henceforth K) and p. 392, 9–401, 6 in the ed. PARAB [3]1908, where the text is accompanied by a running commentary. For other editions, see n. 22–24 below.

[6] MEHTA & JOSHI 1917.

[7] KALE 1924. This was attached to Kale's own edition in [4]1968 ([1]1896).

[8] Subsequent translations and substantial secondary literature up to the 1960s are listed in LIENHARD 1984: 253, n. 44. See also SCHARPÉ 1937: 108–127. The most recent complete English translation was prepared by LAYNE (1991).

[9] TRIPATHY 2007: 8–16 describes no less than 14 Sanskrit commentaries, three of

text[10] and failed to attract much attention by western scholars, with the notable exception of LORENZEN (1972: 17f.), TIEKEN (2001: 226f.), and the more detailed studies by HATLEY (2007: 73–82) and SMITH (2009).

The *Kādambarī* can be a demanding composition, especially in passages like those Ridding decided to abbreviate. The Caṇḍikā passage is no exception to this. The sheer unending syntactical suspense and semantic density of the passage presents considerable difficulties to the modern reader. For the largest part, it consists of a single sentence which, as mentioned, extends over several pages in the printed editions and which gives the subject of the description together with its predicate only at the very end of the syntactical construction, a common feature in Bāṇa's style.

Another reason for the omission may be that although a prose description of this kind can be appreciated for its stunning phrasing and poetical embellishments,[11] it hardly adds anything substantial to the plot development. The Caṇḍikā episode, too, has no further effect on the plot of the story.[12] Its omission nevertheless leads to a distortion of the bigger picture.[13] Among other things, it provides an occasion to display the author's skill in creating different sentiments (*rasa*), such as the comic one (*hāsya*) that is a rare feature in the *Kādambarī*.[14] It also serves to lighten the general mood of the narration, which at this stage is dominated by the hero's longing

which had been unavailable to him or only known from references in other commentarial works.

[10] Thus, note that several of the summaries of the *Kādambarī* given in compendia of Sanskrit literature fail to even mention the episode (cf., e.g., LIENHARD 1984: 253–255). WARDER (1983: 43), in a comparatively short paragraph (§ 1728), does refer to the "mad pseudo ascetic," but merely to diagnose "a certain shallowness of [Candrāpīḍa's] character, rather than a seriousness of his education."

[11] In this regard, BRONNER's article on Subandhu's lengthy compounds (2014) and SHULMAN's remarks on Bāṇa's prose syntax (2014: 287–292) are both appreciative and enlightening.

[12] Given that the legend of Bāṇa's early death and his son Bhūṣaṇabhaṭṭa's completion of the *Kādambarī* is true, it is possible that the latter was unsure about what his father had in mind and how to deal with the *dhārmika* episode that may have originally been intended to influence the further development or conclusion of the main plot. The story of Bāṇa's untimely death, however, is seriously challenged by TIEKEN (2014).

[13] Unfortunately, the *dhārmika* episode was not even accepted to the appendix of Ridding's translation, "in which [abstracts of] a few passages, chiefly interesting as mentioning religious sects, are added" (RIDDING 1896: xxii).

[14] Another explicitly humorous passage of the *Kādambarī* is Candrāpīḍa's parody (*krīḍālāpa*) of the princess' talking birds' love quarrel (K: 194, 10–196, 3).

for his beloved. At this point, Candrāpīḍa, the son and successor of King Tārāpīḍa of Ujjayinī, is experiencing the pangs of separation after having fallen in love with the Gandharva princess Kādambarī – and vice versa.

But why ridicule an aged hermit for this purpose? The peculiar way this interlude distracts the reader from the main story gives rise to the suspicion that Bāṇa had a certain intention in doing so. We will return to this point below.

Literary aspects

Before highlighting the major topics of the plot, I will briefly address Bāṇa's literary style together with his representation of the Śaiva believer and the latter's dwelling place.

The syntactical complexity of the passage in question here is more a means to an end than an end in itself. As indicated above, one long sentence presents a detailed description of what is explicitly named only at the very end of the construction, namely the goddess of the temple and its inhabitant. By suspending the grammatical predicate and its direct object for as long as possible, Bāṇa creates a sustained tension as if to convey the hero's own awe and amazement at the moment of entering and beholding the temple area. In this sense, the syntactical construction mirrors or at least adds to the subject matter of the passage, and this effect is lost in all available translations of this and comparable passages.[15]

As a rule, descriptions of this kind are employed in the introduction of characters who play a major role in the plot. The obvious pattern is that the more important the character, the longer the description. A similar style is described by HUECKSTEDT (1985: 23): the longer a story (of which there may be several within a single narrative work), the longer the sentence that introduces it. The location and relationships of the protagonist may be included in the main clause or presented in a subordinate or independent clause. For example, a king is presented together with his resident city and his chief queen, while the exhaustive account of an eminent sage is replete with a description of his forest hermitage and his pupils. The same holds true for metrical literature, where a number of relative clauses can form what commentaries refer to as *kulaka*, i.e., stanzas "in which the government of noun and verb is carried throughout" (MONIER-WILLIAMS, s.v.).[16]

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[15] A similar interpretation is offered by SMITH 2009: 150f.

[16] See, e.g., *Meghadūta* 2.1–15, where at the very beginning of the *uttaramegha*

When we compare descriptive single-sentence constructions taken from the *Kādambarī*'s prose, it turns out that the Caṇḍikā temple receives a remarkable amount of attention by the author in terms of its length. In the edition prepared by PETERSON in 1883, nearly four pages (K: 224,13–228,7) make up a single syntactical sentence devoted to the description of the Caṇḍikā temple and its old resident. This sentence is one of the longest of its kind, comparable to those containing the descriptions of the heroine Kādambarī and her most intimate girlfriend, the ascetic girl Mahāśvetā (pp. 186,4–189,16 and 128,12–131,20 respectively), and surpassed only by that describing King Tārāpīḍa's residence (K: 86,19–92,5). Note that the elaboration of King Tārāpīḍa's residence (*rājakula*) is not presented at the first introduction of the king and his reign, but only on occasion of the celebration of the perfection of Candrāpīḍa's education. It extends over nearly five-and-a-half pages of the edition.[17]

At the beginning of the Caṇḍikā episode, the reader (or the audience) of the *Kādambarī* is therefore likely to expect another comprehensive story within this deeply nested narration, a "subplot" (*patākā*) or an "intervention" (*prakārī*) in terms of Indian poetics.[18] The extent of the embedded story and the significance of the Caṇḍikā episode can be presumed by the comparatively vast proportions of its descriptive opening. This also means an even longer delay on Candrāpīḍa's route to his father's residence and, more importantly, a prolongation of the lovers' separation. The starting

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the home of the Yakṣas in the Himālaya regions is described in a series of relative constructions (mostly using the pronoun *yatra*, but also *yasyām* in 2.5 and 12, and a compound *yad-* in 2.8). The *kulaka* is completed with the clause *tatrāgāraṃ ... asmadīyaṃ* ("there is the house of ours") in 2.15.

[17] K 86,19–92,5. Further examples of long single-sentence descriptions are: King Śūdraka: half a page (p. 5,5–18) and again almost one-and-a-half pages (pp. 8,21–10,5); the Cāṇḍāla princess: more than one page, including a description of her attendants, an old *mātaṅga* and a young Cāṇḍāla boy (pp. 10,11–11,19); Mātaṅga, the Śabara chief: a little more than two pages (pp. 29,20–32,1); Jābāli: two pages (pp. 41,11–43,9); his *āśrama*: nearly two-and-a-half pages (pp. 38,15–40,21); Hārīta: roughly one-and-a-half pages (pp. 36,9–37,19); the city Ujjayinī (in Jābāli's account): two-and-a-half pages (pp. 50,1–52,10); Indrāyudha, Candrāpīḍa's horse: one-and-a-half pages (pp. 78,14–80,3); the Acchoda lake, where Mahāśvetā's hermitage is situated: one-and-a-half pages (pp. 122,16–124,5); an empty Śiva temple nearby (*śūlapāṇeḥ śūnyaṃ siddhāyatanam*): one-and-a-half pages (pp. 126,13–128,3); and finally the forest on the way to the Caṇḍikā temple: a little more than one page (pp. 223,9–224,12).

[18] See WARDER [2]2009: 54f. (§ 122).

point of the main action (the "seed," *bīja*) is at risk to lose its continuity (*bindu*, lit. "drop") as the action falters due to another "obstacle" (*avamarśa*) or "pause" (*vimarśa*),[19] yielding no fruition of a happy ending.[20] The Caṇḍikā episode, however, is suddenly completed in only a fraction of the time it took to be introduced. The sinister temple site in the forest is turned into a rather casual setting of the prince's sojourn. No new adventures unfold, neither assistance nor obstacles are presented to the hero, and no curses are spoken by the temple dweller. Superficially and in terms of narrative structure, the old Śaiva ascetic is deprived of all powers that would usually be expected from a devotee of the goddess.[21] He is represented as a hapless and grumpy old man, whose appearance and habits make him a mere object of ridicule rather than a source of awe.

The satirical depiction of the quirky Dravidian constitutes an amusing relief from the frightening atmosphere which has been created by the precursory description of the journey through the forest, the scary remains of a sacrifice in the temple, and the image of a fierce goddess. Expectations are built up and then surprisingly subverted. Like a snake that turns out to be a rope, the inhabitant of the dreadful Caṇḍikā temple turns out to be a mere laughing stock, and strained expectation dissolves into amusement.

The suspense begins with a lengthy description of the journey of the hero and his army through a sinister forest, which is difficult to traverse for its climbers, roots, and fallen trees, a place where outlaws have left secret signs of communication and where memorials have been erected at the horrifying sites of self-sacrifice (*vīrapuruṣaghātasthāna*). The forest description,[22] a masterly piece of literature in itself, concludes with the depiction of the red flag that spotlights the temple in the depths of the jungle and

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[19] On the "conjunctions" (*sandhi*), i.e. significant points in the development of the plot, and their applicability to any form of Kāvya literature, see WARDER [2]2009: 57–59 (§ 128–134) and 77 (§ 182).

[20] WARDER [2]2009: 55 (§ 123f.) and 73 (§ 175). Though LIENHARD stresses the fact that Sanskrit compositions were judged rather by details of phrasing (1984: 34–37) and descriptions (pp. 230–234) than by the structure and composition of the work as a whole, the latter criterion should not be neglected, despite the difficulty of keeping track of the plot and its characters (ibid.: 233).

[21] For numerous instances and various aspects of the connection between asceticism and power in ancient and modern Indian culture, see OLSON 2015.

[22] K 223,9–224,12; further editions used: PARAB [3]1908: 392,9–394,8; KANE 1911: 93,21–94,23; SASTRI [5]1982: 633,3–636,5. For a concordance of PETERSON's with three more editions (not consulted by me), see SCHARPÉ 1937: 495.

serves as a thrilling preparation for the ornate description of the Caṇḍikā temple.

Thus, the sentiment of Candrāpīḍa's lovesickness gives way to another one, namely the fearful (*bhayānaka rasa*). This sentiment is further intensified by means of the description of the dreadful and hideous details of the Caṇḍikā temple area.[23] Finally, the unexpected use of the comic sentiment (*hāsya rasa*) is supposed to relieve the horror-laden atmosphere of the forest and temple passages by way of an innocuous conversation between the old temple dweller and the prince.[24]

The descriptions of the temple area and the Caṇḍikā image go beyond mere abundance in fanciful detail and poetic ornamentation. They are poetically ornamented with figurative expressions, like similes (*upamā*), metaphorical identification (*rūpaka*), and poetical ascriptions (*utprekṣā*), which intensify the sentiment and sometimes exaggerate the descriptions. Nevertheless, the subjects of the comparisons (*upameya*) always remain tangible, and even their objects (*upamāna*) as well as the ascriptions of the *utprekṣā*s are never too far-fetched and go without the surreal and supernatural,[25] which maintains a realistic tenor to the passage. This realism, which Smith called "one of Bāṇa's trademarks,"[26] culminates in the description of the "holy man" who lives in the temple. Here, similes of every kind, including the *utprekṣā*, one of the author's most frequent figures of speech,[27] are quickly dismissed, that is, after the first three objects of description (the old man's protruding veins, his scars, and his hair).[28] The remaining part of the description covers nearly two pages[29] and consists of one long series of plain descriptive characterisations (*jāti* or *svabhāvokti*). Besides this, the figure of double entendre (*śleṣa*), which frequently features in other de-

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[23] K 224,13–226,9; PARAB [3]1908: 394,8–398,1; KANE 1911: 94,24–96,14; SASTRI [5]1982: 636,6–642,3.

[24] K 226,9–228,7; PARAB [3]1908: 398,1–401,6; KANE 1911: 96,14–98,9; SASTRI [5]1982: 642,3–648,4.

[25] One single mythological allusion is found at the beginning of the description of the temple area (K 224,17), where the iron image of a buffalo (*lohamahiṣa*) features palm prints of red sandal (*raktacandanahastaka*) and hence looks "as though he had been gently patted by the God of Death's bloody hands" (*rudhirāruṇayamakaratalā-sphālita*, translation by LAYNE 1991: 223f.).

[26] SMITH 2009: 160. On the realism in Bāṇa's metrical work, see TUBB 2014, who also attests a distinctive "boldness in the choice of subject matter" (p. 346).

[27] HUECKSTEDT 1985: 31.

[28] K 226,9–13.

[29] K 226,13–228,7.

scriptive parts of the *Kādambarī* as well as other prose works, is absent from the forest and the temple passages.[30]

Another stylistic device of the author is the careful use of colours. Notably, red is used to depict the temple scene, which abounds with offerings of animals, human heads, and the remains of bloody sacrifices. The intentional choice of the colour red is introduced by the depiction of the large, red flag that marks the transition from the forest to the temple passage. While this flag still belongs to the forest passage syntactically, physically it is already part of the temple. It is mounted "atop an old, red sandalwood" and "seemed wet with dabs of lac, like bloody chunks of fresh, moist flesh; the tree's trunk was ornamented with red banners that were like lolling tongues, and with black fly-whisk streamers that appeared like matted hair or the limbs of freshly butchered animals."[31] By mentioning the colour red and reddish items, the author refrains from conveying an atmosphere of auspiciousness and solemnity that would easily and naturally be expected. The sentiment thus evoked in terms of colour is the fearful one, and it prevails throughout this part of the narration. The narrator fancies that Candrāpīḍa "saw from afar the large, red flag that seemed to be searching here and there on the path for travellers who could serve as offerings (for Durgā)."[32] The colouring is carried on when Candrāpīḍa enters the temple area, where he finds "a line of black, iron mirror plates with reddish chowries"[33] right at the entrance (*dvāradeśa*) that is furnished with an iron gate. The temple area abounds with flower offerings of "red lotuses that resemble the eyes of jungle buffaloes, slain by *śabara* tribesmen,"[34] Agati and Palash flowers that are compared to the bloody claws of lions and tigers[35] (their resemblance is striking indeed), and "tufts of blood-red Kadambaka flow-

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[30] Compare, e.g., the description of Tārāpīḍa's court, especially towards the end. One of the paradigmatic works for *śleṣa* prose poetry is Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, which notoriously abounds with all kinds of double entendre, also, e.g., in its descriptions of the Vindhya forests (ed. SHUKLA 1966: 13,18–17,7).

[31] Translation LAYNE 1991: 223.

[32] K 224,11f: *itas tataḥ pathikapuruṣopahāramārgam ivālokayantaṃ mahāntaṃ raktadhvajaṃ dūrata eva dadarśa*. My translation is based on the one by LAYNE (1991: 223). The rhetorical figure here is that of an "ascription with regard to the action" (*kriyotprekṣā*), according to Sastri's commentary *Candrakalā* (SASTRI [5]1982: 636,24–26).

[33] *raktacāmarāvaliparikarāṃ kālāyasadarpaṇamaṇḍalamālām* (K 224,14f.).

[34] *kvacid raktotpalaiḥ śabaranipātitānāṃ vanamahiṣāṇām iva locanaiḥ* (K 224,19).

[35] *kvacid agastikuḍmalaiḥ kesariṇām iva karajaiḥ, kvacit kiṃśukakusumakuḍmalaiḥ śārdūlānām iva sarudhirair nakharaiḥ* (K 224,20f.).

ers that are hung to the limbs" of the *mūrti*.[36] These and further details[37] are beheld in the reddening light of the setting sun. The predominance of the colour red then ceases in the description of the "holy man," in which references to the colour black prevail.

The colouring of a scene is a strongly suggestive literary device that does not necessarily impose a restriction on its realism. It features also in other passages in the *Kādambarī*, for instance in an earlier episode prior to the prince's love story, in which Bāṇa conceives the figure of the beautiful Apsaras Mahāśvetā. She lives as a hermit in "an empty shrine of the blessed Trident-wielder," i.e., Lord Śiva,[38] at the banks of the Acchoda lake on the foot of the Kailāsa mountain. The Apsaras' complexion, her garment, and her modest jewellery are white, she plays an ivory *vīṇā*,[39] and carries a conch as an alms bowl.[40] The shrine on the banks of the Acchoda lake is also portrayed as all in white.[41] Hence she is called "the acme of whiteness."[42] Here as well, a certain colour is strongly emphasised and not left to random choice. It is further in accord with the lunar lineage of the girl and clearly serves as an illustration of her divine and pure character.

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[36] *śoṇitatāmrakadambastabakakṛtārcanaiś* (…) *ivāṅgaiḥ* (K 225,19–21).

[37] K 225,19f. Further instances of the colour red are: blooming red Ashoka trees; *hastaka* marks of red sandal on the iron buffalo (see above, n. 25); red cocks; drops of elephant must-fluid taken for red pearls according to the poetic convention; reddened rags in the *garbhagṛha*; red (but also blue and yellow) mirrors hung at the door panels; red rags at the feet of the *mūrti*; ornamental cords reddened with sandal; offerings of red Kadambaka flowers; Caṇḍikā's lips which are red from betel offered by Śabara women; red flames of the resin (*guggula*) lamps; and red jewels on the heads of cobras (another poetic convention).

[38] *bhagavataḥ śūlapāṇeḥ śūnyaṃ siddhāyatanam* (K 128,2f.). The ornate single-sentence description which is syntactically completed with this line runs from pp. 126,13–128,3.

[39] K 130,23–131,3.

[40] *śaṅkhamayena bhikṣākapālena* (K 133,15).

[41] See K 128,12–131,20 for a portrayal of the outer appearance of the girl (in one single sentence extending over three and a half pages) and pp. 122,16–128,11 for the lake and the shrine where she lives (transl. LAYNE 1991: 125–136).

[42] LAYNE 1991: 133, translating *iyattām iva dhavalimnaḥ* (K 129,21f.). See also: "She seemed to have been made only out of the abstract quality of whiteness" (LAYNE 1991: 132, translating *dhavalaguṇenaiva kevalenotpāditām*, K 128,21).

The Caṇḍikā temple and its main image

Candrāpīḍa and his army come across the temple in the forest on their way from the Kailāsa mountain, the residence of his beloved Kādambarī, to Ujjayinī, where he was summoned to by his father Tārāpīḍa. Progressively advancing towards the inner parts of the temple area, the narrator provides a detailed description of the site (*āyatana*) and its central image of the goddess Caṇḍikā.[43] The temple area is enclosed by an ivory fence (*dantakapāṭa*), and its entrance (*dvāradeśa*) is framed by an iron archway. Ashoka trees flower in the courtyard (*aṅgaṇa*) that comprises an area referred to as *uddeśa*, possibly a forecourt. The inner courtyard (*ajira*)[44] leads to the entrance of a sanctuary (*garbhagṛha*), which is furnished with two door panels (*kapāṭapaṭṭa*) and ivory bolts (*daṇḍārgala*). The image (*mūrti*) is seated on a throne (*pīṭha*), which is resting on an inner pedestal (*antaḥpiṇḍikā*). Facing the goddess from a separate rock platform (*śilāvedikā*) is an iron buffalo (*lohamahiṣa*). This is an image of the buffalo demon named Mahiṣa, which is more commonly depicted with the goddess stamping on him or piercing him with a trident.[45] Finally, there are also cobras that live in an empty sanctuary (*devakula*).

The fierce image of Caṇḍikā is covered in darkness, which makes it difficult to distinguish offered fruits from the heads of sacrificed children. Scattered at the feet of the image are the remains of sanguinary offerings or even self-sacrifices.[46] Among these are found tips of deer horns (*hariṇaviṣāṇakoṭi*), cut out tongues (*jihvāccheda*), bloody eye-balls (*raktanayana*),

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[43] K 224,13–226,9.

[44] The terminology of modern secondary literature on temple architecture in many instances differs from Bāṇa's choice of words (see, e.g., MEISTER & DHAKY 1991, HARDY 2007, LORENZETTI 2015). Hence, it remains unclear to me what exactly is denoted by *uddeśa* (K: 225,8) and *ajira* (K: 225,10).

[45] The story of Caṇḍī killing the buffalo demon Mahiṣa is known from the *Mahābhārata* and several Purāṇas (see STIETENCRON 1983, YOKOCHI 1999). The act of Caṇḍī's killing the demon with a kick of her left foot is told in *Skandapurāṇa* 68.12–23 (ed. YOKOCHI 2013: 341–343) and represents nearly the sole topic of Bāṇa's *Caṇḍīśataka* (ed. QUACKENBOS 1917: 243–362).

[46] Offerings of one's own blood, body parts, or head to a goddess are well attested in mediaeval Indian history (see DEZSŐ 2012: 82 for references to it in Kāvya literature, inscriptions, and reliefs). To Dezső's list we may here add the above-mentioned sites of self-sacrificers (*vīrapuruṣa*) from the forest passage. In the description of the Caṇḍikā temple passage, it is not always clear whether the offerings are human or animal sacrifices.

and skull bones (*muṇḍamaṇḍala*), all of which indicate "the violence of offerings" (*upahārahiṃsā*). Streams of blood run visibly through the inner courtyard. These offerings can be partially assigned to the frightening Śabara tribesmen who, as a literary topos, live and hunt in the Vindhya forests.[47] The offerings of the Śabaras are said to consist in flesh, and they worship the gods with the blood of animals.[48] The chief of a Śabara army is described as having his arms scarred from repeatedly offering his own blood to Caṇḍikā.[49] Throughout the *Kādambarī*, the Śabaras are described as a horribly violent tribe. Though this is not made explicit, they must cause considerable trouble to the pitiable temple dweller.

The "holy man"

The "old Dravidian holy man" (*jaraddraviḍadhārmika*) who lives in the temple is represented as a quirky old fellow regarded as an object of ridicule by the village people and by Candrāpīḍa's convoy. Even his physical appearance is diametrically opposed to what one would expect from an honourable Brahmin sage presiding over an *āśrama* where pupils study the Veda and the forest deer peacefully drink from the freshly watered tree roots. One of these stereotypical, ideal sages is Jābāli, the Brahmin who narrates the main portion of the *Kādambarī* story to the parrot chick Vaiśampāyana that was saved by one of the *āśrama*'s pupils. However, the "holy man" from the Caṇḍikā temple passage is not one of those men equipped with learning, authority, and a divine eye. Quite the opposite is true of him: one of his eyes has lost sight due to the extensive use of some magical collyrium (*siddhāñjana*)[50] once given to him by a quack doctor (*kuvādi*). While the epic sages are notoriously radiant like the sun or shine like the moon, their skin white from the holy ashes, this "holy man's" skin

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[47] K 27,5–34,19. The tribe of the Śabara hunters also occurs, e.g., in the *Vāsava-dattā*, where they frighten the deer in the Vindhya forest witless (ed. SHUKLA 1966, p. 13,19–21).

[48] *paśurudhireṇa devatārcanam, māṃsena balikarma*; K 32,9f.

[49] *caṇḍikārudhirabalipradānārtham asakṛnniśitaśastrollekhaviṣamitaśikhareṇa bhujayugalena*; K 30,11–13.

[50] The use of "a black pigment, often applied to the eyelashes" (TĀNTRIKĀBHI-DHĀNAKOŚA I: 99 [s.v. *añjana*]) is said to bring about magical powers, like seeing hidden treasures or invisible things, even becoming invisible oneself. Magical collyrium is often referred to in narrative literature but also in Tantric works of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava traditions. For references to the latter, see ibid.

is black. His body is covered by a web of veins, in the same way the trunk of a burnt tree is covered by all kinds of lizards,[51] whereas Jābāli's veins, which have also obtruded due to his severe asceticism, are compared to the creepers on the wish-fulfilling tree (*kalpataru*).[52]

It seems significant that the old man who lives in the temple is not given a proper name, since the name of every other significant character in the *Kādambarī* is usually given right when they are introduced to the story. While proper names hardly characterise real people, literary names are often significant and meaningful, revealing the origin, fate, or intentions of the named character.[53] This is common practice in fictional literature, and the *Kādambarī* is no exception. For example, Candrāpīḍa's name ("[he who wears] the moon as a chaplet [on his head]") hints at his provenance from the moon god and relates him to his father Tārāpīḍa ("[he who wears] the stars as his chaplet"); the heroine's name Kādambarī alludes to the sweetly fragrant flowers of the evergreen Kadam tree; the background of Mahāśvetā's name, "the Great White," was already mentioned above; the name of the sage Jābāli is borrowed from the famous sage of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (2.100–103); and so on. The Dravidian "holy man," on the other hand, remains anonymous, and an important piece of information is thus withheld from the reader. The old man himself is not silent on private matters, for Candrāpīḍa manages to soothe the irascible old man and make him speak about personal matters, such as his origins and the reasons for his living in the temple:

> With coaxing words and with a hundred sweet ones of conciliation, Candrāpīḍa somehow mollified him and, in order, asked his birth-place, caste, education, whether he had a wife and children, his

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[51] K 226,9f. The colour (*varṇa*) of the skin may be an allusion the social class (*varṇa*), as McComas Taylor's discourse analysis of *jāti* suggests (TAYLOR 2007). However, Taylor's thesis is severely criticised in MAAS 2013–2014. It may also allude to the quality of the soul according to the Sāṃkhya classification of pure (white), impure (black), and mixed (red) souls. On historical overinterpretations of this matter, see also ADLURI/BAGCHEE 2014: 187.

[52] K 42,17f. A passage a few lines before (ibid.: 42,12f.) mentions the protruding veins on Jābāli's neck (*kaṇṭhanāḍī*). Several instances of the topos of the gaunt ascetics' protruding veins are already attested in the *Mahābhārata* and in Buddhist literature (see OLSON 2015: 86).

[53] GABRIEL 2014: 168f.

wealth, his age, and the reason for his renouncing domestic life. And on being questioned, the ascetic told about himself.[54]

An account of their talk, however, is not given. The narrator is primarily interested in depicting the "holy man" as he appears to visitors. He is not concerned with the old man's past life or the reasons for his devotion to Caṇḍikā. The "holy man's" self-presentation is tersely outlined and merely serves to portray his boasting talkativeness. By the unlikelihood of its content it creates but another punchline of the passage:

> The king's son was very much amused by him as he continued to narrate his past heroism, handsomeness, and wealth.[55]

One more detail is worth addressing here, precisely because it is left unmentioned by Bāṇa: the "holy man's" sacred thread (*yajñopavīta* or *brahmasūtra*). This is one of the items which Sanskrit authors would rarely fail to mention in a description of a major Ṛṣi, sage, or ascetic. For example, Jābāli and his pupils in the forest hermitage most certainly carry one;[56] even Kādambarī's ascetic girlfriend Mahāśvetā, "who had taken the Pāśupata vow" (*pratipannapāśupatavratā*),[57] carries a *brahmasūtra*;[58] and Bhairavācārya, the royal officiant featured in the third chapter of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, is also said to wear one.[59] Although the unorthodox and more transgressive Śaiva cults from no later than the seventh century exhibit great variety in this matter, ranging from a thread of human hair to no thread at all,[60] the latter case would be rather unusual. Thus, Bāṇa's silence on the thread in the present case is likely to be intentional. This would im-

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[54] K 228,12–15: *upasāntvanaiś ca katham api priyālāpaśatānunayaiḥ praśamam upanīya, krameṇa janmabhūmiṃ jātiṃ vidyāṃ ca kalatram apatyāni vibhavaṃ vayaḥpramāṇaṃ pravrajyāyāś ca kāraṇaṃ svayam eva prapraccha. pṛṣṭaś cāsāv avarṇayad ātmānam*. Translation based on LAYNE's (1991: 228).

[55] K 228,15f.: *atītasvaśauryarūpavibhavavarṇanavācālena tena sutarām arajyata rājaputraḥ*. Translation based on LAYNE 1991: 228.

[56] K 42,13f. (Jābāli's sacred thread), 37,2f. (Hārīta's sacred thread) etc.

[57] K 131,20. The Pāśupata vow is known from the *Pāśupatasūtra*s, a short scripture from the first or second century CE that prescribes an ascetic kind of worship of Śiva Paśupati (see ACHARYA 2011). Originally, the Pāśupata vow was restricted to Brahmin males, and Mahāśvetā appears to represent a later stage of the cult's doctrine.

[58] K 130,18.

[59] Ed. FÜHRER 1909: 164, 16. On Bhairavācārya, see below, n. 74.

[60] See *Brahmayāmalatantra* 21.1–123.

ply that the author denies this "holy man" a proper socio-religious status, because it would seem inappropriate for a such a "pseudo-saint," to use Smith's pungent rendering here, or perhaps a Dravidian.[61] In any case, the literary ruse of disregarding the sacred thread ads to the general picture of the temple dweller as a worshipper of the powerful goddess but also as someone who himself lacks every trace of power and authority, an amusing but eventually insignificant character. It also adds to the ambiguous identity of the nameless, old man whose social status and proper function in the temple remains undiscussed.

The ways in which the "holy man" is represented does not command anyone's respect. On the contrary, by mentioning neither his name nor his *varṇa*, the description shows signs of irreverence and is thoroughly amusing or at best piteous. Amusement is not merely the modern reader's impression, for upon sight of the old man Candrāpīḍa has to "laugh for quite a while" (*suciraṃ jahāsa*). He visibly smiles despite his pangs of separation from Kādambarī[62] and although he is depicted as a rather serene character in other parts of the story.[63] Eventually, however, he restrains himself and has his army stop making fun (*upahasant*) of the poor fellow.[64] The occasional lay temple visitors also have fun (*viḍambana*) with him. During the

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[61] According to Medhātithi's *Manubhāṣya* and Kumārila's *Tantravārttikā*, adherents of the Śaiva Mantramārga were to be considered outside the Veda (SANDERSON 2015: 160f.). According to *Manusmṛti* and other sources (see HALBFASS 1988: 176, n. 13), *draviḍa*s and *darada*s (from the Afghan region) as well as *pahlava*s (Persians) etc. are not entitled to wear the sacred thread, since they are excluded from the *varṇa* system. The *Skandapurāṇa* and many other sources, on the other hand, list *draviḍa*s as a fivefold group of Brahmins (*pañcadrāviḍa*, as opposed to the group of *pañcagauḍa*) that is said to be found south of the Vindhya mountains and to comprise *drāviḍa*s as a sub-group (DESHPANDE 2010).

[62] K 228,10f.

[63] For example, he is described as "very steadfast by nature" (*atidhīraprakṛti*, K 80,5), even when the astonishing horse Indrāyudha is first shown to him.

[64] K 228,11f. (with a minor variation in the eds. SASTRI [5]1982 and PARAB [3]1908). Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* 6.52 lists six particular kinds of laughter in order of increasing intensity. The case of Candrāpīḍa would be *hasita*, the second variety and the second last intensive: "the full but silent smile in which the teeth show, the eyes seem to grin, and the cheeks are full with pleasure" (SIEGEL 1989: 46). It is apt for refined persons. The soldiers' laughter would be *upahasita*, the fourth and a rather crude form of laughter according to Bharata's list.

spring festivals, for instance, they are said to marry him to an old servant (*vṛddhadāsī*), whom they carry around on a broken bedstead.[65]

What exactly is so amusing about the "holy man"? And what is the reason for his tragicomical lack of authority? As explained above, he is presented as quite the opposite of what would be expected from a secluded hermit, a severe ascetic, or a powerful officiant. The old man thus represents anything but an idealised and normative character. By twisting and inverting the ideal and in order to ease the sinister sentiment of the whole intervention (*prakārī*), Bāṇa makes him the laughing stock of temple visitors, including Candrāpīḍa. In fact, several aspects of his appearance, behaviour, and skills are likely to arouse laughter.

First of all, in Bāṇa's audience his physical appearance is destined to arouse amusement rather than respect. He has a hunchback and a crooked neck. His dark body is speckled with wounds and blisters, and he has protruding teeth. One of his arms is shrivelled from inadvertently and severely beating himself with a brick (*iṣṭakāprahāra*), and the fingers of one of his hands are contracted from another mistake. Monkeys have wounded his nose, a bear has scratched his head, and so on.

Secondly, he appears quite clumsy, which is the cause of much of his pitiable condition. His head, for instance, is injured from bilva fruits (*śrīphala*) falling from the trees.[66] Travellers and temple visitors shudder when he plays the *vīṇā*, which is accompanied by his shaking head and him humming like a mosquito.

Finally, he has a tendency to exaggerate what he undertakes. Whether it is simple prostrations at the feet of the goddess, medical treatments, magical rites, the use of elixirs (*rasāyana*) – in the end it causes him more harm than benefit. For example, he has a callus (*arbuda*) on his black forehead, resulting from the prostrations to the feet of Ambikā, the Mother-goddess;[67] the incessant use of a certain pungent ointment (*kaṭukavarti*)

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[65] K 227,21f.

[66] The fruits of the Bael tree (Aegle marmelos Correa) are common in the worship of Śiva. The edible, round fruits of about 1–2 inches in diameter have a woody shell (SAHNI 1998: 49f.). Hence, a falling fruit is likely to hurt if it hits one's head. In contrast to this mishap, it is said of more accomplished hermits that branches from the trees bow down to offer their fruits, or that the trees' fruits fall directly into the alms bowls of the *tapasvin*s, as, e.g., in the case of Mahāśvetā (K 134,2–4) or of an eminent Pāśupata *ācārya* in Koūhala's verse narration *Līlāvaī* (v. 211–214).

[67] The callus is possibly an allusion to hypocrisy. In Śyāmilaka's satirical play (*bhāṇa*) *Padatāḍitaka* (p. 26), one hypocrit, the aged "pimp" (*viṭa*) called Dayita-

increases his blindness (*timira*), and he also suffers from night blindness (*rātryandhatā*);[68] and although "improperly prepared elixirs have caused him periodic fevers,"[69] instead of a prolongation of his life span, he is said to have "developed a morbid inclination towards mineralogy."[70] Hence one might suspect creeping poisoning induced by the improper use of elixirs and substances as a possible cause for his grotesque behaviour.[71]

Whatever the exact cause may be, the "holy man" appears like an "officiant with inauspicious signs" (*ācārya aśubhalakṣaṇa*). A list of such characteristics can be found, for instance, in the Śaiva Tantric scripture *Svacchandatantra*,[72] which defines the type of officiants that should be preferred and those that should be rejected. If this is applied to our Caṇḍikā devotee, we find that more than half of the items in the list can easily be related to him either positively or negatively. For instance, an officiant who is inclined to wrath (*krodhana*, v. 1.16a) or who has protruding teeth (*dantura*, 1.16.c), both of which is said of the old man,[73] should be avoided, whereas one who is polite (*dākṣiṇyasaṃyuta*, 1.14d) or "whose whole body is adorned" (*sarvāvayavabhūṣita*, v. 1.13b), neither of which is said of the temple dweller, should be sought out. In my understanding of this *Kādambarī* passage, Bāṇa has created an amusingly exaggerated and condensed portrait of a follower of the Śaiva *dharma* who displays a great number of possible characteristics of a "officiant with inauspicious signs." Indeed, neither disciples nor devotees are mentioned, and neither Candrāpīḍa asks for the "holy man's" advice, nor does the latter ask for the help of the prince.

The religious tradition that underlies Bāṇa's depiction of the old temple dweller was examined by Shaman Hatley, who identified it as that of the

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viṣṇu, is said to "have his forehead and knees hard with triple calluses (…) due to his worship of gods" (*devārcanāt … kiṇatrayakaṭhoralalāṭajānuḥ*).

[68] K 226,16f. and 227, 16 respectively.

[69] K 226,19f.: *asamyakkṛtarasāyanānītākālajvara*.

[70] K 227,1f.: *saṃjātadhātuvādavāyu*. In the Āyurvedic medical sense of the term, *vāyu* denotes a "morbid affection of the windy humour" (as it is translated in APTE's Sanskrit dictionaries) that manifests itself in different kinds of mental disturbance. Accordingly, it is glossed in the commentaries with *vātavyādhi* ("affection of the wind element"), *vikriyā* ("seizure, disease"), and similar expressions.

[71] In a note on Kṣemendra's *Kalāvilāsa* 8.11–12, VASUDEVA (2005: 367) links serious "behavioural oddities" of goldsmiths to their frequent use of mercury and alkaline salts.

[72] *Svacchandatantra* 1.13cd–18ab. I thank Somdev Vasudeva for this reference.

[73] K 227,10 and 228,1 (*krodha*); also ibid.: 227,9f. (*atiroṣaṇatā*) and p. 228,10 (*kupita*).

Bhairavatantras.[74] These scriptures of early Tantric Śaivism elaborate on many of the magical and power-seeking practices that are adopted by Bāṇa's "holy man." Where are these scriptures to be placed within the history of Śaiva traditions?

According to a model developed by Alexis Sanderson,[75] early Śaivism that was followed not by laymen but by initiate ascetics had developed into two major branches by the fifth century: the Atimārga, the "Path Beyond," i.e., beyond the orthodox Brahmanical system and therefore considered non-Vedic and antinomian, and the Mantramārga, or the "Path of Mantras." The Atimārga was centred on the worship of Śiva, and the main goal of its ascetic adherents was liberation from rebirth, especially so in the earlier developments that are known as the Pāśupata and Lākula traditions. This tradition was open only for initiated Brahmin males. A later development of the "Path Beyond" was widely known as the tradition of the Kāpālikas, ascetic devotees of Śiva "with the skull" (*kapālin*), that is, the skull of the beheaded god Brahmā. One of the more noticeable ascetic features of Kāpālika practice was the imitation of their god's external appearance by means of their characteristic use of skull cups in rituals and as begging bowls as well as their performance of cremation grounds practices. Initiation into the Kāpālika cult was possible also for women and non-Brahmins. Out of the Atimārga then emerged the Mantramārga, which also transgressed the Vedic, Brahmanical socio-religious order and developed a number of new ritual technologies aimed at accomplishing supernatural powers (*siddhi*).[76] The Mantramārga includes various branches, from the more orthodox to the more transgressive. Some of these, including the Bhairavatantras discussed here, centre on the worship of Śiva in his manifes-

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[74] HATLEY 2007: 73–82. The cult of Bhairavācārya in the *Harṣacarita* is also identified as belonging to the Bhairavatantras. See also SMITH 2009, who compares the *draviḍadhārmika* to Bhairavācārya. The latter officiated in the South and performed important rituals for King Puṣyabhūti, a probably fictive ancestor of Harṣa. He displays an "ostensible contrast" to the *dhārmika* (SMITH 2009: 156), since he has by far more power, authority, and success. See also BAKKER 2007: 4 on Bhairavācārya and BAKKER 2014: 78–80 on Puṣyabhūti.

[75] SANDERSON 2006: 145–158 and 2009: 45–53, which improve on parts of the systematisation presented in SANDERSON 1988. For scriptural sources of the several Śaiva traditions, see SANDERSON 2014.

[76] HATLEY (2007: 74–76) refers to scriptures like the Bhairavatantras, the *Brahmayāmalatantra*, and Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* that are connected with these and other Tantric elements. On subdivisions of the Mantramārga, see HATLEY 2007: 7f. and SANDERSON 2004: 229.

tation as skull-bearing Bhairava ("the Dreadful") as well as his female con-
sort, variously called Durgā, Aghoreśvarī, Cāṇḍī, and similar names indicat-
ing the goddess' fierceness and wrath. Another branch within the Śaiva initi-
atory systems is an even more esoteric "path," the Kulamārga, which centred
on various hierarchical "clans" (*kula*) of female divinities and spirits (*yo-
ginī*s) and permeated much of the Mantramārgic Bhairava cult.[77]

The Caṇḍikā passage in the *Kādambarī* appears to most prominently allude
to the Mantramārgic Bhairavatantras. First of all, the "holy man" who lives in
the temple is depicted as a devotee of the fierce goddess called Caṇḍikā, Dur-
gā, or Ambikā, "good mother." Among his possessions is a "hymn to Durgā
recorded on a small tablet (or ribbon),"[78] and "with his prayers he importunes
Durgā for the boon of sovereignty over South India."[79]

An interesting passage in terms of identifying the religious traditions
associated with the "holy man" refers to a manuscript in his possession,
namely "a written record of the doctrine of Śiva Mahākāla[80] based on the
teaching of an aged (and eminent) Pāśupata."[81] This passage features the
term *mahāpāśupata* (lit. "eminent Pāśupata"), a term that appears in vari-
ous literary and epigraphical sources. However, it has not yet been clearly
established which group of Atimārgic practitioners this refers to, and it
may have been a more widely-used term. Nevertheless, if we accept this
reading here,[82] it could refer to a kind of practitioner closer to the more
Kāpālika-type of Śaivism within the Bhairavatantra branch. That this is
indeed the case is strengthened by the fact that the *Brahmayāmalatantra*, a
Śaiva Tantra from the sixth to seventh centuries, contains a chapter with the
same title as the manuscript of our "holy man," namely "the doctrine of Śiva

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[77] SANDERSON 1988: 668–672 and 679f.

[78] K 226,22: *paṭṭikālikhitadurgāstotreṇa*. See TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA III s.v.
paṭa and *paṭṭa* (pp. 371–373). The size of the writing surface suggests a rather short
hymn (*stotra*).

[79] K 226,20f.: *dakṣiṇāpathādhirājyavaraprārthanākadarthitadurgeṇa*.

[80] Śiva Mahākāla and the goddess Caṇḍikā are also linked in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*
(HATLEY 2007: 80f.).

[81] K 226,23–227, 1: *jīrṇamahāpāśupatopadeśalikhitamahākālamatena*.

[82] The eds. by PARAB and SASTRI omit the honorific *mahā* and read *jīrṇapāśu-
patopadeśa-*. LORENZEN (1972: 18f.) discusses the expression *mahāpāśupata* in the
Kādambarī and other works of Sanskrit literature as a technical term denoting either
Pāśupatas who practiced the "great observance" (*mahāvrata*), i.e. Kāpālikas, or
Śaivas following the Kālamukha doctrines. BAKKER (2014: 150), drawing on a pas-
sage from the earliest part of the Niśvāsatattva corpus (ca. 6th c.), identifies the
Mahāpāśupatas exclusively with the Kāpālikas.

Mahākāla."[83] This dual association with the Atimārgic Kāpālika branch as well as the Mantramārgic Bhairavatantras is appropriate, since, for instance, the *Brahmayāmalatantra* itself comprises Kāpālika doctrines of the Atimārga and several characteristics of the Mantramārga.[84] Sectarian borders generally were somewhat fluid during this period, both in etic as well as in emic accounts of the time.[85] For example, it is noted that the Kāpālikas were the most transgressive group of the Atimārga branch of Śaivism but also part of the Mantramārga. Their striking appearance soon made them stock characters in stage plays and works of narrative literature.[86]

Bāṇa's "holy man" is also said to "know a thousand wonder-tales of the mountain Śrīparvata,"[87] a pilgrimage site located in today's Andhra Pradesh. In literary sources, the earliest of which are Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and Bhavabhūti's stage play *Mālatīmādhava* (eighth century), this site is frequently mentioned in connection with Kāpālikas.[88]

Apart from this, the "holy man" is also said to be a collector of palm-leaf booklets[89] "which contain magical formulas from scoundrel manuals."[90] These manuals (*tantra*) and formulas (*mantra*) are not connected with a certain Śaiva tradition, but they represent another attempt by the old man to acquire supernatural powers and add to his general dubiousness. The old man's worship thus seems to be motivated at least in part by

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[83] HATLEY 2007: 78 and 80f.; see also KISS 2015: 24 and 26.

[84] SANDERSON 2014 : 39f.

[85] SANDERSON (2015: 49) describes the case of permeable borders of tradition in the Kālī cult that "remained both Kaula in its self-definition and firmly Kāpālika in its practice."

[86] A large number of Sanskrit and Prakrit works of fiction from the seventh and later centuries that feature Kāpālika characters are introduced and discussed in LORENZEN 1972: 48–71. The earliest literary description of a Kāpālika ascetic is probably the description of a young woman in the Prakrit anthology *Gāhāsattasaī*, the stanzas of which were collected during the first centuries CE (see LORENZEN 1972: 13 and TÖRZSÖK 2011: 355).

[87] K 227,3f.: *śrīparvatāścaryavārtāsahasrābhijñena*.

[88] See LORENZEN 1972: 18–20 and 50–52 respectively. The connection between this site and various Śaiva cults, most prominently that of the Kāpālikas, is also evident in inscriptions and other non-fictional works, like the early biographies of Śaṃkara (ibid.: p. 31f.) and the twelfth-century chronicle *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (ibid.: 66).

[89] For codicologists it may be worth mentioning that these palm-leaf manuscripts (*tālapatra-...-pustikā*) are "written with smoked red lac" (*dhūmaraktālaktakākṣara*).

[90] K 226,22f.: *kuhakatantramantra* (ed. SASTRI omits -*mantra*-). On this line, see HATLEY 2007: 78, n. 144. A variety of more serious books are used in Jābāli's forest hermitage, where they are read out loud (*vācyamānavividhapustaka*, p. 40,5).

worldly intentions rather than by soteriological aims. This assumption is supported by a number of other traits, like his pursuit of supernatural powers (*vibhava*) and accomplishments (*sādhana*) for which he resorts to mineralogy, elixirs, ointments, and magical formulas (*mantra*).

Furthermore, certain rituals for the worship of the female goddesses, also called Mothers (*mātṛ*), require female partners (*dūtī*).[91] This may be alluded to when it is said that the old man throws magical powder (*cūrṇa*) at old mendicant women (*jaratpravrajitā*) who happen to stay in the temple in order to make them submissive (*vaśīkaraṇa*),[92] for his celibacy is said to be merely compulsory.[93]

It is these dubious practices that reflect considerable discredit on the "holy man's" more sincere spiritual gains like his "unwavering self-identification with Śiva," a line that seems predestined to cause trouble in the course of textual transmission.[94] In the sense of "meditative identification" this is an element found in Tantric Śaivism and bears clear soteriological connotations.[95] However, a more general, and rather primary, meaning of the phrase would be "pride of being a devotee of Śiva."[96] It is likely possible that Bāṇa intended both meanings as a pun (*śleṣa*). This would make the "holy man" appear liberated and haughty at the same time; or rather, if one of the two possible interpretations was to be stressed while still retaining an idea of the other, it would create the ambiguity of presenting him either as an imitator (with only little cause for his pride) or as possibly dangerous (an odd person that may really be a powerful ascetic).

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[91] SANDERSON 1988: 680.

[92] HATLEY (2007: 74) prefers to link this line exclusively to the Bhairavatantras for its reference to the ritual use of powders.

[93] K 227,8f. He has adopted "the celibacy of horses" (*turagabrahmacarya*), known as such because a stud is chaste only in the absence of mares (see the Sanskrit commentaries in PARAB [3]1908: 399,33f. and SASTRI [5]1982: 645,23–25, and KANE's notes on p. 234). It is also said that the old man madly longs for heavenly maidens (*yakṣakanyakā*) but fails to successfully attract one (K 227,2f.).

[94] I follow the reading *avimuktaśaivābhimānena* in the eds. by KANE (1911: 97,9f.), KALE ([4]1968: 339,5), and SASTRI ([5]1982: 645,3) (including the editors' commentaries). K 227,5 and PARAB [3]1908: 399,6f. read *avamukta-*, i.e., "loosened, let go" instead of "unwavering."

[95] HATLEY's (2007: 75) interpretation of *śaivābhimāna* as a technical term.

[96] This interpretation was accepted in the notes by KANE (1911: 234) and is in accord with a gloss by Bhānucandra (*aham eva śaivo nānyaḥ*) and a similar one in the *Candrakalā* commentary (*śaivo 'ham ity avalepaḥ*).

Historically noteworthy is Bāṇa's reference to strings of the so-called *rudrākṣa*-beads, the dried seeds of the tree in the genus Elaeocarpus, which is widely used even today. As we are told, the "holy man's" "tuft of his hair hangs down to his ears, looking like a string of Rudra beads."[97] This is one of the earliest pieces of textual evidence for the use of *rudrākṣamālā*s.[98] A variety of rosaries or strings of various materials are mentioned in the *Kādambarī*. The Brahmin sage Jābāli and his pupils are said to have strings made from ordinary *rudrākṣa*-beads,[99] but they also have some made from jewels,[100] which are known since no later than Kālidāsa's time.[101] Hārīta, Jābāli's most eminent pupil, has one "hanging down from his right ear."[102] Many more such stings are mentioned in the *Kādambarī*, some of which are also used by female ascetics.[103] Note again that the "holy man" does not wear any such string of beads.

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[97] K 226,12: *karṇāvataṃsasaṃsthāpitayā ca cūḍayā rudrākṣamālikām iva dadhānena*. According to normative sources, *rudrākṣa*-strings are to be worn on the wrist, chest, or head, not on the ear (see, e.g., *Śivadharmaśāstra* 11.19; see also TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA I, p. 79f., s.v. *akṣamālā*). However, in the *Kādambarī* another string is mentioned hanging from the ear of a most eminent ascetic (see below, n. 103).

[98] According to Dominic Goodall in a personal communication, November 2013.

[99] Jābāli has one of these (*rudrākṣavalaya*, K 43,5f.), and many of his pupils in the *āśrama* count the beads of their strings (*gaṇanā rudrākṣavalayeṣu*, p. 41,4f.) that have been strung together there (*grathyamānākṣamāla*, p. 40,9f.).

[100] Jābāli is said to have one "made from pieces of pure crystal" (*amalasphaṭikaśakalaghaṭitam akṣavalayam*, K 42,15f.). Puṇḍarīka holds one in his hand and counts its beads (*sphaṭikākṣamālikāṃ kareṇa kalayantam*, K 140,1), and Mahāśvetā will find and wear it later (K 145,20–146, 1).

[101] *Kumārasambhava* 6.6 describes the mythological seven Ṛṣis as wearing "rosaries made of gems" (*ratnākṣasūtra*, transl. SMITH). Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha* 1.9 mentions "strings of clear crystal beads" (*acchasphaṭikākṣamālā*) in the description of God Nārada.

[102] K 36,18f.: *sphāṭikenākṣavalayena dakṣiṇaśravaṇavilambinā*.

[103] The Pāśupata girls (*pāśupatavratadhāriṇī*) that live with Kādambarī are also busy with "turning their rosaries" (*akṣamālāparivartana*, K 208,19f.), and even a lotus pond (*kamalinī*) in Jābāli's *āśrama* is metaphorically said to be adorned by "circles of honey bees (resembling) rosaries" (*madhukaramaṇḍalākṣavalaya*, K 48,7). Bāṇa's preference for *valaya* (instead of *mālā* or *mālikā*) may be explained by his characteristic predilection for short syllables (see HUECKSTEDT 1985: 139–148).

Social aspects

While the prince probably is a rare person to talk to, the "holy man" certainly does not live in isolation. Daily life in his temple is animated by monkeys, black antelopes, goats, rats, cobras, cocks, and crows,[104] but also by travellers, mendicants, village folk, and Śabara tribals. The old temple dweller however is unable and sometimes unwilling to fulfil any of their needs. Every once in a while, he is wrestled down by a passersby (*adhvaga*) after unsuccessfully attempting to drive him away from the temple, which is also the reason for his crooked spine. He has the habit of scolding locals (*janapada*) for no reason, and his bad temper often results in blows and wounded limbs. He throws mustard seeds (*siddhārthaka*) that were made ritually effective by the invocation of magical formulas (*abhimantrita*) towards those possessed by night fiends (*piśāca*). He does not succeed with the exorcism, however, and a slap in the face is what he earns instead.[105] This together with the above-mentioned old, mendicant women and the remains of the offerings made by the tribesmen indicates that the temple is far from being inaccessible. In fact, the Caṇḍikā temple is easily reached by all kinds of folk, and even children come to the temple and play their pranks on the old Dravidian. It is worth noting that there is no mention of any initiatory community, pupils, or temple employees.[106]

The "holy man's" social contacts are neither restricted to the Caṇḍikā temple nor to followers of the Śaiva faith. For example, the above-mentioned quack who gifted him the magical ointment (*siddhāñjana*) and an ill-educated Buddhist mendicant (*duḥśikṣitaśramaṇa*, if we accept this reading) who recommended to him a mark on the forehead (*tilaka*) to pro-

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[104] These largely ill-reputed animals make up the satirical counterpart of the elephants and lions that are said to live in perfect harmony in Jābāli's *āśrama* (K 38,15–40,21). This is also where the orphaned parrot chick Vaiśampāyana was raised, which plays a major part in the nested narration of the *Kādambarī*.

[105] K 227,4f. In the second chapter (*ucchvāsa*) of his *Harṣacarita*, Bāṇa states that "mustard seeds were strewn on his head" (*śikhāsaktasiddhārthaka*, FÜHRER 1909: 91,8f.) as a blessing at the moment he set out for his journey to the royal court. In another passage of the work (at the end of the third *ucchvāsa*), mustard is mentioned in connection with the Mahākālahṛdaya ritual. In this ritual, the eminent Śaiva officiant Bhairavācārya uses black sesame seeds (*kṛṣṇatila*, FÜHRER 1909: 164,9) besides mustard seeds, the latter of which are said to have protective power (*rakṣāsarṣapa*, FÜHRER 1909: 164,2).

[106] For literature on maintenance workers in ancient Indian temples, see LORENZETTI 2015: 138, n. 159.

mote his powers[107] could have been encountered not only in the Caṇḍikā temple but virtually anywhere. In any case, the old man himself is known to have visited other holy places (*āyatana*) to lay down and fast at the feet of the images installed there (*pratiśayita* or *pratiśayana*).[108] However, all this was in vain and he was left unrewarded by the goddess, which is just another instance of his blatant lack of success in all his undertakings.

The peculiar and ambiguous character of the fellow living in the Caṇḍikā temple fails to meet the expectations of a proper holy man. An idea of the ambiguity, perhaps even irony, in Bāṇa's use of the term *dhārmika* can perhaps best be conveyed by the use of quotation marks, as it has been done throughout this paper. To speak of a "holy man," that is, the so-called "holy man," in the Caṇḍikā episode contradicts neither the meaning of the word *dhārmika* nor the old man's behaviour. At the same time, it is less judgemental than "pseudo-saint" and conveys more of a good-humoured wink.

Geography

After leaving the temple and the "holy man" at the very end of the forest interlude, it takes Candrāpīḍa "but a few days" (*alpair evāhobhiḥ*) to reach Ujjayinī.[109] He rides his horse Indrāyudha ("Indra's weapon"), which he

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[107] There are various readings of this line, including differences in how the mark was obtained: either from an "ill-educated (Buddhist) mendicant" (*duḥśikṣitaśramaṇa-*, eds. SASTRI [5]1982: 664,2 and KANE 1911: 97,1f., including the commentary *Candrakalā* in the former [p. 644,13f.] and KANE's notes [p. 232f.] in the latter edition) or after "listening to an ill-educated one" (*duḥśikṣitaśravaṇa-*, eds. PARAB [3]1908: 399,1, including Bhānucandra's commentary, p. 399,12 and K 226,21). There may be a joke in the phrase *duḥśikṣitaśramaṇādiṣṭatilaka-* ("a mark on the forehead recommended by an ill-educated [Buddhist] mendicant"), which lies in the juxtaposition of the mark on the forehead and the Buddhist mendicant (*śramaṇa*, most likely understood as a disparaging term to denote a Buddhist monk in Bāṇa's time). For forehead marks are particularly uncommon with Buddhist traditions. The reading *śravaṇa* might have been motivated by the need to resolve this apparent incongruity.

[108] The former reading *pratiśayita* is accepted by PETERSON (K 227,22). In the preceding description of the temple area, Bāṇa fancies (by way of an *utprekṣā*) that black antelopes seem as if they had adopted the same practice of "importuning" (*pratiśayita*, K 226,6f.; likewise SASTRI [5]1982: 642,1). PARAB [3]1908: 397,9 reads *pratiśayana*, which is glossed with *pratitalpa* by Bhānucandra (p. 397,33); SASTRI comments his reading with *kṛtapratiśayana* (p. 642,9).

[109] K 229,12–14.

received as a gift from the King of Persia (*pārasīkādhipati*) and which had magically emerged from the sea.[110] This is the same horse he rode all the way from Kailāsa, far more than a thousand kilometres covering mountains, river fords, and woodlands. While it is futile to calculate the distances a fictitious character can travel on a supernatural horse, we may assume that the army accompanying Candrāpīḍa without supernatural mounts will have kept with its commander's pace in more mundane dimensions. Given the storytelling is plausible and consistent, the Caṇḍikā temple should thus be located somewhere in or near the ancient region of Malwa, on the route from the (Trans-)Himalayan mountains, i.e., north of Ujjayinī.

This city is well-known from a great number of works of Sanskrit literature and plays a central role in the history of early Śaivism. According to Kauṇḍinya's commentary on the *Pāśupatasūtra*s,[111] God (*bhagavat*) descended to Kāyāvataraṇa (or Kārohaṇa, today's Karvan, Gujarat) in the form of a Brahmin and walked northeast to Ujjayinī (today's Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, about 380 kilometres on modern roads). There he initiated his only pupil Kuśika. According to the original *Skandapurāṇa*, which was also in existence in Bāṇa's time,[112] Śiva alias Lakulīśa descended to earth in Kārohaṇa, and after granting yogic perfection to a Brahmin called Somaśarman he went to Ujjayinī and initiated Kauśika. After that, Lākulin went north and initiated Gārgya and Mitra in Jāmbumārga and Mathurā respectively as well as a fourth pupil in Kānyakubja. All four were taught the *pañcārtha* doctrine by Śiva/Lākulin.[113]

The temple of Śiva Mahākāla in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* is said to be near Ujjayinī and somewhere on the way north to Daśapura (today's Mandasor) in the Malwa region.[114] These and other examples that predate the

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[110] K 78,2–4. The horse's former "abode in the sea" (*udadhinivāsa*) is mentioned on p. 79,3f., its "roaming in the ocean" (*jalanidhisaṃcaraṇa*) on p. 79,8.

[111] Kauṇḍinya's *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.1 (3,15–4,12); see also BAKKER 2000: 14 and BISSCHOP 2006: 45.

[112] The earliest manuscript of the *Skandapurāṇa* is dated 810 CE (see YOKOCHI 2013: 3). Text-critical evidence, however, points to a date of its first redaction around 600 CE (BAKKER 2014: 3f.), possibly in the period between 570 to 620 CE (ibid.: 137).

[113] BISSCHOP 2006: 44–50, BAKKER 2007: 1–3. Besides the accounts from the *Skandapurāṇa*, evidence for the Pāśupata history in Mathurā is also well attested from a pillar inscription dated 360 CE (see BHANDARKAR 1931–32 and BISSCHOP 2006: 45f.).

[114] *Meghadūta* 1.36–39. Ujjayinī, alias Viśālā, is mentioned in vv. 1.28 and 31, the ancient city Daśapura in v. 1.50. On the air route from one city to the other is

composition of the *Kādambarī* demonstrate that the Caṇḍikā temple is situated in one of the historical centres of early Śaivism, and Bāṇa's placing it there is certainly not purely fictional.

Imperial history and humour

Imperial history suggests an alternative approach to the interpretation of the Caṇḍikā passage. In consideration of the historical situation of the author and his patron King Harṣa, the unflattering depiction – to say the least – of the "holy man" and his temple might be in debt to Harṣa's temporary defeat by Pulakeśin II, the well-known ruler from the South Indian Cālukya dynasty, in the year 630 CE.[115] Since the Caṇḍikā temple should be located somewhere north of the Narmadā river and within the reign of Harṣa, Bāṇa possibly ridiculed the temple dweller in order to level criticism against South Indian traditions which were gaining foothold in the north. He did this by deconstructing, as it were, the southerner's Tantric cults by denying it seriousness and power, and he did this with good sense of humour. Despite the political conflicts, the representation of the temple and the Dravidian shows no obvious traits of hostility or malice. Finally, it ends on a jovial and conciliatory note. In fact, Candrāpīḍa does not leave without leaving plenty of riches, thus fulfilling a desire of the old "holy man."

Closing remarks on poetic license

One final word on the fictional character of the *Kādambarī* may be in place here. It is not despite but exactly because the *Kādambarī* is a fictional work of literature that some of its descriptive passages can be so remarkably naturalistic. In the episode of the "holy man" (as in many other passages), Bāṇa makes use of poetic license not in order to fantasise in the sense of purely diverting from real-world phenomena, but, on the contrary, to represent these phenomena more vividly and in a more concentrated form than this would be possible in non-fictional accounts. The ambiguity of the religious life of the "holy man," his eclectic use of rites and practices, the utter

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situated the temple of Mahākāla, also called Śūlin (v. 1.37), Caṇḍīśvara (1.36), and Paśupati (1.39), the husband of Bhavānī (ibid.).

[115] This connection was suggested to me by Csaba Dezső. The complex situation of Harṣa's military conflicts with many other dynasties throughout the Indian subcontinent is tentatively reconstructed in BAKKER 2014: 104–113. Compare KULKE & ROTHERMUND 2010: 141; SASTRI 1999: 134f.

lack of success in all his efforts, and his relieving but also tragic lack of power have sprung from the author's lively imagination as much as from his rare observation skills and an outstanding literary talent.

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TANTRIC RITUAL COMMUNITIES

Whose *dharma*? Śaiva and Śākta community rules and Dharmaśāstric prescriptions

Judit Törzsök[1]

Introduction

Shared rules, whether they are explicit or implicit, are among the characteristics that define any given community. In this paper, I propose to examine different sets of rules of conduct that various Śaiva Tantric communities claimed to follow, or rather, rules that their scriptures prescribed them to follow. There are several limitations to such an investigation. As it is commonly pointed out, scriptures – as many other types of written sources – are prescriptive and therefore cannot be taken to reflect the social reality of their time. This is true in more than one sense. Scriptures and the rules they define may represent an ideal state of affairs, thus they may include injunctions that were never actually followed in reality. At the same time, there may have been additional rules that were left unmentioned for various reasons: because they went against some of the principles established in the scriptures or elsewhere, because they were not considered worth mentioning (no matter how interesting they would be for us now), or because they had a limited sphere of application, for instance in the case of certain local rules.

And there are additional pitfalls. Tantric scriptures, just as non-Tantric ones, were meant to be applicable eternally and without any restrictions as to time and place. This implies, first of all, that they are notoriously difficult to date or to locate. But it also means that we cannot always know what is chronologically or geographically particular in them. In the case of community rules, it would be difficult to tell where and when particular injunctions were to be applied or whether certain rules were pan-Indian or local.

With these problems in mind, what one can actually study in scriptural sources is not some factually verifiable historical reality but rather the self-representation of certain religious groups who composed or tried to follow certain scriptures and their prescriptions. It may be disappointing not to stumble upon hard-and-fast historical data. However, such self-representation is actually part of the historical reality that we are trying to understand.

The picture appears to be even further removed from what may have been real when we attempt to compare Tantric prescriptions to Brahmanical orthopraxy. Orthopraxy as laid down in the Dharmaśāstras seems to have been a theoretical framework, or, in any case, one could say that most Dharmaśāstric rules "were considered normative within particular Brahmin circles at particular times, though we cannot now know where or when exactly." (LUBIN 2015: 228)

This leaves us with a very vague basis indeed: comparing Tantric pre-scriptions with Dharmaśāstric ones may seem like comparing two ghosts. However, I would again argue that the situation is not as bad as it seems. First, similarly to Tantras, Dharmaśāstras can also be read to see how certain religious groups represented themselves. Thus, we compare the self-representations of different religious communities, not what they actually were or what they did. Second, concerning Dharmaśāstras, it has been ob-served that their terminology was also used in inscriptional sources that were to define local or regional law. Whatever are the full implications of this, the use of Dharmaśāstric terminology in epigraphical legalese shows that Dharmaśāstric prescriptions had more than a mere theoretical exist-ence, even if they provided a framework or a normative model rather than a law-code proper.

In what follows, I shall limit my investigations to certain community rules called *samaya*s that figure in Tantric scriptures; but one must bear in mind that there is a corpus of texts that establishes Śaiva rules for the so-called lay (*laukika*) Śaivas who did not receive Tantric initiation: the

Śivadharma corpus.[2] The Śivadharmas were perhaps the first body of texts that attempted to define a particular set of rules for Śaiva communities; and Tantric scriptures may in fact presuppose their existence and application. I do not intend to discuss the Śivadharma texts here, which are being edited and studied;[3] but, by way of introduction, in order to show how lay Śaivism proposes different solutions compared to orthodox Brahmanical procedures, I would like to present a Purāṇic example.

Śiva versus Manu: a Purāṇic example

The example comes from the *Skandapurāṇa*, datable in its earliest form to around the end of the sixth century CE. I have chosen to present this case because it shows very clearly how Dharmaśāstric principles may have been and probably were opposed by distinctly Śaiva ideas and solutions. The story is related in chapter 52 of the text, which forms part of a series of chapters dealing with hells and how people can be saved from suffering in hell, particularly by their sons.[4] The idea of the son saving his ancestors agrees with Brahmanical ideology. However, the way the birth of the son is ensured is not according to traditional prescriptions. The story runs as follows.

A Brahmin of the Gautama lineage called Bhūmanyu marries an *ātreyī* woman called Yaśā. They do not succeed in having a son, and Bhūmanyu is getting old. One day Bhūmanyu, dejected, talks to his wife about a solution. He says: "People desire to reach a better world and to get rid of their debt towards their ancestors by having a son. I am already very old and still have not got a child. With my full consent, you should resort to someone in my lineage (*gotra*) to have a son. With folded hands, I beg you to do this."[5]

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[2] For the texts belonging to this corpus and their place in Śaiva literature, see SANDERSON 2014: 2–4.

[3] Several people are working on various texts belonging to this corpus, such as Peter Bisschop, Florinda de Simini, Nirajan Kafle, Timothy Lubin, Anil Kumar Acharya, Nina Mirnig, and Paolo Magnone.

[4] For the edition and synopsis of this chapter, see *Skandapurāṇa* vol. IIB.

[5] I give a summary rather than a translation above. For reference, here is the Sanskrit text, *Skandapurāṇa* 52.29–32: *gautamasyānvaye vipro nāmnā kṛṣṇa iti prabhuḥ | tasya putro 'bhavat khyāto bhūmanyur iti nāmataḥ | tasya patny abhavat subhrūr ātreyī nāmato yaśā || sa kadācit kṛtodvāho bhūmanyur nāma gautamaḥ | nāvindata sutaṃ tasyā jarayā cābhisaṃvṛtaḥ || sa bhāryām āha duḥkhārta idaṃ vacanakovidaḥ | "putreṇecchanti lokāṃś ca anṛṇāś ca bhavanty uta | jarāpariṇataś*

In his request, Bhūmanyu applies a well-known principle taught for instance by the *Manusmṛti* (9.59), which prescribes that if a couple fails to have a son, another male member of the family may replace the husband, provided the necessary authorisation has been obtained:

> If the line is about to die out, a wife who is duly appointed may obtain the desired progeny through a brother-in-law or a relative belonging to the same ancestry.[6]

Now in our story, the wife replies the following:

> I can't believe my ears! You cannot have said this! How could someone like me even think of such a terrible thing? I was born in the noble family of Atri and came, through marriage, to the eminent Gautama family. How could someone like me commit such a shameful act, condemned by the virtuous? Those who desire wealth, happiness, sons, a family, or a better rebirth practice asceticism. So go and practice asceticism yourself, great sage![7]

After this, the wife gives several epic and Purāṇic examples of sages who managed to have a son thanks to their asceticism, and then concludes:

> You should also practice asceticism with full absorption of your mind, and you shall obtain an eminent son who will have extraordinary yogic powers. When Atri, Brahmā's son himself, saw me once, he said: This woman shall have a true son. This prediction should come true. Whatever ascetic power I have been able to accumulate,

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cāhaṃ na ca me dṛśyate sutaḥ || sā tvaṃ kaṃcit sagotraṃ me anujñātā mayā śubhe | abhipadyasva putrārthaṃ yāce tvāṃ prāñjalir nataḥ" ||.

[6] *Manusmṛti* 9.59: *devarād vā sapiṇḍād vā striyā samyaṅ niyuktayā | prajepsit-ādhigantavyā saṃtānasya parikṣaye ||,* transl. OLIVELLE 2005: 193. Cf. "On failure of issue (by her husband) a woman who has been authorised, may obtain, (in the) proper (manner prescribed), the desired offspring by (cohabitation with) a brother-in-law or (with some other) Sapinda (of the husband)." (Transl. BÜHLER [2]1984: 337)

[7] *Skandapurāṇa* 52.33–35: *na mayā śrutam etat te tathā noktaṃ tvayānagha | mādṛśī katham etad dhi manasāpy abhicintayet || atrīṇāṃ tu kule jātā gautamaṃ kulam āgatā | madvidhā katham etad dhi kuryāt sadbhir vigarhitam || tapasā dhanam anvicchej jīvitāni sukhāni ca | putrān kulaṃ ca lokāṃś ca tapaḥ kuru mahāmune ||.*

through your grace, you shall have it. Armed with my *tapas* and yours, you must worship Rudra.[8]

Thus, the wife not only rejects Manu's solution to the problem but even finds it outrageous. She argues that the replacement of the husband is a custom condemned by the virtuous. By saying this, she justifies her rejection through the Dharmaśāstric principle according to which "an activity that the Āryas praise is righteous (*dharma*), and what they deplore is unrighteous (*adharma*)."[9]

Let us remark here that the rejection of the levirate is not unknown to the *Manusmṛti* either. Contradicting rules are given as to whether the levirate is an approved or rejected practice, and whether it should be stopped after begetting the first son or having a second one is also permitted. However, the prohibition appears to concern the remarriage of widows rather than the replacement of a living husband.[10]

In any case, using the authority of the virtuous, the wife argues against the replacement of her husband. She proposes a particularly Śaiva solution to the problem, which obviously does not come from mainstream Dharmaśāstric authorities. Obtaining a son through *tapas* is certainly not condemned by any authority either, therefore such a solution is a legitimate supplement to what is dharmic. The concluding sentence adds the Śaiva element already expected all along the argument but not yet overtly expressed: the *tapas* accumulated should be used to worship Rudra, who shall then bestow one's wish.

The story shows that while lay Śaivism certainly did not claim to go against the norms of orthopraxy, it had its own solutions that did not necessarily follow what was laid down in Dharmaśāstras.

It is also interesting to note that in the above extract the man represents the traditional Brahmanical solution borrowed from Manu, and the woman

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[8] *Skandapurāṇa* 52.38–40: *tathā bhavān api tapaḥ karotu susamādhinā | lapsyase tvaṃ sutaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ mahāyogabalānvitam || māṃ hi dṛṣṭvā purā prāha atrir brahmasutaḥ svayam | satputriṇī bhavitrīyaṃ na mithyā tad bhaviṣyati || tapo 'sti mayi yat kiṃcit tvatprasādāt samārjitam | tena svena ca saṃyukto rudram ārādhaya prabho |.*

[9] *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* 1.20.6–7: *yat tv āryāḥ kriyamāṇaṃ praśaṃsanti sa dharmo yad garhante so 'dharmaḥ*, transl. OLIVELLE 2000: 57. The same Dharmasūtra in fact goes on to warn readers that sometimes the conduct depicted in scripture is not legitimate in the present day, since the ancients had "extraordinary power" (*tejoviśeṣa*) that people lack in later ages (2.13.7–9).

[10] See in particular *Manusmṛti* 9.64–66.

defends the better, more virtuous Śaiva one. Women, along with Śūdras, were certainly treated better in Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism than in mainstream Brahmanism, at least in the sense that they had access to some form of initiation (even to full initiation in the Śākta branches) and therefore hope for potential liberation, from which they were entirely excluded according to mainstream Brahmanism. It may not be accidental in our story that it is the woman that proposes the Śaiva solution.

Whose pledges?

After this detour to Purāṇic Śaivism, let us turn to the so-called *samaya* rules or pledges. They are recited at the end of the so-called *samaya* rite that introduces new members to the Śaiva Tantric community. Now who was to follow these rules?

It is often reiterated that women, along with children, the elderly, the sick, and the like are to be given a so-called "seedless" initiation (*nirbīja-dīkṣā*), which excludes the obligation to follow the post-initiatory rules (*samaya*). The king, who is too busy to deal with these obligations, is also included in the list. As it is stated in the locus classicus, *Svacchandatantra* 4.88:

> Children, fools, the elderly, women, kings, and the sick – for these, initiation is seedless, [i.e.,] it excludes [the obligation to follow] post-initiatory rules etc.[11]

All these categories of people are considered to be unable to follow the rules of the community, therefore they are given an easier version of initiation that is also less powerful.

It is nevertheless surprising to see here that women are considered unable to follow the *samaya* rules. For the so-called *samaya* ritual itself, which is a preliminary to initiation proper (*dīkṣā*) and which ends with the recitation of the rules to be observed, can also be performed for women, who in

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[11] SvT 4.88: *bālabāliśavṛddhastrībhogabhugvyādhitātmanām | eṣāṃ nirbījikā dīkṣā samayādivivarjitā ||*. According to Kṣemarāja's commentary, the word "etc." refers to other ritual obligations, such as the annual reparatory *pavitraka* rite (*ādiśabdāt pavitrakādividhiḥ*). On this rite, see the entries *pavitraka* and *pavitrāro-haṇa/pavitrāropaṇa* in TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA vol. III, where it is also pointed out that the earliest Tantras do not describe this rite. Thus, it is possible that the *Svacchanda*'s author(s) had something different in mind than Kṣemarāja.

some systems receive their own, female initiation names. It seems quite absurd to perform the *samaya* ritual for everybody and to recite the rules to be observed in front of every neophyte, only to later declare a large number of them unable to follow these rules. Indeed, this category of reduced initiation is absent from the earliest surviving Tantras of the Śaiva Siddhānta[12] as well as from Śākta scriptures. The "seedless" initiation was most probably introduced at a relatively later point. I would therefore argue that *samaya*s, at least initially, were in fact meant to be observed by all initiates.

Samayas in the Śaiva Siddhānta

Scriptures of the Śaiva Siddhānta list relatively few *samaya*s, and they tend to cluster around four major topics (as numbered below). Traditionally, eight such rules are given, which figure already in the *Nayasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*.

(1) One set of rules concern different types of *nindā*, i.e., defamation or criticism. This is mainly a Śaiva application of the Brahmanical rule that forbids *vedanindā*, reviling the Vedas, and *gurunindā*, reviling the *guru*.[13] In Śaivism, those who must be treated with respect are the deity (*deva*), scripture itself (*śāstra*) that comes from him, the *guru*, through whom the deity can act, and other Śaiva initiates (termed variously as *sādhaka*s, *putraka*s, *dīkṣita*s, *bhakta*s). These four *nindā*s are formulated in four traditional *samaya*s. Fire, which is also identified with the deity, can also be included in the list. Moreover, it is also sometimes added that one must always obey one's *guru*.

(2) It is always mentioned that *nirmālya*, i.e., what has been offered to the deity and been touched or consumed by him (*devajagdha*), should not be eaten. According to Bhojadeva, the eight traditional *samaya*s also include that one should not step over the *nirmālya*, and this is also mentioned for instance in the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*, which adds that the *nirmālya* should not be given away either.

At this point, the *Niśvāsa Nayasūtra* (1.104ab) adds something difficult to interpret: *nirmālyabhakṣaṇe vāpi balidāne paśor api* (ms.: *balidāna-paśor api*). Perhaps it means, as it is understood in GOODALL et al. 2015, that one must perform a reparatory rite "if the *nirmālya* is eaten or if it is given to an animal as a *bali* offering." However, I propose that one could also

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[12] See the entry *nirbījadīkṣā* by Dominic Goodall in TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA vol. III.

[13] See, e.g., *Manusmṛti* 4.163 for *vedanindā* and 2.200 for *gurunindā*.

understand that the transgression the *Niśvāsa* condemns here is the eating of an animal offered in sacrifice, if we read *balidānapaśor api* with the manuscripts and construe it with *-bhakṣaṇe* as a *sāpekṣasamāsa*. In other words, one must perform an expiatory rite "if one eats either the *nirmālya* or the animal given in/destined to a *bali* sacrifice." I suspect that the prohibition to eat the animal offering was later forgotten because nobody would have thought of eating meat anyway, whether prepared as an offering or not. However, this injunction is in accordance with the frequently repeated rule which forbids the touching or eating of any offering (*naivedya*).[14]

The *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*'s parallel, which is also difficult to understand, seems to say something along the same lines,[15] but it is also possible that a different transgression is meant here.[16] In any case, the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* clearly continues by stating that such things should not be done even when one is in great danger,[17] in other words the *nirmālya* is not to be used or consumed even if there is a famine or some similar situation in which one may be allowed to resort to *āpaddharma*. Such rules about *nirmālya* seem to be specifically Śaiva ones.

(3) Some *samaya*s forbid initiates to accept food touched by certain categories of women: mainly those who have their period or those who have recently given birth. The traditional eight *samaya*s mention only women during their menses,[18] but scriptures often include women in the postpartum period (*sūtikā*).[19] Such *samaya*s reproduce faithfully the Brahmanical principle according to which one is not to accept food from these wom-

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[14] See, for instance, *Mataṅgapārameśvara* Caryāpāda 1.7: *niveditaṃ vā yat kiṃcid devadevasya śūlinaḥ | na ca tat svopayogāya kartavyaṃ manasāpy atha ||*.

[15] SvāSS 10.24cd–25ab: *nirmālya-laṅghanaṃ [-]dānaṃ [-]bhojanaṃ ca vivarjayet || tatrāviplavanaṃ* (for *tantraviplāvanaṃ*?) *dānam avinītabaleḥ paśoḥ ||*. Perhaps understand "one should avoid stepping over, offering, or eating the *nirmālya* as well as divulging scripture and offering (*dāna*) a sacrificial animal (*paśu*) whose sacrifice (*bali*) has not been performed (*avinīta*) or has not been performed properly." (I understand a kind of *sāpekṣasamāsa* here, whereby *nirmālya-* is to be understood or supplied with *-dānaṃ* and *-bhojanaṃ*. The same applies in the next citation.)

[16] One could read *tantraviplāvanaṃ dānaṃ avinītābale paśau*, "divulging the Tantra or giving it to an uninitiated person (*paśu*) who lacks any decency or strength."

[17] SvāSS 10.25cd: *nācarec chivamārgasthaḥ mahātayagato 'pi san* (clearly corrupt for *mahābhayagato 'pi san*). *sandhi* is not applied here at the end of a *pāda*.

[18] See *ārtavispṛṣṭam* in the *Niśvāsa Nayasūtra* 1.104cd.

[19] See *Sarvajñānottara* 15.26a: *sūtikāyānnasaṃspṛṣṭam*; SvāSS 10.24b: *saṃspṛṣṭaṃ puṣṭavatyānnam* (for *puṣpavatyānnaṃ*) *svaryātānāñ ca sautikam*.

en (*Manusmṛti* 4.232). The *Manusmṛti* (5.85) also points out that touching such women, just as touching an outcaste or a corpse, defiles one and requires a purificatory bath. In the same vein, the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha*'s version adds that one is also to avoid food touched by someone who has gone to heaven.[20]

(4) Finally, one should not step on the shadow of a *liṅga*. By extension it is also enjoined sometimes that one should not step on the sacrificial area (*catvara*).[21]

These four types of rules – *nindā*, *nirmālya*, not accepting food from certain women, not stepping on any (Śaiva) sacred space – cover the eight traditional *samaya*s and many other, extended lists in the Śaiva Siddhānta. Most of them are either taken from Brahmanical rules of conduct or are Śaiva versions of such rules, except rules concerning the *nirmālya* and the *liṅga*, which appear to be particular Śaiva ones.[22]

Although, as is obvious from the above rules, the Śaiva Siddhānta certainly offered a form of Śaivism that conformed to orthopraxy and assimilated Dharmaśāstric principles in its *samaya*s, it also saw itself as different from the orthodox mainstream and defended its own territory and validity against Vaidikas, at least at the initial stages represented by the *Niśvāsa*. For the *Nayasūtra* (1.106cd–108ab, just after mentioning the *samaya*s) clearly warns against returning to Vedic ritual and turning one's back to the Śaiva community:

> If someone studies the Śaiva scripture and performs Śiva worship, [but then] sacrifices with Vedic rites, reviles devotees of Śiva, and venerates and praises Brahmins with other religious affiliations, then Hāṭha-kuṣmāṇḍa-rudra shall punish that evil-minded person.[23]

In the same vein, the *Nayasūtra* (1.105cd–106ab) also warns against following other, possibly Tantric prescriptions:

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[20] See *svaryātānāñ* in the above citation.

[21] *Sarvajñānottara* 15.26b: *cchāyācatvaralaṃghanam.*

[22] Note that different rules for the *nirmālya* apply in Pāñcarātra scriptures, for which see the entry by Marion Rastelli in TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA vol. III.

[23] *śivatantram adhītvā tu śivayajñaṃ prakurvvate || yajate vaidikair yajñaiḥ śivabhaktāṃś ca nindate | viprāṃś caivānyaliṅgasthāṃ pūjayet stunateti ca || hāṭhakuṣmāṇḍarudras tu taṃ vai badhnāti durmmatim |.*

> If someone undertakes a solemn religious observance, but then aban-
> dons that Śiva-observance and takes up an observance taught in an-
> other [= non-Śaiva] scripture, Devī shall punish him for that.[24]

These prohibitions show that there must have been people who did not refrain from changing affiliations. Perhaps turncoats or renegades were not so uncommon, for the boundaries between Śaiva and Vaidika or Śaiva and non-Śaiva may not have been as strict for common people as more ardent Śaivas (or Vaidikas) would have preferred. It was probably not considered impossible to try out (Saiddhāntika) Śaivism and then turn back to Vedic ritual or try out yet something else, probably remaining, by and large, within the rules and boundaries of orthopraxy.[25]

Eclectic *samaya*s of early Śākta Tantras

Since Śākta Tantras prescribe nondual Tantric practice such as the offering of alcohol and meat and the use of various impure substances, one would expect that their *samaya*s also prescribe whatever goes against orthopraxy. It is therefore surprising to see that earlier Śākta Tantras appear to give a very heterogeneous list of *samaya*s: they mix some rules taken over from Dharmaśāstras with those that enjoin the very violation of Dharmaśāstric rules.

The short recension of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (of around the seventh century),[26] which is otherwise rather concise on many topics, gives a fairly detailed list of such *samaya*s, and the list has many parallels in related texts. With regard to their conformity to Dharmaśāstric prescriptions, there are three kinds of rules here.

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[24] *pratijñāvratam ārūḍho punas tyaktvā śivaṃ vratam || anyattantravrataṅ gṛhṇed devī tena nibandhati |*. I would like to note here that my translations of the *Niśvāsa* passages are indebted to GOODALL et al. 2015. In most cases, I follow the interpretations given there and alter the translation only slightly, mainly to fit better in the context of this paper.

[25] In this context, it must be remarked that converts are a recognised category of Śaiva initiates, who normally do not have the right to take up one of the two Śaiva offices, namely that of the *ācārya*s or *sādhaka*s. They are called "the reborn," *punarbhū-*, see the entry in TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA vol. III. by Dominic Goodall. This category, however, comprises *prāgliṅgin*s, i.e., those who had a previous sectarian mark. The expression suggests that they were Vaiṣṇava or Saura (worshippers of the sun god) or Bauddha and did not simply belong to the nonsectarian/mainstream Brahmanical tradition (*vaidika*).

[26] See TÖRZSÖK 1999 and TÖRZSÖK forthcoming.

First, there are *samaya*s that are in total agreement with orthopraxic prescriptions and are practically taken over from mainstream Brahmanical sources. We have seen that those *samaya*s of the Śaiva Siddhānta that forbid people to accept food from women in periods of impurity also belong to this category. The *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and the *Tantrasadbhāva*, however, add many other such *samaya*s: one should not perform fruitless acts,[27] one must not look at naked women,[28] one must avoid having sex during daytime if one wishes to succeed in obtaining supernatural powers (or liberation),[29] one is not to urinate in certain places such as in a field, on the road, on a cremation ground, etc.[30] All these rules have their equivalents in the *Manusmṛti*, either fully agreeing with the Tantric ones or having only some minor variations. Although they are rather generic rules of conduct, their inclusion in the *samaya*s suggests a certain adherence to general Dharmaśāstric principles. It also betrays perhaps the intention of the authors to become as authoritative in a particular Śākta community as Manu was among the orthodox – or to create, as it were, their own Dharmaśāstra.

Second, several *samaya*s are Śaiva inflections of Dharmaśāstric rules, just as the *nindā* rules are in the Śaiva Siddhānta. Similarly, the deity or the scriptures are not to be reviled in Śākta Tantras either.[31] One must mentally invoke and worship the deity at the three junctures of the day,[32] and one must worship one's *ācārya*.[33]

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[27] SYM 6.46a (= *Mālinīvijayottara* 8.133a): *niṣphalaṃ naiva ceṣṭeta*. (See also TSB 9.531c: *niṣphalāṃ varjayec ceṣṭāṃ*.) Cf. *Manusmṛti* 4.63a: *na kurvīta vṛthāceṣṭāṃ*, 4.70c: *na karma niṣphalaṃ kuryān*.

[28] SYM 6.47c: *na nagnāṃ vanitāṃ paśyen* (see also TSB 9.532cd). Cf. *Manusmṛti* 4.53b: *nagnāṃ nekṣeta ca striyam*.

[29] SYM 6.48cd: *grāmadharmaṃ sadā varjyaṃ vāsare siddhim icchatā* (See TSB 9.534cd: *grāmadharma na kartavyaṃ vāsare siddhim icchatā*.) Cf. *Manusmṛti* 11.174: *maithunaṃ tu samāsevya puṃsi yoṣiti vā dvijaḥ | goyāne 'psu divā caiva savāsāḥ snānam ācaret ||*.

[30] SYM 6.51cd–52ab: *kṣetramārgaikavṛkṣeṣu śmaśānāyataneṣu ca | viṇmūtra[ṃ] śayan[aṃ] vāpi na kuryān mantravit kvacit*. See TSB 9.547cd–548: *śayanaṃ naiva kartavyam ekavṛkṣe catuṣpathe || kṣetre caiva śmaśāne ca vane copavaneṣu ca | devāgāre nadītīre bhasmagomayamadhyataḥ || viṇmūtraṃ naiva kartavyaṃ ṣṭhīvanaṃ maithunaṃ tathā |.* Cf. *Manusmṛti* 4.45cd–46: *na mūtraṃ pathi kurvīta na bhasmani na govraje || na phālakṛṣṭe na jale na cityāṃ na ca parvate | na jīrṇadevāyatane na valmīke kadācana ||*.

[31] In the SYM for instance *śāstranindā* is mentioned in 6.45c, while 45ab enjoins *naivedya* for the deities whenever one eats (as does the TSB in 9.531a).

[32] Śakti in the SYM (6.49ab: *traiḥkālaṃ cintayec chaktiṃ sakalīkṛtavigrahaḥ*);

Third, many *samaya*s are completely unparalleled in Dharmaśāstras. Some of them are merely specific to certain Śākta texts, for instance that the words *ḍākinī*[34] or *rere*[35] should not be uttered, probably because they carry particular power and are therefore considered dangerous. But other *samaya*s clearly go against Dharmaśāstric prescriptions, for instance that one should not revile alcohol or those who are unmanly (*klībam*).[36]

The Brahmanical aversion to alcohol is well-known. It is perhaps less often pointed out that those who are considered unmanly (whatever that means exactly, including the impotent, the effeminate, transvestites, hermaphrodites, etc.), designated with the generic word *klība*,[37] are also treated with much contempt. In *Manusmṛti* 3.150, *klība*s are put in the same group as outcastes, thieves, and atheists: "Brahmins who are thieves, fallen from their caste, or impotent or who follow the livelihood of infidels – Manu has declared these unfit to participate at divine or ancestral offerings."[38]

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deva in the TSB (9.565c: *traiḥkālyaṃ pūjayed devam*).

[33] See SYM 6.49cd: *vanded ācāryam āsannaṃ dūrasthaṃ dhyānayogataḥ*.

[34] SYM 6.51ab: *ḍākinīti na vaktavyaṃ pramādān mantriṇā –m– api*; the word *śākinī* is mentioned in the parallel in TSB 9.533ab: *śākinīti na vaktavyaṃ*. Words denoting dangerous female spirits (*ḍākinī* or *śākinī*) were not to be pronounced in general.

[35] In SYM 6.46cd: *rereśabdaṃ sadākālaṃ na prayuñjyā[t] kadācana*. A similar injunction is formulated concerning the word *hehe* in TSB 9.532ab: *rereśabdaṃ na coccāryaṃ heheśabdaṃ tathaiva ca*.

[36] SYM 6.45cd: *surāṃ klībaṃ na nindyāt*, with a parallel in TSB 9.542cd ff. SvT 5.48 also includes other commonly avoided substances that one should not be disgusted of: meat, fish, and so on. Moreover, those who do or do not obey general rules of conduct (*ācāra*) should not be treated with disgust either.

[37] See OLIVELLE's note on *Manusmṛti* 3.150 (p. 263–264): "[T]he term *klība* has been subject to widely different interpretations. It probably did have a range of meanings, and in different contexts may have assumed somewhat different meanings. In general, it refers to males who are in some way sexually dysfunctional or deviate from the culturally constructed notions of masculinity. Such individuals include the impotent, the effeminate, transvestites, hermaphrodites and the like. This term does not refer to castrated eunuchs; I think the term *ṣaṇḍha* indicates such a person, although there is scholarly disagreement even with regard to this. A verse of Kātyāyana cited in the Dāyabhāga (5.8) gives a definition of *klība*: 'If a man's urine does not foam, if his stool sinks in water, if his penis has no erection or sperm, he is called a *klība*.'"

[38] *Manusmṛti* 3.150: *ye stenapatitaklībā ye ca nāstikavṛttayaḥ | tān havyakavyayor viprān anarhān manur abravīt ||*, transl. OLIVELLE 2005: 116. Cf. "Manu has declared that those Brahmanas who are thieves, outcasts, eunuchs, or atheists are unworthy (to partake) of oblations to the gods and manes." (transl. BÜHLER [2]1984: 103).

Eunuchs are also said to have a polluting presence (if they watch a Brahmin eat, for example).[39] As to inheritance, Manu says: "Eunuchs [or rather, those who are unmanly, *klība* J.T.] and outcasts, (persons) born blind or deaf, the insane, idiots and the dumb, as well as those deficient in any organ (of action or sensation), receive no share."[40]

As the last verse (as well as other passages) of Manu show, people who have any physical defect also belong to the bottom of the Brahmanical hierarchy – and it is precisely these people that should not be despised according to the longer list of *samaya*s in the *Tantrasadbhāva*:

> The deformed, the depressed, eunuchs, the unmanly, the blind, and those who suffer [from any illness] [...] should not be treated with contempt.[41]

Women, who – just as eunuchs and unmanly males – are considered potentially polluting in Brahmanical orthopraxy, are also included in the list of those who should not be reviled in Tantric sources.[42] Furthermore, in the *Tantrasadbhāva* many outcastes and low-status members of the Brahmanical society are enumerated among those who must not be treated with contempt: tribal people such as the Bhillas and Ḍombas, fishermen (*kaivarta*), foreigners (*mleccha*), wrestlers (*malla*), leather-makers (*carmakāraka*), and so on. At the end of the list, the *Tantrasadbhāva* also mentions that, in addition, others who have not been mentioned should not be reviled either.[43]

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[39] *Manusmṛti* 3.239: *cāṇḍālaś ca varāhaś ca kukkuṭaḥ śvā tathaiva ca | rajasvalā ca ṣaṇḍaś ca nekṣerann aśnato dvijān ||*. "A Caṇḍāla, a pig, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, or a eunuch must not look at the Brahmins while they are eating." (transl. OLIVELLE 2005: 120).

[40] Transl. BÜHLER ²1984: 372. *Manusmṛti* 9.201: *anaṃśau klībapatitau jātyandhabadhirau tathā | unmattajaḍamūkāś ca ye ca ke cin nirindriyāḥ ||*. Cf. OLIVELLE's translation (2005: 200), who understands (against the commentators and Bühler) *nirindriya* also to refer to the absence of manly strength: "The following receive no shares: the impotent, outcastes, those born blind or deaf, the insane, the mentally retarded, mutes, and anyone lacking manly strength."

[41] TSB 9.552cd... 555a: *vairūpyaṃ duḥkhitaṃ śaṇḍhaṃ klībaṃ andhaṃ tathāturam || ...na nindeta varārohe.*

[42] See 6.45cd in the very heterogeneous list of the SYM: *striyaṃ śāstraṃ surāṃ klībaṃ na nindyāt kanyakām api.* "One should not despise women, the scripture, alcohol, the unmanly, and young girls."

[43] See the following provisional edition of the passage kindly provided by Jung Lan Bang. Because of the focus of this paper, textual problems, which remain quite

See also a similar list in the *Kubjikāmata* 5.65cd–66ab, mentioning wrestlers (*malla*), leather-makers (*carmakāraka*), liquor-sellers (*dhvaja*), butchers (*sūnākara*), fish-killers (*matsyaghāta*), and hunters (*lubdhaka*).[44]

This set of *samaya*s thus appears to defend several categories of those who are marginalised according to Brahmanical rules.

Now was there some sense of social justice or equality that prompted our authors to establish such *samaya*s? I am afraid there is no statement to this effect. There is, however, one passage in the *Brahmayāmala* that appears to give a theological justification that comes relatively close to revealing a certain sense of equality.

The passage in question starts with an enumeration of things and people that are not to be hurt or spoken ill of (*na dūṣayet*) according to Bhairava's command: those who are unmanly, madmen, drunkards, those who are delirious, naked, or are absorbed in sexual union, alcohol, women, and so on. The text then goes on to say that since the goddesses and Śiva can be found everywhere, one should not revile anyone or anything subject to decay or old age, or someone or something deformed. A practitioner who abides in knowledge,[45] who has received the *samaya*s and intends to follow them, must see different kinds of worship, the *varṇa*s, various (ritual) acts, substances, and bodies in the same way.[46]

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numerous, are not discussed here. TSB 9.552–555: *kaivartaṃ kāndukaṃ mlecchaṃ dhvajaṃ sūnākaram priye | vairūpyaṃ duḥkhitaṃ śaṇḍhaṃ klībam andhaṃ tathāturam || malla-vandina-kausadyaṃ cchippakaṃ carmakārakam | jaṭṭaṃ bhuṭṭaṃ mathīraṃ ca kāpotaṃ kulabhakṣakam || medaṃ bhillaṃ ca ḍombaṃ ca tathānyaṃ bhaṇḍakārakam | evam anye pi ye noktā mānavā varavarṇini || na nindeta varārohe vratinaṃ yad upasthitam | haṭṭanāryo na vaktavyā nākrośet kanyakāḥ sudhīḥ //*.

[44] This passage, repeating some elements from the TSB above, also lists several categories that I cannot translate with certainty (see underlined words, of which the first may denote jugglers and the final one archers): _kandukaṃ mallakoṣāḍhyā chippakaṃ_ carmakārakam // dhvajaṃ sūnākaraṃ vāpi _matsyaghātaṃ tu lubdhakam_.

[45] More precisely, "he who is in the stage of life for/of knowledge." The text seems to create a fifth stage of life (*āśrama*) added to the traditional four. The name suggests that it is characterised by the knowledge of the doctrine it propounds. It may have been conceived of as an *āśrama* that is beyond the four, in the manner of the *atyāśrama* of the Pāśupatas.

[46] This is not a full translation of the text, which has a few textual difficulties; *Brahmayāmala* 62.124127ab: *guhyaṃ klībādi conmattam pramattaṃ vihvalaṃ priye | nagnaṃ suratasaṃsaktaṃ mṛto[ndha/tva]ntaṃ surā striyaḥ ||.* (Perhaps read *mṛto 'ndhaṃ* or *mṛtoddharantaṃ*?) *na dūṣaye['] †vase† vātha yantranā bhairavasya tu | sarvvatas tu tato devyaḥ śivaś ca labhate priye || ato na nindayet sarvvaṃ jarāsthan tu virūpakam | jñānā-sramī makhāṃ varṇṇāṃ kṛyādravyāṃ tathā tanuṃ || tulyabhāvena*

Let us note that the same sort of theological explanation is given to justify or explain the use of impure substances in ritual: since everything is made of Bhairava and the goddess, one must treat all substances alike.[47]

Now a somewhat similar argument also figures in the *Svacchanda* in the context of *samaya*s. It is, however, not about the equal treatment of substances or people, but about the validity of different Śāstras. When the *Svacchanda* prescribes that Bhairava and his teaching should not be reviled, it adds the following:

> The Sāṃkhya, the Yoga, the Pāñcarātra, and the Vedas should not be reviled either, for they all come from Śiva and they all bestow the fruit of final liberation.[48]

Thus, just as the *Brahmayāmala* argues for the equality of all substances and people because they are all Śiva's creations, so too does the *Svacchanda* argue for the validity of all Śāstras, since they are also Śiva's creations. After this statement, the *Svacchanda* adds a final member to the list of teachings that should not be reviled: the prescriptions of Smṛtis, because they demonstrate the proper ways to behave and act (*smārttaṃ dharmaṃ na nindet tu ācārapathadarśakam*, 5.45cd). This confirms, once again, an adherence to the generic *smārta* rules of conduct.

Now there is yet another group of *samaya*s that are worth pointing out in early Śākta Tantras: those that reproduce or are closely related to the special *samaya*s of the Śaiva Siddhānta.

The *Tantrasadbhāva*, for instance, mentions that one should not step over the shadow of a *liṅga*.[49] It extends this *samaya* to the various attributes

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pasyeta samayī samayārthinaḥ |. Transcription kindly provided by Shaman Hatley.

[47] For various usages of this argument, see TÖRZSÖK 2014.

[48] SvT 5.44cd–45ab: *sāṃkhyaṃ yogaṃ pāñcarātraṃ vedāṃś caiva na nindayet / yataḥ śivodbhavāḥ sarve hy apavargaphalapradāḥ ||*. Let us note the alternative reading given by Jayaratha in the *Tantrālokaviveka* (ad 1.18 and 13.302): *yataḥ śivodbhavāḥ sarve śivadhāmaphalapradāḥ*, "for they all come from Śiva and bestow the fruit of abiding in Śiva," and by Abhinavagupta himself in the *Mālinīvijayavārttika* (2.290: *svacchandatantre tenoktaṃ sarvaśāstre śivaḥ phalam / yataḥ śivodbhavāḥ sarve śivadhāmaphalā iti*). The same reading in the singular (*yataḥ śivodbhavaṃ sarvaṃ śivadhāmaphalapradam*) is also mentioned ad loc. by Kṣemarāja, who claims that some people read this version in old manuscripts (*iti pāṭhaṃ purāṇapustakadṛṣṭam iha kecit paṭhanti*). However, the Nepalese manuscript agrees basically with the edited SvT here: *sāṃkhyayogaṃ pañcarātraṃ vedāṃś caiva na nindayet / yataḥ śivodbhavāḥ sarve hy apavargaphalapradāḥ ||*.

(*āyudha*s) of gods that are also not to be stepped over or touched with the foot (9.562–568 ending with: *pharakaṃ vāpi khaḍgaṃ vā anya vāpy āyudhaṃ priye | pāde naiva spṛśen mantrī na tu laṅghet kadācana ||*. "The master of *mantra*s should never touch with his foot or step over the shield, the sword, or any other [divine] weapon, my beloved.").

The *Brahmayāmala* also includes what resembles the *samaya*s of the Śaiva Siddhānta in two passages. In the first (62.123cd), it overtly refers to the rule of those who follow dualist practice:

> One should under no circumstances consume the *nirmālya*, which is not to be consumed according to the dualist[50] *mantra*(*mārga*) tradition.[51]

The second passage mentions the eight *samaya*s, some of which recall those of the Śaiva Siddhānta, although the *Brahmayāmala* gives its own version and certainly fewer than eight:

> There is no higher god than Śiva. And in this Tantra, the respectable persons are the *ācārya*, the Mothers,[52] the practitioners, and the pious. They are not to be despised or insulted, they must be worshipped as well as one can. These are the eight *samaya*s that increase devotion and faith. Obeying these rules of conduct is the cause of all success.[53]

It is possible that the idea of having precisely eight *samaya*s was more prevalent in the Śaiva Siddhānta than in Śākta texts (which had numerous ones) and mentioning the *samaya*s as being eight in number may have im-

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[49] TSB 9.550: *varṣās tu navabhiś caiva liṅgacchāyāṃ na laṃghayet*. I am not sure how the first half of the verse is to be understood, perhaps it means that the rule applies from age nine of the person (understanding a corruption and/or irregular expression standing for *navavarṣāt*, and the idea being that younger children may not comply with such rules and may be allowed to skip over the shadow of a *liṅga*).

[50] The term "dualist" always refers to ritual dualism in this text, cf. TÖRZSÖK 2014.

[51] *Brahmayāmala* 62.123cd: *dvaitamantre tu nirmālyaṃ nābhakṣaṃ bhakṣayet kvacit ||*. Transcription kindly provided by Shaman Hatley.

[52] The expression "mothers" may refer to female ancestors and family members as well as to various groups of female spirits and goddesses of the Śākta pantheon.

[53] *Brahmayāmala* 86.3cd–5: *na śivasya paro devaḥ ācāryo mātaras tathā || 3 || asmin tantre tu guravaḥ sādhakāḥ sādhur eva vā | nāvamānyā nādhikṣepyā pūjanīyāś ca śaktitaḥ || 4 || aṣṭau tu samayā hy ete bhaktiśraddhāvivarddhakāḥ | siddhīnāṃ kāraṇaṃ hy etat samayācārapālanaṃ || 5 ||*.

plied that the *samaya*s of the Śaiva Siddhānta were alluded to. In any case, in this passage they include only those that correspond to existing Saiddhāntika *samaya*s, without the numerous additional Śākta ones.

The *Brahmayāmala*, however, does not end the list of *samaya*s at this point. It goes on to give another set of eight (with the count being somewhat problematic again, since here we have perhaps more than eight), in this case a set that does not resemble those of the Siddhānta. While the previous eight were simply said to bring success if one maintains them, the second set is labelled "the eight supreme *samaya*s," distinguishing them from the first, presumably ordinary, set:

> The eight "supreme *samaya*s" are these: One must not be attached to another deity, one must have no qualms or hesitation [concerning the use of impure substances][54] and be free of greed. One must be non-dual [in the ritual sense] and careful, observing the rules of conduct. One must observe the *yama* of maintaining celibacy while actively consorting with women.[55] One must be free of anger and transmit [this Tantric] tradition.[56]

This complete recreation of the eight *samaya*s points to a new development: to the establishment of nondual Śākta *samaya*s that have nothing to

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[54] This would be the natural interpretation of *vikalpa* in the *Brahmayāmala*'s nondualist ritual context. However, as the parallel of the *Jayadrathayāmala* pointed out below shows (3.32.6cd: *tantroktaṃ guruvākyaṃ vā vikalpair nāvatārayet //.* "One should not transmit the teaching of the Tantra or the *guru*'s words with *vikalpa*s."), it could also refer to a different/fancy interpretation (of scripture or of the *guru*'s teaching).

[55] Interpretation suggested by Shaman Hatley (in a personal communication). Csaba Kiss has adduced a parallel, 24.108–110, which may point to the expression meaning an alternation between celibacy and sexual relationship with women. He has also kindly pointed out that 68.69ab appears to support Shaman Hatley's interpretation of the two things happening at the same time: *nārīcaryasamāyukto brahmacaryasamanvitaḥ.*

[56] *Brahmayāmala* 86.6–7: *ananyadevatāsaṅgo hy avikalpo hy alolupaḥ | advaitaś cāpramādaś ca samayācāraceṣṭita[ḥ] || nārīcaryasamutthānaṃ brahmacaryaṃ tathā yamaḥ | akrodha srotasañcāra ity aṣṭau samayā parāḥ ||* (Shaman Hatley's transcription). To be free from anger (*akrodha*) is commonly considered a separate injunction (see, for instance, SvT 11.144), but then there are altogether nine samayas. This may not have been perceived as a problem by the authors, or it is also possible that two of the previous *samaya*s were regarded as one.

do with those of other Śaiva currents, and even less with prescriptions of Dharmaśāstras, although they may intend to underline some remote relationship to the eight *samaya*s of the Śaiva Siddhānta, by the mere fact that there are eight of them.[57]

To summarise the situation in the early Śākta Tantras examined above: They include *smārta* rules of conduct in their *samaya*s as well as prescriptions that appear to go against Dharmaśāstric ones. These may be considered somewhat self-contradictory, but some of them may also be understood as alternatives, possibly for different kinds of practitioners. In some cases, they also cite, include, or refer to the *samaya*s of the Śaiva Siddhānta. I take this apparent eclecticism to suggest that these Śākta Tantric currents did not intend to separate themselves completely from Brahmanical society and its norms, nor from the Siddhānta, despite the fact that in their ritual and theology they clearly defined themselves as following different or even opposite principles. Even if the inclusion of Dharmaśāstric rules was only a way to pay lip service to Manu and involved only generic rules of conduct, it was apparently thought to be necessary, and the establishment of the rules of the community to some extent still occurred along Dharmaśāstric lines.

The extreme nondualism of later Śāktas

This seems not to be the case in later Tantras, in particular those of the Kaula and the Krama. Their *samaya*s are exclusively nondual, in other words, they go against standard Brahmanic prescriptions in promoting the use of impure substances and rites. No Dharmaśāstric or Saiddhāntika influence is discernible here.

Concerning the *samaya*s, the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* represents a transition between what we see in earlier Śākta Tantras and in later Kaula or Krama ones, for some of its *samaya*s are close to those of the *Brahmayāmala* (a parallel pointed out by Shaman Hatley in his transcription of the *Brahma-*

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[57] In other passages, the *Brahmayāmala* still includes elements of the original eight Saiddhāntika *samaya*s as well as rules coming from the Dharmaśāstra literature, as shown above (as in 62.121ff.: *na nagnāṃ vanitāṃ pasye na cāpi prakaṭastanīṃ | nālokayet paśukrīḍā kṣudrakarman na kārayet ||*). It must also be noted that in this paper I do not deal with the various prescriptions concerning meat-eating and which meats are not to be consumed. These *samaya*s of the Śākta scriptures are possibly related to the animal-headed deities worshipped in these Tantras.

yāmala), but it retains mainly those *samaya*s of the *Brahmayāmala* that are particularly Śākta.

It begins with the set of *nindā* rules. These are still somewhat reminiscent of the first four *samaya*s of the Siddhānta: one must not revile but worship and respect Śiva, the different gods, the *guru*, the teaching, (other) practitioners, and *yoginī*s. The text seems to call these rules the three precepts (*padatraya*) of the three other Tantric currents (*trayasyānyasya bhedasya*, lit. "of the three other divisions") that should be taught.[58]

Following these *nindā* rules, the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* gives a more explicit and elaborate version of the *Brahmayāmala*'s set of Śākta *samaya*s, renamed here as the eight *samaya*s of the Lāmās (a category of female beings and practitioners). I have noted the equivalents of the *Brahmayāmala* in parentheses.

Yoginīsaṃcāra 9.6–10 / *Jayadrathayāmala* 3.32.6–10	*Brahmayāmala* 86.6–7
anyasmiṃ devatāsaṃgo	(= *ananyadevatāsaṅgo*)
hāsyenāpi na kārayet |	
tantroktaṃ guruvākyaṃ vā	
vikalpair nāvatārayet ||	(= *avikalpo*?)
viṣayeṣv alolupas tiṣṭhen	(= *alolupaḥ*)
niyamair hy apavāhinīm |	
samayācāraceṣṭāsu	(= *cāpramādaś ca*
apramādī sadā bhavet ||	*samayācāraceṣṭitaḥ*)
ātmānaṃ sarvataḥ paśyed	
advaitaparibhāvitaḥ |	(= *advaitaś*)
nārīcaryāsamutthena	(= *nārīcaryasamutthānaṃ*
saṃyamo vratapālanam ||	*brahmacaryaṃ tato yamaḥ*)
tithau tathaiva tat kuryān	
niyataiḥ paribhūṣitam |	
svavikalpena lāmānāṃ	
sampradāyo nivartate ||	

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[58] *Jayadrathayāmala* 3.32.3–5, which is 9.3–5 of the *Yoginīsaṃcāra*: *samayān tāva vakṣyāmi ye 'smiṃs tantre sudurlabhāḥ | śivā parāparā devā ācāryo yaḥ sa eva tuḥ* (?) \|\| *ye tantre guravo devi sādhakā ye mahāmate | yāni śāstrāṇi siddhāś ca yoginyo yā divaṃgamaḥ* \|\| *na nindyā nāpy adhikṣepyāḥ pūjayet tāṃ tu nityaśaḥ | trayasyānyasya bhedasya etac chikṣet padatrayam* \|\|. I am grateful to Alexis Sanderson for making available his draft edition of the *Yoginīsaṃcāra*.

śrotrasaṃcaraṇe caiva   (= *akrodha srotasañcāra*)
nityam akrodhano bhavet |
ity aṣṭau samayā proktā   (= *ity aṣṭau samayā parāḥ*)
lāmāvargasya siddhidā ||

> One must not be attached to another deity even for fun, one is not to
> transmit the words of the Tantra or of the *guru* with an alternative in-
> terpretation. One must not covet the objects of the senses, and one
> should serve Her-Who-Takes-[Them]-Away with the optional obser-
> vances. One must always maintain the *samaya*s unfailingly. One is to
> see one's self everywhere with a nondual state of mind and observe
> the *vrata*(s), the vow (*saṃyama*) that comes from engaging with
> women (?).[59] One must do the same on the *tithi* days, but with special
> restrictions. The traditional teachings of the Lāmās [may] cease be-
> cause of one's own error. One must always be without anger when
> transmitting the teaching. These are the eight *samaya*s of the Lāmās,
> which bestow success.[60]

The next set of *samaya*s is called those of *śākinī*s (*śākinīnāṃ maheśāni
samayāṃ śṛṇu sāṃpratam*, 3.32.11.1), and the last set perhaps belongs to
*yoginī*s (*adhunā saṃpravakṣyāmi yogīnāṃ yogasiddhidā*, 3.32.24.1, *yogī*
being commonly used for *yoginī* in Tantric texts). One of the last sentences
of the passage adequately summarises these numerous rules: one must fol-
low left-hand practice in all actions (*vāmācāreṇa varteta sarvakarmasu
suvrate*, 3.32.44.1).

Kaula and Krama texts indeed seem to have a tendency to prescribe only
"left-hand" rules. They may mention, among other things, that the *guru* must

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[59] The text may be corrupt. In any case, the parallel with the *Brahmayāmala* sug-
gests that here too, celibacy combined with being with women is meant.

[60] This translation is very tentative, for the text is sometimes very terse or ambi-
guous, and sometimes the construction may be irregular (or there may be a corrupti-
on). On two occasions, the *Brahmayāmala* appears to establish different rules. The
first is the above-mentioned *avikalpa*. The second is in the final line, for the *Brahma-
yāmala* could be interpreted to denote two rules ("one must orally transmit the
teaching, and one must be without anger"), while the *Jayadrathayāmala* seems to
prescribe only one ("one must be without anger when transmitting the teaching oral-
ly"). If the latter is understood in the *Brahmayāmala* too (although this seems a rather
unlikely rule), then the *Brahmayāmala* passage may feature the required eight *samaya*s.

be respected or daily ritual is to be observed, but these rules are more or less lost among *samaya*s that require a particular Kaula attitude and behaviour.

The *Devīpañcaśatikā* (6.5–12ab), for instance, gives the following *samaya*s:

> One should not revile Kaula conduct or its substances. One is not to pronounce the words *kālī* and *ḍāvī*. One must always worship Kumārī/a young girl[61] and cultivate one's knowledge of the Self. One must be ready to abandon one's life, wife, land, and possessions for the sake of one's *guru*. One must perform the regular recitation of *mantra*s and never omit the daily ritual. One should not be disgusted by what women or heroes (i.e., male or female practitioners) do or do not do. One must not disobey one's *guru*, and one must worship the Kula teaching. One must avoid acting as a bound soul and being excessively arrogant. One must not feel aversion to Kula scriptures, neither to their argument nor to their expression. One must give up dualist Śaivism and embrace nondualism. One should worship autonomous Lāmās and should not revile those who are clad in black. One should not be disgusted by whatever has been taught by the Supreme Lord or by the Emaciated Goddess herself, one should worship their teaching as Hara is worshipped. Those who observe these *samaya*s and are devoted to Kālī, O great lord, will obtain success shortly and reach the heavenly realm.[62]

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[61] The word *kumārī* can denote a category of female beings or goddesses in the pantheon, but also an actual young girl before puberty whose worship may be prescribed.

[62] *Devīpañcaśatikā* 6.5–12ab: *na ninde*[']*kaulikācāraṃ taddravyāṇi na nindayet | kālīti vākyaṃ na vaded ḍāvīśabdaṃ* (em., *ḍārīśabdaṃ* ed_MIRI) *na bhāṣayet || kumārīṃ pūjayed nityam ātmajñānarato bhavet | gurvarthena tyajet prāṇān dārābhūmidhanāni ca || nityam eva japaṃ kuryād āhnikaṃ na vilopayet | na jugupseta nārīṇāṃ vīrāṇāṃ ca kṛtākṛte || guror no laṃghayed ājñāṃ kulaśāstraṃ ca pūjayet | na kuryāt paśuvat kāryaṃ nātigarvaṃ ca bhāvayet || tarkārthe vātha śabdā-rthe na jugupse*['] *kulāgamam | parityajya śivadvaitam advaitaṃ paribhāvayet || svacchandāṃ pūjayel lāmāṃ kṛṣṇavāsāṃ na nindayet | yaduktaṃ parameśena* (em., *parameśāna* ed_MIRI) *kṛśodaryāthavā svayam || na jugupset tataḥ śāstraṃ vandanīyaṃ yathā hara*[ḥ] *| etatsamayasaṃyuktaḥ kālībhakto maheśvara || acirāt siddhibhāgī syā*[t] *prāpya vaihāyasīṃ gatim |*. Ed. M. Dyczkowski (MIRI), square brackets enclose my minor additions for better understanding of the irregularities.

Sometimes elements of earlier Śākta *samaya*s recur in a combined form. The *Ūrmikaulārṇava*, for instance, prescribes not just the worship of women or *yoginī*s, but also the worship of women who are blind or crippled. Furthermore, it clearly goes against orthopraxy by enjoining the worship of women who have their period, a rule that was not yet among the *samaya*s of early Śākta Tantras, even if the *Brahmayāmala*, for instance, does include the worship of women who have their period in its chapters on ritual:

> The eminent practitioner must worship Mothers (*mātṛ*), perfected *yoginī*s who know the Kālikā conduct, whether they are naturally born ones or are born in sacred places, old women as well as girls, those who observe the Kula vow, who are naked, flat-nosed, those who have their period. He must also worship them if they are destitute, blind, or crippled.[63]

These Kaula or Krama rules do not seem to be related to other, non-Śākta sets of *samaya*s. They appear to betray a much more radical antinomian standpoint and a much more categorical rejection of orthopraxy than early Śākta Tantras. Nevertheless, the lack of any Dharmaśāstric rules may also signal that it was no longer felt necessary to define the *samaya*s along Dharmaśāstric lines, because the authority of Dharmaśāstras had perhaps to some extent faded.

Conclusion

Four different forms of Śaivism have been examined here, in order to see which community rules they establish and how they demarcate themselves from orthopraxy. These four are, in order of increasing distance from mainstream Brahmanism: non-initiatory lay Śaivism, the Śaiva Siddhānta, early Śākta Tantras, and later, more esoteric Kaula and Krama Tantras.

Lay Śaivism, although it adheres to mainstream Brahmanical orthopraxy and prescribes no *samaya*-type rules of its own,[64] proposes particular

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[63] *Ūrmikaulārṇava* 4.29cd–31ab: *sahajā pīṭhajā vātha vṛddhastrī bālakanyakā || kulavratadharā nagnā bhagnanāsā rajasvalā | mātaraḥ siddhayoginyaḥ kālikā-cārapāragāḥ || pūjayet sādhakendreṇa dīnāndhā vikalāḥ tathā |.*

[64] Again, the Śivadharma corpus and Purāṇic Śaivism do prescribe their own set of injunctions concerning devotion to and worship of Śiva, but these are not comparable to the Tantric *samaya*s.

Śaiva solutions to problems such as infertility. In this way, it marks its dif-
ference, without nevertheless going against any basic rules of orthopraxy.

The Śaiva Siddhānta most commonly establishes a set of eight commu-
nity rules to be observed after initiation. These include borrowings from
mainstream Brahmanical rules of purity (mainly concerning the avoidance
of female impurity) or Śaiva applications of Brahmanical prescriptions
(respect of the teaching and the *guru*, for instance). They also include a few
special rules of their own system: (1) concerning the *nirmālya*, or offering,
made to Śiva that should not be reused, and (2) concerning the shadow of a
liṅga and Śaiva sacred spaces, which must not be stepped upon/over.

The post-initiatory community rules are surprisingly heterogeneous in
early Śākta Tantras (around the seventh to eighth centuries CE?). They in-
clude several *samaya*s of the Siddhānta and a number of Dharmaśāstric rules,
to which are added their own ones, even though in most cases they clearly go
against Dharmaśāstric principles. These Śākta *samaya*s often appear to be in
favour of those who are not particularly treated well in Dharmaśāstras: wom-
en, those who are considered genderless or unmanly, the handicapped, the
outcast. The theological argument that supports these rules is that everybody
is created by Śiva and must therefore be treated with respect.

The inclusion of many Dharmaśāstric rules, however, seems to suggest
that these Śākta communities probably did not want to separate themselves
from those who represented mainstream orthopraxy and the Śaiva Siddhān-
ta. They had an inclusivistic attitude towards other religious forms and
currents. The theological justification was, once again, the fact that all
teachings originated in Śiva.

By contrast, the *Niśvāsa*, which is the earliest surviving Tantric scripture
(whose earliest stratum may date to 550–650 CE), insists on delimiting its
own territory as opposed to Vaidika religion and warns against following
other teachings. This attitude may be explained by the religious context of
the period: for the *Niśvāsa* was composed when Śaivism was about to estab-
lish itself as a new initiatory religion, and perhaps it was important to show in
what way it proposed something better than mainstream Brahmanism.

The eclectic *samaya* sets of early Śākta Śaiva Tantras seem to disappear
in later, more esoteric Śākta branches of the Kaula and Krama systems.
Many explanations are possible here. One certainly is that they simply de-
fine themselves more categorically as following left-hand or antinomian
practice. But it is also possible that by the time of their composition it was

not felt necessary to use the authority of the Dharmaśāstras, because by that time Śaivism itself had become the dominant form of religion.[65]

Abbreviations

KSTS: Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies
MIRI: Muktabodha Indological Research Institute. E-texts available online: http://muktalib5.org/digital_library.htm (accessed July 6, 2019).
NAK: National Archives, Kathmandu

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[65] I refer to the main thesis about the "Śaiva Age" in SANDERSON 2009.

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  See GOODALL et al. 2015.

Brahmayāmala
  NAK ms. no. 3-370. E-text by Shaman Hatley. I am grateful to the editor for making his transcription available to me.

Mataṅgapārameśvara
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Tantric ritual components in the initiation of a Digambara Jain

Ellen Gough[*]

In this volume and in other scholarship, a defining component of a Tantric community is a particular type of non-Vedic initiation (*dīkṣā*) its members must undertake in order to perform the ritual practices of their cult.[1] Various Buddhist and Hindu traditions have been deemed "Tantric" because they require this type of initiation, which usually involves the construction of a *maṇḍala* and the imparting of esoteric *mantra*s from *guru* to disciple.[2] Jainism, however, has not been considered a "Tantric tradition," or "Tantric cult," nor have Jains been seen as members of a "Tantric community," in part because their initiations have been understood as monastic, not Tantric. The few examinations of Jain *dīkṣā* that have been published[3] emphasise

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[1] Hamburg's Centre for Tantric Studies, for example, has titled its journal *Tantric Studies: A Journal for the Study of Initiatory Religions of Indian Origin*, and defined "tantric traditions" as "initiatory and esoteric forms of religion emphasizing mantric forms of deities."

[2] SHINOHARA (2014a: xiii) notes that the beginning of the use of the All-Gathering Maṇḍala in Chinese Buddhist initiation ceremonies in the sixth century "may be taken as the beginning of the self-aware Esoteric [i.e. 'Tantric'] tradition." GOODALL (2004: xxi) argues that "the central fact that characterizes these [Śaiva] tantric cults is that they are private cults for individuals who take a non-Vedic initiation (*dīkṣā*) that uses non-Vedic (as well as Veda-derived) mantras and that is the means to liberation, a liberation which consists in being omnipotent and omniscient, in other words in realizing the powers of Śiva."

[3] AGRAWAL 1972, CORT 1991, and HOLMSTROM 1988 have described image-worshiping Śvetāmbara *dīkṣā* ceremonies, but they do not discuss the uses of *mantra*s and *maṇḍala*s. SHĀNTĀ (1997: 444–472; 653–660), from her fieldwork on Jain *sādhvī*s of various sects in the 1970s, provides the most detailed portraits of *dīkṣā* found in secondary literature on Jains, but she confesses that when it comes to the

the ascetic and monastic components of the ceremonies, such as the taking
of mendicant vows and the pulling out of hair. Michael Carrithers, for ex-
ample, highlights the ascetic core of modern Digambara *dīkṣā*s by focusing
on how the initiate severs ties with all worldly connections upon initiation:

> [T]he form of the ceremony (…) gives no place to the notion of the
> *muni saṅgha*. Unlike the Buddhists, the Digambar Jains do not en-
> shrine the collectivity of ascetics in their initiation (…) Nor is any-
> thing passed on which might form a bond, such as the *mantra* which
> is part of many Hindu ascetics' *dīkṣā*.[4]

Carrithers emphasises how modern Digambaras reject the ties to a worldly
community and thus uphold the "original project of Jainism, which stressed
tapas," not collectivity (CARRITHERS 1990: 154). He promotes a common
view[5] that Jains, since the formation of the tradition around the fifth century
BCE, have maintained a deeply ascetic, individualistic tradition: unlike
Buddhists and Hindus, they were not influenced by medieval Tantric de-
velopments in initiation practices that required the transmission of esoteric
*mantra*s from *guru* to disciple.

Modern Digambara *dīkṣā*s contain several components of Hindu and
Buddhist initiations termed "Tantric": the construction of a *maṇḍala*-like
diagram, the transmission of karma-destroying non-Vedic *mantra*s from
guru to disciple, and the imparting of non-Vedic rites of passage
(*saṃskāra*). And searching for these modern components in pre-modern
texts can lead us to previously unstudied medieval Digambara discussions
of initiations. Indeed, no pre-modern manual on Digambara *dīkṣā* has been
published, Digambara texts are not *entirely* devoid of discussions of initia-
tion, and if we know what to look for, we can find it. If we reverse the more
common methodology of using texts to lead us to the field – if we allow
fieldwork to determine how and what we read – we can bring a new per-
spective to pre-modern texts.[6]

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dīkṣā ceremony, "the subject of *mantra*s is too vast and too complex to be considered
here, for it requires a separate study" (SHĀNTĀ 1997: 656, n. 56).

[4] CARRITHERS 1990: 153–154.

[5] To date, too little scholarship has been produced to discredit JAINI's (1979:
254) claim that "Jainism has remained for the most part untouched by the sort of
tantric practices which typified many Śaivite cults and eventually permeated the
Buddhist community as well."

[6] This methodology is encouraged in CORT 1990.

In the following pages, I will do use close study of a modern Digambara initiation to guide us to medieval textual descriptions of Jain *dīkṣā* rites that exemplify a blend of monasticism and Tantrism. We will see how medieval Digambaras had, probably by the ninth century, integrated the "Tantric" construction of a *maṇḍala* and imparting of karma-destroying *mantra*s with earlier ascetic rites of mendicant initiations. Jains,[7] then, unlike their Buddhist counterparts, require their followers to undertake a "Tantric" initiation into a *maṇḍala* in order to become a celibate mendicant. While Buddhist monks can undergo a Tantric initiation into a *maṇḍala* (*abhiṣeka*), unlike Jains, they do not have to construct a *maṇḍala* and receive esoteric *mantra*s from their guru in order to become a monk.

Examining this blend of a monastic and Tantric initiation raises questions about the nature of the "Tantric communities" at the focus of this volume. While Digambara monks could, in one sense, be considered to be "Tantrics," in part because they undergo a Tantric initiation, they are only in *some* ways Tantrics, and it would be too simplistic to claim that they belong to a "Tantric community" or a "Tantric cult." Indeed, it may be too simplistic to designate people, or religious traditions, or even rituals as wholly "Tantric," because, as we will see in the case of Jain initiations, religious actors, communities, and rituals cannot be defined by one term – they are composites of many layers of history. Rather than thinking in terms of "Tantric communities," it might be better to think in terms of Tantric ritual components that allow for the formation of communities. Examining the history of a modern Digambara *dīkṣā* will allow us to do just that.

Modern Digambara mendicant initiations

For many Digambaras today, the story of modern *dīkṣā* begins at the outset of the twentieth century, specifically, on November 25, 1913. On this day, on a remote hilltop in Kuntalgiri, Maharashtra, a 47-year-old lay Digambara Jain named Śivgouḍā Pāṭil stood in front of a temple icon of a Jina, removed his clothes, pulled out his own hair, and, according to his followers, reinstated the order of naked Jain monks after a near-complete absence for hundreds of years. This man, who was known as Muni Ādisāgara Aṅkalīkara after his initiation, chose to stand before an image of the Jina – he chose the

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[7] This chapter will focus on Digambaras, but image-worshiping Śvetāmbara monks also include Tantric components in their initiations and promotions. On the use of the *sūrimantra* in the promotion of a Śvetāmbara *ācārya*, see DUNDAS 1998.

founder of Jainism as his initiatory *guru* – because he did not know of any living naked monks who could initiate him. From about the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Digambara Jain community had been mostly led by *bhaṭṭāraka*s, sedentary renunciants who wore orange robes and had established themselves as leaders of certain caste groups and the trustees of the temple complexes where they reside.[8]

Muni Ādisāgara, in rejecting these *bhaṭṭāraka*s and embracing nudity, made a radical departure from the Digambara Jainism of his day and an argument for a return to the ascetic practices of the first Jain monks. And this departure was extremely successful. By the time of his death in 1944, he had initiated 32 naked monks, many of whom would go on to establish mendicant lineages that persist to this day.[9] Today, no *bhaṭṭāraka*s remain in North India, only 14 remain in South India,[10] and peripatetic successors of Ādisāgara and his disciples number in the hundreds.[11]

In CARRITHERS' (1990) study of Digambara *dīkṣā*, he uses the example of self-initiation in front of a temple icon to emphasise the solitary nature of these modern, reformed Digambara *muni*s.[12] However, modern Digambara *dīkṣā*s are anything but solitary endeavours, and they include processions throughout the town, communal offerings of foodstuffs to a *maṇḍala* made of coloured powder, and a daylong ceremony in which dozens of *mantra*s are imparted from *guru* to disciple on stage in front of cheering laypeople. Ādisāgara may have rejected the orange robes of the *bhaṭṭāraka*s, but his followers quickly readopted the devotional, communal, and Tantric components of mendicant initiations that had been layered onto the ritual before and during the rule of these pontiffs. By outlining the components of a modern Digambara initiation and then searching in earlier texts for precedents for these components, we can see how medieval, early modern, and modern Digambaras added devotional and Tantric layers to

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[8] On the *bhaṭṭāraka*s, see FLÜGEL 2006: 339–344.

[9] For a collection of essays on Ādisāgara, see JAIN (B.M.) 1996.

[10] For brief biographies of each of these Bhaṭṭārakas, see JAIN TĪRTHVANDANĀ 2012: 26–47.

[11] SAUDHARMBṚHATTAPOGACCHĪYA JAIN ŚVETĀMBAR TRISTUTIK ŚRĪSANGH (2013: 407) documents 740 living Digambara *muni*s, though it is not specified how many of them trace their lineages to Ādisāgara, and not to one of the other founders of modern *muni* lineages, Śāntisāgara "Dakṣiṇa" and Śāntisāgara "Chāṇī."

[12] CARRITHERS (1990: 141–150) focuses on the other modern Digambara *muni* to self-initiate, Śāntisāgara "Dakṣiṇa," who did so in 1918 and is identified as the founder of the majority of contemporary Digambara lineages.

the ascetic core of early Jain mendicant initiations not to emphasise individuality, but in order to strengthen communal ties.

Becoming a Digambara monk in 2013

In November 2013, in a small town 90 miles southwest of Jaipur, in Kekri, Rajasthan, I joined hundreds of Digambara laypeople to witness a *dīkṣā* ceremony of three people into the mendicant community (*saṅgha*) of the Digambara Ācārya Vairāgyanandī. Ācārya Vairāgyanandī traces his lineage to Ādisāgara Aṅkalīkara, and, from the two main traditions lay Digambaras follow – the "Path of Twenty," the Bīsapantha, or the "Path of Thirteen," the Terāpantha – he identifies as a Bīsapanthī.[13] In 1994, Vairāgyanandī was initiated as a *muni* in Kunthalgiri, Maharashtra, by Ācārya Kunthusāgara, himself a disciple of Ādisāgara Aṅkalīkara's successor Mahāvīrakīrti (1910–1972). Eleven years later, in 2005, Ācārya Vairāgyanandī was promoted to the rank of *ācārya*, becoming a leader of his own mendicant community.

In Kekri in November of 2013, Ācārya Vairāgyanandī initiated a husband and wife as a full monk (*muni*) and nun (*āryikā*), respectively, and one man as a lower-level initiate who wears two garments (*kṣullaka*). In my interview with Ācārya Vairāgyanandī after the initiation ceremony in Kekri, he would not tell me the details of the *dīkṣāvidhi* he follows, stressing that the instructions for performing *dīkṣā* must only be passed from *guru* to devoted disciple. Even so, he admitted that the basic structure of the initiation ceremonies he performs are found in a manual of mendicant rituals entitled "Collection of Pure Devotion," *Vimal Bhakti Saṃgrah* (VBhS), which was compiled by the contemporary nun Āryikā Syādvādamatī Mātā, who also belongs to one of the lineages stemming from Ādisāgara Aṅkalīkara.[14]

Monks and nuns of different lineages have compiled several different manuals of this sort, but often multiple lineages accept the same manuals, and the descriptions of rites are nearly identical in these collections.[15] The

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[13] On Bīsapanthīs and Terāpanthīs, see FLÜGEL 2006: 339–344.

[14] VBhS, pp. 442–452. Āryikā Syādvādamatī belongs to a different sub-lineage of Ādisāgara Aṅkalīkara called the "Vimala Saṅgha," which traces its origins to another of Ādisāgara Aṅkalīkara's disciples, Vimalasāgara (1915–1961).

[15] In Jaipur in February 2013, when I met with a monk who is mostly connected to Terāpanthīs, Ācārya Vibhavasāgara, he also mentioned the *Vimal Bhakti Saṃgrah* as his main published reference for the rituals for mendicant initiation.

exact same outline of the initiation rites in the *Vimal Bhakti Saṃgrah* is also included in other texts on renunciation of various lineages, both Bīsapanthī and Terāpanthī.[16] While each mendicant leader certainly must individualise the rituals included in these manuals, the published text available in these sources seems to have become the standard framework for modern Digambara initiations of all Digambara lineages.[17]

Because Ācārya Vairāgyanandī mentioned the *Vimal Bhakti Saṃgrah*, I will provide an outline of that text's instructions for initiating different levels of mendicants and then compare the text to the rituals I observed in Kekri. The *dīkṣāvidhi* in *Vimal Bhakti Saṃgrah*, composed in simple Sanskrit with some Prakrit *mantra*s, outlines the rituals for four levels of mendicant: (1) *muni*, a fully initiated naked monk, (2) *kṣullaka*, a "junior" monk who wears a loincloth, a white cloth around his shoulders, and can eat from a plate, not his hands, (3) *upādhyāya*, a higher-level initiate who is trained as a mendicant teacher, and (4) *ācārya*, a monk at the highest level of promotion, a leader of a mendicant group (*saṅgha*) who can initiate disciples. The *munidīkṣā* is summarised below.

- On the day before the initiand takes the five vows of a mendicant, he should eat a meal and then go to the temple, where he should approach his initiatory *guru* and take a vow to fast for a particular period of time (*pratyākhyāna*). As part of this vow, he should recite two of the Sanskrit devotional praise poems called "Bhaktis," the *Siddhabhakti* and the *Yogibhakti*. These different Bhaktis play an important role in the *dīkṣā* ceremony and will be discussed in more detail below. Having taken this vow, he should bow before his *guru* and recite more of these praise po-

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[16] These manuals include the "Collection of Rituals," the *Kriyā-kalāpaḥ* (KK), a compendium of ritual instructions the lay Terāpanthī scholar Pannalāl Sonī-Śāstrī compiled in Agra in 1935, and the "Ritual Actions of a Monk," *Municaryā* (MC), a collection of rites compiled by the most prolific living Digambara nun (*āryikā*), the Bīsapanthī Jñānamatī Mātā. For an English summary of many of the rites outlined in these manuals, mixed with accounts from interviews, see SHĀNTĀ 1997: 656–660.

[17] Even the handwritten notes of ritual specialists (*pratiṣṭhācārya*) align with these texts. Paṇḍit Vimalkumār Jain, a ritual specialist who resides in Jaipur, has outlined 24 rites (*kriyā*) that correspond exactly to the rituals described in published manuals. He confirmed that he performs these rites for both Bīsapanthī and Terāpanthī mendicants. Interview with author, Jaipur, February 2013.

ems addressing different objects of devotion, the *Ācāryabhakti*, *Śāntibhakti*, and *Samādhibhakti*.

- According to their means, members of the community should then worship the diagram for the pacification of bad omens (*śāntika*) and another geometric diagram, the "Ring of Disciples" (*gaṇadharvalaya*). Below, I will discuss the "Ring of Disciples" in detail and outline what this text means when it prescribes its "worship" (*pūjā*).

- After the completion of the worship of these diagrams, the initiand is ritually bathed and ornamented as lavishly as his means allow. The *guru* should then, with grand celebration (*mahāmahotsavena*), lead the initiand to a temple.

- [The next morning] the initiand should worship the Tīrthaṅkaras and ask for forgiveness from the community.

- In front of the community, next to his *guru*, having put on white clothing, the initiand should sit on an eastward-facing seat that married women whose husbands are still living (*saubhāgyavatī*) have decorated with a *svastika* symbol and covered in a white cloth.[18]

- Having recited the *Yogibhakti* and the *Siddhabhakti*, the *guru*, with his left hand, should sprinkle scented water on the head of the initiand three times while reciting the Sanskrit *mantra* for the removal of adversity (*śāntimantra*) that invokes the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Śānti, who is said to destroy all obstacles, diseases, accidental death, misfortune caused by others, and damaging fires.[19] The *guru* should place his left hand on the initiand's head.

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[18] Paṇḍit Vimalkumār Jain's notebook instructs that the *svastika* should be made of unbroken rice (*akṣata*). Photographed in Jaipur, February 2013. SHĀNTA (1997: 657), describing the initiation of a nun, explains this part of the ceremony as follows: "On arrival, *śrāvik[ā]* (a laywoman) makes the outline of a *svastika* with saffron-coloured grains of rice on a low table that she then covers with a new white cloth….the *gaṇinī* [nun] seats the *vairāgiṇī* [initiand] on the low table, facing either towards the East or the North, and sits down herself beside her."

[19] The mantra reads: *oṃ namo 'rhate bhagavate prakṣīṇāśeṣakalmaṣāya divyatejo*

- The *guru* should put curd, rice (*akṣata*), other cow products (*gomaya*),[20] and a blade of *dūrva* grass (*dūrvāṅkara*) on the head of the initiand and pronounce the Prakrit *vardhamānamantra*,[21] which asks for protection in the court of the king, in battle, and in various other pursuits.[22]

- The *guru* should sprinkle a mixture of saffron and ash on the initiand's head and recite a Sanskrit *mantra* to the one whose body is attired with purity and the three jewels of right faith, knowledge, and conduct, who is made of light, and who has sensory and scriptural knowledge, mind-reading capabilities, clairvoyance, and omniscience (i.e., the Jina).[23] He should begin pulling out the initiand's hair, reciting a *mantra* of syllables.[24]

- To complete pulling out the initiand's hair, the *guru* should pull out five fistfuls of the initiand's hair while reciting a Sanskrit version of the *pañcanamaskāramantra* that honours the Five Supreme Lords of Jainism, (1) the enlightened being (*arhat*), (2) the liberated soul (*siddha*), (3) the mendicant leader (*ācārya*), (4) the mendicant teacher (*upādhyāya*), and (5) all ordinary mendicants (*sādhu*).[25] The *Siddhabhakti* then should be recited.

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mūrtaye śrī śāntināthāya śāntikarāya sarvavighnapraṇāśanāya sarvarogāpamṛtyu-vināśanāya sarvaparakṛtakṣudropadravavināśanāya sarvakṣāmaḍāmaravināśanāya oṃ hrāṃ hrīṃ hrūṃ hrauṃ hraḥ a si ā u sā amukasya (i.e., name of initiand) *sarva-śāntiṃ kuru kuru svāhā* (VBhS, p. 444). Here, the a stands for the enlightened soul (*arhat*), si for the liberated soul (*siddha*), ā for the mendicant leader (*ācārya*), u for the mendicant teacher (*upādhyāya*), and sā for the ordinary mendicant (*sādhu*).

[20] Paṇḍit Vimalkumār Jain's notebook names milk, curd, ghee, saffron, *akṣata*, and *dūrvāṅkura* as the substances to be sprinkled on the head of the initiand.

[21] Paṇḍit Vimalkumār Jain's notebook notes that the *vardhamānamantra* is also called the "Mantra for Victory," the *vijayamantra*.

[22] The mantra reads: *oṃ namo bhayavado vaḍḍhamāṇassa risahassa cakkaṃ jalaṃtaṃ gacchai āyāsaṃ pāyālaṃ loyāṇaṃ bhūyāṇaṃ jaye vā vivāde vā thaṃbhaṇe vā raṇaṃgaṇe vā rāyaṃgaṇe vā moheṇa vā savvjīvasattāṇaṃ aparājido bhavadu rakkha rakkha svāhā* (VBhS, p. 444).

[23] The mantra reads: *ratnatrayapavitrīkṛtottamāṅgāya jyotirmayāya mati-śrutāvadhimanaḥparyayakevalajñānāya a si ā u sā svāhā* (VBhS, p. 445).

[24] The mantra reads: *oṃ hrīṃ śrīṃ klīṃ aiṃ arhaṃ a si ā u sā svāhā* (VBhS, p. 445).

[25] *oṃ hrāṃ arhadbhyo namaḥ oṃ hrīṃ siddhebhyo namaḥ oṃ hrūṃ sūribhyo namaḥ oṃ hrauṃ pāṭhakebhyo namaḥ oṃ hraḥ sarvasādhubhyo namaḥ* (VBhS, p.

- Having had his head washed and having recited the *Gurubhakti*, the initiand should remove his clothes and other ornaments.

- The *guru* should pronounce 108 times a *mantra* that comprises seed syllables and the first letters of the *pañcanamaskāramantra*.[26] He then should recite a Prakrit verse (*gāthā*) that praises the three jewels, the 24 Jinas, the Five Supreme Lords, and right conduct.[27]

- Having made these recitations, the *guru* should use saffron, camphor, and sandalwood paste to write the seed-syllable *śrī* 34 times on the forehead of the initiand in the four directions: three *śrī*s should be painted to the east (*pūrva*), twenty-four to the south (*dakṣiṇa*), five to the west (*paścima*), and two to the north (*uttara*). Having written these *śrī*s, he should pronounce Sanskrit praises to right faith, knowledge, and conduct.

- The *guru* should recite the *Siddhabhakti*, the *Cāritrabhakti*, and the *Yogibhakti*, and place rice (*taṇḍula*), a coconut, and betel (*pūgīphala*) in the cupped hands of the initiand.

- The *guru* accepts from the initiand a commitment to the 28 root qualities (*mūlaguṇa*) of a monk: (1-5) the five vows of nonviolence (*ahiṃsā*), truth (*satya*), not taking what is not given (*asteya*), celibacy (*brahmacarya*), and non-possession (*aparigraha*), (6-10) the five *samiti*s of care in walking, care in speaking, care in accepting alms, care in picking things up and putting them down, and care in relieving oneself, (11-15) restraining the five senses (*indriyarodha*), (16-21) the six essential duties of equanimity (*samāyika*), praise of the 24 Jinas (*caturviṃśatistava*), praise of the *guru* (*vandana*), confession (*pratikramaṇa*), performance of meditative standing pose (*kāyotsarga*), and taking short-term vows (*pratyākhyāna*), (22) pulling out one's hair, (23) nudity, (24) not bathing, (25) sleep-

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445). The original *pañcanamaskāramantra* was composed in Prakrit. On this mantra, see ROTH 1974.

[26] The mantra reads: *oṃ hrīṃ arhaṃ a si ā u sā hrīṃ svāhā* (VBhS, p. 445).

[27] The verse reads: *rayaṇattayaṃ ca vaṃde cauvīsajiṇaṃ tahā vaṃde | paṃcagurūṇāṃ vaṃde cāraṇajugalaṃ tahā vaṃde |* (VBhS, p. 445).

ing on the ground, (26) not brushing one's teeth, (27) eating standing, and (28) taking meals once a day.[28]

To accept these vows, the initiand recites a Prakrit verse first found in Kundakunda's "Essence of the Teachings," the *Pravacanasāra* (ca. first few centuries CE). *Pravacanasāra* 3.8 reads:

> [The root qualities of a *śramaṇa* are] vows (Skt. *vrata*), religious observances (Skt. *samiti*), restraint of the senses (Skt. *indriyarodha*), pulling out the hair (Skt. *luñcana*), essential duties (Skt. *āvaśyaka*), nudity (Skt. *acailakya*), not bathing (Skt. *asnāna*), sleeping on the ground (Skt. *kṣitiśayana*), not brushing one's teeth (Skt. *adanta-dhāvana*), eating standing (Skt. *sthitibhojana*), and taking meals once a day (Skt. *ekabhakta*).[29]

• Having repeated, three times, "May you have the correct vows, fixed vows that constitute correct faith (*samyaktva*)," the *guru* should recite the *Śāntibhakti*, and various foodstuffs (rice etc.) should be offered to the disciple.[30]

• The *guru* should impart to the initiand 16 rites of passage (*saṃskāra*) by reciting a *mantra* requesting that each quality or power of the *saṃskāra* blossom in the soon-to-be monk (*iha munau sphuratu*) and sprinkling cloves and flowers on the initiand's head. These *saṃskāra*s, unlike the worldly Brahmanical *saṃskāra*s of conception, birth, naming, marriage, etc., impart the ideal qualities of a mendicant. The first four *saṃskāra*s, for example, impart right faith (*samyagdarśana*), right knowledge

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[28] Digambara nuns adopt only 15 of the *mūlaguṇa*s. They do not eat standing, they do not take the full vow of non-possession, as they wear white robes (they adopt 105 of the 108 requirements of *aparigraha*), and they do not uphold the *guṇa* of not bathing, as they are required to bathe when they menstruate. Āryikā Śubhamatī Mātā, personal communication with the author, Mumbai, July 2013.

[29] *Pravacanasāra* (PraSār) 3.8: *vadasamidiṃdiyarodho locāvāsayam acelam aṇhāṇaṃ | khidisayaṇam adantadhāvanaṃ ṭhidibhoyaṇam eyabhattaṃ ca ||*. The reading here, "*adantadhāvana*" corrects the reading of "*adantavaṇaṃ*" in VBhS, p. 446.

[30] Paṇḍit Vimalkumār Jain's notes prescribe that the mother and father of the initiand offer these foodstuffs.

(*samyagjñāna*), right conduct (*samyagcāritra*), and the ability to perform external and internal austerities (*bāhyābhyantaratapas*).

- The *guru* should place his hand on the initiand's head and pronounce a *mantra* that consists of the Prakrit *pañcanamaskāra-mantra* – *ṇamo arihaṃtāṇam ṇamo siddhāṇaṃ ṇamo āiriyāṇaṃ ṇamo uvajjhāyāṇaṃ ṇamo loe savvasāhūṇaṃ* – plus the Sanskrit *mantra oṃ paramahaṃsāya parameṣṭhine haṃsa haṃsa haṃ hrāṃ hriṃ hrīṃ hrūṃ hrauṃ hraḥ jināya namaḥ jinaṃ sthāpayāmi saṃvauṣaṭ.*[31]

- The *guru* should read the names of the monks in the mendicant lineage of the initiand (*gurvāvali*), ending by pronouncing the initiand's new mendicant name. All current Digambara mendicant groups trace their lineages back to Kundakunda, whom they believe flourished in the first century CE. Monks initiating a disciple thus first recite "Kundakundādi" or "Kundakunda etc." and then recite the names of the monks in their twentieth-century lineage. Monks in Ācārya Vairāgyanandī's lineage, then, recite the names of: Ācārya Ādisāgara Aṅkalīkara, Ācārya Mahāvīrakīrti, Ācārya Kunthusāgara, and Ācārya Vairāgya-nandī. Thus, by simply reciting "etc." or "*ādi*," modern monks create the illusion of a continuous chain of monks going all the way back to Kundakunda, but they do not have to provide specific names from the late medieval and early modern period, when there were effectively no naked monks.

- Community members should gift the new initiate the insignia of a Digambara monk: (1) a broom of peacock feathers (*picchikā*), (2) a scripture (*śāstra*), and (3) a water pot (*kamaṇḍalu*). Modern monks are given the earliest Digambara text on mendicant rules, the *Mūlācāra*, which will be discussed below.

- The initiate should wash the ritual substances off his face and head (*mukhaśuddhakriyā*) (VBhS, pp. 442–449).

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[31] Paṇḍit Vimalkumār Jain's notes term this mantra the "*guru mantra*."

This outline provides only a glimpse of the ostentation and complexity of modern Digambara *dīkṣā* ceremonies. In the *dīkṣā* I witnessed in Kekri in November 2013, it took eleven days to perform all of the following rites:[32]

November 10–17: Worship of a large ritual diagram, the "Ring of Disciples" (*gaṇadharavalaya*). Inside a ritual pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) in a worship hall (*upāśraya*), ritual specialists constructed a large diagram of coloured powder measuring approximately 10ft x 10ft. An icon of the Jina was established at the centre of the diagram, surrounded by three coloured rings decorated with 1,452 white dots. Each dot represented one of the original disciples (*gaṇadhara*) of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras. To worship the diagram of coloured powder, the initiands would recite a Hindi line of praise to one of these disciples and then place a coconut on the diagram for that disciple.

November 17: Performance of the *śāntividhāna*, or the offering of food-stuffs to a coloured diagram dedicated to the sixteenth Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha in order to remove obstacles.[33]

November 18: Fire offerings (*havana*) to complete the worship of the ritual diagram, application of turmeric paste (*haldī*) and henna (*mahendī*) to the hands and feet of the initiands.

November 19: Procession of the initiands around town, singing of songs by women (ladies' *saṅgīta*).

November 20: Initiands take a ritual bath (*maṅgalasnāna*), perform the physical worship (*pūjā*) and ablution (*abhiṣeka*) of a Tīrthaṅkara icon, and then, on a stage in front of the lay community, undertake the rites of monastic ordination as outlined above, pulling out their hair, removing their clothing, taking the vows, receiving *mantra*s from their *guru* and a water pot (*kamaṇḍalu*), broom (*picchikā*), and scripture (*śāstra*) from the lay community.

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[32] The key difference between the performance in Kekri and the prescriptions in *Vimal Bhakti Saṃgrah* was the use of substances. Ācārya Vairāgyanandī and his fellow monks used only mixtures of sandalwood paste and cloves to impart the vows and *mantra*s, and did not use flowers, ash, cow products, blades of *dūrvā* grass, etc.

[33] On this diagram, also known as the *Śāntinātha Maṇḍala Vidhāna*, see CORT 2008: 146–155.

The diversity of rites undertaken in the above outlines – from the worship of the Ring of Disciples to the final day of ordination – shows how this Digambara ceremony, like every ritual, did not emerge as a coherent whole, but is instead a product of a variety of historical developments and agendas. In these rituals, we can see multiple layers. We can see the extravagant, communal rites such as the procession around town and the ladies' *saṅgīta* that show off and celebrate renunciation as the ultimate event in the life of a Jain. Performing ceremonies usually associated with the most celebrated life event, a wedding, by dressing the initiands in expensive garments and decorating their bodies with henna establishes renunciation as the life event whose celebration should usurp all others. On top of these communal rites, the fundamental acts of monastic renunciation performed on the final day – pulling out one's hair, taking the vows of a mendicant, and standing on stage in front of hundreds of laypeople in a meditative posture (*kāyotsarga*) and removing one's clothes – constitute another ascetic layer of the rite. There are also acts of great devotion, such as the recitation of the Bhaktis. At the same time, the ceremony also contains key components of Tantric initiation: the construction of a *maṇḍala* preceding the initiation proper, and the imparting of *mantra*s from the *guru* to initiand. Digambaras do, then, enshrine collectivity through their initiation rites. Through the use of ascetic, devotional, and Tantric ritual elements, they establish fundamental connections between *guru* and disciple, *gaṇadhara* and modern *muni*, and layperson and mendicant. How were all these elements incorporated into modern Digambara *dīkṣā* ceremonies? We can answer this question by moving chronologically through Jain texts, searching for the components of modern Digambara initiation ceremonies.

Early Jain sources on mendicant initiation

The earliest account of Digambara initiation may be found in Kundakunda's Prakrit text the "Essence of the Teachings," the *Pravacanasāra*, which likely dates to the first half of the first millennium and must have been composed before the eighth century.[34] The beginning of the third chapter dedicated to mendicant duties briefly describes the process of renouncing the world:

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[34] For some datings of Kundakunda to between the first and third centuries CE, see UPADHYE 1935: 10–16. For a placement of him in the eighth century, see DHAKY 1991.

Having again and again honoured the enlightened souls (Skt. *siddha*), the mighty, supreme Jinas, and the monks (Skt. *muni*), if he desires release from suffering, may he become a monk, having taken leave of all his relatives, having been let go by elders, his wife and children, and being intent on the cultivation of knowledge, faith, conduct, austerities, and power (Skt. *vīrya*).[35]

He prostrates himself before a monk (Skt. *śramaṇa*) who is the head of a mendicant group (Skt. *gaṇin*), fixed in virtues, endowed with distinctive family, form, and age, and honoured by mendicants, saying "Admit me," and he is accepted into the mendicant order.[36]

I do not belong to others, nor do others belong to me; there is nothing that is mine here: thus determined and conquering his senses, he adopts a form similar to that in which he was born [i.e., nudity] (Skt. *yathājātarūpadhara*).[37]

The [external] mark [of a Jain monk] consists in possessing a form in which one is born (being nude), in pulling out the hair on one's head and face, in being pure, in being devoid of violence, etc., and in not attending to the body (Skt. *apratikarman*). The [internal][38] mark [of a Jain monk], which is the cause of freedom from rebirth, consists in being free from infatuation and preliminary sins, in being endowed with purity of manifestation of consciousness and activities, and in having no desire for anything else.[39]

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[35] PraSār III.1–2: *evaṃ paṇamiya siddhe jiṇavaravasahe puṇo puṇo samaṇe | paḍivajjadu sāmaṇṇaṃ jadi icchadi dukkhaparimokkhaṃ || āpiccha baṃdhugaggaṃ vimocido gurukalattaputtehiṃ | āsijja ṇāṇadaṃsaṇacarittatavavīriyāyāraṃ ||.*

[36] PraSār III.3: *samaṇaṃ gaṇiṃ guṇaḍḍhaṃ kularūvavayovisiṭṭhamiṭṭhadaraṃ | samaṇehi taṃ pi paṇado paḍiccha maṃ cedi aṇugahido ||.*

[37] PraSār III.4: *ṇāhaṃ homi paresiṃ ṇa me pare ṇatthi majjhamiha kiṃci | idi ṇicchido jidiṃdo jādo jadhajādarūvadharo ||.*

[38] The twelfth-century commentator Jayasena understands the first "*liṅgam*" of this verse to be the *dravyaliṅgam*, and the second the *bhāvaliṅgam* (Sanskrit text in UPADHYE 1935: 279).

[39] PraSār III.5–6: *jadhajādarūvajādaṃ uppāḍidakesamaṃsugaṃ suddhaṃ | rahidaṃ hiṃsādīdo uppaḍikammaṃ havadi liṃgaṃ || mucchāraṃbhavimukkaṃ juttaṃ uvajogajogasuddhīhiṃ | liṃgaṃ ṇa parāvekkhaṃ apuṇavbhavakāraṇaṃ jainam ||.*

Having adopted [these] mark[s] at the hands of an excellent *guru*, having bowed before him, and having heard the course of duties consisting of vows, when one begins to practice [these vows], he becomes a monk (Skt. *śramaṇa*).[40]

The next verse, *Pravacanasāra* 8.8, which outline the 28 root qualities of a mendicant, from accepting the five vows to eating only once a day, is recited to this day as part of modern Digambara initiation ceremonies (see above). These 28 qualities, which stress asceticism, were likely formulated quite early, with one of the earliest Digambara texts on mendicant conduct, the *Mūlācāra* (ca. second to fifth century CE),[41] also identifying the same 28 *mūlaguṇa*s of a monk.[42]

Early Digambara sources do not provide any more information about the performance of renunciation. Śvetāmbara canonical texts (*āgama*) from the first few centuries CE,[43] however, do give us some descriptions of the initial entrance into a mendicant group that may shed light on the practices undertaken by members of both of these sects, especially since the distinction between Digambara and Śvetāmbara may not have been formally fixed at this early stage. Narrative accounts of the initial entrance into a mendicant group (*pravrajyā*) from Śvetāmbara Āgamas such as the *Bhagavatīsūtra* (BhS) and the *Jñātādharmakathā* (Jñā) suggest that there was at that time a somewhat formalised ritual of renunciation. The majority of these accounts describe how the initiands face the northeast, ritually pull out their hair, remove their clothes and ornaments, and approach a senior

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[40] PraSār III.7: *ādāya taṃ pi liṃgaṃ guruṇā parmeṇaṃ taṃ ṇamaṃsittā | soccā savadaṃ kiriyaṃ uvaṭṭhido hodi so samaṇo ||*. The translation above is adapted from the one found in UPADHYE [2]1935: 405–406.

[41] The common dating of the *Mūlācāra* to the second century (see, e.g., CORT 2002: 72; JAINI 1991: 46) is not confirmed, but evidence suggests that the text is quite old. The seventh chapter of this text is understood to be an earlier version of the Śvetāmbara *Āvaśyakaniryukti* attributed to Bhadrabāhu (see LEUMANN 2010: 44–58). Based on *paṭṭāvalī*s, LEUMANN (2010: 78) places the earliest possible date for the completion of the *Āvaśyakaniryukti* at 80 CE. OHIRA (1994: 11, 163) argues that the majority of the contents of the present-day *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, after a long period of development, were codified between the first and fifth centuries CE. We can thus place the *Mūlācāra* in the first half of the first millennium, and parts may, indeed, date to the second century CE.

[42] For the entire list of these 28 *mūlaguṇa*s, see Mūl vv. 2–3.

[43] For these dates, I rely on the "canonical stages" proposed in OHIRA 1994: 1–39.

mendicant, circumambulating him three times and expressing the intent to renounce using a standard formula found in multiple texts.

The *Jñātādharmakathā* contains a lengthy description of the renunciation of Prince Megha (Pkt. Meha), who decides to renounce into the mendicant order of the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara, Mahāvīra. In this account, Prince Megha has his hair cut to the length of four fingers, is ritually bathed with gold and silver pots, and is paraded through the city in a palanquin. Facing east, the prince sits in the palanquin with his mother and his nurse, who carries the two symbols of a Śvetāmbara monk – a broom (Pkt. *rayaharaṇa*) and an alms bowl (Pkt. *paḍiggaha*)[44] – which were bought from a shop and to be gifted to the prince upon his renunciation. After reaching a temple outside the city of Rājagṛha (Pkt. Rāyagiha), the prince stands to the northeast of Mahāvīra, removes his clothes and ornaments (Pkt. *ābharaṇamallālaṃkāraṃ omuyai*), pulls out his hair in five fistfuls (Pkt. *paṃcamuṭṭhiyaṃ loyaṃ karei*), and makes three circumambulations of Mahāvīra. While circumambulating, he recites an intention to renounce found in several sources[45] and that includes a description of the state of the world as ablaze with the fire of decay and death, a statement of faith in the Jain teachings, and a declared desire to have one's hair pulled out and to accept the ascetic way of life.[46] The key rite of renunciation in this and other early Jain accounts seems to be the moment of pulling out one's hair. While the general Prakrit term for pulling out one's hair is *muṇḍāvaṇa*, the specific rite performed at renunciation is known as "pulling out of five fistfuls of hair" (*paṃcamuṭṭhiyaṃ loyaṃ karaṇa*), and this phrase is often used as shorthand for renunciation.

In these accounts from the *Jñātādharmakathā* and the *Pravacanasāra*, we can see the celebratory and ascetic components of modern Digambara initiations. We see the procession around town of the initiand that promotes these Jain ideals to the larger community, proclaiming renunciation as the ideal undertaking. We also see the ascetic core of the rite: the removal of

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[44] Jñā 1.143.

[45] Jñā 1.159. For this same statement of intent to renounce, see also BhS 2.1.34, 9.32.16, and 9.32.17.

[46] Jñā 1.140–159. For a more detailed summary of Megha's renunciation, see DEO 1956: 142. This story seems to have been drawn from a template for royal initiations, as King Śailaka's initiation in Jñā 5.53–57 is described in essentially the same way as King Megha's. BhS 9.33.21–82 also contains a lengthy description of the renunciation of Prince Jamāli that parallels the renunciations of royalty described in the *Jñātādharmakathā*.

clothes, the pulling out of one's hair, the gifting of the insignia of a mendicant, and an *ācārya*'s acceptance of a disciple. These components belong to the earliest layer of the rite, found in texts from the first few centuries of the first millennium.

The medieval tantricisation of Jain mendicant initiation

In medieval texts, we begin to see the rites of renunciation change. Published medieval Digambara texts do not provide a full account of the rituals involved in mendicant initiation, but we can gain some ideas about these ceremonies from a few descriptions of rituals that are modelled on mendicant initiations. The first is an account of lay initiation (*upāsakadīkṣā*) found in Ācārya Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa* (ĀP), a ninth-century universal history structured around the life story of the first Tīrthaṅkara, Ṛṣabha (Ādinātha). Because Jinasena was a converted Vaiṣṇava Brahmin, multiple scholars have noted the "Hinduisation" of Jain rituals in the *Ādipurāṇa*, in particular the fortieth chapter, which outlines 16 life-cycle rites (*saṃskāra*) for "Jain brahmins" (JAINI 1979: 292–304; DUNDAS 1998: 35). Jinasena likely had access to knowledge about non-Jain Tantric traditions, since he was employed in the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa (r. 814–880). While Amoghavarṣa himself supported Jain endeavours, there was certainly acceptance of non-Jain, especially Śaiva, Tantric sects by Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings before, after, and around his time (ALTEKAR 1934: 19–23).[47]

Chapter 38 of the *Ādipurāṇa* describes how Bharata, Ṛṣabha's son and the universal emperor (*cakravartin*), having established himself as king in his capital, Ayodhyā, lectures his subjects on the proper ritual actions of a lay Jain. In this narrative, Bharata insists that a twice-born, or a Brahmin, has two births: one from his mother, and another from ritual actions.[48] A true twice-born performs 108 rites: 53 rituals related to birth (*garbhānvayakriyā*), 48 rituals related to initiation (*dīkṣānvayakriyā*), and

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[47] NANDI (1973: 76–78) has drawn upon epigraphic evidence to document the flourishing of Āgamic Śaiva monastic institutions in the areas of Central and South India where Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings ruled from the eighth to tenth centuries.

[48] Bharata emphasises that a person who does not perform the proper ritual actions and recite the proper *mantra*s is a twice-born in name only (ĀP 38.48: *dvir jāto hi dvijanmeṣṭaḥ kriyāto garbhataś ca yaḥ | kriyāmantravihīnas tu kevalaṃ nāmadhārakaḥ ||*).

the seven "fruition" acts that occur only because of the fruition of meritorious acts (*kartranvayakriyā*).[49]

For the purpose of our discussion, chapter 39, which outlines 19 of the 48 ritual acts (*kriyā*) that a Jain should perform to lead one towards *dīkṣā* (*dīkṣānvayakriyā*), is key. In essence, the *dīkṣānvaya* rituals outline Jinasena's understanding of the process of converting to Jainism. They include the rites for accepting the Jain teachings, removing false gods from one's home, and other rituals that lead up to renunciation (*dīkṣā*), which is referred to as the rite of removing one's clothes or "taking the form of the Jina" (*jinarūpitākriyā*) (ĀP 39.78). While Jinasena does not give the particulars of the rites involved in *munidīkṣā*, his brief outline of the rituals for an initiation of a layperson, or an *upāsakadīkṣā*, is likely modelled on contemporaneous mendicant initiations.

This lay initiation is called "gaining a place [in the Jain community]," *sthānalābha*, and is listed as the third *dīkṣānvaya* ritual one should undertake on one's path to renunciation, after the first rite, "descent [into the right path]" (*avatāra*), in which the aspirant is compelled by a worthy teacher's sermon to follow the true teaching and reject false teachings, and the second rite, "adopting right conduct" (*vṛttalābha*), in which the aspirant who has approached a teacher to take an unspecified group of vows (*vratavrāta*) bows before the *guru*.[50] Jinasena prescribes that after one accepts a *guru* and the Jain teachings in this way, experts should construct one of two types of colored ritual diagrams inside a pure Jain temple (*jinālaya*) using finely ground powder (*cūrṇa*) mixed with either water or sandalwood paste etc. They should construct either an eight-petalled lotus or a representation of the Jina's Preaching Assembly (*samavasaraṇa*), in which a newly enlightened Jina sits on a divinely made throne, surrounded by all the beings of the universe seated in concentric circles who have gathered to hear the teachings on the truths of life and death. The diagram should be worshiped, and the mendicant head (*sūri*), according to ritual prescription, should have the initiand enter (the *maṇḍala*) facing the icon of the Jina (presumably placed at the centre of the diagram).

Touching the head of the disciple, he should pronounce, "This is your lay initiation (*upāsakadīkṣā*)."[51] Having touched the initiand's head accord-

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[49] For a list of these 108 rites, see ĀP 38.51–62.

[50] ĀP 39.36: *tato 'sya vṛttalābhaḥ syāt tadaiva gurupādayoḥ | praṇatasya vrata-vrātaṃ *vidhānenopaseduṣaḥ* (em. *vidhānenupaleduṣaḥ* ed.) ||.

[51] ĀP 39.38–41: *jinālaye śucau raṅge padmam aṣṭadalaṃ likhet | vilikhed vā jina-sthānamaṇḍalaṃ samavṛttakam || ślakṣeṇa piṣṭacūrṇena salilāloḍitena vā | vartanaṃ*

ing to the procedure of the rite of "pulling out five fistfuls of hair" and having said, "You are purified by means of this *dīkṣā*," the *guru*, pronouncing, "By this *mantra*, all of your bad *karma* (*pāpa*) is purified," should teach him the *pañcanamaskāramantra*.[52] Above, we saw how modern Digambaras impart a Sanskrit version of this *mantra* at the time of the *guru*'s pulling out of the disciple's hair, but this text presumably refers to the original version of the *mantra*, which is a Prakrit litany to the Five Supreme Lords of Jainism that is first found as an auspicious benediction (*maṅgala*) at the start of a text on *karma* theory dated to the first half of the first millennium, the "Scripture of Six Parts," the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* (ṢkhĀ):[53]

> Praise to the enlightened beings, praise to the liberated beings,
> praise to the mendicant leaders, praise to the mendicant teachers,
> praise to all mendicants in the world. [54]

Having been taught this *mantra*, the initiate is then allowed to break his fast and return home,[55] where he should expel the icons of false gods (*mithyādevatā*) from his house, taking them elsewhere.[56] In the next step, he is to

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maṇḍalasyeṣṭaṃ candanādidraveṇa vā || tasminn aṣṭadale padme jaine vā''sthāna-maṇḍale | vidhinā likhite tajjñair viṣvagviracitārcane || jinārcābhimukhaṃ sūrir vidhi-nainaṃ niveśayet | tavopāsakadīkṣeyam iti mūrdhni muhuḥ spṛśan ||.

[52] ĀP 39.40–43: *pañcamuṣṭividhānena spṛṣṭvainam adhimastakam | pūto 'si dī-kṣayety uktvā siddhaśeṣā ca lambhayet || tataḥ pañcanamaskārapadāny asmā upādi-śet | mantro 'yam akhilāt pāpāt tvāṃ punītāditīrayan ||*. The text here that reads "*sid-dhaśeṣā ca lambhayet*" is not clear, so I have avoided summarising it above. However, as we saw in the description of the *dīkṣā* from 2013, and as we will see below in discussions of medieval texts, recitations of certain praise poems called Bhaktis are key components of *dīkṣā*s, and the Siddhabhakti is recited at the time of the pulling out of the initiand's hair. I hypothesise, then, that this unusual term (*siddhaśeṣā*) could be a bahuvrīhi compound referring to the Bhaktis, of which the remaining is the *siddha*. The text could be instructing the guru to cause the recitation of the *Sid-dhabhakti*. I thank Phyllis Granoff for this suggestion.

[53] Scholars have hypothesised a variety of dates for the ṢkhĀ, from the first century BCE to the sixth century CE. For a good overview of the debate, see WILEY 2008: 57, n. 36.

[54] ṢkhĀ 1.1.: *ṇamo arihaṃtāṇam ṇamo siddhāṇaṃ ṇamo āiriyāṇaṃ | ṇamo uvajjhāyāṇaṃ ṇamo loe savvasāhūṇaṃ ||*.

[55] ĀP 39.44: *kṛtvā vidhim imaṃ paścāt pāraṇāya visarjayet | guror anugrahāt so'pi saṃprītaḥ svagṛhaṃ vrajet ||*.

[56] On this rite, known as the *gaṇagrahakriyā*, see ĀP 39.45–48.

perform Jain rites (the *pūjārādhyakriyā*) such as fasting, temple worship, and listening to the meanings of the Jain scriptures (*aṅga*).[57]

After outlining 19 of the 48 rites that lead to initiation, the text describes the seven "fruition acts" (*kartranvayakriyā*) that chart the progression of a soul from birth as a man to eventual liberation: (1) birth as a human male in a good family (*sajjāti*), (2) being an honourable householder (*sadgṛhitva*), (3) initiating as a monk (*pārivrājya*), (4) rebirth as a god (*surendratā*), (5) subsequent birth as a universal emperor (*sāmrājya*), (6) becoming enlightened (*ārhantya*), and (7) achieving liberation (*nirvṛtti*) (ĀP 39.82–211). Here, in the verses on initiating as a monk, the term for renunciation used in early Digambara texts, *pārivrājya*, is glossed as "liberating initiation," or *nirvāṇadīkṣā*. It is further described, recalling the *Pravacanasāra*, as adopting one's appearance at birth (*jātarūpa*), i.e., nudity.[58] The text emphasises that a person who desires to be liberated (a *mumukṣu*) must approach a Jain mendicant leader, an *ācārya*, on an auspicious day and at an auspicious time, to undertake this *dīkṣā*.[59] Other than this remark, the remaining description of *munidīkṣā* does not provide any information about the rituals involved in renouncing.

While the *Ādipurāṇa* thus does not provide us with a detailed description of the renunciation of a monk, its discussions of initiations hint at the "tantricisation" of Digambara *dīkṣā*, as several aspects of the *upāsaka* and *muni dīkṣā*s echo contemporaneous non-Jain Tantric initiations. To begin with, Jinasena's renaming of *pārivrājya* as *nirvāṇadīkṣā* suggests a correspondence with Tantric traditions such as the Śaiva Mantramārga, whose members use this very term for their highest level of initiation.[60] The *upāsakadīkṣā* outlined by Jinasena also includes a key component of Tantric initiations scholars familiar with the Pāñcarātra, Śaiva Siddhānta, and other Tantric initiations will immediately recognise: the construction of a

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[57] ĀP 39.49: *pūjārādhyākhyayā khyātā kriyā'sya syād ataḥ parā | pūjopavāsasaṃpattyā śṛnvato'ṅgārthasaṃgraham ||.*

[58] ĀP 39.156: *pārivrājyaṃ parivrājo bhāvo nirvāṇadīkṣaṇam | tatra nirmamatā vṛttyā jātarūpasya dharaṇam ||.*

[59] ĀP 39.157: *praśastatithinakṣatrayogalagna[muhūrtaḥ] grahāṃśake | nirgranthācāryam āśritya dīkṣā grāhyā mumukṣuṇā ||.*

[60] For a good overview of the different types of initiation found in the Śaiva Āgamas, the three initiations (*samaya, viśeṣa*, and *nirvāṇa*) codified in later ritual manuals (*paddhati*), and the levels of initiate (*sādhaka, ācārya*), see BHATT 1977: xviii–xxiii. For an overview of Pāñcarātra initiation rites and levels, see GUPTA 1983: 69–91.

maṇḍala.[61] In addition, readers might be reminded of non-Jain Tantric initiations when they read about the principle that *mantra*s destroy *karma*. Quoting from the sixth chapter of the *Kiraṇāgama*, Alexis Sanderson has described how in the *nirvāṇadīkṣā* of the Śaiva Mantramārga, the *mantra*s "are the immediate agents by which the fetters are destroyed" (SANDERSON 1992: 286). The construction of a ritual diagram and the usage of a *karma*-destroying *mantra* are thus two components of the *Ādipurāṇa*'s descriptions of initiation not found in early Jain outlines of renunciation but found in medieval non-Jain Tantric texts.

The *Ādipurāṇa*'s discussion of lay and mendicant initiations is not, however, a mere adoption of Śaiva Tantric ritual culture. It is, in many ways, exceptionally Jain. Jinasena has expertly combined early Jain teachings with medieval ritual developments. Firstly, he transforms the Jina's Preaching Assembly (*samavasaraṇa*) into an initiation *maṇḍala*. The *samavasaraṇa*, in which the entire universe surrounds the newly enlightened Jina in concentric circles to hear him preach, is depicted in Jain texts and art from the early centuries CE,[62] and in the medieval period this preaching assembly became the ideal diagram to be used in Tantric rites such as *dīkṣā*.[63]

Jinasena's description of the *guru*'s imparting of the *pañcanamaskāramantra*, said to destroy all bad *karma*, also draws upon earlier Jain teachings and practices. This idea that the *pañcanamaskāra* destroys bad *karma* is found in the above-mentioned Digambara text on mendicant conduct dated to the first few centuries CE, the *Mūlācāra*, which uses the *pañcanamaskāra* as a *maṅgala* – an auspicious start to the text – and declares that "this five-fold praise destroys all bad *karma* and is the foremost *maṅgala* of all *maṅgala*s."[64] Jinasena thus relies upon an old Jain understanding of the

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[61] For the construction of *maṇḍala*s in Śaiva initiation ceremonies, see TÖRZSÖK 2003: 179–224.

[62] For some of the early textual accounts of the *samavasaraṇa*, see SHAH 1955: 85–95 and BALBIR 1994: 67–104. For a recent discussion of the *samavasaraṇa* in both Digambara and Śvetāmbara art, see HEGEWALD 2010: 1–20.

[63] See, for example, the second chapter of the *Pañcāśakaprakaraṇa* (PP) by the eighth-century Haribhadra, which outlines the *dīkṣāvidhi* in which an initiand, blindfolded, should throw a flower onto a diagram of the Preaching Assembly in order to determine his worthiness for renunciation and his future birth placement (PP 2.16–29).

[64] Mūl 514: *eso paṃcaṇamoyāro savvapāvapaṇāsaṇo | maṅgalesu ya savvesu paḍamaṃ havadi maṃgalaṃ ||*.

power of sound to develop a Tantric rite of initiation. Indeed, of all the so-called "Tantric" initiations that emerged in the medieval period, this Digambara version may have the most coherent genealogy of the soterio-logical function of ritual utterances.

This genealogy continues into the present day, because, as noted above, modern Digambara *ācārya*s pronounce the *pañcanamaskāra* when they complete the pulling out of the initiand's hair. This parallel between the lay initiation described in the ninth-century *Ādipurāṇa* and modern mendicant initiations suggests that Jinasena's *upāsakadīkṣā* was modelled on a mendi-cant initiation. By the ninth century, it is likely that mendicant initiations, like this lay initiation, had been tantricised in ways that persist to this day. Unfortunately, few medieval Digambara texts provide evidence for this claim. The other medieval mentions of *dīkṣā* in texts of prominent Digam-bara monks who followed Jinasena shed no light on the medieval ritual use of *maṇḍala*s and *mantra*s in Digambara *dīkṣā* ceremonies. Instead, they focus on the recitation of praise poems called Bhaktis.

Emphasising devotion: the medieval silence
on the tantricisation of initiation

Published pre-modern Digambara accounts of the initiation of a mendicant (*munidīkṣā*) suggest that it was appropriate for monks to emphasise the ascetic components of *dīkṣā* and to outline the praises to Jain ideals recited in these ceremonies, but little else could be discussed. As research stands now, there are two known coherent[65] accounts of the rituals involved in *munidīkṣā* in medieval Digambara texts: Cāmuṇḍarāya's "Essence of Cor-rect Conduct," the *Cāritrasāra* (ca. 1000), and Āśādhara's "Nectar of Righteous Conduct for a Mendicant," the *Anagāradharmāmṛta* composed in 1240. Both of these texts focus mostly on which of the hymns called "Devotions," Bhaktis, should be recited for different parts of initiation.

The exact history of these Bhaktis is not known, though they feature in most Digambara lay and mendicant rituals today. Compilations of these recitations will group them into two sets of hymns called "Ten Bhaktis," one set of Prakrit praise poems attributed to the Digambara monk Kun-dakunda who, as noted above, can be placed in the first half of the first

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[65] The only other known published Digambara *dīkṣāvidhi* in a pre-modern source, five verses in *Vidyānuśāsana* (VA), pp. 263–264, is too cryptic and corrupt to exa-mine at this point.

millennium, and another set of ten Sanskrit Bhaktis attributed to the Digambara monk Pūjyapāda, who can be placed in the seventh century.[66] Pūjyapāda and Kundakunda likely did not compose these recitations, however, and the number and names of Bhaktis in various sources are not uniform, nor is the content of the recitations. Many contemporary lists of the so-called "Ten Bhaktis" contain more than ten hymns. [67] A serious study of the history and contents of these praises is desperately needed, but for now we will just note that descriptions of Digambara *dīkṣā* ceremonies from the eleventh and thirteenth centuries focus mostly on the recitation of these praises, and little else.

After Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa*, the next published account of a Digambara *dīkṣā* is found in a Sanskrit text composed by Cāmuṇḍarāya, a disciple of Jinasena. Despite being a disciple of the monk who revealed that Digambara Jains likely used *maṇḍala*s and *mantra*s in their mendicant initiations, Cāmuṇḍarāya says nothing of the use of these ritual components in his manual on lay and mendicant conduct, the "Essence of Conduct," the *Cāritrasāra* (ca. 1000). Cāmuṇḍarāya does, however, describe two stages of renunciation: (1) leaving the world to join a mendicant order (*saṃnyāsa*), and (2) the initiation (*dīkṣā*), which is characterised by pulling out one's hair. He also outlines the promotion to the rank of mendicant leader (*ācārya*), but for all of these rites Cāmuṇḍarāya remains silent on "Tantric" topics, focusing mostly on when to recite certain Bhaktis.

At the beginning of the ceremony for renunciation (*saṃnyāsa*), Cāmuṇḍarāya explains, one should recite the *Siddhabhakti* praising the liberated soul. One should then listen to teachings (*vācanā*) and then recite the *Sūribhakti* and the *Śrutabhakti*, in praise of the mendicant leader and

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[66] For the best (if brief) introduction to the Bhaktis, see UPADHYE ś1935: xxvi–xxix. LEUMANN (2010: 6–15) examines the Bhaktis as found in different manuscripts of Prabhācandra's sixteenth-century commentary on the *Kriyākalāpa*. CORT 2016 has examined a Sanskrit and Prakrit version of the *Yogibhakti*.

[67] Thirteen different Bhaktis are listed by SHĀNTĀ 1997: 654–655. These are: Siddhabhakti, Cāritrabhakti, Yogibhakti, Ācāryabhakti, Pañcagurubhakti, Tīrthaṅkarabhakti, Śāntibhakti, Samādhibhakti, Nirvāṇabhakti, Caityabhakti, Nandīśvarabhakti, and Vīrabhakti. Twelve Bhaktis are listed as the "Ten Sanskrit Bhaktis," (*saṃskṛt das bhaktiyāṃ*) in KĀMAKUMĀRANANDĪ 2009: xiv–xv. These Sanskrit Bhaktis are listed as: Arhadbhakti, Siddhabhakti, Caityabhakti, Śrutabhakti, Cāritrabhakti, Yogibhakti, Ācāryabhakti, Pañcamahāgurubhakti, Śāntibhakti, Samādhibhakti, Nirvāṇabhakti, and Nandīśvarabhakti. In this same compilation, seven Bhaktis are listed as the "Ten Prakrit Bhaktis" (*prākṛt das bhaktiyāṃ*): Siddhabhakti, Śrutabhakti, Cāritrabhakti, Yogabhakti, Ācāryabhakti, and Pañcamahāgurubhakti.

the scriptures, respectively. At the completion of studying (*svādhyāya*), one should recite the *Śrutabhakti*. Then, when the initiand finishes delivering a sermon, he should recite the *Śāntibhakti* in praise of the Jina Śānti, an appropriate pacification rite at the end of the ceremony to ensure a positive outcome of the ritual. After spending some time living as a monk, performing the required duties such as confession (*pratikramaṇa*), study (*svādhyāya*), and the practice of *yoga*, one should undertake *dīkṣā*. For this rite, when pulling out one's hair (*luñcana*), one should recite the *Siddhabhakti* and the *Yogibhakti* in praise of correct conduct and austerities. When all of one's hair has been pulled out, the monk should recite the *Siddhabhakti*, listen to a lecture by the *guru*, recite the *Ācāryabhakti*, praise the *ācārya*, and then recite the *Siddhabhakti* (CS, pp. 148–150).[68]

The account of mendicant initiation and promotion in one of the most well-known Digambara guides to mendicant conduct, the Sanskrit text *Anagāradharmāmṛta* (published as *Dharmāmṛtānagāra*; DhA), composed in 1240 by one of the most influential Digambara scholars, Paṇḍita Āśādhara, a layman who lived in the Paramara Kingdom, Malwa, also focuses mostly on when to recite certain Bhaktis. In this text, a single Sanskrit verse describes initiation. Āśādhara describes how when one receives the symbols of renunciation – pulling out one's hair (*luñca*), receiving a new name, becoming naked, and receiving a broom – one should recite the *Siddha-bhakti* and the *Yogibhakti*. Upon the completion of the rite, the *Siddhabhakti* should be recited.[69]

It is difficult to form a complete understanding of the historical development of the use of the Bhaktis in initiations by comparing the accounts in the texts of Cāmuṇḍarāya and Āśādhara with the modern manual outlined above, the *Vimal Bhakti Saṃgrah*. While modern Digambaras use Sanskrit versions of the Bhaktis published in the sources listed above, it is not clear

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[68] Cāmuṇḍarāya then describes promotion to the rank of mendicant leader. After spending some time as a monk (*sādhu*), with the command of the *guru*, humble (*vinīta*) and virtuous (*dharmaśīla*) candidates who have been designated as appropriate to become an *ācārya* should, in the presence of the *guru*, recite the *Siddhabhakti* and the *Ācāryabhakti*. To complete the ceremonial promotion to the rank of mendicant leader, the monk should recite the *Śāntibhakti* (CS, p. 152).

[69] The promotion to the rank of mendicant leader (*ācārya*) is also described with just one verse. Āśādhara says that a monk whose virtues shine (*sphuradguṇa*), having recited the *Siddhabhakti* and the *Ācāryabhakti*, at the auspicious time, with the permission of his *guru*, should be promoted to the rank of *ācārya* and then recite the *Śāntibhakti* (DhA 9.83).

what the contents of the praises were in the medieval period, or whether Cāmuṇḍarāya and Āśādhara were referring to Sanskrit or Prakrit Bhaktis. However, there does seem to be some continuity between these three accounts. Āśādhara was aware of Cāmuṇḍarāya's text, as his own commentary on the *Anagāradharmāmṛta* the *Jñānadīpikā*, composed in 1243/44, cites the *Cāritrasāra* when explaining the meaning of the verse on the promotion of an *ācārya* (DhA 9.75). And the modern manual seems to have continued the tradition of these medieval accounts, as it, too, structures the *dīkṣā* around the recitation of certain Bhaktis and prescribes that the *Siddhabhakti* should be recited when the initiand's hair is pulled out. Reciting praises to a liberated soul at the moment when one undertakes the required action to become that liberated soul – ascetic renunciation – highlights the purpose of this ritual action.

From the accounts of Āśādhara and Cāmuṇḍarāya, therefore, we can reason that along with the early ascetic components, the "devotional" layer of modern renunciation ceremonies, for lack of a better term, was also present by the medieval period. Not much else can be deduced from these accounts, however. If we were to base our analysis on these three known pre-modern outlines of Digambara initiation – the accounts of Jinasena, Cāmuṇḍarāya, and Āśādhara – we might be left thinking that the fundamental acts of initiation are the recitation of hymns of praise. The only evidence about Digambaras' uses of *maṇḍala*s and *mantra*s in mendicant initiation would come from a single text, the *Ādipurāṇa*, that clearly has been influenced by non-Jain traditions. There would be no way to confirm whether or not Jinasena's account in the *Ādipurāṇa* was just an idiosyncratic account, so we could not confirm whether or not medieval Digambaras used *mantra*s and *maṇḍala*s in mendicant initiations. Thankfully, however, there are other medieval sources for information on Digambara *dīkṣā*: manuals on the consecration and establishment (*pratiṣṭhā*) of temple images (*bimba*, *pratimā*, etc.).

The initiation of a monk as
depicted in image consecration rites

Of Digambara published sources, manuals on *pratiṣṭhā* provide some of the best clues about the details of medieval mendicant initiations, because they not only embed the initiation of a monk into the consecration of a temple image of a Jina, they also model parts of the consecration ceremony on a *dīkṣā*. By looking at two of these texts from the thirteenth century, Nemican-

dra's *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* (PrT) and Āśādhara's *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* (PrSā), we can find medieval roots of three of the Tantric components of the modern Digambara *dīkṣā* ceremony outlined above: the recitation of the *vardhamānamantra*, the imparting of the rites of passage (*saṃskāra*), and the construction of the *maṇḍala* called the Ring of Disciples. In these manuals, transforming an inert material to the physical presence of the Jina requires ritual specialists to use the stone or metal representations of the Jinas to reenact the five auspicious events (*pañcakalyāṇaka*) in the life of the Jina: (1) conception (*garbha*), (2) birth (*janman*), (3) renunciation (*dīkṣā/tapas/ niṣkrama*), (4) omniscience or enlightenment (*kevalajñāna*), and (5) death and liberation (*mokṣa*). Because the medieval authors of these texts prescribed the same rites for the icon of the Jina that were performed on humans, focusing on these texts' descriptions of the third auspicious event (*dīkṣā*) sheds light on the tantricisation of this ceremony in this period.

To this day, ritual specialists performing rites for Bīsapanthīs, members of the Digambara tradition more popular in South India, follow Nemicandra's *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* in image consecration ceremonies. Nemicandra composed his manual in Kanchipuram, Tamil Nadu, around 1200, towards the end of the rule of the Coḷa kings, who were famous for undertaking massive temple-building projects based on the prescriptions of Śaiva Saiddhāntika texts (NAGASWAMY n.d.). As such, Nemicandra's manual, like other Digambara *pratiṣṭhā* handbooks, aligns with these Tantric sources in many ways. The first thirteen verses of the tenth chapter of Nemicandra's *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* outline all the rites involved in what it terms the *niṣkramaṇakalyāṇaka*, or the rite in which the temple icons being consecrated are made to renounce the world. On the ninth day of the image consecration ceremony,[70] the *pūjā* of a ritual diagram called the *yāgamaṇḍala* should be performed, and the Jina icon should be established in front of the diagram. Lay worshipers representing gods should sing praises, taking the Jina to a pavilion established for the initiation ceremony (*dīkṣāmaṇḍapa*), and seating the icon below a representation of a tree, where it should be bathed, worshiped, ornamented, and rubbed with ointments (PrT 10.1–4, p. 234). Then the *vardhamānamantra* should be pronounced seven times, and married women (*saubhāgyavatī*) should perform a lamp offering to the icon (PrT 10.5, p. 234).[71] After offerings are made to the icon, it is taken to a rep-

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[70] Eight days after the completion of the purification rites and establishment of the ritual space on the first day of the ceremony (*aṅkurārpaṇādi*, the establishment of pots of grains, etc.) (PrT 10.1, p. 234).

[71] For another mention of the *vardhamānamantra*, see PrT 10.8, p. 236.

resentation of a forest on a palanquin (PrT 10.5, p. 234). The Jina should then take *dīkṣā*: his hair should be pulled out and worshiped by laypeople representing gods (*indra*), his clothes are to be removed and worshiped, and four lamps should be lit in order to symbolise the Jina's attainment of the fourth type of knowledge, clairvoyance (*manaḥparyāya*) (PrT 10.9–11, p. 234).[72]

The above summary of the *dīkṣā* ceremony for the Jina icon provides further evidence that some of the Tantric elements in the modern Digambara ceremony in Kekri had already in the medieval period been integrated with earlier renunciation rites of communal celebration and ascetic undertakings. Nemicandra here mentions that the Jina icon should be given the *vardhamānamantra*, the *mantra* that Digambara *guru*s today impart to their disciples when they become monks. While the contents of the *vardhamānamantra* are not outlined, Nemicandra's *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* suggests that the modern practice of imparting the *vardhamānamantra* to the initiand traces back to at least the thirteenth century, whether or not the contents of the *mantra* have remained uniform over time.

Āśādhara's *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, composed in Rajasthan in the first half of the thirteenth century, provides further evidence of the medieval tantricisation of Digambara mendicant initiations. Āśādhara's account of the auspicious event of renunciation also requires laypeople to bring the icon of the Jina to a representation of a forest, where it should be established below the tree where renunciation occurs (*dīkṣāvṛkṣa*), have its hair removed, etc., and be placed behind four lamps representing the attainment of clairvoyance (PrSā, 4.99–112, pp. 100b–102b). On top of these rites, the *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* also prescribes that 48 rites of passage, or *saṃskāra*s, be given to the Jina image (PrSā 4.130–135, pp. 105b–106a). Each of the 48 *saṃskāra*s should be imparted to the icon with a sprinkling of flowers (PrSā, p. 106b). While we saw above that modern *dīkṣā* ceremonies list 18 rites of passage to be imparted to initiands, not 48, the first 18 *saṃskāra*s of Āśādhara's list are identical to the 18 imparted to initiands today,[73] suggesting that this practice, like the imparting of the *vardhamānamantra*, has persisted in Digambara *dīkṣā*s since at least the thirteenth century.

Both of these components – the *guru*'s transmission of an initiatory *mantra* and the imparting of non-Vedic *saṃskāra*s – are common components of non-Jain Tantric initiations. Scholars have examined how Tantric

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[72] On the five types of knowledge, see WILEY 2009: 112.

[73] Nemicandra's *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* also requires the imparting of *saṃskāra*s, but for the *kevalajñānakalyāṇaka*, not the *niṣkramaṇakalyāṇaka*. See PrT, pp. 247–250.

Vaiṣṇavas[74] and Śaivas[75] adapted the Vedic paradigm of imparting rites of passage to create kinship ties separate from those of the community of Brahmins who had undertaken Vedic initiation rites (*upanayana*). A similar idea underlies the imparting of 48 *saṃskāra*s to the Jina icon before it achieves enlightenment. Here, the icon of the Jina, representing all Jain mendicants, must enter the Jain community through the ritual transfer of the *saṃskāra*s of right faith, right knowledge, etc., and the subsequent embodiment of the ideal characteristics of a follower of the Jain teachings. Thus, the descriptions of the auspicious rite of renunciation in these medieval handbooks on *pratiṣṭhā* provide a wealth of information about the introduction of Tantric components into Digambara *dīkṣā* ceremonies in the medieval period.

These image consecration manuals also shed light on the tantricisation of the *dīkṣā* because the construction of *maṇḍala*s made out of colored powder in *pratiṣṭhā* ceremonies parallels the construction of a *maṇḍala* for the initiation of a mendicant.[76] In Nemicandra's *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* and in Āśādhara's *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra*, depending on the image being installed – whether it be a Jina icon, a representation of a mendicant leader (*ācārya*), the footprints of a monk, or another type of image – a different diagram must be constructed out of colored powder in the days leading up to the moment when the image becomes established in the temple. These handbooks suggest that in order for these images to become sacred objects of worship, they must be sacralised by being placed in front of ritual diagrams into which the ideals those objects represent are invoked and onto which foodstuffs are offered. In this way, the consecration of an image is similar to Tantric initiations that require the invocation of various deities into a *maṇḍala* preceding the key moment of initiation.

In the summary of Nemicandra's text above, we saw how he prescribes the *yāgamaṇḍala* to be offered flowers (*puṣpañjali*) at the outset of the

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[74] For the imparting of *saṃskāra*s in the Pāñcarātra text the *Paramasaṃhitā* (composed before 1000 CE), see CZERNIAK-DROŻDŻOWICZ 2003: 141.

[75] On the imparting of *saṃskāra*s (*saṃskāradīkṣā*) as part of the *viśeṣadīkṣā* in the eleventh-century Śaiva text the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, with ample references to other Śaiva sources that outline the imparting of *saṃskāra*s (*garbhādhāna* etc.) as part of different *dīkṣā* rites, see BRUNNER-LACHAUX 1977: 112–142.

[76] SHINOHARA (2014b: 280–294) has shown how medieval Chinese esoteric Buddhist manuals on image consecration have modelled the worship of a *maṇḍala* and the ritual ablution (*abhiṣeka*) of images in the *pratiṣṭhā* on the same rites performed in the *abhiṣeka* of an *ācārya*.

auspicious event of renunciation; indeed, he dictates that the deities and ideals called into this diagram be offered flowers at the outset of each day of the consecration ceremony. To this day, Digambaras will construct this diagram out of synthetic colored powders and, each morning of the consecration ceremony, while reciting prayers to the deities that have been called into the *maṇḍala*, they will place coconuts on the diagram (GOUGH 2017: 285–286). These actions are consistent with the requirement in both Nemicandra's *Pratiṣṭhātilaka* and in Āśādhara's *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* that flowers (*puṣpañjali*) be offered to the *yāgamaṇḍala* in order to consecrate a temple image of a Jina (PrT, pp. 118–122; PraSā 1.173–184, pp. 19a–21a). In these texts, however, other *maṇḍala*s are required for other types of images,[77] and Nemicandra and Āśādhara agree that the consecration of an image of an *ācārya* or another type of mendicant (*ācāryādi*)[78] requires the construction of a diagram called the "Ring of Disciples," the *gaṇadharavalaya* (PrT, pp. 328–329; PrSā, pp. 230a–231a). Nemicandra prescribes the construction of the *gaṇadharavalaya* on a ritual platform (*vedī*) on the sixth day of the worship ceremony. While the size of the diagram and the materials used to make it are not specified,[79] Āśādhara's and Nemicandra's outlines of the *gaṇadharavalaya* are word-for-word identical. At the center of the *gaṇadharavalaya* sits a six-cornered figure with the seed syllable *kṣmā* at its center. Inside the six corners of this figure, the syllables *a pra ti ca kre phaṭ* should be inscribed from left to right. On the outside of this central figure, between each of its six corners, the six syllables *vi ca krā ya svā hā*, going from left to right and ending with *jhrauṃ*, should be inscribed. A circle of deities – Śrī, Hrī, Dhṛti, Kīrti, Buddhi, and Lakṣmī – should be placed at the tips of the six-sided figure. 48 petals surround this central figure, which contain 48 different Prakrit praises to ascetic practitioners who have achieved superhuman powers (*labdhi*, *ṛddhi*).

Like the *pañcanamaskāra*, these praises inscribed in the petals, beginning with *ṇamo jiṇāṇaṃ*, *ṇamo ohijiṇāṇaṃ*, "praise to the Jinas, praise to the Jinas with clairvoyance (Skt. *avadhi*)," are first found as a *maṅgala* in

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[77] On the construction of the *siddhacakra* to consecrate a temple image of an enlightened soul (*siddha*), see GOUGH 2015a.

[78] Temple icons of historical monks, often the *guru*s of wealthy lay patrons, seem to have been commonplace from the medieval period onwards. NANDI (1973: 72), in discussing the growth of the temple cult of the *ācārya* in the medieval period, references an inscription from 1060 to an installation of an icon of an *ācārya*.

[79] PrT, p. 326, says that the *siddhacakra* for a *siddhapratimā* should be made of five colours.

the Digambara text on *karma* theory, the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, dated to the first half of the first millennium. In Śvetāmbara and Digambara texts from this period, the superhuman powers praised in these lines, such as the ability to fly and clairvoyance, were associated with the disciples of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras (*gaṇadhara*). Thus, this diagram, the "Ring of Disciples" (*gaṇadharavalaya*), is named for these praises to superhuman powers inscribed in rings (*valaya*) around the central six-cornered figure.[80] Because many parts of these image consecration ceremonies involve icons acting the rituals of humans, it would make sense that medieval Digambaras would model the consecration of an icon of a monk on the initiation of a human mendicant. Thus, we can hypothesise that by at least the thirteenth century, Digambaras constructed the Ring of Disciples as part of their initiation ceremonies. Here, too, medieval Digambaras remodelled an older Jain ritual component – an existing Prakrit invocation to powers associated with the disciples of the Tīrthaṅkaras – to fit a Tantric ritual. They inscribed these praises on a *maṇḍala* so that new mendicants who made offerings to this diagram as part of their initiations could link themselves to the origins of their lineage, the *gaṇadhara*s, by honouring the powers of these monks.

While Āśādhara in his manual on mendicant conduct says nothing about the construction of a *maṇḍala* as part of initiation rites, preferring to follow Cāmuṇḍarāya in emphasising the recitation of devotional prayers, Bhaktis, his image consecration manual suggests that the Digambara *dīkṣā* had fully incorporated this Tantric element of *maṇḍala* worship by the thirteenth century. The account of initiation in the *Ādipurāṇa* and these image consecration manuals confirm that three key Tantric elements of modern Digambara *dīkṣā*s – the worship of the Ring of Disciples, the recitation of the *vardhamānamantra* to initiate *muni*s, and the imparting of the rites of passage (*saṃskāra*) – were combined with earlier Jain ideas of renunciation (pulling out the hair etc.) and devotional currents (the recitation of the Bhaktis) in the medieval period. The description of the Ring of Disciples diagram in Āśādhara's and Nemicandra's image consecration texts, however, differs considerably from the Ring of Disciples diagram constructed today. While the diagram of these medieval manuals has 48 praises to practitioners with superhuman powers, modern Ring of Disciples diagrams contain 1,452 dots. To understand the connection between these two different diagrams with the same name, it is necessary to study one last important stage in the history of Digambara *dīkṣā* – the period of the dominance of

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[80] For information on this *mantra* and diagram, see GOUGH 2015b.

the orange-robed *bhaṭṭāraka*s, whom twentieth-century *muni*s supposedly rejected. The rituals these pontiffs composed allow us to fully understand how the modern Digambara *dīkṣā* was developed as an unusual combination of a monastic and Tantric ordination.

*Bhaṭṭāraka*s' formulations of modern initiations

Catalogues of the texts composed by *bhaṭṭāraka*s and inscriptions detailing their activities in the early-modern-to-colonial period (fifteenth to nineteenth centuries)[81] confirm that one of the primary roles of these pontiffs was the performance of large public rituals – the worship of large colored *maṇḍala*s and temple consecrations – that garnered funds and visibility for the communities and mendicant lineages, which had by this point been divided into several *gaṇa*s and *saṅgha*s.[82] To promote their lineages and temple complexes, *bhaṭṭāraka*s fully embraced the Tantric elements that had entered Jainism in the medieval period and expanded many of the *maṇḍala*s mentioned in earlier sources, composing elaborate rituals for these diagrams. Before this period, the Ring of Disciples diagram had barely been mentioned in texts. Between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, several different *bhaṭṭāraka*s composed manuals (*vidhāna*) on the worship of the Ring of Disciples, including Sakalakīrti (Balātkara Gaṇa, ca. 1386–1442), Padmanandī (Balātkara Gaṇa, *bhaṭṭāraka* from ca. 1514–1522), Prabhācandra[83] (Nandi Saṅgha, consecrated as *bhaṭṭāraka* in 1514), and Śubhacandra (Balātkara Gaṇa, *bhaṭṭāraka* from ca. 1516–1556).[84]

The Ring of Disciples likely rose to prominence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries because it was worshiped as part of the promotion of a *bhaṭṭāraka*; extant manuscripts on *bhaṭṭārakapadasthāpanā* mention the *gaṇadharavalaya* as an essential component of the rite.[85] Because the Ring

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[81] For the *bhaṭṭāraka*s of North India, see KĀSLĪVĀL 1967 and JOHRAPURKAR 1958.

[82] On these different groupings of Digambaras, see the introduction to JOHRAPURKAR 1958: 1–12 and FLÜGEL 2006: 342–344.

[83] For the manuals of Sakalakīrti, Śubhacandra, Padmanandī, and Prabhācandra texts, see *Śrīgaṇḍharvalay Pūjan Saṃgrah* (SPS).

[84] On the dates of these *bhaṭṭāraka*s, see the translated lists of *bhaṭṭāraka* successions (*paṭṭāvali*) translated in HOERNLE 1892.

[85] Tillo Detige has collected several undated manuscripts on *bhaṭṭāraka-padasthāpanā* from the Sonāgiri Bhaṭṭāraka Granthālāya in the pilgrimage site of Sonagiri, Madhya Pradesh, that confirm that *bhaṭṭāraka*s worshiped the *gaṇadharavalaya* as part of their promotions. Tillo Detige, e-mail to author, December 30, 2013.

of Disciples became a key symbol of initiations and promotions in the pre-modern period, erected for the public celebrations of the appointment of a new *bhaṭṭāraka*, these pontiffs would have wanted to make the diagram's components more explicitly relate to the disciples of the Tīrthaṅkaras, thus linking themselves to the founders of Jainism. Lay Digambaras in the pre-modern period were likely not aware that early Jain texts associate the *gaṇadhara*s with the superhuman powers of the earliest version of the Ring of the Disciples diagram described in the medieval image consecration texts. Thus, *bhaṭṭāraka*s transformed this earlier diagram with 48 praises to superhuman powers into a diagram of 1,452 dots – each dot representing one of the original disciples of the Tīrthaṅkaras – and composed ritual manuals that had laypeople singing praises to each of these disciples.

In the modern initiation in Kekri outlined above, the three initiands followed a Hindi adaption of the Sanskrit worship manual of the Ring of Disciples composed by the *bhaṭṭāraka* Śubhacandra in 1549 (RĀJAŚRĪ 2003). Śubhacandra belonged to the Balātkara Gaṇa Digambara lineage, and he was one of the most prolific and active *bhaṭṭāraka*s of North India, traveling widely to consecrate new temples and composing multiple manuals on the worship *maṇḍala*s that remain popular today.[86] Śubhacandra's *Gaṇadharavalayavidhāna* followed in Kekri was translated into Hindi and compiled in 2000 by a nun in the same lineage as Ācārya Vairāgyanandī, another disciple of Ācārya Kunthusāgara, Gaṇinī Āryikā Rājaśrī. In the Hindi introduction to the text, her *guru*, Ācārya Guptinandī, stresses that Digambaras must worship the *gaṇadharavalaya* before initiating as a Digambara mendicant (RĀJAŚRĪ 2003: 4). This seems to have become standard for Digambaras of all modern mendicant lineages; during my research in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Haryana, Delhi, and Uttar Pradesh in 2013, I spoke to dozens of Digambara monks and nuns from various lineages who all confirmed that they worshiped the *gaṇadharavalaya* before their initiations.[87]

Modern Digambara initiands usually take one, three, or five days to worship the Ring of Disciples before they take the vows of a mendicant, but the worship ceremony can be up to eight days long. The worship of the

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[86] On Śubhacandra and the many texts he composed, see KĀSLĪVĀL 1967: 63–105.

[87] More research needs to be done to confirm that it is, indeed, the case that all Digambaras construct the *gaṇadharavalaya* preceding their *dīkṣā*. SHĀNTĀ (1997: 656) notes that a *siddhacakra* is constructed before a Digambara *dīkṣā*, but the source of this claim is unclear, since she outlines a Śvetāmbara, not a Digambara, *siddhacakra*.

diagram in Kekri lasted eight days.[88] Inside a ritual pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) in a worship hall (*upāśraya*), ritual specialists constructed a large diagram made of synthetic colored powder with an icon of the Jina established at the center, surrounded by three concentric circles with 1,452 dots on it. On the first day of the *vidhāna*, Ācārya Vairāgyanandī and the ritual specialists led a few dozen lay worshipers, along with the three initiands, in performing preliminary rites familiar to scholars of Tantric ritual. Ritual specialists hoisted a banner at the entrance to the worship hall to signify the beginning of the worship ceremony, six pots of water and eight pots of herbs (*aṅkurārpaṇa*) were placed at the edges of the colored diagram to sanctify the space, and the three initiands and the other lay people performing the *pūjā* undertook the "transformation" (*sakalīkaraṇa*) rites in which they placed (performed *nyāsa*) the *pañcanamaskāra* on different parts of their bodies so they "transformed" into gods and goddesses (*indra*, *indrāṇī*), whom Jains envision as the ideal worshipers of the Jina.

For each of the following seven days, then, the worshipers in Kekri systematically honoured each and every one of the disciples of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, beginning with Vṛṣabhasena, the first disciple of the first Tīrthaṅkara, Ṛṣabha, and ending with Nirottama, the eleventh and final disciple of the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara, Mahāvīra (RĀJAŚRĪ 2003: 59, 221). A ritual specialist would recite a Hindi verse honouring a disciple, Ācārya Vairāgyanandī would recite the Sanskrit *mantra* associated with the verse ("*oṃ hrīṃ arhaṃ vṛṣabhasenagaṇadharāya namaḥ arghyaṃ*" etc.), and upon completion of the *mantra*, the laypeople seated in rows in front of the diagram would transfer a mixture (*arghya*) of the substances of the eight-fold *pūjā*[89] from one plate to another. At the same time, the initiands would place a coconut on the colored diagram. In this way, with each praise

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[88] The worship lasted eight days because it was also performed for the eight-day festival Aṣṭāhnikā Parva, for which laypeople also construct ritual diagrams. On the construction of *maṇḍala*s for Aṣṭāhnikā Parva, see GOUGH 2015a.

[89] Bīsapanthīs and Terāpanthīs offer slightly different substances, and both were present at the initiation in Kekri. The eight substances of a modern Bīsapanthī *pūjā* are: (1) water, (2) sandalwood paste (listed as *gandha* in ritual handbooks and used to trace a *svāstika* on the plate), (3) uncooked rice (*akṣata*), (4) flowers, (5) sweets (*naivaidya*), (6) a lamp (*dīpa*), (7) incense (*dhūpa*), and (8) fruit (*phala*). Terāpanthīs offer: (1) water, (2) sandalwood paste (*gandha*), (3) uncooked white rice (*akṣata*), (4) yellow-colored (from sandalwood) rice (*puṣpa*), (5) white coconut pieces (*naivaidya*), (6) yellow-colored (from sandalwood) coconut pieces (*dīpa*), (7) incense (*dhūpa*), and (8) nuts, raisins, dried dates, etc. (*phala*).

of a disciple, the three initiands connected themselves to the first monks – the original disciples of the Tīrthaṅkaras – and legitimated their place in the Digambara mendicant tradition that traces itself back to these *gaṇadhara*s.

While this worship was structured around honouring the disciples represented by each of the 1,452 dots, Śubhacandra's manual, which these worshipers followed, also recognises the earlier form of the Ring of Disciples outlined in image consecration manuals. Śubhacandra's text begins, for example, with instructions for the ritual ablution (*abhiṣeka*) of an icon of the Jina along with a metal *yantra* on which the exact components outlined in the medieval image consecration manuals – a six-sided figure surrounded by rings of praises to these superhuman powers – are inscribed. In Kekri, each morning, when the worshipers would return to the worship hall to honour a section of the diagram, the ceremony would begin with these seven different ritual ablutions of a metal icon of the Jina. The lay worshipers would pour (1) sugarcane juice, (2) clarified butter (*ghṛta*), (3) milk, (4) curd, (5) water with herbs, (6) water from four pots, and (7) water mixed with sandalwood (*sugandhita*) on the Jina icon and a metal *yantra* (RĀJAŚRĪ 2003: 17-19*).* With each *abhiṣeka*, the worshipers would recite a Sanskrit verse composed by Śubhacandra asking for worldly goals and liberation, and then Ācārya Vairāgyanandī would recite a *mantra* that includes the *a pra ti ca kre phaṭ vi ca krā ya svā hā* we saw at the center of the earlier version of the Ring of Disciples diagram outlined in the medieval image consecration manuals. When performing the *abhiṣeka* with sugarcane juice, for example, he recited:

> *oṃ hrīṃ jhvīṃ śrīṃ arhaṃ a si ā u sā apraticakre phaṭ vicakrāya jhrauṃ jhrauṃ.* I perform the ablution with supremely sacred sugarcane juice. [90]

In this way, Śubhacandra's sixteenth-century Sanskrit *Gaṇadharavalaya-vidhāna* and its subsequent adaptions expand upon the earlier Ring of Disciples, likely because the earlier version had been used for generations to initiate monks, and the *bhaṭṭāraka*s developing these rites wished to maintain a link with these earlier practices while more explicitly connecting themselves to the first monks of Jainism.

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[90] RĀJAŚRĪ 2003: 17: *oṃ hrīṃ jhvīṃ śrīṃ arhaṃ a si ā u sā apraticakre phaṭ vicakrāya jhrauṃ jhrauṃ. pavitratarekṣurasena snapayāmi svāhā.*

Indeed, Ādisāgara Aṅkalīkara, the founder of the lineage of the Digambaras at Kekri, is an anomaly in the history of Digambara Jainism in emphasising that mendicant initiation should be about asceticism and an individual connection with the Jina. After Ādisāgara's self-initiation in front of an icon of the Jina, his followers quickly readopted the rituals developed by the *bhaṭṭāraka*s. In 2002, the nun Āryikā Śītalamatī published a manual entitled "Various Rituals for the Initiation Rite of Passage," *Vividh Dīkṣā Saṃskār Vidhi*, that contains, in Sanskrit, the prescriptions for the rites of initiation for a mendicant teacher (*upādhyāya*), mendicant head (*ācārya*), and pontiff (*bhaṭṭāraka*) said to have been copied from an "ancient" (*prācīna*) manuscript a direct disciple of Ādisāgara, Muni Sanmatisāgara, found in a manuscript house in the pilgrimage site of Śrī Atiśaya Kṣetra Beḍiyā in Gujarat (JAIN 2009: 16). While no date or author is mentioned in the manuscript, it should be placed sometime in the early modern period – during the reign of the *bhaṭṭāraka*s in Gujarat – and most certainly outlines rituals that were developed before the rise of the modern naked *muni* tradition in the twentieth century.[91]

The description of the initiation of a mendicant teacher (*upādhyāya*) in this pre-modern manuscript is word-for-word identical to the description of this rite in the modern manual used by the Digambaras in Kekri, the *Vimal Bhakti Saṃgrah*.[92] This rite includes the worship of the Ring of Disciples, the *guru*'s imparting of *mantra*s related to the rank of the *upādhyāya*, and the recitation of the *Siddha*, *Śruta*, *Śānti*, *Samādhi*, and *Guru Bhakti*s. Apart from a few anomalies such as Ādisāgara's self-initiation, Digambara *dīkṣā*s have been, for at least 1,000 years, complex combinations of devotional, ascetic, and Tantric rituals. Each of these components of the *dīkṣā* – from the Tantric worship of a *maṇḍala* to the recitation of praise poems – strengthens communal ties between laypeople and mendicants and between Jains of the past and present.

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[91] JAIN (2009: 122) rightly notes that it must have been composed after the twelfth century, since the ritual outlining the promotion of a *bhaṭṭāraka* prescribes the *guru* promoting the pontiff to pronounce him as the head of either the Sarasvatī Gaccha, the Mūlasaṃgha, the Nandisaṃgha, or the Balātkara Gaṇa, and the latter two lineages emerged around the twelfth century.

[92] Compare JAIN 2009: 121 with SYĀDVĀDAMATĪ 2002: 451.

Concluding remarks

This study of Digambara *dīkṣā* has highlighted some commonalities between the initiatory practices of Jains and those of so-called "Tantrics." We have seen how Digambara Jain initiations, since at least the ninth century, have in some ways been "Tantric," because they involve the construction of *maṇḍala*s and the imparting of karma-destroying, non-Vedic *mantra*s. But this incorporation of Tantric elements into Jain initiations does not mean that Jains are Tantrics, or that Jains belong to a Tantric community. "Tantric" is not always an accurate or sufficiently precise term to designate religious actors or communities.

It can, however, be helpful to use the term to distinguish some ritual components from others. At an early stage, Jain mendicant initiations did not include *maṇḍala*s and *mantra*s, and then, at some point, they did. Using the word "Tantric" here to refer to these components can help us chart ritual developments on the subcontinent and allow Jains access to a larger conversation about the emergence of these practices in the medieval period.

Once Jains enter this conversation from which they have been largely excluded, can we begin to see how Tantric practices are in some ways "Jain"? Can we examine how early Jain understandings about the power of certain recitations to destroy *karma* are echoed in later Tantric claims that initiatory *mantra*s obliterate impurities? Can we study how the very idea of a non-Vedic initiation for soteriological purposes is rooted in early ascetic traditions such as Jainism? Jains may not belong to a Tantric community, but examining their images, texts, and practices can certainly enrich our understandings of how Tantric ritual components have been used to create communities.

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Minor Vajrayāna texts V:
The *Gaṇacakravidhi* attributed to Ratnākaraśānti

Péter-Dániel Szántó

Overview

There are very few studies on the *gaṇacakra*, a ritualised communal feast as celebrated by followers of the Vajrayāna, i.e., Tantric Buddhist communities. LALOU's preliminary study (1965) is still useful, and it was only recently followed up. The only monograph on the subject, which I was unable to consult in its entirety, is in Japanese by SHIZUKA (2007), who has before and since authored several articles on the topic, including a very useful English summary of his research (2008). Shizuka mostly worked with Tibetan canonical translations, however, as I will demonstrate below, a relatively small amount of material does survive in the original Sanskrit.

The main point of this article is to present a *gaṇacakra* manual in Sanskrit. First, I will say a few general points on the rite for the non-specialist reader. I will then give a rough overview of the earliest (eighth to ninth centuries CE) sources for this rite in Buddhist literature, followed by a brief discussion of later (tenth to thirteenth centuries CE) sources and Sanskrit manuals, or fragments thereof, specifically devoted to it. I will then turn to announce a fortunate discovery of one such manual in the original. After some introductory notes, in the next section I will provide a diplomatic edition of the text accompanied by philological notes and a tentative translation. The final section contains a diplomatic edition of a short and incomplete gloss that was found together with the manual.

The non-specialist reader will probably be baffled by the amount of philological groundwork required to clarify sometimes even very basic points as well as by the amount of unpublished and/or unstudied/untranslated literature provided in the references. Alas, such is the state of our field.

General introduction

The main points of a *gaṇacakra* (or *gaṇamaṇḍala*), lit. "assembly circle," essentially a ritualised communal feast, are as follows: The ritual should be observed periodically, at least once a year, but preferably more often. It is not a public affair, as participation is limited to initiates of a particular Tantric cult, ideally both male and female. They are headed by their master who is seated in the middle, usually accompanied by his consort, and officiates during the key points of the rite. Lesser duties are delegated to an assistant. The resources are provided by a sponsor, who is also present. The chief aim of the rite is to consume the so-called *samaya* ("vow," "pledge") substances – bodily fluids and meats – in a communal fashion. These are placed in a vessel (usually a skull bowl) filled with liquor and are consecrated by the main officiant. The vessel is then passed around, usually accompanied by verses in Apabhraṃśa, a kind of literary Middle Indic, with everyone obliged to partake. This is followed by a feast with food, drink, song, and dance. Some descriptions specify that participants should communicate using secret signs and secret codewords (both called *chommā*). It is usually assumed that intercourse also takes place, and we do indeed find allusions to this in some of our manuals, e.g. the one discussed here, but this is not the main point. The ritual usually takes place at night and can last until daybreak. Thereupon the participants are dismissed respectfully.

The ritual manuals explain the rationale behind celebrating a *gaṇacakra* in various ways. Most relevant authors will state that the primary reason is to gather the equipments of merit and knowledge (*puṇya°* and *jñānasaṃbhāra*), which are obligatory requisites for one's spiritual career. Abhayākaragupta, a highly influential East Indian author from the late eleventh and early twelfth century, claims (Tōh. 2491, 243b) that it is a transgression not to perform it, while his disciple Ratnarakṣita lists as aims (Tōh. 2494, 249a) restoring transgressed Tantric vows, gaining victory over enemies, achieving all objects of desire, pleasing the deity, and ultimately obtaining the accomplishment of the highest state of consciousness, the *mahāmudrā*. However, there are also dangers: at least one author, the somewhat obscure *Bhavya, warns (Tōh. 2176, 31b–32a) that participants will be killed by *ḍāka*s (or *ḍākinī*s), either malevolent spirits or possibly the deities themselves, if the rules of the feast are not observed correctly.

Modern anthropological theory would no doubt find such manuals a rich resource for topics such as celebrating and maintaining identity, testing

communal loyalty, distribution of resources, ritual etiquette, transgressive behaviour and control thereof.

The earliest textual sources for the *gaṇacakra* ritual

While I am fully aware that the Buddhist *gaṇacakra*/°*maṇḍala* probably imitates a Śaiva ritual (note that *gaṇa* primarily means an attendant of the god Śiva), I will ignore this point in my brief historical overview (for more on this topic, see SANDERSON 2009: 154).

To the best of my knowledge, the earliest reference in Buddhist literature to a *gaṇacakra* or *gaṇamaṇḍala* dates to the early eighth century or possibly slightly earlier.[1] This is in a nebulous but incredibly important text, the so-called *Longer Paramādya* (Tōh. 488, 238a):

> The *vajra*-holder (i.e., the initiate) together with (i.e., holding) his *vajra*-sceptre should place in the middle of the assembly (*tshogs* = **gaṇa*) great (i.e., human) blood together with camphor (i.e., semen) and sandalwood (i.e., faeces) mixed with [menstrual] blood. [In the state of] the best of *yoga*s (i.e., meditative identification) with **Sarvākāśa* (i.e., the deity?), he should taste [the mixture] as if it were Soma,[2] [lifting a bit from the vessel] with the [joined] tips of his ring finger and thumb; [by this] he shall obtain eternal accomplishment.[3]

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[1] This dating is based first and foremost on the fact that the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara* (on which see GRIFFITHS & SZÁNTÓ 2015), which borrows extensively from the *Longer Paramādya*, was already extant in the first half of the eighth century. SHIZUKA (2008, 188) proposes that the *gaṇacakra*/*gaṇamaṇḍala* is a historic outgrowth of *guhyamaṇḍala*s taught in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (ca. early 7th c.). This may be accurate, but one significant difference is that the pivotal moment of consuming the antinomian substances is missing in the description of the *guhyamaṇḍala* in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.

[2] Here the intended sense is more akin to "drink of immortality," rather than a reference to the drink usually consumed in Vedic ritual.

[3] Tōh. 488, 238a: | *khrag chen ga bur dang bcas pa* | | *tsandan dmar dang sbyar ba ni* |
| *tshogs kyi nang du rab zhugs nas* | | *rdo rje dang bcas rdo rje 'dzin* |
| *srin lag mthe bo rtse mo yis* | | *nam mkha' thams cad sbyor mchog ldan* |
| *zla ba'i btung ba bzhin myangs na* | | *rtag pa'i dngos grub thob par 'gyur* |.

This crucial passage is reproduced with two changes (marked here in bold and irrelevant for our present discussion) in a dependent text, the famous *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara* (ms. fol. 14r):

> *mahāraktaṃ sakarpūraṃ raktacandanayojitam |*
> *gaṇamadhye pratiṣṭhaṃ **śrīsarvocchiṣṭarasāyanam** ||*[4]
> *anāmāṅguṣṭhavaktrābhyāṃ **svādhidevātmayogavān** |*
> *somapānavad āsvādya siddhim āpnoti śāśvatīm ||*[5]

The *Longer Paramādya* does not actually use an equivalent of the Sanskrit term *gaṇamaṇḍala*, but it is not unlikely that the word *tshogs* (Skt. *gaṇa) and the use of *gaṇa* in *gaṇamadhye* in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinī-jālaśaṃvara* are simply abbreviations with the same meaning. On the other hand, in another passage the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara* already uses the term *gaṇamaṇḍala* (ms. fol. 13v: *kalpayed gaṇa-maṇḍalam*) and gives a more detailed but still rather obscure description. It seems to me that the point here is to recreate a "live" version of the deities, in other words, an enactment or re-enactment of the *maṇḍala*. The partici-pants wear costumes, and if their number does not match the number of entities in the *maṇḍala*, simulacra made of wood or metal are used. There are very few restrictions imposed and possession (*āveśa*) plays a major part. This stands in contrast with later, more standardised descriptions, where behaviour is controlled and dignified: for example, singing and danc-ing is to be performed only with the officiant's permission, and alcohol is to be consumed with moderation.

Most of the relevant verses from the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījāla-śaṃvara* are rehashed and expanded in what may be regarded the classical description of the *gaṇacakra*, namely, Āryadeva's *Sūtaka*, chapter 9. This work dates from the ninth century and played a major part in establishing one of the two major schools of exegesis of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, one of the most (if not the most) influential Tantric Buddhist scriptures. An Eng-lish translation has been published by WEDEMEYER (cf. 2008: 291ff. for the relevant part), which is, however, in need of revision.

The next important scriptural source is the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* (ca. mid or late ninth century), which does not explicitly mention the standard term

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[4] The word *pratiṣṭhaṃ* should be interpreted as a present participle. The reading °*occhiṣṭa*° is my emendation, the ms. has °*ontiṣṭha*°.

[5] The manuscript reads *ādmoti*, which I have corrected to *āpnoti*.

gaṇacakra or *gaṇamaṇḍala*, but it does have *yogayoginīmaṇḍala*, which in the strange language of this text means "the circle of *yogin*s and *yoginī*s." It does not give a precise description of what the rite consisted of, however, it does teach several features which later became standard, most notably the Apabhraṃśa songs intoned when gaining entry in the assembly and when passing around the vessel with the transgressive substances as well as the *mantra*s to purify them (cf. SZÁNTÓ 2012: I: 330ff. & 357ff.).

Later sources

Some of the later scriptures from the so-called Yoginītantras are also note-worthy: the *Hevajratantra* (ca. 900 CE) passages are quite well-known (II.vii.5–13 in SNELLGROVE 1959; there are some other details scattered throughout this text), as is the eighth chapter of the *Saṃvarodayatantra*, most likely a relatively late (eleventh to twelfth centuries?) Nepalese com-position-compilation, one among the selected chapters published by TSUDA (1974). The commentaries on these passages are also very rewarding to consult (e.g. *Padminī* ms. fols. 15r–17r). Perhaps less well-known is a chapter entirely dedicated to the subject, the twenty-third of the un-published *Mahāmudrātilaka* (ms. fol. 47r ff.), a scripture probably com-piled in the late eleventh century. This is almost entirely a copy of the six-ty-second chapter of the *Vajramālābhidhāna*, a *Guhyasamāja* explanatory scripture (Tōh. 445, 267a ff.; KITTAY 2011: 728–736), one of the many parallels between the two texts.[6]

Further material in Sanskrit can be gathered from ritual compendia. The *Vajrāvalī* of Abhayākaragupta does not teach the *gaṇacakra*, but the author wrote a separate manual that survives only in Tibetan translation (Tōh. 2491). Kuladatta's version of the *gaṇacakra* ritual, which is heavily dependent on the text we examine here, constitutes the final chapter of his *Kriyāsaṃgra-hapañjikā* (edited by SAKURAI 2001). Dating this author is a tricky matter: he must precede 1216 CE, the date of the oldest manuscript of his compendium, but he could be as early as the middle of the eleventh century (TANEMURA 2004: 5–10). Jagaddarpaṇa, a Nepalese author from ca. the thirteenth century who was heavily influenced by Abhayākaragupta, describes a number of

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[6] The historical aetiology of the *Vajramālābhidhāna* is very obscure, I will therefore refrain from assigning it a date. Some parts must date from as early as the ninth century.

Gaṇavidhis in his *Kriyāsamuccaya*, which probably demonstrates a local di-
versification among Newar Buddhists (ms. fol. 22v ff.[7]).

Some shorter but still noteworthy witnesses are the second half of the
ninth section (and various details elsewhere) in the initiation manual
Saṃvarodayā nāma maṇḍalopāyikā (ms. fol. 38v ff.) of Bhūvācārya, an
author active before 1054 CE at Ratnagiri in present Odisha, and the fourth
chapter of the anonymous and undatable *Śiṣyānugrahavidhi* (ms. A fols.
18v–19v, ms. B fols. 3v–5r), a short compendium on various subjects relat-
ed to the worship of the deity Cakrasaṃvara.

Gaṇacakra manuals

Besides the present text, the only other complete and self-standing manual
surviving in Sanskrit is to be found in the so-called Ngor Hevajrasādhana
collection as its last item (see ISAACSON 2009: §45). The manuscript is now
said to be in China, and the only way to access it for the time being is
through copies of Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana's photographs taken in Tibet (ms.
fols. 264v–271v). Appropriately for the collection, this text describes a
gaṇacakra for Hevajra initiates, although the influence of the *Ca-
tuṣpīṭhatantra* is substantial. The work is anonymous, has no identifiable
Tibetan translation, and has not been edited yet.

The manuscript NAK 1-1679 = NGMPP B 24/13, catalogued under the
misleading title "*Samājatathānusāriṇī*", contains two fragments of one
folio each from works related to the *gaṇacakra*. The first fragment, penned
in the so-called hook-topped Nepalese script, is very corrupt, but from the
statement of purpose it can be made out that it is a manual based on the
Guhyasamājatantra. The available text amounts to a little more than ten
verses and contains descriptions of the ideal officiant (*ācārya*), his empow-
ering of the assistant (*karmavajrin*), and some preliminary purificatory acts.
The most striking feature of this text is its very existence. Āryadeva openly
admits that the *Guhyasamājatantra* does not contain injunctions concerning
the *gaṇacakra* (which he equates with "practices with elaboration," *sa-
prapañcacaryā*), which is why he supplies the description from the
Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara (cf. WEDEMEYER 2008: 291).
From this manual, as well as the *Vajramālābhidhāna* description mentioned

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[7] Note that the Tibetan translation in the Derge Canon omits a significant part, as
the parallel ceases after Tōh. 3305, 216a4, which is probably unintentional.

above, it would seem that followers of the *Guhyasamāja* thought they were lagging behind and needed to update their ritual repertoire.

The second fragment from the same bundle (NAK 1-1679 = NGMPP B 24/13) is penned in a rather different, bolder, hook-topped script. Here we have not the first, but the final page of a work styling itself a Gaṇacakravidhi. About seven verses survive in this fragment, but none deal with the rite proper. The penultimate verse, which is rather corrupt, describes either the author or the patron as the ruler of Dhavalapura,[8] named either Sumati or Udayacandra. The colophon also contains a date falling within the reign of Abhayamalla, which can be converted to Friday, November 24, 1217 CE.

Another fragment, in this case of two folios, can be found in NAK 1-1679 = NGMPP B 24/24, catalogued as "*Mahāpratisarādhāriṇī*". Unfortunately, most of the fragment is badly effaced. From what remains legible, it can be determined that the work once described a *gaṇacakra* of the Catuṣpīṭha cycle, or that at the very least it was heavily influenced by that ritual system. There are several parallel phrasings with works of that cycle, the meats usually styled *pradīpa* ("lamps") are here called *aṅkuśa*s ("hooks"), and the *mantra*s used to empower them (*śriṃ*, *hūṃ*, *ghruṃ*, *jriṃ*, *saḥ*) are hallmarks of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* as well (SZÁNTÓ 2012: I: 359–360).

A newly discovered manuscript

About half a decade ago, the aforementioned Shizuka, who can without doubt be called the world's foremost expert of Buddhist Gaṇacakra manuals, published a study of a canonical Tibetan text that is titled **Vajra-bhairavagaṇacakra* (Tōh. 1995) and attributed in the translators' colophon to Ratnākaraśānti, one of the most famous and influential Buddhist thinkers from East India (floruit ca. late tenth to early eleventh century). In the English summary of his study, SHIZUKA (2011) stated the following: "In the Sde-dge edition this manual amounts to only two and a half folios, and a Sanskrit manuscript has not yet been reported." I am happy to announce that I have identified a Sanskrit witness of the manual (according to my notes, in 2013), which is the main subject of this paper. Since ignorance of Japanese is one among my many shortcomings, I may reproduce some of

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[8] Converted into Modern Indo-Aryan, this would sound something like Dholpur. This is a fairly common toponym, but I do not find it impossible that here we have a variant of Dhavalasrotas, for which see PANT & SHARMA 1977: 22–24.

Shizuka's findings and claim them my own. Should this indeed occur, I apologise profusely.

The witness in question is a manuscript kept at the National Archives in Kathmandu under call number 5-7871. I had no opportunity to perform an autopsy of the manuscript, but I was able to consult it from digital images of the microfilm prepared by the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project, reel no. B 104/10. I cannot tell how long the original manuscript was; here we have only three initial folios, which contain the complete text of the *Gaṇacakravidhi* and the beginning of a gloss calling or describing itself as (a) *Saṃkṣiptā Pañjikā*, that is to say, "a short commentary on difficult points."

The script is a rather unusual, headless *devanāgarī*, employed throughout, except for the first two lines of fol. 2r and a single *akṣara* on fol. 3v. This hand, or a very similar one, can also be seen in other manuscripts from Nepal, both in the main text and in paratextual notes. A thorough palaeographical analysis would perhaps be aided by a hypothesis I wish to advance here: I think that this is the hand of a famous Nepalese scholar active in the first half of the nineteenth century, a man called Sundarānanda. Sundarānanda was not only an author and avid collector of manuscripts on various subjects,[9] but he also maintained a scriptorium[10] and occasionally copied manuscripts himself.[11]

From Shizuka's wording in the aforementioned summary it seems to me that he accepted the attribution to the great eleventh-century East Indian scholar and perhaps even accepted the suggestion of the Tibetan title that this work forms part of the *Vajrabhairava* corpus, i.e. the group of works, both scriptural and exegetical, centred on the cult of the eponymous deity, a Buddhicised form of Śiva-Bhairava. I would disagree on both counts. First, it is quite impossible that Ratnākaraśānti, whose Sanskrit is beyond re-

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[9] His signature or ownership mark can be seen on the final folio of the only Sanskrit witness of Kalyāṇavarman's *Catuṣpīṭhapañjikā* (ms. fol. 45v), dated Nepāla Samvat 132 = 1012 CE; see SZÁNTÓ 2012: I:116. In my thesis (ibid. and p. 85, n. 24), I suggested that this may be Hara Prasād Śāstrī's handwriting. I now wish to withdraw that statement.

[10] I thank Iain Sinclair for this information as well as for making me aware of Sundarānanda's importance and influence in the first place in personal communications (e-mail, June–July 2013).

[11] For example a manuscript of the *Śālihotra* of Indrasena, a treatise on hippology – further testimony for his wide-ranging cultural interests – with a Nepali translation and commentary, dated Śaka Samvat 1765, Nepāla Samvat 963, that is to say, 1843 CE.

proach, would have perpetrated any of the "barbarisms" (*mlecchita*, *mlecchabhāṣā*) in diction I will point out in my notes. Second, there is not a single word about the deity Vajrabhairava in the text or even the slightest allusion in wording, or otherwise, to texts of that cycle. I suspect that the work was grouped thus on account of its Tibetan translator, who identifies himself in the colophon as "the monk rDo rje grags." This is none other than the famous and infamous translator of the Rwa clan, the foremost propagator of Vajrabhairava teachings in the Land of Snows.[12]

Indeed, the text does not seem to affiliate itself to any Tantric cycle. On the contrary, it seeks to stay as general as possible, allowing for particular customisations according to the liturgy of whichever cycle the participants followed. The strongest scriptural influence I could detect is that of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*. However, this scripture, which I tentatively date to the middle or second half of the ninth century, cannot be accepted as the lowest terminus post quem, since the present text also alludes to a *cakra* in the navel, a feature completely missing from the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* along with all other paraphernalia of so-called subtle body practices. The terminus ante quem is also slightly difficult to determine. As I will point out in the notes, the text's influence on Kuladatta's description of the *gaṇacakra* in the final chapter of his *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* is very clear, but Kuladatta's dates are not fixed with certainty. The date and authorship of the gloss is impossible to determine. I find it very unlikely that the author was the scribe (Sundarānanda, if my hypothesis is correct), since the gloss uses lemmata which sometimes differ from the main text. It is also too corrupt for an autograph.

A few words about how I wish to proceed in presenting these two texts. In September 2013, in the idyllic setting of the island of Procida in the Bay of Naples during the Third Manuscripta Buddhica Workshop I had the good fortune of submitting my preliminary draft to what may be described without exaggeration as the most competent panel of experts of Tantric texts in the world. During our reading, my understanding of the texts grew considerably, but so did my despair. A host of new problems were pointed out and some passages were declared beyond redemption. Our verdict was unanimous that this is not the work of Ratnākaraśānti. Several emendations were proposed, but in the heat of the moment I stupidly forgot to record each and every person's name who came to the rescue. Alexis Sanderson and Harunaga Isaacson will stand behind most emendations and conjec-

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[12] For the life of Rwa lo, see CUEVAS 2015, a recent English translation of his biography.

tures, but I also recall excellent suggestions by Kazuo Kano and Kenichi Kuranishi. I wish to apologise to anyone who might feel left out. I also wish to thank the editors of the present volume for their excellent suggestions and gentle persuasion to include a translation, something I was initially reluctant to do. In spite of all this remarkable learning that came to my aid and for which I feel forever grateful, I still think that a definitive edition and precise translation cannot be attempted at this stage. I will therefore give the text as it stands in the manuscript, accompanied by a highly tentative translation (where this is possible) and a running commentary, which may point the reader in the right direction. Needless to say, all errors are my own.

Annotated diplomatic edition and tentative translation

[**1r**] *namo Vajrasatvāya* || ||

Obeisance to Vajrasattva!

This is the scribal obeisance and does not form part of the text, although most editions of Buddhist texts ignore this point. Vajrasattva is a kind of undifferentiated main deity of Tantric Buddhism, portrayed with two arms holding a *vajra*-sceptre (a symbol of means, *upāya*) and a bell (a symbol of wisdom, *prajñā*), which are also the two chief implements of Tantric Buddhist initiates. Most exegetes would agree that other Tantric deities (e.g. Hevajra, Cakrasaṃvara) are, roughly speaking, "emanations" or forms of Vajrasattva.

[1] *Vajrasatvaṃ praṇamyādau bhāvābhāvātmakaṃ vibhuṃ ||*
sarvakāmapradaṃ devaṃ vakṣye haṃ gaṇamaṇḍalaṃ ||

After having first bowed to Vajrasattva, the pervading Lord, embodying both existence and non-existence (i.e., conventional and ultimate reality or transmigration and liberation), the god bestowing all objects of desire (or: the absolute object of desire), I shall teach the *gaṇamaṇḍala*.

This is the customary *maṅgala* (obeisance, auspicious utterance) and *pratijñā* (statement of purpose). Both *ādau* and [']*haṃ* are superfluous: the meaning of the first is already implicit in the absolutive *praṇamya*, whereas

the meaning of the second can be gathered from the finite verb *vakṣye*. The object of *vakṣye* – unless we understand it to mean "I shall describe" – is a *bhīmavat* compound for *gaṇamaṇḍalavidhim*. The description *bhāvābhāvātmakaṃ* is understood by the glossator as "embodying [both] conventional/superficial and ultimate truth," whereas *sarvakāma°* is interpreted as the absolute object of desire, i.e., great bliss (in this literature a synonym of Buddhahood), and not "all objects of desire."

[2] *nirvikalpaparo maṃtrī sarvakālasamāhitaḥ |*
sarvataṃtrānusārajño daśatatvavidāṃ varaḥ ||

The *mantra*-practitioner (here: the chief officiant), whose aim is the non-discursive [state], who is composed at all times, who knows the intent of all Tantras, who is a great expert in the ten fundamentals,

This verse describes the qualifications of the chief officiant. Here he is simply called *mantrin*, but later (v. 10) more appropriately *gaṇanāyaka*. *anusāra°* is best understood as a synonym of *abhiprāya*. There are several lists for the ten *tattva*s (see KLEIN-SCHWIND 2012: 28 ff., she translates *tattva* as "fundamentals"), essentially types of rituals a *vajrācārya* (i.e., a Tantric Buddhist officiant, master) is expected to know, but none match the one given by the glossator (see p. 307), which is most likely an ad hoc creation and not something supported by scriptural or exegetical authority. Note his variants: *nityakāla°* for *sarvakāla°* and *°vidhānavit* for *°vidāṃ varaḥ*.

[3] *gaṃbhīrodāradharmyarbhyā sārdravībhūtamānasaiḥ ||*
nirābhimānaiḥ sacchiṣyaiḥ śuśrūṣaṇaviśāradaiḥ ||

with true disciples, whose minds are †...† in the profound and vast doctrine, who are free from pride, who are obedient [and] skilled,

This verse describes the disciples accompanying the chief officiant. The second quarter must have begun with a *cvī* formation, otherwise the first line is beyond repair. Perhaps the point is that the disciples should have faith in or be versed in the profound and vast doctrine (i.e., the Buddhist *dharma*). The ungrammatical lengthening in *nirābhimānaiḥ* seeks to avoid the metrical fault of having both second and third syllables short.

[4] *devatāgaṇasaṃkīrṇe paṃcakāmaphalaprade //*
vivikte ramyagehe smin nijapūjāṃ samārabhet //

should undertake self-worship [as taught] in this [system] in a secluded,
lovely house, which is scattered with groups of deities and which be-
stows the five objects of desire (i.e., the five sensory objects).

The exact meaning of the first quarter is obscure. The glossator would want
the deities to mean "young women passionate about reality," but this is
doubtful, unless he means *yoginī*s incarnated into young women. However,
in that case the author would have surely used that word, which is metrical-
ly equivalent. Perhaps the first line does not necessarily describe the house,
but the larger polity where the rite is to take place. In that case, *devatā*
might refer to local deities with a friendly disposition towards Buddhism.
Should the compound refer to the house after all, perhaps it means that the
consecrated ritual space was adorned by images of deities on scroll paint-
ings or sculpted. Privacy was crucial to the rite; Indrabhūti's manual (Tōh.
1672, 196a) mentions two appointed door guardians. Āryadeva's *Sūtaka*
mentions both elaborate, three-storied brick palaces and more humble cot-
tages as suitable locations (WEDEMEYER 2008: 294–295). Other manuals
(e.g. Tōh. 1231, 43a; Tōh. 1439, 238b; Tōh. 2491, 243b) list the usual plac-
es for practice (a cremation ground, the top of a mountain, a thicket, a
grove, banks of a river, etc.), but most stress that they should be isolated.
The glossator's explanation is somewhat opaque: "where there are no bad
people [or] people" or perhaps "where there are no people, who are bad peo-
ple." "Bad people" in this kind of literature are opponents of (Tantric) Bud-
dhism. It is perhaps not out of the question that the author used the pronomi-
nal locative ending, thus *°gehesmin*. The glossator, however, interprets
[']*smin* as an equivalent of *iha*, meaning *asmin tantre*, "in this scripture." The
collocation *nijapūjā* is unattested elsewhere, but *nija°* is sometimes men-
tioned in the sense of the chosen deity's *mantra*, e.g. *hūṃ*. The deity and its
mantra are not separate, and one is supposed to visualise oneself as a deity,
therefore we are probably not far from capturing the intended meaning:
"worshipping oneself as the deity, who is the same as its *mantra*."

[5] *jyeṣṭhānukramayogena vaṃdanā pūjanā smṛtā ||*
atha guṇamāhātmyād ātitheyatvagauravāt ||

Homage and worship are taught [to take place] according to the rule of seniority; alternatively, according to the greatness of virtues or out of respect for a guest.

This verse explains the rule of seniority, which was observed not only in the order in which the participants are greeted and honoured, but also in the order of entry and seating. For an elaboration on *jyeṣṭhānukrama* by Kuladatta, see SAKURAI 2001: 18–19. Five kinds of seniority are listed there: according to initiation (*abhiṣeka*), according to observance (*vrata*), according to knowledge (*jñāna*), according to birth (*janma*), and according to learning (*vidyā*). Our glossator acknowledges only the first. For *atha* we should adopt the glossator's *atha vā*, otherwise the line would be hypometrical. The formation *ātitheyatva°* is excessive for *ātitheya°* or *atithitva°*; the irregularity, however, allows for a metrical verse quarter. This last rule is especially noteworthy, because it suggests that the list of participants was not stable, but it could also include foreigners to the land, as the glossator suggests, provided of course that they are initiates. The glossator's variants are *matā* for *smṛtā* and *atitheyatva°* for *ātitheyatva°*, provided that this latter is genuine.

[6] *snānaṃ gaṃdhaṃ ca vastraṃ ca mālābharaṇalepanaṃ ||*
arghaṃ dhūpaṃ yathāśaktyā gaṇamaṇḍalam ārabhet ||

[After having gathered] according to one's means [articles for] bathing, scented powders, cloths, garlands, ornaments, ointments, the guest water, incense, one should begin the *gaṇamaṇḍala* [ritual].

This verse lists the articles of worship. Although not mentioned separately here, later on (see v. 7) a sponsor (indeed, sponsors) is mentioned, so it stands to reason that these are charged to him and that it is his duty to prepare them. We should probably see an invisible absolute meaning "after having gathered/prepared" for the accusatives. Note the glossator's variants *mālyaṃ ca vastrā°* for *vastraṃ ca mālā°*.

[7] *samāhitāya karaṇī proktaiṣā karmavajriṇī ||*
karṇe kṛtvāṃjaliṃ mūrddhni dātā cāṣṭāṃgato namet ||

The gesture calling to order is taught to be this: the female chief assistant, after having placed the folded palms on the ears [she should place them] on the head. As for the sponsor, he should perform a prostration of the eight parts [of the body].

Understand *samāhitāya* as *samāhitatvāya*. It is slightly unusual that the absolutive and the finite verb have different subjects, but otherwise the verse does not seem to make sense. It is also somewhat unusual that the chief assistant (elsewhere, as in the Tibetan translation, *karmavajrin*) is female, but this reading as well as its interpretation as instrumental is reinforced by the glossator. The point of her gesture (*karaṇī*) is to call the participants to attention. This feature is not paralleled in any other manual known to me.

[8] *baliṃ ratnādibhāṇḍasthaṃ datvā lokottarān jinān ||*
laukikān maṃtradevāṃś ca pūjayet tatvatatparaḥ ||

After having given the food offering, which is [to be] placed in a vessel [made of some kind of] precious material [such as gold and silver] or something else [such as clay], the one intent on reality (i.e., the chief officiant) should worship the supramundane Victors, the mundane [gods], and the *mantra* gods.

The absolutive should probably be understood as a present participle. Alternatively, offering the *bali* and worshipping the three groups are distinct. The compound *tattvatatparaḥ* may suggest that the worshipper should be aware of the ultimate nature of the mentioned deities. The last group, namely the *mantradeva*s, is interpreted by the glossator as genii locorum. The word *ratna* is frequently translated as "jewel," but the actual meaning is simply "precious material," including some metals.

[9] *maṃtrābhiprāyayogena padmabhāṇḍe mahāmṛtaṃ ||*
daśāṃkuśaṃ ca saṃjapya sarvās tān paritoṣayet ||

He should [then] satisfy all [participants] with the great nectar and the ten hooks [which are placed] in a skull bowl and empowered by recitation according to the intent of the Tantra.

The transgressive substances, normally referred to as *samaya*s, here called great (or "special") nectars (*mahāmṛta*) and hooks (*aṅkuśa*) – both collective singulars – are placed in a skull cup (*padmabhāṇḍa*), empowered by recitation, and distributed. Although not mentioned here, it is usually understood that the substances are provided in small quantities (usually fashioned into a pellet) and dissolved in liquor (cf. SZÁNTÓ 2012: I: 327 ff.; SAKURAI 2001: 19). Correct *sarvās* to *sarvāṃs*. The recipients are not described clearly; they could be the three groups mentioned above or, as the glossator would have it and what seems more likely, the participants themselves. We should accept the Tibetan reading and emend to *tantrābhiprāya°*; the glossator's reading *tattvābhiprāya°* seems to be a corruption of this. The substances are alluded to below by their acronyms (see v. 16). Two points are noteworthy here. The first is that the meats are usually called *pradīpa*s ("lamps"), *aṅkuśa* is a somewhat less used term and inextricably linked to the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* (SZÁNTÓ 2012: I: 315, 348–349). The influence of that text is observable also in v. 17, which features the odd word *chiḍiṅga*. The second interesting point is that here, as well as in v. 18, the hooks are said to number ten, but in fact this is the total number of the nectars and the meats (see commentary on v. 16). The glossator discreetly ignores this problem.

> [10] *sarvāḥ sādhāraṇāḥ pūjāḥ sarvaguhyottarottarāḥ //*
> *mahāsukhapade sthitvā varteta gaṇanāyakaḥ //*

> All common acts of worships and all [acts of worship which are] utterly and ultimately secret should be performed by the leader of the assembly [after having] established [himself] in the state of great bliss.

Perhaps it would make the verse more elegant to emend to *sarvā guhyo°*. The medial optative *varteta* is a barbaric form, understand *vartayeta*.

> [11] *vinayanibhṛtanārī namravaktrāraviṃdā*
> *vipulaguṇaviśālā tatvatas tatvayogyā /*
> *hṛdi vigatavikalpā sarvanepathyayuktā*
> *pṛthuṃtarakucayugmā sandade kāntibhāṇḍaṃ //*

> The vessel with the charming [substances] should be presented by a shy woman, whose lotus-face is bent, who is rich in extensive virtues, who is truly suitable for truth, in whose heart discursiveness has disappeared,

who is wearing all kinds of makeup, and who has a pair of exceedingly large breasts.

This verse in the *mālinī* metre picks up the ninth stanza. The vessel with the consecrated transgressive substances is presented (understand: distributed?) to the assembly. The usage *kānti* for the *amṛta*s and *aṅkuśa*s in the vessel is unknown to me from elsewhere, but this is what it must mean (see also v. 33). It is not clear who this attractive young woman is, perhaps the same as the *karmavajriṇī* mentioned above (v. 7) or the officiant's consort. We must emend *pṛthuṃtara°* to *pṛthutara°*. The form *sandade* probably stands for *saṃdadet*, another barbaric optative for *saṃdadyāt*. Kuladatta paraphrases the verse thus (SAKURAI 2001: 20): *īṣannamramukhapadmā* (I conjecture this reading for *īṣattāmra°* against Sakurai, his mss., and the Tibetan translation) *ghananirantaratuṅgastanayugalā* (I prefer this, the mss.'s reading, over Sakurai's *ghananirantarā tuṃgastanayugalā*) *sarvābharaṇavibhūṣitā ativistaraguṇayuktā manovikalparahitā savinayā yoṣid* […]; "A woman, whose lotus-face is slightly bent, who has a pair of breasts which are firm, with no space in-between and very prominent, who is decorated with various kinds of ornaments, who is endowed with extensive virtues, who is free from mental conceptualisations, who is shy, [...]" There she is also to recite a verse. Note that Kuladatta does not render the most obscure of her descriptions, *tattvatas tattvayogyā* (the point is perhaps that she must be suitable for nondual, antinomian practice), at the same time, there is a striking parallel between his paraphrase and the glossator's text, which breaks off at this point.

[12] *kāyeṃdhanaṃ samujvālya jñānasaptārciṣā svayaṃ //
tatvahomāya vaktrādau pātaye*[**1v**]*d rasādikaṃ //*

After having kindled at will the firewood (here: constituents) of the body (or: one's person) with the fire of gnosis, one should drop the juice etc. in the mouth etc. in order [to achieve] the fire sacrifice of reality.

We should either emend to *pātayeta* to fix the metre or read *pātayed* with a slight pause after it. Also, *samujvālya* should be corrected to *samujjvālya*. Juice (*rasa*) must mean the nectars (*amṛta*), in which case *ādi* stands for the meats. The meaning of *°ādau* is beyond my understanding; perhaps we have a double *sandhi*, that is to say, we must understand *vaktre ādau*, where the word "first" is picked up by *tato* in the next verse. Alternatively,

ādau stands for the other points in the body which are reached by nectars. Otherwise the general import of this and of the next two verses is fairly clear: the tasting of the transgressive substances (normally *amṛtāsvāda/na*) is framed here as an internalised fire sacrifice (*tattvahoma*), where the fuel is the body, the fire is knowledge, and the oblation the aforementioned substances. The word *svayaṃ* is also slightly difficult, perhaps it does not mean more than "spontaneously" or "at will." There are some similarities with what the commentator Bhavabhaṭṭa calls *guhyahoma* in the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* (see SZÁNTÓ 2012: I: 452–453).

> [13] *tato hṛccaṃdramadhyasthaṃ biṃdudevaṃ mahāvibhuṃ //*
> *athavā sveṣṭadevādiṃ cakrābharaṇabhūṣitaṃ //*

> Thereafter, the deity [in form of a] drop, the great pervasive Lord located on a moon-disk in the heart, or one's chosen deity, etc. adorned with the retinue

The worshipped recipient of this internal *homa* is said to be the deity either in an aniconic or iconic form. The former is in the shape of a drop (*bindu*) atop a moon-disk in the heart. The latter appears in the fully visualised form adorned either with a discus or, more likely (also cf. Kuladatta's paraphrase, *māṇḍaleya°*, below), his retinue (*cakra*). Kuladatta seems to conflate the two, since he writes (SAKURAI 2001: 21): *tato mano-'ntargatasūkṣmabudbudākārapratimaṃ* (I conjecture this reading against Sakurai's *°buddhabuddhākārapratimaṃ* inspired by the reading of the Cambridge ms., not consulted by the Japanese editor, which is itself corrupt but more revealing: *°budbuddhākāra°*) *mahāprabhuṃ* (I disagree with Sakurai's *mahāprabhu°*) *māṇḍaleyadevatāsahitam* […] *snāpayet*; "Thereafter, he should bathe the great pervasive Lord accompanied by the deities of the *maṇḍala* (i.e., his retinue) in the shape of a subtle bubble within his heart." *budbuda*, "bubble," seems to paraphrase the word *bindu*.

> [14] *anāmāṃguṣṭhabiṃdvagrais tritatvonmathitabhāsuraiḥ //*
> *svalpajihvāgrasannyastaiḥ sudhādhārāṃbubhiḥ snapet //*

> should be bathed by oozing streams of nectar [emitted from the substances blazing with] rays [owing to their] having been agitated by the three realities (i.e., three *mantra*s) placed on the tip of the tongue in a small quantity by the [joined] tips of the ring finger and the thumb.

Taking the substances with the joined ring finger and thumb is a standard and old feature, compare the section on the earliest textual sources above. The reading °*biṃdv*° is very problematic, a (somewhat diagnostic) conjecture °*baddha*° would solve the problem. The three *tattva*s must mean three *mantra*s, which purify (again?) the substances. The *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* teaches the triad *ha*, *ho*/*hoḥ*, and *hrī*/*hrīḥ* (SZÁNTÓ 2013: I: 331, 440), which removes the disagreeable colour, smell, and potency respectively. Kuladatta (SAKURAI 2001: 19) seems to teach *aṃ*/*a*, *haḥ*, and *hoḥ* to purify the liquor holding the nectars and meats and the standard *oṃ*, *āḥ*, *hūṃ* to empower it. He also uses the root *math* in the same context, but there it is taken literally to mean mixing in with the ring finger and the thumb. We should probably emend *svalpajihvāgra*° to *svalpaṃ jihvāgra*° and understand the irregular simplex to stand for the causative *snāpayet*. The description is elliptical, but perhaps we are not very far from the point: the substances are first placed in a small quantity on the tongue, and as they are swallowed, they turn into streams of nectar which then bathe the deity.

> [15] *nābhicakrotthitair nādair ākṛṣyākṛṣya tadrasaṃ* //
> *puṭikātrayataḥ pītvā mahāyogī sukhaṃ vaset* //

> Gradually drawing in that nectar with subtle sounds (or: channels) arising from the discus in the navel, after having taken three sips, the great *yogin*[s] should rest at ease.

The first line of this verse seems to describe this gradual journey aided by subtle sounds (*nāda*) or perhaps channels (if we emend to *nāla*) issuing from the *cakra* in the navel. Kuladatta (SAKURAI 2001: 21) has vital energies to correspond to this element: *tato nābhimaṇḍalagatāyāmavāyubhis tadrasam ākṛṣya* […]; "Then, after having drawn in that nectar by means of the restraining[-type] of vital energies located in the discus of the navel [...]." The word *puṭikā* in this sense is unattested elsewhere (our standard dictionaries give "bag" or "vessel"), save Kuladatta's text as transmitted in the Cambridge ms.; Sakurai accepted *ghuṭikā*° (ibid.). I am also inclined to emend *puṭikā*° to *ghuṭikā*°, especially after having consulted TURNER's entry on *ghuṭṭ*, "gulp, swallow" (1962–1966: 242), a word ultimately of Dravidian origin. The two letters *pa* and *gha* look very similar in Old Newar and other East Indian scripts. The subject, *mahāyogī*, should be understood as a collective singular.

[16] *vimūmaraśu _ _ d anyac ca dahanagokupaṃcakaṃ //*
taṃtrataṃtrāṃtare proktam anyac cāpi mahāmṛtaṃ //

[The substances are:] faeces, urine, meat, [menstrual] blood, semen as well as [the meats of] a horse, an elephant, a human being, a cow, and a dog. But there are other [such lists of] great nectars taught in various Tantras.

This is a description of the transgressive substances by their acronyms. The nectars are *vi* [faeces (*viṣ*)], *mū* [urine (*mūtra*)], *mā* [meat (*māṃsa*)], *ra* [menstrual blood (*rakta*)], and *śu* [semen (*śukra*)]. The hooks are *da* [horse or elephant (*damya*/*dantin*)], *ha* [elephant or horse (*hastin*/*haya*)], *na* [human (*nara*)], *go* [cow (*go*)], and *ku* [dog (*kukkura*)]. The second line seems to state that there are other possible lists for the nectars. By this perhaps the following is meant: the duplication of meat is usually taken for granted, but there is another list, which incidentally tallies better with the Śaiva tradition, where *māṃsa* is replaced by phlegm (*kheṭa*), see, e.g., SZÁNTÓ 2012: I: 358–359. It is not entirely clear why the scribe signals two lost/illegible syllables in the first quarter. With lengthening °*mā*° (for *māṃsa*), the quarter should read *vimūmāraśum anyac ca*.

[17] *chiḍiṃgaṃ sarvato dadyād aṃtarīkṣasthitāya tat //*
vīro vīrāya devāya sarvadevīgaṇāya ca //

The hero should offer sprinklings [of] that [mixture of substances] in all directions to the hero (i.e., the chief officiant), to the gods, and to the assembly of various goddesses [visualised] in the sky.

After tasting the substances, they should be offered to the officiant, the deity, and the goddesses. It is only the latter two who should be visualised in the sky, as the officiant is present. This happens through sprinkling, which is the meaning of the odd and specifically Catuṣpīṭha word *chiḍiṅga*, also spelt *chiḍriṅga* (SZÁNTÓ 2012: I: 334).

[18] *tatvaṃ daśāṃkuśaṃ prāpya dātṝṇāṃ cittaśuddhaye //*
pratipāta _ sākalyaṃ bāhyadevāya ḍhaukayet //

After having obtained the ten hooks, reality, in order to purify the minds of the sponsors †...† should be offered to the external gods.

This verse is corrupt, but perhaps the point is that some of the aforementioned offering is extended to outer gods, so that the minds of the sponsors (note the plural) are purified. The connection between the two is not readily apparent.

[19] *bhūtānāṃ sarvabuddhatvaṃ siddhaye karuṇābalaiḥ ||*
vajraghaṇṭānvitaiḥ stotraiś cakravartī tam arcayet ||

The one strong in compassion should propitiate the universal ruler (i.e., the deity) with praises accompanied by [shaking] the *vajra*-sceptre and [sounding] the bell, so that all beings may achieve absolute buddhahood.

For *bhūtānāṃ* the Tibetan has *sems can rnams la*, which may suggest a variant *sattvānām. Emend °*buddhatvaṃ* to °*buddhatva*°. Since we are lacking a subject and because the adjective is not apposite to *stotra*, we must emend *karuṇābalaiḥ* to *karuṇābalaḥ* to describe the officiant. We would have a subject in the final quarter, however, here there is nothing to pick up the pronoun *tam*, therefore we are constrained to emend to *cakravartinam*, meaning the deity, the object of the finite verb. Understand *vajraghaṇṭānvitaiḥ* as an elliptical compound meaning "accompanied by shaking the *vajra*-sceptre and sounding the bell," alternatively, "accompanied by sounding the *vajra*-bell," so called because the bell is topped by a half-*vajra*.

[20] *śṛṃgārābhinayenaivaṃ datvā naivedyabhājanaṃ ||*
pratyekaṃ sarvam ekaṃ vā śuddhyaśuddhaviparyayaiḥ ||

After having offered thus (?), with an (or: with the same?) erotic gesture, a vessel [containing] food, either one each or the same to all, overturning [the concepts of] pure and impure,

This verse is also puzzling. We should probably understand that the *naivedya* vessel presented here is not the *padmabhāṇḍa* with the transgressive substances, but a new vessel with food. The third quarter seems to evoke two scenarios: there is only one vessel and everyone eats from that (which is of course highly impure by Indic standards) or there are as many vessels

as participants. At any rate, the text enjoins that conventional values of purity-impurity should be suspended, indeed, overturned (we should emend to *śuddhāśuddha°* or *śuddhyaśuddhi°*). The first quarter describes the gesture with which the vessel is presented. This is elsewhere (e.g. in the *Kriyā-saṃgrahapañjikā*, see SAKURAI 2001: 20; SZÁNTÓ 2012: I: 327) called the *kamalāvarttamudrā*, an elegant gesture with which the vessel containing the *samaya*s is received and passed on. If we emend *evaṃ* to *eva*, this would mean that the *naivedya* vessel is to be handled in the same way. However, the gesture was not mentioned before.

[21] *yatheṣṭhaṃ bhojanaiḥ pānair nānāpūjākadaṃbakaiḥ //*
yathāsukhaṃ yatheṣṭaṃ ca vaded dātā ca vajriṇī //

[a vessel accompanied] with food and drink, as much as desired, [as well as] a multitude of offerings, the sponsor should say to the initiates "as you please" or "as you wish."

The first line should probably be construed with *naivedyabhājanam* from the previous verse (while correcting *yatheṣṭhaṃ* to *yatheṣṭaṃ*). Then, the sponsor should utter the words "as you please" or "as you wish" (emend the first *ca* to *vā* or understand it to have that meaning). We should also emend *vajriṇī* to *vajriṇām*, i.e., the initiates addressed by him. The point of this utterance seems to be that the strictly formalised part of the rite is over, and the feasting can begin. This is a standard feature of the rite (e.g. the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, see SAKURAI 2001: 21), although the older, scriptural injunction does not make it clear who says the words (cf. SZÁNTÓ 2012: I: 341).

[22] *iti vigatavikalpaḥ siṃhavan nirviśaṃko*
bhavaśamapadasaṃsthas tatvasadbhāvayuktaḥ //
svahṛdayasamaprajñaḥ kaiśikādīn pragāyan
sakalajinagaṇaughān pūjayen nṛtyato 'pi //

Thus, [the officiant,] uninhibited like a lion [roaming at will], in whom conceptualisation has waned, who is [equally situated] in transmigration and liberation, who is merged with the true essence of reality, accompanied by the consort pleasing to his heart, should worship the mass of all Victors singing [in various musical scales] beginning with the *kaiśika*, and also with dance.

There follows a session of song and dance as acts of worship. This part is opened by the officiant accompanied by his consort (*prajñā*). *kaiśika* is a kind of musical scale (*rāga*).

> [23] *yasya haste patet pātraṃ kramaśaḥ karavartanaiḥ* //
> *bhaven mohād avajñair vā tiraskārī sa daṇḍabhāk* //

> Should the vessel drop from one's hand [during] the gradual activity of the arms (i.e., passing the vessel around) because of lack of attention or disgust, that person is an offender liable for punishment.

The next two verses address the issue of fines or punishments meted out in case of slight misdemeanours such as dropping the vessel or lack of decorum. Emend *haste* to *hastāt*.

> [24] *kasyacid avinayotpanne manovākkāyakarmabhiḥ* //
> *yuktaṃ tasya prakalpeta daṇḍa gaṇḍādiśāṃtaye* //
> [Gloss in lower margin:] *kapardakapalacatuṣṭayaṃ*

> Should one commit indecorous thoughts, speech, or deeds, it is fitting to mete out punishment in order to counteract [karmic retribution] such as boils. [Gloss: four weights of cowrie shells]

Emend °*otpanne* to °*otpannaiḥ* and *daṇḍa* to *daṇḍaṃ*. The idea that one will become infected with boils (*gaṇḍa*) as karmic retribution for indecorous thoughts, speech, or deeds is otherwise unknown to me. The Tibetan omits rendering this word. The gloss is a rather interesting detail: to my knowledge, this is the only case in this kind of literature where a well-defined penalty is mentioned. The amount, four *pala*s of cowrie shells (on the monetary use of which see GOPAL [2]1989: 213–214), seems rather meagre. Unbecoming acts, according to, e.g., the *Mahāmudrātilaka* (ms. fol. 47v, the passage is copied from the *Vajramālābhidhāna*, Tōh. 445, 267b), include chatting, quarrelling, expectorating, laughing, stretching the limbs, getting up again and again, and singing or dancing without permission from the officiant. Quarrelling during the *gaṇacakra* is singled out as a gross trespass in several works containing lists thereof (e.g. LÉVI 1929: 268: *gaṇacakre vivādakāriṇaḥ* […] *sthūlāpattir bhavati*), but it is not made clear what the subject of such a quarrel may be.

[25] *hastadvayena mudrābhir vidhivat tatvatāṃ varaḥ ||*
anyonyatarpa[**2r**]*ṇaṃ kṛtvā kelikrīḍārasotsavaiḥ ||*

That best of experts, after having mutually propitiated [his consort] with displays of gestures with the two hands [and] nectar[-like] merriments of amorous sport and play, as prescribed,

For *vidhivat tatvatāṃ varaḥ* there are several possible emendations: *vidhivat tadvidāṃ varaḥ*, *vidhitattvavidāṃ varaḥ*, less likely *vidhivat tattvatatparaḥ*, since we have the same compound following the predicate in the next verse.

[26] *gaṃbhīrodārasāṃkathyaiḥ pūjayet tatvatatparaḥ ||*
gītavādyādibhir nṛtyaiḥ prajñopāyaratottamaiḥ ||

the one intent on reality should worship with conversations on the profound and vast [doctrine], with dance accompanied by singing, music, etc., and most exquisite amorous acts [in which] Wisdom and Means [unite].

The last quarter is an explicit mention of intercourse, since *prajñā* and *upāya* are codewords for the female and male initiates.

[27] *samādareṇa cānyonyaṃ samaśuśrūṣayā bhṛśaṃ ||*
daśapāramitāyogair yajeta yajñavad vratī ||

The observer of the vow, who is an expert in propitiatory sacrifice, should, with mutual respect and mutual reverence, sacrifice intensively with meditation practices [embodying] the ten perfections.

Emend *yajñavad* to *yajñavid*. The precise meaning of the third quarter escapes me. An exegete, Mahāsukhavajra, states in his commentary to the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* (*Padmāvatī* ms. fol. 30r): *suratayoga evaikasmin ṣaṭ pāramitāḥ pūritā bhavanti /*; "The six perfections become fulfilled in a single place, the *yoga* of intercourse." The list of six is older, but in later literature both are used interchangeably. Achieving the perfections (of giving etc.) occurs through arduous and lengthy practice in the non-Tantric Mahāyāna; the Tantric mode of practice has the same aim, but it offers a "shortcut."

[28] *kṣamitvā gaṃtukāmo pi sāṃjaliṃ saṃmukhaṃ gataḥ ||*
kāryaṃ kṛtvāgato dhīmān praviśet praṇato nataḥ ||

As for a person wishing to leave [the assembly temporarily], he should, after having excused himself, depart with folded hands, facing [the officiant]. Having finished his business, the wise one should return and enter bowing dutifully.

This verse contains the rule for excusing oneself to leave the assembly temporarily. Emend *sāñjaliṃ* to *sāñjaliḥ*, and *praṇato nataḥ* to *prayato nataḥ* or *praṇato 'bhitaḥ*.

[29] *sadā yogātmako bhūtvā sadā tatvaparāyaṇaḥ ||*
sadā vinayasaṃpannaḥ sadā cakraṃ samācaret ||

One should consistently perform the [*gaṇa*]*cakra*, [and he should do so] always intent on *yoga*, always dedicated to reality, and always with due decorum.

A general injunction. The final *sadā* is perhaps superfluous, unless we are to understand it as a call to celebrate the ritual periodically.

[30] *pakvānnam iva vīrāṇāṃ mudrā sādhāraṇā smṛtā ||*
tasmān niḥśeṣakāmena svaṃ parāṃś caiva pūjayeta ||

Just like (the?) cooked food, the *mudrā*[s] (consort[s]? hand gesture[s]?) [are] taught to be common to [all] heroes (i.e., the male initiates). One should therefore worship one's private [*mudrā*], but also those of others, with all objects of desire.

Understand the second quarter as collective singulars; alternatively, emend to *mudrāḥ sādhāraṇāḥ smṛtāḥ*. I am forced to emend *svaṃ parāṃś* to *svāṃ parāś*, and we must correct the predicate to *pūjayet* metri causa. The overall meaning is somewhat obscure. The cooked food perhaps refers back to the communal *naivedya* vessel. The verse might suggest that the female participants must yield sexually to all.

[31] *yāvat svechā sadānaṃdaṃ līlayā tatvalīlayā //*
tāvat tatvanijāṃ pūjāṃ kartavyaṃ prajñayānayā //

The worship of reality as oneself (!?) should be performed together with
this (?) consort (wisdom?) until one so desires, with true bliss, with
grace, with the grace of reality (?).

We should correct to *svecchā* and emend to *tattvanijā pūjā kartavyā*. The
strange *sadānandaṃ* seems to be adverbial. The overall meaning is ob-
scure: the act of self-worship together with the consort (*prajñā*) should be
continued while it causes pleasure?

[32] *cakṣurādiṃ mahopāyai rūpādi lalānāgaṇaiḥ //*
vijñānena mahānandaṃ bāhye nityaṃ pravartayet //

[After having empowered] the eyes etc. (i.e., the sense faculties) and
form etc. (i.e., the respective objects of the sense faculties) [as] the host
of [divine] women together with their consorts, with this awareness (?)
one should constantly activate great bliss in the external [world].

This verse, too, is obscure. I conjecture that it may be an injunction to em-
power the senses (eyes etc.) as the goddesses (emend to °*lalanā*°), e.g.
Rūpavajrā etc., together with their male consorts (in which case we must
emend to *sahopāyai*) and thus, with this knowledge, one should experience
great bliss with respect to external sensory objects during ordinary activi-
ties, i.e., outside meditation sessions. At least this accords with general
Tantric practice.

[33] *kuliśakamalakāṃtiṃ caṃdraśubhraṃ suśubhraṃ*
ghṛṇivisarajinaughān niḥsvabhāvān svabhāvān //
atitararatiramyāṃ prajñayā sājñayā ca
vihati mukhaśuddhyā sarvasatvaṃ susatvaḥ //

This verse is beyond my comprehension.

[34] *atha visarjane prāpte maṃgalāgītistotrataḥ //*
stavitvā sarvadevānāṃ cakrāṇāṃ ca samakṣataḥ //

Next, once the time for dismissal has arrived, after having chanted praises with hymns of auspicious songs, in the presence of all deities and [the participants of] the assembly,

This is the last section proper of the rite, the dismissal of deities and the participants. Understand *maṅgalagītistotraiḥ*: the irregular lengthening is required by the metre (but note that the very same rule is broken in the first quarter), whereas the suffix *taḥ* stands for a plural instrumental. *stavitvā* means *stutvā*. *cakrāṇām* must mean the participants of the *cakra*.

[35] *dātṛṇābhyukṣarā śiṣyā saṃyojya jinasaṃvaraṃ //*
sarvabuddhāni buddhatve cānusaṃśya niruttare //

[the officiant] should besprinkle the sponsors, then [re]appoint [his] good disciples to the vow[s] of the Victors (i.e., buddhas), then praise (i.e., foretell? pray for?) all beings [to reach] unsurpassed buddhahood,

I conjecture *dātṝn abhyukṣya sacchiṣyān* […] *°saṃvare / sarvabhūtāni* […] *cānusaṃśya*. For the plural "sponsors," cf. v. 18 above. The Tibetan suggests placing a flower on the head of the sponsor. The accusative *°saṃvaraṃ* is perhaps original; note, however, that the Tibetan does not mirror disciples, but has another absolutive meaning "having uttered auspicious words." The second line is more obscure: note the irregular accusative neuter; the Tibetan also suggests plural *°bhūtān*.

[36] *ucchiṣṭadevān saṃtuṣya samāsṛjya mahābaliṃ //*
dharmajñānātmako bhūtvā yuṃjīta matimān śubhaṃ //

then propitiate the deities of the leftovers [by] having dispersed a great food offering. Then the clever one should perform [this] auspicious [practice] after having developed in himself the gnosis of the doctrine:

Understand or correct *saṃtuṣya* as/to *saṃtoṣya*. *śubhaṃ* should perhaps be emended to *śubhe* with the meaning *śubhāya*, in which case the translation would be: "the clever one should perform [the following] yogic exercise for the sake of auspiciousness." For this practice (vv. 36cd–39), we once again have a parallel with the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (SAKURAI 2001: 21): *tadanu nairātmyajñānātmako buddhimān svaśirasa* (although widely attested, I cannot make sense of *svasvaśirasa*, which I have corrected) *ūrdhvaṃ vi-*

tastimātropari sravadaparyantajñānāmṛtadhāraṃ (Sakurai reproduces the present participle outside the compound) *candramaṇḍalaṃ vibhāvya | tad-madhye svasvadevatābījāni* [/] *sthire sati hṛdantaḥsuṣirasthacandra-maṇḍalopari* (Sakurai reads *hṛdantaḥsvaśirastha°*, which does not make sense to me) *svasvadevatācihnāni yavaphalapramāṇāni vibhāvya prīṇayet //*; "Thereafter, the wise one, who has interiorised the gnosis of selflessness, should visualise one span above his head a moon-disk oozing boundless streams of gnosis-nectar. Then, in the middle of that [he should visualise] each deity's seed[-syllable]. When this [visualisation] has become stable, he should visualise on a moon-disk situated within the subtle space in his heart each deity's implement measuring a barleycorn [each]. Then he should propitiate [himself as the deity]." According to Kuladatta's para-phrase, *dharmajñānātmakaḥ* means *nairātmyajñānātmakaḥ*.

> [37] *kiṣkumātropari sūkṣmaṃ dhyātvā dharmālayaṃ jinaṃ //*
> *anantāmṛtavat tasmāt skravaṃtaṃ ciṃtayet svake //*

> After having visualised one cubit above [his head] a subtle abode of the doctrine, that of the Victors (i.e., a moon-disk), containing endless [amounts of] nectar, he should think that [streams of nectar] ooze from that onto his head.

Again judging from Kuladatta's paraphrase quoted above, the *dharmālayaṃ jinaṃ anantāmṛtavat* must be a moon-disk oozing nectar. The author could not write *jainaṃ* for metrical reasons, but this is the meaning. Emend *skravaṃtaṃ* to *sravantaṃ*. Note that *kiṣkumātropari* […] *svake* was some-what reformulated in Kuladatta's paraphrase. It may be significant that this distance is twice as much as the *dvādaśānta* of the Śaiva tradition, note, however, that Kuladatta's *vitasti* could be equal to that length.

> [38] *siddhārthamātra*[**2v**]*sūkṣmaṃ tat cihnaṃ vā vajriṇaṃ svakaṃ //*
> *vajrāgre nāsikāgre vā dhyātvā sphārayate sthire //*

> Or, after having visualised either the holder of the *vajra* (i.e., the deity) himself or his [chief] implement (i.e., a *vajra*-sceptre), small in size like a mustard seed, on the tip of the *vajra* (i.e., the penis) or the tip of his nose. Once [the visualisation is] stable, he should emit [the nectar].

This verse is somewhat obscure. It seems to present alternatives for the moon-disk visualised above the head. If this is correct, then Kuladatta reinterpreted the passage freely, since there is no mention of the insignia of the deity (*tat cihnaṃ* should then be corrected to *taccihnaṃ*) or the deity himself (understand *svakaṃ* as *svayam*) as a suitable variant, nor does he give alternatives for the locus of visualisation (alternatively, *svakaṃ* is perhaps a corruption of *svake*, "on his head," but that would be a repetition). For *sphārayate*, we should probably understand *sphārayet*. We should also read *sthire* as a locative absolute as in Kuladatta. Of course, there is a variety of further ways in which one could emend the text, but this is the one that seems most likely to me.

> [39] *hṛdayāmbaramadhyesminn akhaṇḍaśaśimaṇḍalaṃ //*
> *tatra dharmasamālīnaṃ sūkṣmavajraṃ sadā smaret //*
> *yavaphalapramāṇaṃ ca _ _ vajraṃ bhāvayet //*

> In the middle of the subtle space in his heart, he should imagine a disk [in the shape of a] full moon, and on that, joined with [that abode of] the doctrine, [he should] always [visualise] a small *vajra*-sceptre †...† measuring a barley corn †...†

This stanza too is obscure and corrupt. The compound *dharmasamālīnaṃ* is somewhat puzzling (but we had *dharmālaya* in v. 37 describing the moon-disk), as is the sixth verse quarter. The word *sadā* is a mere verse-filler.

> [40] *karuṇādirasopetaṃ trivimokṣaṃ manomayam //*
> *sarvākārārthasaṃyuktaṃ nirvikāramahāsukhaṃ //*

> Endowed with the essence of foremost compassion, [having the nature of] the three liberations, consisting of mind, endowed with †...† all aspects, unchangeable great bliss–

Here we have another parallel with the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (SAKURAI 2001: 21–22): *tato yogatatparo yogī prajñopāyasvabhāvo mahākaruṇā-rasasaṃyuktaṃ vimokṣatrayasvabhāvaṃ sarvavastusaṃśuddham avikāra-paramārthasukhaṃ sarvakarmasu sarvaprakāreṇānantatathāgataparama-rūpaṃ vicintayet //*; "Then, the *yogin*, dedicated to *yoga*, having the nature of wisdom of and means, should contemplate [the resolve of enlightenment] as being joined with the essence of great compassion, having the

nature of the three liberations, pure regarding all things (?), [equal to] the unchangeable bliss of absolute truth, having the supreme form of endless Tathāgatas, in all rituals, in all aspects." If Kuladatta's reading is correct, beginning with v. 40 we have a new topic, a general injunction concerning all rituals undertaken subsequently by the *yogin*. I suspect that Kuladatta's text is missing the actual object of contemplation, which is the resolve of enlightenment, which is also semen in the Tantric tradition (*bodhicitta*), as we have it here (41c). My interpretation of *karuṇādi°* is somewhat unusual (not "compassion etc."), but it is inspired by Kuladatta's *mahākaruṇā°*. The point is that this is not common compassion, but the compassion felt by the Buddhist practitioner in spite of his/her knowledge that all beings and existents are ultimately empty (lacking an inherent nature). The three liberations, also often called gateways thereof, are *śūnyatā* (emptiness), *animitta* (causelessness), and *apraṇihita* (desirelessness). Kuladatta's *sarvavastusaṃśuddhaṃ* seems to mirror *manomayaṃ*, but I do not quite see how. Alternatively, it mirrors *sarvākārārthasaṃyuktaṃ*, an opaque expression. Emptiness is frequently described as *sarvākāravaropetaṃ*, "endowed with all best aspects." Perhaps *°artha°* is a corruption for a synonym of *°vara°*. Kuladatta's *°anantatathāgataparamarūpaṃ* does not seem to have an equivalent in our text, unless this is the way in which he intended to say *bodhicitta*, which is not impossible.

> [41] *prajñopāyātmako yogī sarvakarmaṇi sarvathā //*
> *saṃbodhicittasadrūpaṃ ciṃtayet tatvatatparaḥ //*

> [thus] should the *yogin*, who [unites] within himself wisdom and means [and] is dedicated to reality, contemplate the true nature of the resolve of perfect enlightenment in all [subsequent] rituals, at all times.

> [42] *prāṇamaṃtrākṣarair japtaṃ biṃdu prakṛtibhāsvaraṃ //*
> *dharmādharmair vinirmuktaṃ tatvataḥ paribhāvayet //*

> He should contemplate the *bindu*, luminous by its very nature, recited with the syllables of the *mantra*s of the vital energies (?), as utterly free of both *dharma* and *adharma* (?).

Emend to *binduṃ*. Judging from Kuladatta's paraphrase, this verse and the next one do not form part of the practice previously described. What exactly the first quarter refers to is beyond my comprehension, since the *bindu*,

that is to say, the *anusvāra* crowning *mantra*-syllables, is not recited on its own. In any case, we are assured in the next verse that this practice, whatever it may be, or practice in general, is conducive to liberation.

[43] *tatkāle sarvakāle vā mokṣodyamaparāyaṇaḥ* //
kṛtvābhyāsaṃ sadākālaṃ sa labhen mokṣasaṃpadam //

Whether at that time (i.e., the *gaṇacakra*) or any other time, if the one dedicated to the effort [which brings about] liberation performs the practice consistently, he will obtain the accomplishment of liberation.

[44] *saṃpūjyaṃ jagatāṃ manorathaparaṃ sarveṇa dānādinā*
piṣṭvā sarvavikalpamohanagaraṃ nairātmyavajrādinā //
yaś cakraṃ prativartate jinaguror jñānodayaṃ mokṣadaṃ
tasyāryasya kṛpāparasya mahato nityaṃ bhṛṣaṃ śreyase //

The supreme wish of people should be honoured with everything, giving etc. He, who after having destroyed with [weapons] beginning with the *vajra*-sceptre of selflessness the city of delusion [founded on] various conceptualisations, celebrates the knowledge-raising, liberation-giving assembly of the Victor-Guru, for such a great, noble man, intent on compassion, there will always be great success.

This somewhat obscure verse in the *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, which I have translated rather freely, describes the benefits of the practice (*phalaśruti*). Before *jagatāṃ*, the scribe first wrote *sarva°*, but then realised his mistake and deleted it. Understand *prativartate* as simply *vartayati* or emend to *parivartate*. The compound *jinaguror* is unusual and unparalleled. It is also somewhat unclear who the intended beneficiary is. Perhaps it is the sponsor(s), but it is equally possible that all the participants are meant.

[45] *gaṇāya gaṃbhīraguṇopayuktaye*
vikalpakalpājitakleśahāriṇe //
savāsanāvāsavimuktamuktaye
vibhāvabhāvāya namo stu yogine //

Homage to the *yogin*[s], [members of] the assembly, endowed with profound virtues, [they] who remove the obscurations acquired due to conceptualisations [entertained] through the aeons, [they] who possess lib-

eration free from the abode of latent imprints, [they] who [are beyond both] liberation and bound existence.

The work concludes with four verses of praise, and it is perhaps here that the author's idiosyncratic usage is most visible. Apparently, he strives to achieve poetic effect through alliterative *yamaka*s (*vikalpakalpa°*, *savāsanāvāsa°*, *vibhāvabhāvāya* in the first verse) and by using somewhat more sophisticated metres (*vaṃśastha*, *upajāti*, *vaṃśastha*, and *svāgatā* respectively), much to the detriment of lucidity. We should most likely understand °*upayuktaye* as simply °*yuktāya*. Emend °*ājita°* to °*ārjita°* or °*ācita°* and understand the first members of the compound in reverse, that is to say, *kalpārjitavikalpa°* or *kalpācitavikalpa°*. It is helpful to go into "soft focus" while interpreting the third quarter. *vibhāva* probably stands for *abhāva*, that is to say, *nirvāṇa*. The object of obeisance in this verse is most likely the group of male participants (in which case we take *gaṇāya* literally and understand *yogine* as a collective singular; this interpretation is supported by the next verse) or, perhaps less likely, the officiant (in which case we understand *yogine* literally and *gaṇāya* as *gaṇanāyakāya*).

> [46] *vibhūṣaṇair bhūṣitayāṃgayaṣṭyā*
> *cakrāmbare caṃdrakaleva dhāmnā* ||
> *karoti yā kṛtyakalāpakāya*
> *namo stu tāyai lalanāgaṇāyai* ||

> Homage to that assembly of ladies, whose slender bodies are adorned with ornaments, who resemble the digit of the moon because of their lustre as they move through the sky that is the assembly, performing all duties.

This somewhat freely translated verse describes and pays obeisance to the female participants. The datives are at the very least irregular, note especially *tāyai* for *tasyai*.

> [47] *salaukikaṃ lokaguruṃ sacakriṇaṃ*
> *vibhāvya bhāvyaṃ jagatāṃ vimuktaye* ||
> *hitāśayā yo nukaroti maṇḍalaṃ*
> *namo stu tasmai gaṇacakravartine* ||

Homage to the leader (lit. universal monarch) of the assembly, who, af-
ter having visualised [all] that needs to be visualised – the teacher of the
world (i.e., the Buddha or Vajrasattva) together with the worldly deities
and the retinue – with the intention of [bringing spiritual] benefit [for
beings], imitates the *maṇḍala* for the liberation of the world.

This verse pays obeisance to the leader of the assembly. Understand
sacakriṇaṃ as *sacakraṃ* and *hitāśayā* as *hitāśayena*. For *anukaroti*, the
Tibetan reads *atra karoti (SHIZUKA 2011: 69). In this case, we should
translate: "who performs the *maṇḍala*[-rite] ... in this world."

[48] *sarvasatva*[**3r**]*gatinirmalabhāva-*
bhāvanodbhavamahāsukhapiṇḍaṃ ||
piṇḍitottamaparārtham udāraṃ
dārayā saha name kṛtasarvam ||

I pay homage to him, together with [his/my] consort, who has per-
formed all, who [possesses] a heap of great bliss born from meditation
on the spotless nature of [he] who is the refuge of all beings (i.e., the de-
ity), who has distilled the supreme benefit for others, the lofty one.

The obscure final verse also eulogises the chief officiant. Alternatively, the
object of homage is in the first line, i.e., great bliss, in which case the obei-
sance is performed by the author together with his consort, which is per-
haps what the Tibetan translation suggests (SHIZUKA 2011: 69). Understand
°*gati*° as *śaraṇam*, alternatively emend to °*gata*° following the Tibetan.
The reading *dārayā* is guaranteed by the metre; ironically, the correct form
would be *dāraiḥ*.

|| gaṇacakravidhiḥ samāptaḥ ||

The Ritual Procedure for the *Gaṇacakra* is completed.

Diplomatic edition of the fragmentary gloss

|| namo buddhāya || ||

taṃtreṣv abhiṣiktānāṃ caryāyatayennānāṃ gaṇacakravidhānam aṃtareṇa siddhir na bhavatīti kṛtvā vighnotsāraṇāya mahate siddhaye prāpanārthaṃ | sveṣṭadevamahāvajraṃdharanamaskārapūrvakagaṇacakravidhānasya saṃkṣiptā paṃjikeyaṃ || ||

[ad 1] *tatrādau tāvat ||* **vajrasatvam** *iti ||* **abhedyāyuktaparamārthasatvaṃ bhāvābhāvātmakam** *iti ||* **saṃvṛtiparamārtharūpe |** **vibhuṃ** *prabhuṃ | sabodhipakṣayogāt sarvakāma iti, mahāsukhakāmaṃ taṃ pradadātīti* **sarvakāmapradaṃ**, **devam** *iti divyatīti devas taṃ* **praṇamyādau ahaṃ gaṇamaṇḍalaṃ**, *yogayoginī<|dva|>dvayamaṇḍalam* **vakṣye** *vadiṣyāmi ||*

[ad 2] **nirvikalpaparaḥ** *|| nirvikalpasvabhāvaḥ | maṃtram asyāstīti* **maṃtrī | nityakālasamāhitaḥ |** *niṣadyaca||karmayānaśayanāsanamaithunādiṣu tatsvarūpeṇa samāhitaḥ,* **sarvataṃtrānusārajñaḥ**, *niravaśeṣataṃtrānugataḥ |* **daśatatvavidhānavit** *| daśatatvam iti | bāhyaguhyābhiṣekī 1 nirvikalpaviśuddhī 2 bāhyaguhyamaṇḍalajñaḥ 3 vivekasamādhikovidaḥ 4 paramārthacaryābhirataḥ 5 mudrādisarvagamanāgamane sarvakarmānusārajñaḥ 6 japahomapūjāpravartakaḥ 7 sarvatṛṣṇāvinirmuktaḥ 8 yathāyathāgocaradharmadeśakaḥ 9 advayasamatāvidhijñaḥ 10 iti || evaṃvidho yogī* **gaṇamaṇḍalam ārabhed** *(= 6c) iti saṃbaṃdhaḥ ||*

[ad 4] **devatāgaṇasaṃkīrṇaḥ** *| tatvasadbhāvānuraktayuvatījanākule, rūpādi***paṃca***viṣayānuyukte* **vivikte**, *asajjanajanarahite,* **ramye gehe**, *manojñe,* **asmiṃs** *taṃtre* **nije pūjyāḥ** *| para*[**3v**]*mārthapūjāṃ* **samārabhet** *|| kuryād ity arthaḥ |*

[ad 5] **jyeṣṭhānukramayogena vaṃdanā pūjanā matā** *|| abhiṣekadīkṣājyeṣṭhānukrameṇa vaṃdanāpūjanādikaṃ kartavyaṃ |* **atha vā guṇamāhātmyaṃ** *guṇaprakarṣāc ca,* **atitheyatvagauravāt**, *deśāṃtaragato 'tithitvagauravāt ||*

[ad 6] *snānaṃ gaṃdhaṃ ca mālyaṃ ca vastrābharaṇalepanaṃ || artha dhūpaṃ yathāśaktyā gaṇamaṇḍalam ārabhet ||* yathāśaktyā kubjaṃvo(?)payuktena gaṇacakraṃ kartavyaṃ || śeṣaṃ sugamaṃ ||

[ad 7] *samāhitāya karaṇī prokteṣā karmavajriṇī || karṇe kṛtāṃjaliṃ mūrddhnā* kāyavākcittavikṣepārthaṃ yogakaraṇīṃ karmavajriṇyā gaṇā-nāṃ pratyekamūrddhni *aṃjaliṃ kṛtvā karṇe* kartavyaṃ || paścād *dātā cā-ṣṭārgena* cakraṃ praṇāmyate ||

[ad 8] *baliṃ ratnādibhāṇḍasthaṃ* khādyādikaṃ ratnābhāṇḍe sthāpayi-tvā *lokottarān jinān* tathāgatādīn ādau *datvā* paścāl *laukikān* harihara-hiraṇyagarbhādīn *maṃtradevāṃś ca* kṣetrādipratibaṃdhān *pūjayet tatva-tatparaḥ ||* arcayet tatvavidhānajñaḥ ||

[ad 9] *tatvābhiprāyayogena* samāyātitaṃtrakrameṇa *padmabhāṇḍe mahāmṛtaṃ ||* kapālādibhāṇḍe paṃcāmṛtādikam *aṃkuśaś cā*dau samaya-kuśaṃ ca *saṃjapya* maṃtrapūtaṃ kṛtvā *sarvān tān* gaṇān *paritoṣayet ||* pradātavyaṃ ||

[ad 10] *sarvāḥ sādhāraṇāḥ pūjyā* sakalajagatsukhāvāptakāraṇāḥ *sa-rvaguhyogurottarā* niravaśeṣaparamārtharahasyānāṃ rahasyatarā || *ma-hāsukhapade sthitvā* prajñopāyasamarase sthitvā *vartanta gaṇanāyakaḥ || taccakravartī*

[ad 11] *vineyanibhṛtanārī* savinayā yoṣit *namravaktrāraviṃdā* īṣanna-mramukhapadmā *vipulaguṇaviśālā*, ativistaraguṇayuktā *tatvā tatvayogyā* paramārthataḥ paramārthaguṇayuktā, *hṛdi viga* [explicit ms.]

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The recipient of the Tantric Buddhist funeral

Ryugen Tanemura[1]

Opening remarks

In the medieval period, Tantric Buddhism developed various ritual practices not only in the form of private cults but also for patrons in the public domain. One of the ritual practices of the latter is the funeral (*antyeṣṭi*). Therefore, by examining the status of the recipient of such funerals, we can to some extent infer what kinds of people were included in Tantric Buddhist communities or were intended to become members of such communities through the funeral rite. Concerning the Buddhist Tantric funeral, I have worked mainly on the following three texts: the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, a manual of the funeral rite by Śūnyasamādhivajra,[2] the final chapter (*Antasthitikarmoddeśa*, "Instruction for the rite at one's death") of Padmaśrīmitra's *Maṇḍalopāyikā*,[3] and the final chapter (*Nirvṛtavajrācāryāntyeṣṭilakṣaṇavidhi*, "Rules of the funeral of a departed Tantric master") of Jagaddarpaṇa's *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*.[4] These texts do not explicitly prescribe

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[1] This is a revised English version of TANEMURA 2017.

[2] The date of this Indian author is still unclear. On this author, see also TANEMURA 2007. "The last two verses [of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*] say that he received the great teaching of the funeral from Venerable Bhadra (Bhadrapāda)" (TANEMURA 2007: 3).

[3] We know little about this author. He calls himself Padmaśrī in the final verse. The colophon of the single codex says that he is a *maṇḍala* master (*maṇḍalācārya*) at Khasarpaṇa Monastery. For the Khasarpaṇa Monastery, see SANDERSON 2009: 95, n. 178.

[4] I have presented a critical edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* in TANEMURA 2013a and an annotated Japanese translation in TANEMURA 2013b. The latter also presents passages from *Guhyasamājatantra* commentaries of the Jñānapāda school which are related to the Yoga of Resuscitation (*mṛtasaṃjīvanayoga*), thereby pointing out that the practice prescribed in the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* is closely related to the Jñānapāda school. With regard to the second manual, Padmaśrīmitra's *Maṇḍalopāyikā*, I have presented a preliminary edition and annotated Japanese translation of the relevant chapter in TANEMURA 2012b. With regard to the third manual, *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, I have pointed out that the text is a borrowing

the beneficiaries of the funeral, but we can gather some information about its recipients through the examination of various passages. The purpose of this short paper is to examine such passages from these and related texts that might provide clues about the recipients of the Tantric Buddhist funeral.

References to the recipients in funeral manuals

First, I will examine passages from Tantric Buddhist funeral manuals that refer to the recipient of the rite, especially the colophons of some manuals that refer to the status of the recipient. The first passage belongs to the final chapter of Jagaddarpaṇa's *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*: *nirvṛta**vajrācāryā**-ntyeṣṭilakṣaṇavidhiḥ* (ms. K fol. 57v1). This chapter colophon indicates that the primary beneficiary of the funeral rite is a Tantric master (*ācārya*).

Padmaśrīmitra states that the funeral prescribed in his manual should be performed for Tantric masters and others who have practised the meditation-rite of Vajrasattva or some other Tantric deity (SANDERSON 2009: 127, n. 295):

> On the basis of the rules at death (*antasthiti*), I shall explain the rite (*kṛtya*) to show the path for departed masters and others[5] who have practised the meditation-rite of Vajrasattva or some other [Tantric deity].[6]

The *Vajrācāryanayottama*, an anthology of Tantric ritual manuals closely related to the Ārya School of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, contains the fragmentary text of a manual on the Tantric funeral.[7] The text is entitled

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from the whole *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, except its two colophonic verses (TANEMURA 2004b, 2007).

[5] The status of the recipient referred to by the word *ādi* is unclear here. Perhaps it is a person who has been permitted to engage in the private practice but is not qualified as an officiant.

[6] *Maṇḍalopāyikā* v.1 (TANEMURA 2012b: 105): *mṛtācāryādisattvā ye vajrasa-ttvādiyoginaḥ | vakṣye cāntasthiteḥ kṛtyaṃ teṣāṃ mārganidarśanāt ||.* I suppose that here mārganidarśanāt is used for mārganidarśanāya for metrical reason. Showing the departed the path to good states of existence is one of the purposes of the ritual prescribed in this manual.

[7] For the manuscript of this anthology, see TANAKA 1998. Unfortunately, the condition of the NGMPP photograph is so bad that the actual foliation is unclear. I follow the folio numbers given in TANAKA 1998. For the fact that the text of the funeral manual is contained in fol. 7b, see TOMABECHI 2004: 49, n. 9. The relevant

[*Pari*]*nirvṛtavaryācāryasatkārakrama* (f. 7b7),[8] which also indicates that the primary beneficiary of this rite is a Tantric master (*ācārya*). This fragmentary manual has a great affinity to the contents of the final chapter of Padmaśrīmitra's *Maṇḍalopāyikā*, including some parallel passages.

Although the recipient of the funeral is not explicitly mentioned in the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, it contains descriptions that inform us about his characteristics. The following passage gives instructions on how the donor should pay the fee to the officiant following the rite to prevent the dead from going to inferior states of rebirth (**durgatipariśodhana*):

> Then [the officiant] holds a Tantric feast (*gaṇacakra*) in the night and calls everybody there.[9] If possible [= if the sponsor's financial ability is sufficient], he should construct the *durgatipariśodhanamaṇḍala* following the rules and perform the rite [of the *gaṇacakra*] following the instructions (*yathoktāt*). In addition, the Tantric officiant should ask the heir (*dāyāda*) the fee. With regard to the [heir], he should pay the fee according to his financial ability. He should offer a washed robe to the same officiant. The following has been taught.

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part of the manuscript has been transcribed in TANEMURA 2012a: 1036–1035.

[8] TOMABECHI reports that the colophon of the relevant section is *nirvṛtavaryācāryasatkārakrama* (2004: 49, n. 9). There are two illegible *akṣara*s preceding *nirvṛta-* that look like *pari*.

[9] There is a prescription of the order of precedence at the Tantric feast in the *Gaṇacakravidhi* of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. See *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, *Gaṇacakravidhi* (in chapter 8): *jyeṣṭhānukrameṇa niveśya parikalpiteṣv āsaneṣu niṣādayet. pañcavidho 'tra jyeṣṭhānukramaḥ, abhiṣekajyeṣṭhānukrama ekaḥ, vratajyeṣṭhānukramo dvitīyaḥ, jñānajyeṣṭhānukramas tṛtīyaḥ, janmajyeṣṭhānukramaś caturthaḥ, vidyājyeṣṭhānukramaḥ pañcamaḥ.* (SAKURAI 2001: (18)–(19)) "[The officiant] should cause [the members of the Tantric feast] to enter [the place] and sit on the arranged seats in the order of precedence (*jyeṣṭhānukrama*). In this case, there are five kinds of order of precedence: the first is the order of precedence by consecration, the second that by observance, the third that by knowledge, the fourth that by age, and the fifth that by science." Obviously, the first two *jyeṣṭhānukrama*s are applied only in the case that the members of the gaṇacakra belong to a Tantric Buddhist community. The other three can be applied to non-Buddhist communities, although the meanings of the *jñānajyeṣṭhānukrama* and the *vidyājyeṣṭhānukrama* remain unclear. See also SZÁNTÓ in this volume.

> That which is given to the officiant by the own relatives [of the deceased] for the sake of the deceased should be understood as given to him. It is a farewell given to the deceased.[10]

This passage indicates that the recipient of the funeral owns property and has a relative who inherits this from him (most probably his son?).

The following quotation is a description of the funeral march to the cremation ground. The officiant should visualise the participants as deities in accordance with their roles.

> Then [the officiant] should have the following strong conviction: Those who carry the corpse are the guardians of the world; the one who holds a parasol is the king of gods (Indra); the one who holds a fly whisk is Brahman; the one who holds a sword is Viṣṇu; the one who chants eulogies is Śaṅkara (Śiva); the one who performs the practical things concerning the funeral is Yama; the one who holds a vase is Varuṇa; the one who holds larger and smaller ladles is Vahni (Agni); the one who holds solid and liquid food is Nairṛti; the one who holds a flag is Vāyu; and the others are all gods, *asura*s, and other [divine existences]...[11]

Three of the above-mentioned articles – a parasol, a fly whisk, and a sword – are symbols of royalty. These items might indicate the status of the recipient of the funeral envisaged in this manual.

There are funeral manuals which mention the status of the beneficiary more clearly. One of the funeral manuals by Ānandagarbha, the **Sarva-durgatipariśodhanapretahomavidhi*[12] (Ota. 3459, Toh. 2632), mentions a

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[10] *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* (TANEMURA 2013a: 121): *tato rātrau gaṇacakraṃ kṛtvā sarvaṃ saṃharet. sati saṃbhave durgatipariśodhanamaṇḍalaṃ yathāvidhinā pravartya yathoktād vidhiṃ vidadhyāt. punar aparaṃ vajrācāryo dāyādaṃ dakṣiṇāṃ yācet. so 'pi vibhavānurūpeṇa pradadyāt. prakṣālitaṃ ca vastram ācāryāyaiva prayacchet. āha ca. mṛtam uddiśya yad dattam ācāryāya svabandhubhiḥ | tasmai dattam iti jñeyaṃ pātheyaṃ svargatasya tat || 40 ||.

[11] *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* (TANEMURA 2013a: 219) *tato mṛtavāhakān lokapālān adhimucya,* **cchatra**dharaṃ devarājam, **cāmara**grāhakaṃ brahmāṇam, **khaḍga**dharaṃ viṣṇum, stutipāṭhakaṃ śaṅkaram, ūrdhvadehikakriyākārakaṃ yamam, kalaśadharaṃ varuṇam, pātrīsruvadharaṃ vahnim, bhakṣyabhojyadharaṃ nairṛtiṃ, patākādharaṃ vāyuṃ, anyāṃś ca sarvadevāsurādīn adhimucya ...

[12] This is the Sanskrit title given at the beginning of the canonical translation, but most probably it is a mistaken reconstruction of the colophon title *Ngan song thams*

Tantric master, a monk (*bhikṣu*), a lay devotee, and a householder as bene-
ficiaries of the rite (P f. 189r3–189v6, D f. 158r6–158v6):[13]

> Then [the officiant] should smear [the corpse] with camphor and oth-
> er [fragrant substances]. In the case that [the recipient is] a house-
> holder (*khyim pa*, **gṛhastha*), he should cover the upper part and the
> lower part [of the body] with white cloth and lap [the body with the
> cloth]. He should visualise the white syllable *su* on the lunar disk
> transformed from the syllable *a* in the heart of the [corpse]. He
> should visualise a wish-fulfilling jewel transformed from the [sylla-
> ble *su*]. He should visualise a jewel with a flame on the top of the
> head of the lord of gods, Śakra decorated with all [kinds of] ornaments,
> as a transformation of the [lunar disk and the wish-fulfilling jewel].[14]

> In the case that [the recipient is] a lay devotee (*dge bsnyen*, *upāsaka*),
> [the officiant] should cover the upper part and the lower part of the
> corpse with a white cloth. He should decorate the head [of the
> corpse] with a garland and make the palms of the hands joined in
> front of the chest. He should visualise the yellow syllable *muṃ* on
> the lunar disk in the heart of the [corpse] and then a yellow *utpala*-
> lotus transformed from the [syllable]. As a transformation of the [lu-
> nar disk and the *utpala*-lotus], he should visualise the [deceased]
> himself as blessed Mañjuśrī, who is yellow, is decorated with every
> ornament, holds an *utpala*-lotus in his hand, and gives protection.[15]

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cad yongs su sbyong ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i ro'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga. I suspect a
possibility that the Sanskrit equivalent to *ro'i sbyin sreg* is not *pretahoma* but
mṛtadahana.

[13] For the passages quoted below, see also KAWASAKI 2003: 8–10.

[14] (1) *de nas yang *ga pur (*D*; ga bur* P*) la sogs pa'i dris byugs la* **khyim pa** *la ni
ras dkar po'i stod g-yogs smad g-yogs su bcas pas dkris la | de'i snying gar *a (*P*; ā*
D*) las zla ba'i dkyil 'khor la su dkar po'o || *de yongs su gyur pa las (*D*; de gyur pa
las* P*) yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che'o || de rnams yongs su gyur pa las lha rnams
kyi dbang po brgya byin rgyan thams cad kyis yongs su brgyan pa spyi bo'i gtsug na
nor bu rin po che 'bar ba dang ldan par bsam par bya'o ||.*

[15] (2) **dge bsnyen** *la ni ras dkar pos stod g-yogs dang smad g-yogs byas la | mgo
la me tog gi phreng bas brgyan te | lag pa'i thal mo snying gar sbyar la de'i snying
gar zla ba la yi ge *muṃ (*D*; mu* P*) ser po | de gyur pa las *utpa la (*P*; autpa la* D*)
ser po | de dag yongs su gyur pa las de nyid bcom ldan 'das 'phags pa 'jam dpal sku
mdog ser po rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan pa | phyag na autpa la dang skyabs sbyin
mdzad par bsam par bya'o ||.*

In the case that [the recipient is] a monk (*dge slong*, *bhikṣu*) or someone else who keeps the vow imposed in the monastic code (*prātimokṣasaṃvara*),[16] [the officiant] should properly decorate [the corpse] with the own costume [of the deceased] such as a Buddhist robe and a garment, place the [corpse's] left hand horizontally at the navel, and form the [corpse's] right hand [into the hand gesture of] giving protection. He should visualise the red syllable *hrīḥ* on the lunar disk in the heart of the [recipient] and a lotus as a transformation of the [syllable]. As a transformation of these two [i.e., the lunar disk and the lotus], he should visualise [the deceased] himself as Blessed Śākyamuni, who is red, wears the costume of a Buddha (*sugata*),[17] and is decorated with the [thirty-two] *lakṣaṇa*s (major characteristics) and the [eighty] *vyañjana*s (minor characteristics).[18]

In the case that [the recipient is] a Tantric master or someone else who has faith in the scriptures of the Great Yoga of Mahāyāna and is initiated into the Great Maṇḍala,[19] [the officiant] should cover the upper part and the lower part [of the corpse] with white cloth and decorate it with the five kinds of ornaments beginning with a crown.[20] Blessed, Glorious Vajrasattva, Vajrapāṇi [i.e., the deceased], should have his hand folded in the form of the seal (*mudrā*) of the five-pronged [*vajra*]. [The officiant] should visualise the black syllable *hūṃ* on the lunar disk in the heart of the [corpse] and a five-

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[16] The status of the recipient referred to by the word *la sogs pa* (*ādi*) remains unclear. Probably, a nun (*bhikṣuṇī*) is one of the alternatives.

[17] I am unsure what exactly the costume of a Buddha refers to. Perhaps it means a costume such as the ones seen in sculptures or reliefs of non-Tantric Buddhas.

[18] (3) ***dge slong*** *la sogs pa so sor thar pa'i sdom pa la gnas pa rnams la ni chos gos dang sham thabs la sogs pa rang gi cha lugs kyis legs par brgyan pa lag pa g-yon pa lte ba khong du mnyam pa nyid du bya'o || g-yas pa skyabs *sbyin (*D; n.e. P*) mdzad du byas te | de'i snying gar zla ba'i dkyil 'khor la *hrīḥ (*em.; hri P D*) dmar po | de gyur pa las padma'o || de dag yongs su gyur pa las de nyid bcom ldan 'das shākya thub pa sku mdog dmar po bde bar gshegs pa'i cha lugs can mtshan dang dpe byad kyis brgyan par bsam par bya'o ||.*

[19] As in the case of (3), the status of the recipient referred to by the word *la sogs pa* (*ādi*) remains unclear. One of the possibilities is a type of initiate who engages in Tantric practices for his own purpose (*siddhi*).

[20] At present I am unsure what the other four ornaments are. Possible articles include earrings, a necklace, bracelets, armlets, and anklets.

pronged *vajra* transformed from the [syllable]. As a transformation of these two [i.e., the lunar disk and the five-pronged *vajra*], [the officiant] should visualise [the recipient] himself as Blessed, Glorious Vajrasattva, who is white, holds a *vajra* and a *vajra*-bell in his hands, is decorated with all kinds of ornaments, and looks like the full moon in autumn.[21]

In the passages quoted above, the recipients of the funeral are classified into four types, probably according to the precepts or observances that they have kept during their lifetimes. The recipient is visualised as a deity: a Tantric master is visualised as Vajradhara, a monk as Śākyamuni, a lay devotee as Mañjuśrī, and a householder as Śakra. We see a hierarchy with the householders at the bottom and the Tantric masters on the top. Perhaps the householder (*khyim pa*) in the above-quoted passage refers to people on the periphery of Buddhist communities. Theoretically, they were not members of the Buddhist *saṅgha*, and, in this sense, they might have been at the bottom of the soteriological hierarchy, since they are distinguished from the *upāsaka*s, lay members of the Buddhist *saṅgha*. Alternatively, it is possible that in this case the householder is non-Buddhist, since he is visualised as Śakra, who is a non-Buddhist deity and also the petitioner in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, upon which the relevant manual is based. If the latter is the case, some non-Buddhist householders were in some way involved in Tantric Buddhist communities, or Tantric Buddhists might have intended to convert non-Buddhist householders to Buddhism by means of the funeral.

One of the manuals of Agrabodhi,[22] the **Mañjuśrīmaṇḍalavidhiguṇasaṃbhava* (hereafter *Guṇasaṃbhava*), also clearly mentions the status of

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[21] (4) **rdo rje slob dpon** **la sogs pa* (D*; la sogs pa'i* P) *theg pa chen po rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud la mngon par dad pa dkyil 'khor chen po dbang bskur ba rnams ni ras dkar pos stod g-yogs dang smad g-yogs su byas te | dbu rgyan la sogs pa rgyan cha lngas nye bar brgyan pa | bcom ldan 'das dpal rdo rje sems dpa'i phyag na rdo rje rtse lnga pa'i phyag rgya bcings te | de'i snying gar zla ba'i dkyil 'khor la hūṃ sngon po | de gyur pa las rdo rje rtse lnga pa'o || de dag yongs su gyur pa las de nyid bcom ldan 'das dpal rdo rje sems dpa' sku mdog dkar po | rdo rje rtse lnga pa dril bu dang bcas pa'i phyag rgya mdzad pa | rgyan thams cad kyis brgyan pa ston ka'i zla ba gang ba lta bur bsam par bya'o ||.*

[22] In TANEMURA 2017, I state that Agrabodhi is another name of Vilāsavajra, following SAKURAI (1987: 104, n. 4; 2007: 159). The colophon of one of the manuscripts of the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*, a commentary on the *Nāmasaṃgīti* by Vilāsavajra, contains a small biography of Vilāsavajra (TRIBE 2006: 25–26). The

the recipient. The passage quoted below prescribes the *caitya*-like pile of earthen bricks in which a corpse is placed for cremation. The number of bases of the pile differs according to the status of the recipient:[23]

> A pile of earthen bricks which is similar to a *caitya* should be made on the [fire pit]. The [pile] should have four windows [i.e., holes for ventilation]. In the case that [the recipient is] an ordinary man (*dmangs tha mal pa*), [a pile] without base (*bang rim*) should be made. In the case that [the recipient is] a minister (*blon po*) or a king, [a pile] with a single base should be made. In the case that [the recipient is] a lay devotee (*dge bsnyen*, *upāsaka*), [a pile] with two bases should be made. In the case that [the recipient is] a monk (*dge slong*, *bhikṣu*), [a pile] with three bases should be made. In the case that [the recipient is] a *vajra*-holder [i.e., Tantric master], [a pile] with four bases should be made. The corpse should be placed inside the dome. Fuel such as sandalwood or *padmaka*-wood should be placed there.[24]

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following is Tribe's translation of the Sanskrit as emended: "[Here ends] the work of Ācārya Vilāsavajra, inhabitant of Ratnadvīpa, a son of the sister (-*bhāgineya*) of Śrī Agrabodhi [and] whose name is [also] known as Śrī Viśvarūpa." According to this, Agrabodhi is a maternal uncle of Vilāsavajra. In the colophon of the Tibetan translation of the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*, the corresponding part to "of the sister of Śrī Agrabodhi (*śrīmadagrabodhibhāgineyasya*)" can be reconstructed as **śrīmadagrabodhibhāgin*. TRIBE (2016: 26) says, "The Tibetan, however, misconstrues the Sanskrit here, reading -*bhāgineyasya* as two words, -*bhāgine yasya* (*skal ba dang ldan pa gang gi*), and taking *dpal ldan byang chub mchog gi skal ba dang ldan pa* ('**Śrīmadagrabodhibhāgin*') to be in apposition to *sgeg pa'i rdo rje* (Vilāsavajra), leaving little alternative but to understand the expression as another name of Vilāsavajra." TRIBE (2016: 26) also says, "This mistranslation may well be the source of the identification of Vilāsavajra with Agrabodhi accepted by Bu ston and Tāranātha." With regard to Vilāsavajra, TRIBE (2016: 22–25), after examining various pieces of external and internal evidence, draws the conclusion that he was active between the late eighth and early-to-mid ninth centuries.

[23] For the passage quoted below, see also SAKURAI 2007: 164–165.

[24] Guṇasaṃbhava (P f. 123r1–3, D f. 104r1–2): *de'i steng du so phag las sreg khang mchod rten dang 'dra ba brtsig par bya ste | skar khung bzhi dang ldan par bya'o || dmangs tha mal pa la ni bang rim med pa bya'o || blon po dang rgyal po la ni bang rim gcig pa bya'o | dge bsnyen la ni bar rim gnyis pa bya'o || dge slong la ni bar rim gsum pa bya'o || rdo rje 'dzin pa la ni bar rim bzhi pa bya'o || de'i bum pa'i nang du ro bzhag la | tshandan dang shug pa la sogs pa'i bud shing la sogs pa gzhag go ||.*

The ordinary man (*dmangs tha mal pa*) in the above-quoted passage might correspond to the householder in Ānandagarbha's manual quoted above. Compared to the passages of Ānandagarbha's manual quoted above, a king (*rgyal po*) and a minister (*blon po*) are added as independent categories to the list of recipients. The short passage quoted above might also give us a glimpse of the importance of royal patronage for Tantric religions.

The recipient inferred from the function of consecration

Next, I will examine the status of the recipient from a different viewpoint: the function of the consecration (*abhiṣeka*) to be bestowed upon the departed. Tantric Buddhism is an initiatory religion, and one has to undergo the consecration ritual in order to become qualified for the practice prescribed in Tantric scriptures. Although the primary function of consecration is the initiation of disciples, it also has some other functions. The first passage which I will examine is the following verse of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*:

> [The officiant] himself should bathe [the corpse] in the same way with [water from the vase] which is filled with water empowered by her *mantra* [= the *mantra* of the goddess Locanā]. He should place a crown on the head [of the deceased] and a *vajra* and a *vajra*-bell in the hands [of the deceased].[25]

The description of the consecration in the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* is very concise and the actual procedure is not stated very clearly. We can see, however, that the procedure ends with the bell consecration (*ghaṇṭābhiṣeka*) and that no description of the procedure is given from the name consecration (*nāmābhiṣeka*) onwards. There are two possible reasons for why the consecration for the deceased ends with the bell consecration: (1) the recipient is an initiate who has already been given an initiation name, and (2) the function of this consecration is different from or not limited to initiation.

In the former case, the recipient is a Tantric master, as confirmed by the colophon of the final chapter of the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* and the first verse of the final chapter of Padmaśrīmitra's *Maṇḍalopāyikā*, or an initiate

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[25] *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* v.13 (Tanemura 2013a: 131): *tanmantrajaptasalilāpūrṇena nijena ca tathā siñcayet | dadyāc chirasi ca mukuṭaṃ hastayuge vajraghaṇṭe ca ||*.

who has received permission to engage in the Tantric practice.[26] In the latter case, the purpose of the consecration in the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* might include the purification or removal of the effects of past actions that prevent the departed from liberation.[27] In the funeral prescribed in the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, the goddess Locanā is the object of visualisation and her *mantra* is employed. The function of her *mantra* is the quelling of calamities (*śāntika*).[28] The officiant who performs the funeral wears a white robe and ornaments. White is the colour for *śāntika*.[29]

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[26] Theoretically, the future Buddhahood of a Tantric master has been predicted (*vyākaraṇa*) at the time of initiation and thus it is not necessary for him to be initiated again at the time of death. The authors of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, the *Ācārya-kriyāsamuccaya*, and the *Maṇḍalopayikā* remain silent on this matter. In comparison, in his *Tantrāloka*, chapter 24, which deals with the initiation at the funeral (*antye-ṣṭidīkṣā*), the tenth-century Śaiva author Abhinavagupta teaches that the initiation should be bestowed upon people of the lower religions (i.e., Vaiṣṇavas and others according to the commentator Jayaratha) if the *śaktipāta* is seen, that is to say "the descent of [Śiva's] power" that indicates that the individual is ready for initiation. People of the higher religions (i.e., Śaivas and others) receive an *antyeṣṭidīkṣā* if they have transgressed the observances. See *Tantrāloka* 24.2–3 and *Viveka* ad loc.

[27] I have not identified passages in primary sources that refer to this function of consecration. The *Guhyatantra* (*Sarvamaṇḍalasāmānyavidhiguhyatantra*), an early Tantric Buddhist scripture, teaches that there are four types of consecration. One of the merits of the first consecration, whose purpose is the attainment of the status of the master (*ācārya*), is that an initiate avoids entering bad rebirth states even if he remains in transmigration (OTSUKA 2013: 955–957, especially 956). See *Guhyatantra*, chapter 12: *dbang bskur dang po thob pa ni* || […] *'khor ba na ni 'khor ba na* || *de ni ngan song ltung mi 'gyur* || *yan lag nyams dang dbul ba dang* || *smad pa rnams su skye mi 'gyur* || (P f. 226r4–7, D f. 116v3–5). "Those who have obtained the first consecration [...] will not fall into inferior states of existence. They will be born not as the disabled, the poor, nor those who are censured."

[28] The *Guhyasamājatantra*, one of the sources of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*'s systems of *mantra*-visualisation, teaches that Locanā resuscitates the departed (TANEMURA 2013b: 22). See *Guhyasamājatantra* 14.1–2: *oṃ ru ru sphuru jvala tiṣṭha siddhalocane sarvārthasādhani svāhā. athāsyāṃ gītamātrāyāṃ sarvasampa-nmanīṣiṇaḥ | tuṣṭā harṣaṃ samāpede buddhavajram anusmaran* || 1 || *buddhānāṃ śāntijananī sarvakarmaprasādhanī | mṛtasañjīvanī proktā vajrasamayacodanī* || 2 || (E^M p. 60, ll. 4–9). "*oṃ*, roar! Flash! Blaze! Abide! O, you who are the lady with perfected eyes! O, you who accomplish all purposes! *svāhā*! As soon as [this 'wife,' i.e., this *mantra*] was recited, all that sought fortune were satisfied and acquired joy, remembering the *vajra* Buddha. It is taught that [this wife, i.e., the goddess Locanā] produces the quelling of calamities for all Buddhas, accomplishes all ritual actions, resuscitates the departed, and impels [a practitioner] to the *vajra* pledge." The *mantra*

Whereas the system of the first half of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* is based on the *Guhyasamājatantra*, that of the latter half is based on the *Sar-*

(*vidyā*) of Locanā is taught in the *Susiddhikaratantra* (Taisho vol. 18, 603c13–19): 佛部之中. 用佛眼號爲佛母. 用此眞言爲扇底迦. 佛母眞言曰 曩謨婆_去伽嚩姤瑟膩_{二合}沙去_也唵_一嚕嚕娑普_{二合}嚕_二什嚩_{二合}囉_三底瑟吒_{二合四}悉馱_去路 者寧_五薩囉嚩_{引二合}囉他_{二合}娑_引馱寧_六娑嚩_{二合}訶. The function of her *mantra* is *śānti-ka*. See GIEBEL's translation of the relevant part (GIEBEL 2001: 130.23–30): "Within the Buddha Family use the Buddha-Mother, who is called Buddhalocanā (Buddha-Eye): use her *mantra* for the *śāntika* [rite]. The *mantra* of the Buddha-Mother is: *namo bhagavatoṣṇīṣāya, oṃ ru ru sphuru jvala tiṣṭha siddhalocani sarvārthasādhani svāhā*. (Homage to the Blessed One, to the Protuberance [on the crown of the Buddha's head]! *oṃ*, roar! Flash! Blaze! Abide! O, you with perfected vision! You who accomplish all objectives! *svāhā* !" This *mantra* is not taught in the corresponding part but in another chapter of the Tibetan translation (GIEBEL 2001: 312, n. 7); *Susiddhikaratantra* (Tibetan Translation): *gtsug tor padma'i rigs dag la || rig sngags chen mo can dang ni || gos dkar can ni gang yin pa || de yis *de* (D; *da* P) *yi mdun du bzlas || oṃ ru ru *sphu* (D; *sbu* P) *ru dzwa la ti ṣṭha si ddha lo tsa ni sa rba a rtha sā dha ni swā hā ||* (P f. 237v 1–2, D f. 175r4–5). "In the families of Uṣṇīṣa and Lotus, the Great Vidyā-holder (*Mahāvidyādhara) and Pāṇḍaravāsinī are accomplished. One should recite the [following *mantra*] in front of them. *oṃ*, roar! Flash! Blaze! Abide! O, you who are the lady with perfected eyes! O, you who accomplish all purposes! *svāhā*!"

The same *mantra* is also taught in Vāgīśvarakīrti's *Mṛtyuvañcopadeśa*. Vāgīśva-rakīrti teaches that one can avoid death by this *mantra* even if the power of the previous actions arises. See *Mṛtyuvañcopadeśa* 3.44–45: *pūrvottaraśikhādūrvāpra-vālāyutahomataḥ | pūrvakarmaprabhāvottham api mṛtyuṃ nivārayet || oṃ ādau ruru tato 'taḥ sphurupadam ataḥ param | jvala tiṣṭha tathā siddhalocaneti padatrayam || sarvārthasādhanāni svāhā mantro 'śokadale 'male | pradattadakṣiṇācāryair likhitaś candanadravaiḥ ||* (E^S p. 104). "Even if the power of the previous actions arises, one can avoid the death by the oblation of sprouts of *dūrvā* grass into the fire whose flame is pointing toward the north-east direction. [In this case one should recite the following *mantra*.] First one should recite 'oṃ,' then 'Roar!' (*ru ru*), and after that 'Flash!' (*sphuru*). [Then he should recite] the three words, namely, 'Blaze! Abide! O, you who are the lady with perfected eyes!' (*jvala tiṣṭha siddhalocanā*). [Then he should recite:] 'O, you who accomplish all purposes! *svāhā*! (*sarvārthasādhani svāhā*).' The officiant who has received the ritual fee write this *mantra* on an undefiled *aśoka* leaf with moistened sandal powder."

[29] According to KAWASAKI, in his *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanapretahomavidhi and *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanamarahomavidhikarmakrama (Toh. 2633) Ānandagarbha teaches that the fire pit for cremation should be round and white and that the funeral should be done for the purpose of *śāntika* (KAWASAKI 2003: 7).

vadurgatipariśodhanatantra. The opening line of the latter half runs as follows:

> Even though they are impelled to go on the path to liberation, some persons go on the wrong path because their roots of evil are very numerous and powerful. In order to eliminate the wrong path too, for eight days from that day [i.e., the day of the cremation], [the Tantric officiant] should perform the rites for the elimination of inferior states of existence and other [rites for the removal of their evil] following the rules taught in the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*.[30]

The above quotation might suggest that the function of the preceding part is the removal of the effects of past actions.

Whereas the consecration in the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* seems to be only partially performed, that in Padmaśrīmitra's *Maṇḍalopāyikā* seems to be performed completely:

> After that, the officiant himself, like a disciple, should enter [the *maṇḍala*] and receive [the whole procedure], beginning with the consecration up to the permission [of the practice prescribed in the scripture] from his chosen deity in his visualisation. In the same way, having observed that [the corpse] has consciousness (*jñānasattvaka*), he should also bestow upon the corpse all consecrations up to the [granting] permission [of the practice], using [water from] vases beginning with the victory[-vase].[31]

The author, Padmaśrīmitra, states that all consecrations up to the permission should be bestowed upon the corpse. It should be noted that in the consecration section of the *Maṇḍalopāyikā* the granting of the permission (*anujñādāna*) precedes the higher consecrations, i.e., the secret consecra-

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[30] *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* § [6–1] (TANEMURA 2013a: 127): *atha kecij janā mukti-mārge niyojyamānā apy akuśalamūlasya bahutaratvād balavattvāc ca kumārgeṇa gacchanti. atas tasyāpi kumārgasya parihārāya taddinam ārabhyāṣṭau dināni durga-tipariśodhanatantroktena vidhinā durgatipariśodhanādikriyāṃ kuryāt.*

[31] Padmaśrīmitra's *Maṇḍalopāyikā* (*Antasthitikarmoddeśa*) vv. 24–25 (TANE-MURA 2012b: 106–107): *tatas tu svayam ācāryaḥ praviśya śiṣyavad dhiyā | ab-hiṣekādiṃ *saṃgṛhyānujñāntaṃ* (conj. *saṃgṛhya anujñāṃ* ed.) *svādhipād iha || 24 || śavasyāpi tathā dadyāt sarvaṃ jayādikumbhakaiḥ | dattvābhiṣekam anujñāntaṃ saṃvīkṣya jñānasattvakam || 25 ||.*

tion (*guhyābhiṣeka*) and the consecration of knowledge of wisdom (*prajñājñānābhiṣeka*). If this order is also applicable to the consecration of the corpse, the consecration in the funeral does not contain the higher consecrations.

The last passage I will quote is from Agrabodhi's *Guṇasaṃbhava*, where he teaches that the full consecration should be bestowed upon the deceased:

> [The officiant] should make an altar (*maṇḍala*)[32] with the five products of cow in the south of the *maṇḍala* and place the corpse on it. In the same way a [living] disciple is introduced into the *maṇḍala*, he should place the corpse on the *maṇḍala*. He should completely bestow upon the corpse the *abhiṣeka*s beginning with the following rites: the request (*gsol ba gdab pa*, **adhyeṣaṇa*), the accumulation of merits (*bsod nams kyi tshogs bsags pa*), the possession by gnosis (*ye shes dbab pa*, **jñānāveśa*), the casting of a flower on the *maṇḍala* (*me tog dor*, **puṣpapāta*) and the removal of a blindfold, the introduction to the *maṇḍala* and the showing the faces of the deities, the knowledge consecration (*rig pa'i bang*, *vidyābhiṣeka*), and the secret consecration (*gsang ba'i dbang*, *guhyābhiṣeka*).[33]

Concluding remarks

I have presented several passages from the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* and other funeral manuals. The colophon title of the final chapter of the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* demonstrates that the primary beneficiary of the funeral is the Tantric master. If the same context is understood also in the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, the source of the relevant chapter of the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*, the primary recipient envisaged in the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana* is a Tantric mas-

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[32] This *maṇḍala*, which is often called *maṇḍalaka*, is an altar usually made with soil and cow dung. This altar also represents a master or deities. See also TANEMURA 2004a: 220–221, n. 19.

[33] *Guṇasaṃbhava* (P ff. 121v7–122r1, D f.103r1–2): *dkyil 'khor gyi lho phyogs su ba'i rnam lngas maṇḍala byas la de'i steng du ro bzhag ste | slob ma dkyil 'khor du gzhug pa'i tshul du ro de dkyil 'khor du gzhag par bya'o || gsol ba gdab pa dang | bsod nams kyi tshogs bsags pa dang | ye shes dbab pa dang | dkyil 'khor du me tog dor te | gdong gyogs *dkrol ba (*D; *dgrol ba* P*) dang dkyil 'khor du bcug la lha ngo bstan pa dang | rig pa'i dbang dang gsang ba'i dbang bskur ba la sogs pa ste dbang rnams rdzogs par bskur bar bya'o ||.*

ter. If we refer to the description of the payment of the ritual fee to the offi-
ciant, the beneficiary of the funeral is expected to have property, and the
heir of the property is the *yajamāna*. Ānandagarbha's and Agrabodhi's
manuals clearly mention the status of the recipient. The treatment of the
corpse differs according to his or her status. Perhaps the manuals of
Ānandagarbha and Agrabodhi mentioned people on the periphery of Bud-
dhist communities who were distinguished from lay members of the Bud-
dhist *saṅgha*. Possibly non-Buddhist lay persons were envisaged as a bene-
ficiary of the funeral in those two manuals. If that is the case, the relevant
passage might reflect the actual situation that Tantric masters performed the
funeral for non-Buddhist lay persons or that such masters intended to in-
clude non-Buddhist lay persons into their communities through the funeral.

I have also examined some passages concerning the consecration to be
bestowed upon the deceased. Probably the function of the consecration in
the funeral is not limited to initiation. If we refer to the above-mentioned
passages of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, another function of the consecration
might be the purification or removal of the effects of past actions. If this is
correct, the Tantric Buddhist funeral can theoretically be applied to both
non-initiates and initiates.

The number of materials examined in this paper is limited. Examination
of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, the scriptural source of the second
half of the *Mṛtasugatiniyojana*, and its exegetical works, which probably
include rich information about Tantric Buddhist funeral, is a task left to
future research.

Abbreviations

D	sDe dge edition.
n.e.	not existent.
NGMPP	Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project
Ota.	D. Suzuki (ed.) *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition: Kept in the Library of the Otani University, Kyoto: Re-printed under the Supervision of the Otani University of Kyoto: Catalogue & Index*, Tokyo: Suzuki Research Insti-tute, 1962.
P	Peking edition. Taisho Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō.
Toh.	H. Ui, M. Suzuki, Y. Kanakura and T. Tada (eds.) *A Com-plete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, Sendai: Tohoku Imperial University, 1934.

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  E^M: *Himitsu Shūe Tantora Kōtei Bonpon*. Ed. Yukai Matsunaga, Yukei. Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan, 1978.
Tantrāloka by Abhinavagupta
  Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta with Commentary by Rājānaka Jayaratha. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 23, 28, 30, 35, 29, 41, 47, 59, 52, 57, 58. Ed. M.K. Śāstrī. Bombay and Srinagar, 1918–38.
Tantrālokaviveka by Jayaratha
  See *Tantrāloka*.
Maṇḍalopāyikā by Padmaśrīmitra
  See TANEMURA 2012b.
Mṛtasugatiniyojana by Śūnyasamādhivajra
  See TANEMURA 2013b.
Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa of Vāgīśvarakīrti.
  E^S: *Vāgīśvarakīrtis Mṛtyuvañcanopadeśa, eine buddhistische Lehrschrift zur Abwehr des Todes*. Ed. J. Schneider. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010.
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  NGMPP Reel no. E920/12. *Parinirvṛtavaryācāryasatkārakrama* is transcribed in TANEMURA 2012a.

2. Tibetan Translation

dKyil 'khor thams cad kyi spyi'i cho ga gsang ba'i rgyud. (*Sarvamaṇḍalasāmānya-vidhiguhyatantra.)
  Ota. no. 429, *rgyud*, vol. *tsha*, ff. 202r4–227v1; Toh. 806, *rgyud 'bum*, vol. *wa*, ff. 141r1–167v7.

(*dPal*) *ngan song thams cad yongs su sbyong ba'i ro'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga*.
Translation of Ānandagarbha's **Sarvadurgatipariśodhanapretahomavidhi*.
    Ota. 3459, *rgyud 'grel*, vol. *gu*, ff. 187r6–201v3; Toh. 2632, *rgyud*, vol.
    ju, ff. 157r1–168r2.

('*Phags pa*) '*Jam dpal gyi dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga yon tan 'byung gnas*.
Translation of Agrabodhi's *(*Ārya-*)*Mañjuśrīmaṇḍalavidhiguṇasaṃbhava*.
    Ota. 3409, *rgyud 'grel*, vol. *i*, ff. 99r3–125r8; Toh. 2582, *rgyud*, vol.
    ngu, ff. 83r1–106r3.

*Legs par grub par byed pa'i rgyud chen po las sgrub pa'i thabs rim par
phye ba*. Translation of *Susiddhikaramahātantrasādhanopāyikapaṭala* (*Su-
siddhikara*).
    Ota. 431, *rgyud*, vol. *tsha*, ff. 230r8–284v7; Toh. 807, *rgyud*, vol. *wa*, ff.
    168r1–222v7.

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    Study on ḥJam dpal gsaṅ ldan School primarily based upon Nāma-
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T<small>ANTRIC</small> C<small>OMMUNITIES IN THE</small> P<small>UBLIC</small> S<small>PHERE</small>

Narratives as a medium for appealing to the royal court: A look into the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā*

Marion Rastelli

Introduction

There is ample evidence that Tantric communities not only strived to establish close relationships to rulers in order to gain support and patronage, they were also quite successful in doing so.[1] This is true also with regard to the Pāñcarātra tradition: here we can clearly observe a development from individual ritual worship for personal purposes in the earlier extant authoritative texts to emphasis on public temple worship for the sake of kings and the kingdom in the later texts from about the eleventh century onwards.[2] I will not, however, speak directly about this phenomenon here, but will rather examine a Saṃhitā, as the authoritative texts of the Pāñcarātra are called, that is quite peculiar in many aspects, namely, the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* (AS).

The AS is one of the best-known Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās in the West,[3] mainly because of its comparatively extensive philosophical, theological and cosmological passages. It is less known, however, for its comprehensive sections dealing with rituals, *mantra*s, *yantra*s, and other matters expounding the ritual worship of Sudarśana, the discus of Viṣṇu in an anthropomorphic form with a varying number of arms. Ritual worship of Sudarśana is performed mainly for the purposes of a king, as, for example, for military purposes (see also BIANCHINI in this volume). It is neither a personal ritual performed indi-

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[1] See, e.g., SANDERSON 2004 and 2009.

[2] For a more detailed exposition of this development, see RASTELLI 2006: 91–98.

[3] The first monograph about the Pāñcarātra in a western language, published in English by SCHRADER in 1916, is devoted to the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā*. Another monograph on the same was published by MATSUBARA in 1994. There are also several shorter studies dealing with this text by other authors, the majority by BOCK-RAMING (1987, 1992, 2002).

vidually nor a public ritual, and usually it is performed not by the king him-
self, but by his personal priest (*purohita*, *purodhas*).

This means that the AS is a text that was composed, at least from its rit-
ual point of view, for kingly purposes – more precisely, for personal priests
in the office of a king – or to try to convince a king of the usefulness of
employing such priests. One means of convincing a ruler to employ a per-
sonal priest for the worship of Sudarśana was to include narratives. Indeed,
a comparably large number of narratives can be found in the AS. This pa-
per will focus on these narratives and what they can tell us beyond the sto-
ries they report.

The historical background of the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā*

When was the AS composed? Most of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās are com-
piled texts. Again and again parts of them were revised, complemented, and
perhaps abbreviated. This makes dating them extremely difficult since dif-
ferent passages can have different dates of composition. The AS has also
been partly compiled from various sources.[4] However, it has an overall
systematic structure,[5] which gives the impression of it having been re-
worked by a single final redactor, who gave the text a homogeneous ap-
pearance, at least superficially.

Today, scholars date the AS to between the eleventh and thirteenth centu-
ry. One of the reasons for this is the heavy influence of Śaiva traditions visi-
ble in the text. According to Alexis Sanderson, it must have been composed
after Kṣemarāja (1000–1050 CE) since it shows influences from him as well
as other Kashmirian Śaiva sources.[6] According to BEGLEY (1973: 27f.), the
AS cannot have been composed much earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth
century for iconographical reasons: there is no evidence of images of Sudar-
śana in the form described in the AS before the thirteenth century.

Both scholars agree that the AS was composed in South India. The rea-
son SANDERSON gives are the Yajurveda *mantra*s found in chapter 58 of
the AS, which are presented in the version of the Vedic branch of the Tait-
tirīyas, which is prevalent in South India.[7] BEGLEY's (ibid.) argument is

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[4] See, e.g., the analysis of AS 5 by BOCK-RAMING (2002: 21–56), in which he
demonstrates that the text of this chapter is based on various sources.

[5] See also BOCK-RAMING 2002: 183f.

[6] SANDERSON 2001: 36–38. See also SANDERSON 1990: 34, where he suggests the
eleventh century as the date of the AS's composition.

[7] SANDERSON 2001: 38. See BOCK-RAMING 1992: 82–85 for a detailed argumen-

that idols of Sudarśana in the form described in the AS appear only in South India.[8]

South India of the thirteenth century experienced a great deal of political turmoil. It was the period of the decline of the Cōḷas and the revival of the Pāṇḍyas. Struggles between the two dynasties gave opportunities to other major and minor rulers, such as the Hoysalas, the Cēras, the Kākatīyas, the Eastern Gaṅgas of Orissa, and the Telugu-Cōḍas, for gaining power through interventions and shifting alliances.[9]

Inscriptions from, for example, the Raṅganāthasvāmī Temple in Śrīraṅgam and the Varadarājasvāmī Temple in Kāñcī show that the Cōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, and Hoysalas, although being Śaivas or preferring Śaivism, often generously supported Vaiṣṇava temples as well. Also local rulers such as the Telugu-Cōḍas, who nominally acknowledged the overlordship of the Cōḷas, were influential and supported Vaiṣṇava temples. Further, these inscriptions frequently mention commanders and generals from the Hoysala army visiting the temples and giving donations.[10] This means that on the one hand the Vaiṣṇava temples faced continually changing rulers who supported them but often actually preferred Śaiva traditions. On the other hand, the presence of military forces and their importance in deciding the shifting powers was something that probably could not be ignored in daily life. Against this background, it is no surprise that a text like the AS might emerge, a text that propagates the worship of Viṣṇu's discus for kingly and above all military purposes and, while explicitly teaching Vaiṣṇavism, is not particularly ill-disposed towards Śaivism.[11]

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tation why the chapters treated in AS 58 derive from the Taittirīya branch.

[8] Apart from the AS there is also other evidence that Sudarśana worship was popular in South India in the thirteenth century. Veṅkaṭanātha, who is traditionally dated to 1270–1369 and who knew the AS (see RASTELLI 2006: 51), composed two Stotras to Sudarśana (BEGLEY 1973: 30–32). An inscription at the Raṅganāthasvāmī Temple in Śrīraṅgam dated to about 1274 records a donation to Sudarśana (ibid.: 69f.).

[9] For a detailed description of the political situation in South India at that time, see NILAKANTHA SASTRI 1955: 365–444.

[10] See HARI RAO 1976: 65–86, RAMAN 1975: 17–24.

[11] Apart from the use of the Kashmirian Śaiva sources mentioned above, there are several other indications of Śaiva influence in the AS; see, e.g., RASTELLI 2018.

The narratives of the AS

The AS contains many stories that in style and content remind one of
Purāṇic and epic narratives. The Saṃhitā starts with the *śāstrāvatāra* story,
the story of the "descent of the teaching" in chapter 1, which is characteris-
tic of almost all Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās (and also of Śaiva Tantras).[12] There
are several cosmological accounts, of which some have a narrative charac-
ter (e.g., AS 11), and there is also a version of the story about the demons
Madhu und Kaiṭabha.[13]

There are ten stories which I would like to examine in this paper. In the-
se stories kings are the main protagonists. In nine of these stories, certain
kings are in various forms of distress and finally receive a solution to their
problem in the form of the six-syllable *sudarśanamantra*.[14] In the tenth
story, a king behaves badly and is punished by being destroyed by Sudar-
śana.[15] In eight of the nine stories just mentioned, the king receives the
sudarśanamantra from or with the help of a personal royal priest (*purohi-
ta*). It is often not the king who then performs a ritual with this *mantra*, but
the *purohita*, who performs it for the king's sake. Only one of these nine
stories is antithetical: here, instead of a *purohita*, the king receives the *su-
darśanamantra* with the help of the deity Kubera and from the goddess
Mahālakṣmī.[16] And in the story of the badly behaving king, no *purohita*
appears at all. We will see that this is also significant with regard to the role
of *purohita*s in the AS.

Thus, these stories have several similarities, in the sense that most of
them have comparable structures and almost all illustrate the eminent im-
portance of *purohita*s for kings. The function of most of them seems clear:
they demonstrate that in any sort of difficulty in which a king might find
himself, alone the *purohita* can help by using only a particular *mantra*, the
sudarśanamantra as taught by the AS. Thus, they pave the way to the royal

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[12] See OBERHAMMER 1994. For a translation of AS 1, see MATSUBARA 1994:
153–169.

[13] AS 41. See BOCK 1987.

[14] The wording of the six-syllable *sudarśanamantra* is *sahasrāra huṃ phaṭ* (AS
18.34–39b).

[15] This story appears in the context of repelling such an enemy, concretely, the re-
pelling of malevolent magic (*abhicāra*) (AS 42.8–40b), since the malicious king
produces a female demon (*kṛtyā*) in order to destroy Kṛṣṇa; see below. Thus, it is also
a story about solving a problem by means of Sudarśana.

[16] For a translation of this story and a detailed study of its function in the AS, see
RASTELLI 2015.

court for *purohita*s and strengthen their position there. What is special and important in these stories with regard to the topic of this volume is that they do not concern a standard Atharvavedic[17] *purohita* trying to gain ground at the royal court, but a *purohita* who has, albeit strongly affiliated with the Atharvaveda,[18] a Pāñcarātric background. Can these narratives provide evidence about the process of the Pāñcarātrins trying to approach the royal courts and the methods they chose for this purpose? Might they even provide evidence about the composer of the AS, about the Pāñcarātric *purohita*s, who were the primary target audience of his text, or about the rulers at that time, who can be seen as a kind of secondary target audience?

Let us look at the narratives more closely. Briefly, their contents are as follows:[19]

AS 33.24–100: King Maṇiśekhara, son of Durdharṣa(ṇa) and grandson of Pramaganda, reigns in Naicāśākha according to the *dharma*, i.e., the socio-religious order as taught in the Brahmanical scriptures. However, a demon (*mahāsura*) called Vikaṭākṣa and his offspring torment his kingdom and the whole universe. Since the demon cannot be easily defeated because of a boon that he has received from Brahmā, Maṇiśekhara asks his personal priest Kratu for a solution. Kratu tells him that the demon can only be conquered by Viṣṇu and advises him to take refuge with the god bearing the form of a discus, i.e., Sudarśana. Maṇiśekhara and Kratu go to the sage Durvāsas, whom they ask for a means for obtaining Sudarśana. Durvāsas gives them the six-syllable *sudarśanamantra*. He says that by means of this *mantra* and with the help of the personal priest, the king can achieve everything he desires. Then Durvāsas tells them that God is present in the form of Sudarśana in Sālagrāma on the bank of the river Sarasvatī[20]. Maṇiśekhara and Kratu then proceed to Sālagrāma. Maṇiśekhara has Kratu worship God in the form of the discus for a month. Then Sudarśana with eight arms appears, kills the demon, and disappears. Maṇiśekhara reigns again.

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[17] Personal priests of kings were traditionally Atharvavedins (SANDERSON 2007: 204–208), whose magic, healing, and invocation rituals were particularly suitable for kingly needs, even if this was sometimes only an ideal (WITZEL 1986: 47f.).

[18] On the strong position of the *Atharvaveda* in the AS, see RASTELLI 2018.

[19] For a more detailed description of the contents of the narratives, see SCHRADER 1916: 132–141.

[20] Actually, the famous place called Śālagrāma is not situated on the river Sarasvatī, but is the source of the river Gaṇḍakī, see, e.g., MANI 1975 s.v. *śālagrāma*.

AS 42.40c–82: Śrutakīrti, king of Saurāṣṭra who reigns in Bhadraśālā and worships Sudarśana, wishes to conquer the world of the Gandharvas. However, this is not as easy as he thinks. He approaches his personal priest, who advises him to take refuge with Sudarśana. He should visualise Sudarśana with 64 arms in a big discus (*cakra*) with 64 spokes and recite his *mantra*. In addition, the priest teaches the king all weapon *mantra*s (*astramantra*). By this means, Śrutakīrti is able to win the battle, whereupon he returns to Bhadraśālā. Amazed by the power of Sudarśana, he asks his personal priest if he could also reach liberation from transmigration with the help of Sudarśana. The answer is positive, and the king, worshipping the sixty-four-armed Sudarśana every day, finally reaches the supreme abode (*parama pada*).

AS 43.21c–44.56: Indra, the king of the gods, is tormented by a demon (*dānava*) called Jalaṃdhara[21]. He consults the Maruts, and Vāyu advises him to send Bṛhaspati (who is the *purohita* of the gods; see SÖRENSEN 1904 s.v. Bṛhaspati) to Śaṅkara (i.e., Śiva) to ask for help. Bṛhaspati is sent to the Kailāsa mountain, where he meets and praises Śaṅkara. Then he tells Śaṅkara about Indra's problem. Śaṅkara agrees to kill the demon by means of the *sudarśanamantra*. Bṛhaspati asks for the *mantra* and Śaṅkara gives it to him. Having gone to the Himālaya, Bṛhaspati recites the *mantra* and causes Sudarśana to appear. Sudarśana teaches him about his various forms. About Indra nothing more is reported.

AS 45: Kuśadhvaja, king of the Janakas, is afflicted by a "great delusion" (*mahāmoha*) that causes bodily pain and disturbs his memory.[22] Initially he ignores his affliction, but then, when it torments him more and more, he approaches his family preceptor (*kulaguru*)[23] Yājñavalkya to in-

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[21] Jalaṃdhara is a demon that appears in the myth of Śiva as Jalaṃdharasaṃhāramūrti. In this myth, the demon Jalaṃdhara is killed by means of the discus Sudarśana, which, in some versions of the myth, is later given to Viṣṇu; see GILLET 2010: 210–221.

[22] In Yoga and Sāṅkhya, *mahāmoha* is one of five types of "unreal cognition" (*viparyaya*) (see, e.g., *Yogabhāṣya* ad *Yogasūtra* 1.8, Gauḍapāda's commentary ad *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 47). In AS 14.15c–17, *mahāmoha* is a term for the *nigrahaśakti* deluding the individual soul (*jīva*). Here, in AS 45, it is described as a kind of illness.

[23] In this paper I do not differentiate between *guru*s and *purohita*s, since I do not find that the AS differentiates clearly between the functions of the two. In the stories presented here, *guru*s and *purohita*s have the same function. Also in the following passage describing a *purohita*, no clear distinction between the office of a *purohita* and a *guru* is made: "Listen, if the king cannot perform [a ritual], a skilful personal priest should perform [it]. Only he is the king's entire property in effecting invisible

quire about the cause of this *mahāmoha* and its remedy. Yājñavalkya tells him that the *mahāmoha* is the result of a crime (*pāpa*): in former times, Kuśadhvaja had killed a virtuous king outside of a battle. Yājñavalkya proposes "mastering"[24] Sudarśana, because by means of his power the *mahāmoha* will be destroyed. Kuśadhvaja has a pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) constructed on the bank of the river Sarasvatī, in which Yājñavalkya performs a ritual in order to pacify (*śāntika karman*) the *prārabdha karman*, i.e., the

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aims. (3) Acting according to the *dharma*, perfect with regard to Vedic learning, well-conducted, truthful, pure, well-born, free of self-conceit, patient, having a good memory, powerful, (4) knowing the divisions of space and time, an astrologer, unwearied, invincible, careful, bountiful, learned in polity, (5) knowing means and ends, a counsellor/one who has mastered the *mantra*s (both meanings are possible and it is difficult to decide which one is meant), constantly sacrificing, free of desire, knowing fate, speaking kindly, belonging to the Veda, endowed with [the quality] *sattva*, a lord, (6) a devotee of Viṣṇu, an ascetic, knowing the rituals, eagerly engaged in rituals, faultless, wishing the acquisition of good and the abandonment of evil, generally esteemed by kings, (7) such a personal priest who is competent for [being] a *guru* for kings is difficult to find, because such a [personal priest] is able to keep back a stream of evils for kings. (8) Therefore only this [personal priest] is entitled [to use] the method of protecting kings. A king who has a *guru* of this kind can become a universal ruler (*samrāj*), (9) live long, be without enemies, healthy, [and] a slayer of hostile heroes. Indeed in his kingdom no pains such as drought etc. arise. (10) [If] the king would have a *guru* or personal priest who is different than that, [this] would undoubtedly be unfavourable for the king." (AS 46.3–11: *śṛṇu rājā na cet kuryāt purodhāḥ kurutāt kṛtī | sa eva rājñaḥ sarvasvam adṛṣṭārthopapādane || 3 dhārmikaḥ śrutisampannaḥ suśīlaḥ satyavāk śuciḥ | abhijāto 'nahaṃkāras titikṣuḥ smṛtimān vaśī || 4 deśakālavibhāgajñaḥ śāstradṛṣṭir atandritaḥ | apradhṛṣyo 'pramādī ca vadānyo nayakovidaḥ || 5 upāyopeyavin mantrī yāyajūko hy alolupaḥ | daivavit priyavādī ca vaidikaḥ sattvavān prabhuḥ || 6 viṣṇubhaktas tapasvī ca kāryavit karmaṭho 'naghaḥ | hitāhitāptihānecchur nṛpāṇāṃ sarvasaṃmataḥ || 7 īdṛśo durlabho rājñām gurukalpaḥ purohitaḥ | īdṛśo hi kṣamo rājñām aghaughavinivāraṇe || 8 ataḥ sa eva rājñām hi rakṣāvidhim athārhati | evaṃvidho gurur yasya sa samrāṇ nṛpatir bhavet || 9 dīrghāyur niḥsapatnaḥ syād arogaḥ paravīrahā | avagrahādyā jāyante pīḍās tadviṣaye na hi || 10 taṃ vinānyo bhaved rājño gurur vātha purohitaḥ | viparītaṃ bhavet tasya mahībhartur na saṃśayaḥ || 11*). See also the usage of the term *upādhyāya* in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 10.66.27–28 in comparison to the other Purāṇic passages quoted in n. 40 and BIANCHINI 2015: 36 and 56f.

[24] Here the word *sādhana* is used (AS 45.32: *tatsādhane yatnaṃ kuruṣva*, "make an effort with regard to his *sādhana*"). *sādhana* is a religious practice by which a deity is worshipped and thereby subdued or "mastered," in the sense that as a result the deity is at the devotee's command. See for this practice RASTELLI 2000.

karman that is already active in the present life and has caused the *mahāmoha* in this case.

The following five stories in the AS should be considered a cohesive group. They are introduced in AS 48.3–8 by mentioning five kings who have reached their respective goals by means of a throne (*āsana*), a ring (*aṅgulīya*), a mirror (*darpaṇa*), a banner (*dhvaja*), and a canopy (*vitāna*).

AS 48.9–50b: King Muktāpīḍa, son of Suśravas, does not care for his kingdom but is only interested in women and drinking alcohol. As a consequence, his subjects fall from the *dharma* and demons overcome the kingdom. But the king still does not care. His ministers consult the personal priest (*purodhas*) and conclude that only the personal priest can help. He produces a throne that is furnished with a *yantra*[25] (of Sudarśana) according to the method of Vasiṣṭha and has the king sit on it. What follows in the text is a detailed prescription for a ritual serving various purposes.[26] After this ritual having been performed for a mere month, the story ends with all of the kingdom's enemies being destroyed by diseases and the earth again coming under the control of the king. Whether the king's desire for women and alcohol also disappears is not mentioned.

AS 48.50c–64b: In the town of Viśālā, a bodiless voice from the sky speaks to the mother of the virtuous King Viśāla, telling her that her son will die within four days. When she tells this to her son, he asks her not to be afraid and goes to the hermitage of Pulaha, who is a *purohita*. Having listened to the story of the incident, Pulaha gives Viśāla a ring bearing the *yantra* of Sudarśana. When the servants of Death (here called Kāla) come to take Viśāla's life, they are unable to come near him. Various weapons emerge from the discus and chase them away. Both the gods and Kāla are astonished that Viśāla has successfully conquered death.[27]

AS 48.64c–109: One day, Sumati, son of King Sunīti of Śṛṅgāra, goes to a grove to hunt. In the grove he meets a charming young woman. Passionate about her, he becomes bewildered. The woman takes him to her home and later to the Nāga world. Having reached Bhogāvatī, the capital of the Nāga world, she gives Sumati to Anaṅgamañjarī, daughter of the Nāga King Vāsuki. Anaṅgamañjarī wants to marry him, and also the amazed Sumati is ready to marry the beautiful princess. In the meantime, Sunīti's

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[25] *yantra*s usually consist of diagram-like drawings and *mantra*s made present in them; see, e.g., RASTELLI 2003: 142ff. and especially for the *sudarśanayantra* pp. 148–151.

[26] This passage gives the impression of being a foreign body in the text.

[27] For a translation of this and the next story, see BIANCHINI 2015: 67–71.

father misses his son and asks his ministers to find him. Spies and messengers search for Sunīti but are unable to find him. The king is inconsolable and no longer eats or sleeps because of his sorrow. Then the king's personal priest (*purohita*) goes to his *guru* Kaṇva, who lives on the banks of the river Tamasā. Having heard the story, Kaṇva immerses himself in *yoga*, sees what has happened, and relates it to the *purohita*. He says that only by means of the power of Sudarśana it will be possible to bring Sunīti back, namely, with a mirror furnished with a *sudarśanamahāyantra*. The *purohita* goes back to the king and tells him everything. The king produces a mirror in the prescribed manner, places it on a chariot, and drives to the entrance of a cave that he has been able to find with the help of the mirror. He enters the Nāga world and fetches his son (magically?). Sumati and his wife come, the king lifts them into the chariot and wants to return with them to his own town. Vāsuki, the father of the princess, is angry about this and, supported by his army of snakes, asks the king to stop. The king asks the mirror to kill the snake army. Two weapons come forth from the mirror, one that puts the snake army to sleep and one that starts to burn the Nāga town. Seeing this, Vāsuki begs for pardon, gives the king jewels, the princess, and other Nāga women, asks him to withdraw the weapons and to go. The king agrees and goes home with his son, the Nāga women, and the jewels.

AS 49: King Citraśekhara, son of Uparicara, reigns in the town of Bhadravāṭī on the banks of the Sarasvatī. In former times, Uparicara, who had received a divine flying chariot from Indra, killed the demon Śaṅkukarṇa, who wanted to rob the chariot. After the death of Uparicara, Śaṅkukarṇa's son Amarṣaṇa wishes to avenge his father and beleaguers Citraśekhara's army and town. His aim is to kill Citraśekhara and to capture the divine chariot. A long-lasting battle between the two armies begins, but Citraśekhara is unable to defeat the demon. Reflecting on a solution, he thinks that he will only be able to gain victory with the help of Śiva's (*mahādeva*) grace. He decides to please him by means of mortifications (*tapas*) and leaves for Mount Kailāsa by means of the divine chariot, which he has inherited from his father. However, the chariot stops above Mount Mandara. Surprised, Citraśekhara walks around on the peak of the mountain. He meets a beautiful young man who turns out to be Kubera. Citraśekhara tells him everything that had happened, whereupon Kubera tells him that Mount Mandara is the abode of the almighty goddess Mahālakṣmī. It was she who stopped the movement of his chariot. Kubera tells Citraśekhara that he will receive all that he desires after seeing her. Kubera disappears, but one of his servants appears. The servant spends the night

with Citraśekhara and explains how to proceed towards where Mahālakṣmī lives. Having arrived there, Citraśekhara enters a gorgeous palace. In the centre of the palace he meets the magnificent Mahālakṣmī. He sings a long hymn of praise, which is composed in various meters. Having heard the hymn, Mahālakṣmī graciously tells him that she will fulfil his wishes. Citraśekhara tells her about his problems and she gives him a banner with the *yantra* of Sudarśana, telling him that she protects all who have taken refuge with her by means of Sudarśana's power. Citraśekhara goes back to the battle and kills the demon.

AS 50: This story is about King Kīrtimālin, the son of King Bhadraśṛṅga, in Viśālā. Roaming once through his kingdom in the darkness in order to hear the conversations of the people, he meets a Brahmin who is immersed in *yoga* meditation on Sudarśana. The king desires to ask the Brahmin who he is, where he comes from, etc., but, being in deep meditation, the Brahmin does not notice the king and thus does not reply. The angry king wants to seize him, but the only result is that he is paralysed by the Brahmin's power. Surprised, he pays obeisance from all sides and appeases him with praises. Being appeased, the Brahmin awakes and tells the king about a place called Sālagrāma, where God Viṣṇu is present in the form of the discus. There he has mastered all *sādhana*s (see n. 24) by means of the power of Sudarśana, and now he is on the way to Puṣkara. The king pays homage to the Brahmin and conveys him to a Viṣṇu temple. The next day, when the Brahmin wants to leave for Puṣkara, the king asks him how he might achieve happiness (*sukha*), also hereafter. The Brahmin teaches him the six-syllabled *sudarśanamantra* and other *mantra*s belonging to it, such as weapon *mantra*s, as well as its visualisation (*dhyāna*), worship, and *yantra*. The king wishes to give many gifts to the Brahmin, but the Brahmin refuses to accept them. The king insists on giving them to him, and finally they agree on the king giving them to other Brahmins. From that time onwards, the king reigns according to the *dharma*. One day he asks his ministers which countries, kings, etc. are under his control. They answer that the whole earth is under his control, but that the deities, Gandharvas, Asuras, and Nāgas do not serve him. Hearing this, Kīrtimālin also wants to conquer all these beings and asks his ministers for advice. They tell him that he will be able to conquer them easily because of his immense valour and because he has obtained divine weapons from the Brahmin. Subsequently, Kīrtimālin conquers the Nāga world as well as the Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Siddhas, and Vidyādharas. His next aim is to conquer the deities. He thus sends a Gandharva messenger named Manojava to In-

dra to ask him to send him the elephant Airāvata, his thunderbolt (*vajra*), and other things. Indra, confronted with this demand, laughs and tells the messenger that he will send Airāvata and the thunderbolt. The other things should be fetched by Kīrtimālin himself. Indra sends Airāvata and the thunderbolt, which arrive at Kīrtimālin's fortress and invisibly kill his army. This sudden death causes confusion. Kīrtimālin calls his personal priest (*purodhas*) and asks for advice. Reflecting upon what has happened, the personal priest assumes that it was caused by the anger of the deities. At that moment, the messenger arrives and confirms this assumption. The king consults the personal priest to find a means of revenge, whereupon he sends one of his divine weapons forth, which paralyses Airāvata and the thunderbolt. Indra is angry and sends his dreadful army to Kīrtimālin's town. Seeing this, Kīrtimālin comes out of the town together with his army. In a first battle, the deities win. Being angry, Kīrtimālin sends further divine weapons forth, but Indra is able to ward them off. Kīrtimālin remembers that he has a chariot among the weapon *mantra*s from the Brahmin. He has such a chariot produced (by the personal priest). It is endowed with the *sudarśanamahāyantra* and a canopy.[28] Then he sits down in the shade of the canopy and casts a *viṣṇucakra*, another weapon received from the Brahmin (see AS 34.14c–16), which kills the deities. The angry Indra also casts various weapons and finally his thunderbolt, but all these weapons disappear in the *viṣṇucakra*. Indra is surprised. He meets Kīrtimālin and asks why his weapons are now successful. Kīrtimālin explains that this success is due to the canopy. Indra and Kīrtimālin become friends.

AS 42.35–40b: The king of Vārāṇasī called Kāśīrāja worships Viśveśvara Mahādeva and produces a female demon (*kṛtyā*) in order to destroy Kṛṣṇa.

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[28] These last two sentences are my interpretation of AS 50.112c–113: "Then Kīrtimālin, having become despondent, remembered the chariot that he has received from the Brahmin. Then he had it made in that way [as taught by the Brahmin (?)], bound by the *sudarśanamahāyantra* and equipped with a canopy." (*tato nirvedam āpannaḥ kīrtimālī dvijottamāt* ‖ 112 *labdhaṃ vimānaṃ sasmāra tat tathākārayat tataḥ | sudarśanamahāyantrayantritaṃ savitānakam* ‖ 113). These sentences are not easy to understand. No chariot was mentioned in the story before; AS 50.29–31 states that the king receives various *mantra*s from the Brahmin. Indeed, AS 40.61ab mentions a chariot (*vimāna*) among the many weapons that are forms of God, as taught by the AS. Thus, we can conclude that the chariot given to the king by the Brahmin is in the form of a weapon *mantra*. This could explain why a chariot that the king has already received has yet to be produced, in the sense that it could have been produced through a quasi-magic ritual by using the appropriate *mantra*. SCHRADER (1916: 140) understands this passage in a similar way.

The female demon goes to Dvārakā to find Kṛṣṇa. As Kṛṣṇa becomes aware that the flying demon is approaching, he casts Sudarśana. The female demon flees, but the discus kills her and destroys Kāśīrāja and his town.

Names, places, and motives

In the following section I would like to examine the persons, places, and motives that appear in the stories (see also the table on pp. 360f.). Can we derive any information from them?

Let us first look at the names of the kings in the stories. Several of the kings' names are well-known from Vedic, epic, and Purāṇic Sanskrit literature.

The names Pramaganda, the grandfather of the main character Maṇiśekhara in the story in AS 33.24–100, and Naicāśākha appear in a Ṛgvedic hymn, namely, in ṚV III.53.14. Here they seem to have a negative connotation. Indra is asked to bring the property of Prámaganda and to subdue Naicāśākhá.[29] According to Sāyaṇa's commentary ad loc., Pramaganda is the name of an offspring of Maganda, who was a usurer. Naicāśākha, according to Sāyaṇa, is the property of outcast (*patita*) people.[30] In the introduction to his *Ṛgvedabhāṣya*, Sāyaṇa simply states that Naicāśākha is a town and Pramaganda a king,[31] which agrees with the story in the AS.

The main character of the story, Maṇiśekhara, is described in a fairly positive way.[32] However, being the child of a usurer and related to outcast

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[29] ṚV III.53.14: *kíṃ te kṛṇvanti kíkaṭeṣu gávo náśíraṃ duhré ná tapanti gharmám | á no bhara prámagandasya védo naicāśākháṃ maghavan randhayā naḥ ||.* "What do the cows do for you among the Kīkaṭas? They do not milk out the milk mixture; they do not heat the gharma[=hot]-drink. Bring here to us the possessions of Pramaganda. Make the descendant of Nīcāśākha subject to us, bounteous one." (Translation JAMISON & BRERETON 2014: 539).

[30] RVBh vol. 2, p. 435,1–6. In this interpretation, Sāyaṇa follows Yāska's *Nirukta* 6.32, from which he also quotes in the subsequent passage (see also CHARPENTIER 1930: 336).

[31] RVBh vol. 1, p. 6,7f.: "In the same way the non-eternal meanings 'that which is called *naicāśākha* is a town, that which is called *pramaganda* is a king' are handed down." (*tathā naicāśākhaṃ nāma nagaraṃ pramagando nāma rājā ity ete 'rthā anityā āmnātāḥ.*) CHARPENTIER (1930: 336) sees a contradiction between the two statements of Sāyaṇa. I think that this is not necessarily a contradiction: also an offspring of a usurer could perhaps be a king, and a town could perhaps also be seen as a kind of property.

[32] AS 33.27–28b: "When this aforementioned Maṇiśekhara had passed the first

people is perhaps a kind of karmic explanation of why a virtuous king is tormented by a demon.[33]

Indra is the king of the gods and well-known (e.g., SÖRENSEN 1904 s.v. Indra).

Kuśadhvaja, the king of the Janakas in the story in AS 45, is known from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He is the brother of King Janaka (Rām 1.69.1–2). Another link to King Janaka is found in his *kulaguru* Yājñavalkya, who is Janaka's teacher in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* (e.g., BĀU 3.1.1–2).

King Viśāla from the story in AS 48.50c–64b and his town Viśālā are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[34] The father of King Citraśekhara, the main character of the story in AS 49, Uparicara, is well-known from the *Mahābhārata* (SÖRENSEN 1904 s.v. Uparicara).

The name Muktāpīḍa, appearing in the story in AS 48.9–50b, is mentioned in the Kashmirian chronicle *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. SCHRADER (1916: 96f.) takes this fact as evidence for the Kashmirian origin of the AS. According to BOCK-RAMING (2002: 20, n. 6), Muktāpīḍa was the fifth ruler of the Karkoṭa dynasty (699–736 CE) in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. It is unclear, however, if the king's name in the story is really inspired by the name of the Kashmirian king.

Versions of the story about the Kāśīrāja who worships Viśveśvara in Vārāṇasī appear in *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 5.34 ≈ *Brahmapurāṇa* 207, *Padmapurāṇa uttarakhaṇḍa* 278, and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 10.66.[35]

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state [of human life, i.e., childhood], he was a hero who had a charming appearance, had obtained knowledge, [and] had subdued [his] enemies. When the illustrious one had reached manhood, he found a wife [called] Prācī." (*so 'py avasthām atikramya prathamāṃ maṇiśekharaḥ | ramaṇīyākṛtiḥ śūraḥ prāptavidyaḥ paraṃtapaḥ ||* 27 *samprāptayauvanaḥ śrīmān prācīṃ bhāryām avindata* |).

[33] See DONIGER O'FLAHERTY 1980: 33–36 on the transfer of *karman* between parents and children.

[34] According to Rām 1.46.11, Viśāla is the son of Ikṣvāku and Alambuṣā; in Rām 1.44.8–12 his town Viśālā is mentioned. In MBh 3.88.22–23 Viśālā is identified with Badarī.

[35] This story could provide evidence for dating this passage of the AS. According to Peter Bisschop, a reference to the worship of Viśveśvara by a king in Vārāṇasī cannot be earlier than the twelfth century, since "the name of Viśveśvara as the central *liṅga* in Vārāṇasī is not attested before the twelfth century and represents a significant departure from the period preceding it" (personal information from Peter Bisschop to Robert Leach; see LEACH 2012: 156, n. 256). See also GUTSCHOW 1994: 194f. In the Purāṇa versions of the story, the deity is not called Viśveśvara but Maheśvara.

The names of kings I have not yet been able to locate in Sanskrit litera-
ture are Śrutakīrti, king of Saurāṣṭra (AS 42.40c–82), Sunīti (AS 48.64c–
109), and Kīrtimālin (AS 50).

Let us now look at the names of the *purohita*s. Insofar as they are men-
tioned,[36] they are all famous sages who are also well-known from the epics
and Purāṇas. For example, Kratu, Vasiṣṭha (see n. 36), and Pulaha are sons
of Brahmā. Durvāsas is a son of Śiva, born of his anger.[37] Bṛhaspati is the
purohita of the deities. Yājñavalkya was already mentioned above. He is
also a well-known *ṛṣi* in the epics and the Purāṇas. Kaṇva is a *ṛṣi* that is
known already in the *Ṛgveda* (he composed its eighth *maṇḍala*) as well as
in the epics and Purāṇas.[38]

An interesting case, as already mentioned, is the story in AS 42.35–40b.
This story presents no *purohita*, and thus it seems irrelevant with regard to
the role of *purohita*s, all the more so since it follows a different scheme
than the others. In this story, the king is punished rather than saved by
means of Sudarśana. However, the non-appearance of a *purohita* is striking
if we compare this story with its Purāṇic versions previously mentioned. In
the Purāṇas, it is the son of a Kāśīrāja who worships Śiva because he de-
sires a means for revenging his father, who has been killed by Kṛṣṇa.[39] In
all three versions of the Purāṇas, the son worships Śiva together with a
purohita.[40] It could be by chance that the *purohita* does not appear in the

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[36] The stories AS 42.40c–82, 48.9–50b, and 50 do not mention the names of the
*purohita*s. However, AS 48.16 mentions that the *purohita* uses a method taught by
Vasiṣṭha (*vasiṣṭhoktena mārgeṇa*), meaning that he stands in the tradition of Vasiṣṭha,
who was the family priest of various kings, among others of the family of Ikṣvāku, see
MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899 s.v. Vasiṣṭha. On the story AS 42.35–40b, see below.

[37] See, e.g., MANI 1975 s.v. Durvāsas. Durvāsas also appears in the *śāstrāvatāra*
story in AS 1.

[38] For references to these sages in the MBh, see SÖRENSEN 1904 s.v. their names.
For Yājñavalkya in a Purāṇa, see, e.g., AgniPur 16.8; for Kaṇva in a Purāṇa, see,
e.g., BrahmaPur 26.10.

[39] The Purāṇas also report the prelude to this story: Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva erroneo-
usly considers himself to be the god Vāsudeva and requests Kṛṣṇa, the actual god
Vāsudeva, to give up his claim. In response, Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva and his ally, the
king of Kāśī (in the *Padmapurāṇa* Pauṇḍraka, Vāsudeva, and the Kāśīrāja are one
and the same person), are killed by Kṛṣṇa.

[40] ViṣṇuPur 5.34.29 (= BrahmaPur 207.29): "Having learned that he has been kil-
led by Vāsudeva, his son consequently pleased Śaṅkara together with a personal
priest." (*jñātvā taṃ vāsudevena hataṃ tasya sutas tataḥ | purohitena sahitas toṣayām*

AS's version, since it is a rather abridged version of the story. Given the general importance of *purohita*s in the AS, however, the *purohita* may also have been omitted from the story on purpose. In the Purāṇic versions, the *purohita* appears in a bad light. He helps a king who wishes to kill Kṛṣṇa and, above all, he does not succeed. It is possible that the AS's redactor did not want to present *purohita*s in this role and thus omitted the personal priest in this story.

Now let us examine the places mentioned in the stories. The place mentioned most often, namely three times, is the river Sarasvatī. Twice it is the place where Sudarśana should be worshipped: in AS 33.87 Sālagrāma is considered to be located on its banks,[41] and in AS 45.37 a pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) for the worship of Sudarśana is constructed on its banks. In AS 49.2 Bhadravāṭī, the town reigned by King Citraśekhara, is situated on a bank of the Sarasvatī.

Two places are mentioned twice, Viśālā and Sālagrāma. Viśālā is Badarī (see n. 34), the well-known site, especially for a Pāñcarātrin, of Nara's and Nārāyaṇa's hermitage in the *Nārāyaṇīya*.[42] In the AS, it is the town that is ruled by the Kings Viśāla (AS 48.50) and Kīrtimālin (AS 50.2).

Sālagrāma is one of the few places mentioned in the narratives that is described in more detail. This is the case in both passages in which it is mentioned. Sālagrāma or Śālagrāma is a place actually located on the river Gaṇḍakī, not the Sarasvatī. Unusual black stones, also called *śālagrāma*,

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āsa śaṃkaram ||). PadmaPur *uttarakhaṇḍa* 278.15: "Having heard that his father has been killed by the Venerable Vāsudeva, Pauṇḍraka's son, called Daṇḍapāṇi, commanded by [his] mother Mṛtyu [and] requested by [his] personal priest, worshipped Śaṅkara by means of a sacrifice devoted to Maheśvara." (*tasya pauṇḍrakasya suto daṇḍapāṇir itīrito vāsudevena bhagavatā nihataṃ svapitaraṃ śrutvā mātrā mṛtyunā samādiṣṭaḥ svapurohitenābhiyukto māheśvareṇa kratunā śaṃkaram iyāja*.) BhāgPur 10.66.27–28: "Having performed the cremation ceremony for the ruler, his son Sudakṣiṇa, having himself in view: 'I will revenge [my] father by killing his murderer,' worshipped Maheśvara together with [his] preceptor in supreme concentration." (*sudakṣiṇas tasya sutaḥ kṛtvā saṃsthāvidhiṃ pateḥ | nihatya pitṛhantāraṃ yāsyāmy apacitiṃ pituḥ || ity ātmanābhisandhāya sopādhyāyo maheśvaram | sudakṣiṇo 'rcayām āsa parameṇa samādhinā* |).

[41] See n. 20.

[42] The *Nārāyaṇīya* is not only the earliest extant Pāñcarātra text, but it also had a strong influence on the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, especially in their narrative passages, which borrow many motives from it; see GRÜNENDAHL 1997: 362–370 and, with a focus on the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā*, RASTELLI 2006: 161–168.

are found there. Containing a fossil ammonite, they are considered parts of the discus Sudarśana and thus are sacred.[43] This explains why Sālagrāma is important for the AS. Everything present in Sālagrāma, including plants and stones, is considered to be marked by the discus:

> Having assumed the form of a boar in the boar-*kalpa*, the venerable one, the supreme person, pulled the earth out of the ocean. Then the goddess Earth, who was exceedingly exulted, spoke to the God (78c–79): "In order to rejoice those who are fond [of you], you should dwell in a territory on the earth forever, O lord of the world, after having obtained a dear body." (80) Thenceforth Keśava, to whom the goddess had spoken in this way, dwelled in the auspicious territory of the earth called Sālagrāma (81) with the body of Sudarśana, the glorious one, the venerable one, the one who is kind to [his] worshippers. Because of the majesty of the place, because of the compassion for [his] worshippers, [and] because of the request of the earth, Hari is always present there even today. The austerity that is performed in this place is multiplied thousandfold. (82–83) Human beings, animals, insects, and birds that die in this place are without doubt marked by the conch and the discus. (84) The venerable one, the lotus-eyed one who bears the body of Sudarśana is always present there, an ocean of good, auspicious qualities. (85) The human beings, deities, animals, trees, and mountains who live at his place are all marked by the seal of the discus. (86)[44] The unsurpassed place of Viṣṇu is called Sālagrāma. There the lord of the world in the form of the discus is always present. There everything that is immovable and moving is marked by the discus.

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[43] See, e.g., MANI 1975 s.v. *śālagrāma*.

[44] AS 33.78c–86: *vārāhaṃ rūpam āsthāya bhagavān puruṣottamaḥ || 78 ujjahāra bhuvaṃ kalpe vārāhe salilāt tataḥ | tadāha paramaprītā devaṃ devī vasuṃdharā || 79 priyārtham anuraktānāṃ sadā bhūmaṇḍale tvayā | vartitavyaṃ jagannātha priyāṃ tanum upeyuṣā || 80 evam uktas tayā devyā tadā prabhṛti keśavaḥ | sālagrāmāhvaye puṇye nyavasan maṇḍale bhuvaḥ || 81 sudarśanavapuḥ śrīmān bhagavān bhaktavatsalaḥ | adyāpi deśamāhātmyād bhaktānām anukampayā || 82 bhuvaḥ prārthanayā tatra nityaṃ saṃnihito hariḥ | atra taptaṃ tapo yat tat sahasraguṇitaṃ bhavet || 83 manuṣyāḥ paśavas tatra krimayaś ca patitriṇaḥ | ye mṛtāḥ śaṅkha-cakrāṅkās te bhavanti na saṃśayaḥ || 84 bhagavān puṇḍarīkākṣaḥ sudarśanava-purdharaḥ | saṃnidhatte sadā tatra sanmaṅgalaguṇārṇavaḥ || 85 taddeśavāsino martyāḥ surās tiryañca eva ca | taravaś cācalāḥ sarve cakramudrāṅkitās tadā || 86.*

(19c–20) There, by merely entering [it], creatures are free of any blemish. There those who have given up their body reach supreme extinction (*nirvāṇa*). (21) A Brahmin who is born at that place is approved by the learned, by means of Sudarśana's power he has accomplished all *sādhana*s.[45] (22)[46]

Other places mentioned in the AS's narratives include a second sacred place, namely Puṣkara, to which the Brahmin coming from Sālagrāma wanders (AS 50.23 and 26); the Himālaya, where Bṛhaspati recites the *sudarśanamantra* (AS 44.20); the river Tamasā[47] upon whose banks Kaṇva lives (AS 48.80); the town Bhadraśālā of the Saurāṣṭra king (AS 42.41); and the town Bhadravāṭī of King Citraśekhara on the banks of the Sarasvatī (AS 49.2). Some places belong to beings other than humans, such as Svastika, the town of the Gandharvas (AS 42.46–50); the mountain Kailāsa, where Śiva resides (AS 43.21, 32–33); and Bhogavatī, the town of the Nāgas (AS 48.70, 83, 97). The town Śṛṅgāra of King Sunīti, whose son falls in love with the Nāga princess, seems to bear a symbolic name rather than that of a real place, since *śṛṅgāra* means "sexual passion."

In conclusion, it is striking that all places, as far as they can be identified, are located in the northern part of India. As far as we can see, no place in South India is mentioned, although the current view is that the AS was redacted in the south. Not surprising is that several places that are considered sacred because of the presence of Viṣṇu or one of his forms are mentioned, including Badarī, Sālagrāma, and Puṣkara. Most of the places mentioned are known from the epics or Purāṇas.

At the end of this section, let us look at the problems the kings of the stories suffer from. Most often mentioned, namely in four stories, is the

problem of demons beleaguering and tormenting the king and his kingdom that cannot be conquered by ordinary military means.[48] If one considers

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[45] See n. 24.

[46] AS 50.19c–22: *sālagrāma iti khyātaṃ viṣṇusthānam anuttamam* ‖ 19 *nityaṃ saṃnihitas tatra cakrarūpī jagatpatiḥ / tatra cakrāṅkitaṃ sarvaṃ sthāvaraṃ jaṅgamaṃ ca yat* ‖ 20 *tatra praveśamātreṇa jantavo vītakalmaṣāḥ / tatra tyaktaśarīrās tu yānti nirvāṇam uttamam* ‖ 21 *tasmin deśe samutpanno brāhmaṇaḥ śiṣṭasaṃmataḥ / sudarśanaprabhāveṇa sādhitākhilasādhanaḥ* ‖ 22.

[47] The river Tamasā is also mentioned in the epics; see MANI 1975 s.v.

[48] This problem appears in the stories told in AS 33.24–100, 43.21c–44.56, 48.9–50b (here the reason for the invasion of demons is the carelessness of the king), and 49.

these demons not real demons but demonised enemies and their troops, this was indeed one of the main problems faced by kings, especially if we consider the situation in South India in the thirteenth century (see above). This thus fits the ritual repertoire that is offered by the AS, because here too, the focus is on rituals for victory in battle (BIANCHINI 2015: 49–55, 60–62).

The other main aim of kings, mentioned in two stories, is not unrelated, since it is the counterpart of defence against enemies, namely, the conquest of further territories.[49] Other problems and aims, each mentioned once, are mental illness caused by a crime committed in a previous life (AS 45); the threat of death (AS 48.50–64b); the kidnapping of a prince (AS 48.64c–109); and liberation from transmigration (AS 42.40c–82). All of these were probably dangers or aims that were really feared or striven for by kings, indeed, in some cases not only by kings, but all human beings.

Conclusion

Reflecting on the AS, its narratives, and the historical circumstances of its origin, has led me to the following thoughts:

1) Why did the AS's redactor choose narratives as a means for convincing kings of the usefulness of worshipping Sudarśana?
The AS's redactor, if indeed he was a single person, was deeply learned. Just a few examples: He knew the philosophies of Kashmirian Śaivism and of the Rāmānuja school, philosophical concepts of language, classical Yoga, the Vedas, and, especially, the Atharvaveda.[50] He knew the Purāṇas and the epics and could imitate their literary style in a masterly way. The rich contents of the AS demonstrate to us that its redactor did not include narratives because he could not master more sophisticated texts. He chose narratives for two reasons: First, kings would certainly be more easily convinced by the practical usefulness of particular rituals than by philosophical or theological reflections. In order to communicate the use of, for example, a

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[49] See the stories of AS 42.40c–82 and AS 50. Compare AS 29, which gives prescriptions for rituals for the purpose of the conquest of further territories, including the upper world (ūrdhvaloka) and the world of the Nāgas (nāgaloka).

[50] For the influence of Kashmirian Śaivism on the AS, see SANDERSON 2001: 36–38; for the influence of the Rāmānuja school, see, e.g., the mention of the concept of śeṣa and śeṣin in AS 52.6, which is a characteristic thought of this tradition (see CARMAN 1974: 147–157); for that of Yoga, see AS 31–32; for the influence of the Atharvavedic tradition, see RASTELLI 2018.

ritual for military purposes, a narrative would be much more appropriate than a theoretical tract. Secondly, narratives with a simple structure and entertainment value were an eligible means by which the author of the AS could approach kings, who were not unlearned persons but certainly more familiar with the Purāṇic and epic literature and their style than with philosophical or ritual texts.

2) What strategies are used in the narratives and for what purpose?
The main characters of the stories, mainly kings and personal priests, are often well-known persons from the epics and Purāṇas. The same is true of the places mentioned in the narratives. This means that the audience of the narratives most likely already knew these names and places before hearing the story itself. The listeners considered them historical persons and real existing places, since from the traditional Indian point of view the Purāṇas and epics were considered historical documents, describing events, places, and persons that once really existed.

One is more willing to believe a story about a person or a place that is familiar than a story about persons or places one has never heard of. Thus, to tell a story about characters or places that the audience is already familiar with increases its credibility. It improves the chances that the story will also be considered a report of a historical event. This is probably one reason the redactor of these narratives mentions particularly well-known persons and places.

In addition, using the names of famous persons achieves a further effect. The many famous kings who solved their problems by worshipping Sudarśana represent a very distinguished circle. The narratives insinuate to any ruling king that by worshipping Sudarśana he could also belong to this illustrious group. The same is true for the *purohita*. By relating a story like this, a *purohita* places himself into a row of famous sages, whereby he presents himself as being like one of them.

3) The AS is currently considered to have been redacted in South India. Nevertheless, the places mentioned in the narratives are located in India's northern region. One reason could be the one just mentioned: these are places known from the epics and Purāṇas, which increase the credibility of the story. However, a place in South India well-known to a southern king would fulfil the same function.

So there may be other reasons: Was this part of the AS perhaps composed in the north rather than in the south? However, the mere reference to places in the north is not sufficient evidence for this conclusion. Perhaps it

is precisely the emphasis on places in North India, especially sites that are classical places of Viṣṇu worship, which points to the fact that the AS was composed in South India. Did the AS's redactor emulate the North Indian traditions because he considered them an ideal? Or was it a wish of the kings at that time to take North India as an example, a wish that the AS's redactor tried to fulfil? Did the southern kings feel inadequate in comparison to kings in the north, wanting to be like them? Or were southern courts generally oriented to the North Indian religious and literary traditions, with the AS's redactor reflecting this orientation? There is inscriptional evidence that Sanskrit learning was highly valued in medieval South India. Inscriptions report on the promotion of, for example, Vedic schools, settlements for Brahmins, libraries, and other educational centres, and on the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* (MADHAVAN 2013: 105–139). Perhaps places known from Sanskrit literature received the same esteem as Sanskrit literature itself.

4) It is not possible to identify a particular historical king for whom the AS was composed. Indeed, it is probable that the redactor of the AS did not aim at a particular historical person. Considering the political situation in South India in the thirteenth century, a period when the ruling king could change any day, it would not have been wise to focus on a particular king. Thus, the target of the AS, that is, the target of the *purohita*s who acted according to the AS, were probably rulers in general. Their political distress at the time may have been considered an exceptional chance for promoting the Pāñcarātra.

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Text passage	Name of king	Places mentioned
AS 33.24–100	Maṇiśekhara, son of Durdharṣa(ṇa), grand-son of Pramaganda	Naicāśākha, Sālagrāma
AS 42.40c–82	Śrutakīrti, king of Saurāṣṭra	Bhadraśālā, Svastika (city of Gandharvas)
AS 43.21c–44.56	Indra, king of the gods	Kailāsa (abode of Śiva), Himālaya
AS 45	Kuśadhvaja, king of the Janakas	Sarasvatī
AS 48.9–50b	Muktāpīḍa, son of Suśravas	
AS 48.50c–64b	Viśāla	Viśālā
AS 48.64c–109	Sunīti	Śṛṅgāra
AS 49	Citraśekhara, son of Uparicara	Bhadravāṭī, Sarasvatī
AS 50	Kīrtimālin, son of Bhadraśṛṅga	Viśālā, Sālagrāma, Puṣkara
AS 42.35–40b	Kāśīrāja	Vārāṇasī, Dvārakā

Problem	Name(s) of helper(s)	Solution to problem
demon Vikaṭākṣa and his offspring torment all beings	*purodhas* Kratu, Durvāsas	*sudarśanamantra*, worship of Sudarśana in Śālagrāma for one month
king wants to conquer the Gandharva world and be liberated from transmigration	*purodhas* (no name mentioned)	visualization of the 62-armed Sudarśana, recitation of his mantra and ritual worship
Indra is tormented by the demon Jalaṃdhara	Bṛhaspati	Śiva promises to kill the demon by means of the *sudarśanamantra*
king is tormented by *mahāmoha*	*kulaguru* Yājñavalkya	*sādhana* of Sudarśana in order to destroy *prārabdha karman*
demons bring the kingdom under their control because it is neglected by the king	*purodhas*	a throne (*āsana*) with Sudarśana's *yantra* in which the king is seated, performance of a ritual
king will die within four days	*purohita* Pulaha	a ring (*aṅgulīya*) with Sudarśana's *yantra* chases death's servants away
son is kidnapped and taken to the Nāga world	*purohita*; his *guru* Kaṇva	a mirror helps find the Nāga world and conquer the Nāga king
demon Amarṣaṇa cannot be conquered by the king	Kubera, Mahālakṣmī	a banner that helps kill the demon
Kīrtimālin cannot conquer Indra	brahmin, *purodhas*	a canopy with Sudarśana's *yantra* helps conquer Indra and gain his friendship
the Kāśīrāja attacks Kṛṣṇa by means of a *kṛtyā*	no helpers mentioned	Sudarśana kills the *kṛtyā* and the Kāśīrāja, and destroys his town

In case of emergency:
Addressing rulers in the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā*

Francesco Bianchini[1]

It is now generally accepted that one way in which Tantric communities sought to increase their influence and power was by creating bonds with royal courts. The present paper deals with a specific instance of this important issue, by investigating the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* (AhS), probably redacted in South India around the thirteenth century,[2] and its many strategies designed to address a courtly audience. Occasional comparisons with other scriptures will also be included in order to clarify the specific character of the AhS.

As already observed by a number of scholars, one of the prominent features of the present Saṃhitā is its great emphasis on the fulfilment of the ruler's desires and his special needs, particularly in times of danger and natural calamities.[3] Perhaps partly because of this, we witness an absence of the dimension of calendrical rituals as well as of the many minor tasks court officiants would be normally expected to perform.

A second general observation regards the alleged militaristic dimension of the AhS. Very little can be found in the Saṃhitā which explicitly has to do with actual war scenarios, battle strategies, empowerment of the soldiers' weapons, and similar themes. Instead, it is the king who is at the

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[2] See RASTELLI in this volume.

[3] See in particular BEGLEY's informative study, which deals with the iconography of the multi-armed Sudarśana and also touches upon aspects of his worship as depicted in Pāñcarātra texts (1973: 65ff).

centre of attention and it is a certain ideal of kingship which eventually emerges. The work portrays an idealised ruler who, thanks to the power of Sudarśana, the personified discus of Viṣṇu, deployed by his priest, is perfectly capable of both conquering beyond limit and of protecting his territory against dangerous enemies. What the redactors of the work are advertising is precisely this ideal of empowered kingship, which is sometimes illustrated by means of stereotypical war or calamity scenarios[4].

Regarding the editions used in this article, it should be noted that the transmission of the text remains uncertain at this point. For the philological choices of the author of this article, please consult the appendix, which attempts to outline the policies of and manuscripts used by the editors of the text and how these affect the readings.

Introductory remarks on the structure of the AhS

One of the main challenges of reading a work like the AhS is identifying the changes the text underwent in the course of time. A reliable critical edition is key to this process, yet how far back in history we can actually reach depends on the stemmatic relations of the witnesses.

How many revisions did the AhS undergo? How old are the current division into *adhyāyas* (chapters) and the praising stanzas at their beginning? For example, the *adhyāyas* at the end of the work could have easily been added to the main text at some later point. Unfortunately, much of this remains unclear at present (see appendix of this paper).

The portion of the text considered here is that between *adhyāyas* 16 to 50. The first significant mention of kings is found in *adhyāya* 16, where the teaching about *mantras* begins. The last circle of narratives ends with *adhyāya* 50, before the opening of an exegetical coda regarding various specific *mantras* which carries on until the end of the work.

Interestingly, sections dealing with closely related topics are found scattered throughout this portion of the work in a way that would appear random. Schrader had to group some of these sections together when summarising the contents of the work.[5] This might be a drastic solution, but it is also practical. The materials found in this portion could be brought together

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[4] BEGLEY had already observed that the themes of conquest and protection mirror the distinction between Sudarśana's offensive and defensive weapons (cf. BEGLEY 1973: 79).

[5] Cf. SCHRADER 1916: 118.

under the following thematic headings: *mantra*s, *yantra*s, rituals, narratives, divine weapons (*divya astra*s) and *yoga*.[6] One can see that the *adhyāya*s devoted to *mantra*s contain a total of 269 stanzas (without counting the coda after *adhyāya* 50), those on *yantra*s a total of 508, those devoted to specific rituals 435, those on narratives 694, those on divine weapons 308, and finally those on *yoga* 123. Obviously, this data is not very precise,[7] but it can be used to point out the importance (at least in terms of space) given to narratives and descriptions of *yantras* in the AhS.

Again on royal officiants and rulers

Rulers and members of the royal court occupy a prominent position and can be said to be the main target audience. Particularly relevant from the historical point of view is the role played by officiants. Rastelli has identified and translated passages dealing with the royal officiant, often called *purohita* in the Saṃhitā, and his king.[8] The main topics dealt with in such passages are: the superiority of the king, the qualities of the ideal officiant, the fact that he is necessary to the king, and that they ought to join forces for the welfare of the kingdom as well as for their own. References to the *Atharvaveda*, which is classically associated with the sphere of royal ritual, are also quite frequent.[9] These aspects are skilfully linked to a theological background.

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[6] The correspondences are as follows: *mantra*s AhS 16–19; *yantra*s I AhS 20–27; rituals I AhS 28–29; *astra*s I AhS 30; *yoga* AhS 31–32; narrative I AhS 33; *astra*s II AhS 34–35; *yantra*s II AhS 36–37; ritual II AhS 38–39; *astra*s III AhS 40; narrative II AhS 41–45; ritual III AhS 46–47; narrative III AhS 48–50. See for details about this categorisation BIANCHINI 2015: 18–24.

[7] Not only are the "labels" (like *yantra*s etc.) somewhat arbitrary, but in a few cases they do not entirely correspond to full *adhyāya*s. For example, *adhyāya*s 42 to 46 constitute a good example for a section where the superstructure does not apply without difficulty. At the beginning of AhS 42, a long description of calamities arising in a kingdom because of an enemy's attack by means of hostile magic (*abhicāra*) is not part of the main narrative occupying the rest of the *adhyāya*. The same applies to the description of the perfect court officiant in *adhyāya* 46, quite separate from the rest of the content (although still connected to the issue of ritual procedure). In fact, even *adhyāya*s could be subdivided into smaller units, and in rare cases such units would require special categories.

[8] The passages translated by RASTELLI 2018 are AhS 16.10c–27; AhS 46.3–11; AhS 33.60c–66; and 33.74b–77b.

[9] Cf. RASTELLI 2018. Some of the main ideas are that the *sudarśanamantra* originated from the *Atharvaveda* (AhS 20.21c–24b) and that a *saṃskāra* performed according to the

For example, the power of ritual action by means of *mantra*s goes back to Viṣṇu's creative power (*kriyāśakti*), and Lakṣmī stands for the idea of "fortune" residing in the institutions represented by the king and the *brāhmaṇa*, and this is also described as the basis of the *kriyāśakti* itself.[10]

The beginning of *adhyāya* 16 is a remarkable example of how these motifs can be brought together in a literary fashion. In order to avoid repetitions, only part of the passage will be quoted here. The following example is a statement about the king's superiority:

> The king is praised in revealed knowledge (*veda*) and systematised bodies of knowledge (*śāstra*) as a double *brāhmaṇa* (i.e., as worth twice as much as a *brāhmaṇa*). If one is hostile to him out of delusion, that fool is hostile to Hari [himself].[11]

But a much more challenging passage that does not directly concern the officiant and therefore was not included by Rastelli can be found further on in the same context:

> A ruler who is a universal sovereign is entitled to the first, a provincial governor to the second, and a district governor to the third [level of] creative energy (*kriyāśakti*), or a twice-born chief minister [too], provided he is in charge of the protection of many people. No single man is entitled to deploy it for [just] one other person.[12]

Atharvaveda can be substituted for the initiation ritual (AhS 20.47–48b).

[10] Cf. AhS 16.12–16 on these topics.

[11] AhS 16.16: *diguṇo brāhmaṇo rājā vedaśāstreṣu gīyate | yas tu taṃ dveṣṭi saṃmohāt sa hariṃ dveṣṭi durmatiḥ ||* (16a *brāhmaṇo* [ed.] – *brahmaṇo* [A B C J]). It is interesting to notice that SCHRADER's (1916) remarks about stemma relations seem to apply quite well to the present situation. The accepted archetypical reading might be puzzling at first due to the series of three nominatives, and a copyist could be tempted to simplify the reading by shortening the ā of brāhmaṇaḥ in order to form an ablative, which could be easily constructed with dviguṇa. However, the reading with the nominative is perfectly acceptable. The corruption is found in mss. ABC, which according to SCHRADER (1916) are very close to each other and occupy lower positions in the (hypothetical) stemma (ms. J was added in the second edition, cf. AhS Ed^2: vii).

[12] AhS 16.28–29: *cakravartī nṛpaḥ pūrvāṃ dvitīyāṃ maṇḍaleśvaraḥ | adhikuryāt kriyāśaktiṃ tṛtīyāṃ viṣayeśvaraḥ ||* 28 *mahāmātro dvijātir vā yo bahvī rakṣati prajāḥ | imāṃ naiko naraḥ kuryād ekasmai mānavāya tu ||* 29 (28c *kriyāśaktiṃ* [ed.] – *imāṃ śaktim* [D]; 29c *imāṃ naiko* [ed.] – *imām eko* [B C E F J]).

A few points deserve attention here. These stanzas illustrate the concept that rulers of varying power, who are arranged in a descending climax, hold a corresponding degree of entitlement to the *kriyāśakti*, which in the present context is related to the power of *mantra*s. More importantly, the last verse sets the lower limit to this entitlement, apparently stating that no (ordinary) man can use this power for a single other person. If this was the case, then the whole passage would amount to limiting the context to the public dimension, in opposition to the private one. However, as many as five witnesses state exactly the contrary, reading *imām eko* instead of *imāṃ naiko*. If we follow the reading *imām eko*, the passage amounts to stating that what is really not accepted is that one uses the *mantra*s for oneself alone. However, other passages seem to support the idea that the people entitled (*adhikārin*) to use the *mantra*s are really members of the court,[13] and there would be little point in mentioning all the qualified people in the present passage (and even adding *yo bahvī rakṣati prajāḥ*) only to end up saying that after all anyone is entitled to it. Also, if Schrader was correct in taking *dvijāti* as an apposition to *mahāmātra* and not as a fourth entitled person in his paraphrase of the passage, then jumping directly to a common person would constitute a significant gap. Without direct access to the manuscripts and with significant stemmatic uncertainties, such matters are not easily settled. They also raise the question of how much consistency one can actually expect in a work of this kind.

In search for more specific, and possibly historically relevant, descriptions of not only kings but also officiants, the present author sought to examine whether a clear distinction was made in the AhS between two classes of royal priests, the more "humble" class of royal chaplains (court officiant stricto sensu) and the more prestigious one of the royal preceptors (*guru/rājaguru*). That such a dichotomy might indeed be relevant was instilled in the present author's mind by Sanderson's remarks in his important

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Translating such terms as *maṇḍaleśvara*, *viṣayeśvara*, or *mahāmātra* with any precision is not an easy task, especially because their meaning changed according to time and place, as often explained in the corresponding entries in SIRCAR's (1966) *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, on which the renderings here heavily rely.

[13] Cf., for example: "This *mantra* and *yantra* are truly prescribed for kings. O Nārada, the collections of *mantra*s serve all general purposes. If the earth-master's ministers are engaged in their worship, they protect the king even in the presence of bad omens [indicating that his life is in danger]." (AhS 27.43–44: *ayaṃ mantraś ca ya-ntraṃ ca rājñām eva vidhīyate | sarvasādhāraṇārthāni mantrajātāni nārada ǁ etadabhyarcanaparā mantriṇo yasya bhūpateḥ | abhirakṣanti rājānam ariṣṭamukhato 'pi te ǁ*).

study of the royal chaplain of the Śaiva scripture *Netratantra*, where the
two figures are clearly distinguished.[14] In this connection, let us consider
the following passage from the AhS, while also remembering that Atharva-
vedic motifs play a prominent role in the work:

> Such a court officiant (*purohita*) who is [himself] like a *guru* to kings
> is difficult to find. Such a one is verily capable of warding off the
> flood of misdeeds [and their consequences] for kings. Therefore, he
> alone is able to perform the rituals of protection of kings. He who has
> such a *guru* [by his side] shall become a sovereign king, one with a
> long life, one free of enemies and diseases, and a slayer of hostile he-
> roes.
>
> In his dominion there shall be no devastations such as droughts etc.
> If the king, in the absence of [such a capable] one, has a different
> (i.e., ordinary) *guru* or court officiant [at his side], that supporter of
> the earth shall get the opposite [result] (i.e., unfavourable things),
> there is no doubt about that.[15]

The first expression found is *gurukalpaḥ purohitaḥ*, "a court officiant (*puro-
hita*) who is [himself] like a *guru*." Ad 9c the officiant is simply called *guru*
and ad 11b again the two are separated in *gurur vātha purohitaḥ*, "a *guru* or a
court officiant." What are the reasons for this ambivalence? Is one to under-
stand that the officiant of Sudarśana's cult is just like a *guru*, even if his
Atharvavedic legacy makes him technically a *purohita*? Is a group of *purohi-
ta*s close to Atharvavedic circles trying to enhance their status by promoting
Tantric worship of Sudarśana in the context of the royal court? These are the
important issues at stake here, gleaming, as it were, through the terminologi-
cal choices of the redactors. In an attempt to avoid speculation, the quest for
further evidence was continued in a context which was more likely to shed
light on such details – the context of the narratives.

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[14] Cf. SANDERSON 2004: 233.

[15] AhS 46.8–11: *īdṛśo durlabho rājñāṃ gurukalpaḥ purohitaḥ | īdṛśo hi kṣamo
rājñām aghaughavinivāraṇe || 8 ataḥ sa eva rājñāṃ hi rakṣāvidhim athārhati |
evaṃvidho gurur yasya sa samrāḍ nṛpatir bhavet || 9 dīrghāyur niḥsapatnaḥ syād
arogaḥ paravīrahā | avagrahādyā jāyante pīḍās tadviṣaye na hi || 10 taṃ vinānyo
bhaved rājño gurur vātha purohitaḥ | viparītaṃ bhavet tasya mahībhartur na saṃśa-
yaḥ || 11 (8d aghaughavinivāraṇe* [ed.] – *aghaughasya nivāraṇe* [A B E F]). The
passage is translated in RASTELLI 2018.

Despite the fact that the content of the narratives is basically fictional, the present author was hoping to gain at least new insights into the functions of different classes of royal priests and to subsequently build a typology which could throw light on them as historical agents as well.

For example, one kind of officiant in the narratives is the one present at the royal court, who has direct access to the king and ministers (as is the first *purohita* mentioned in the story of Sunanda, AhS 48.64cff.). Some narratives depict another character, which appears to reside outside of the court, for instance in a hermitage (like Pulaha in the story of Viśāla, AhS 48.50ff.). This second character can be approached directly by the king or by the court officiant. The fact that the court officiant goes to him for help could imply that the latter is more powerful or more knowledgeable about the deity Sudarśana. One would therefore be tempted to separate the characters into the group of court officiants proper (i.e., rather humble "chaplains") on the one hand and powerful sages (who are possibly also royal preceptors) on the other.

However, two problems arise: First of all, the narratives do not present sufficient details on the characters to clearly identify and separate the kind of services they could provide. Secondly, the terms used to address them are not clearly distinct. For example, in the story of King Viśāla (AhS 48.50ff.), the king himself goes to the hermitage of Pulaha, who thus seems to be absent from the court. Nevertheless, Pulaha is called a *purohita*, the same term commonly used in the narratives for the officiant present at the court.[16] But in the story of Muktāpīḍa (AhS 48.9ff.), the officiant at the court is called both *purodhas* as well as *guru*, a term which we would expect to be linked to a sage or preceptor more than to an officiant.[17] In the story of Sunanda (AhS 48.64ff.), the officiant present at the court, called *purodhas*, seeks the help of Kaṇva, who is performing asceticism on the banks of a river. Kaṇva is here called "[the officiant's] own *guru*" (*svaguru*), as could ideally be expected.[18] Finally, in the story of Kuśadhvaja (AhS 45), the king himself approaches Yājñavalkya, who does not live in a forest but in his own palace (*mandira*). Yājñavalkya is called *guru* as well as *kulaguru* (family preceptor).[19]

Due to the paucity of descriptions concerning the functions of these characters and to the inconsistent use of their titles, it is very difficult to

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[16] Cf. AhS 48.58.
[17] Cf. AhS 48.13–14.
[18] Cf. AhS 48.80.
[19] Cf. AhS 45.17.

clearly separate the two categories of officiants. After all, it is not unlikely that this difficulty is the result of a carefully conceived strategy on the part of the redactor(s) of the narratives, who wished to convey the idea of the respectability and relative independence of the cult's officiant.

This being the case, the only possible way to further investigate the court officiants of the AhS is to examine the actual ritual repertoire. This subject will be further discussed below in the section on notes on the ritual repertoire.

Getting the king's attention

Among the *adhyāya*s devoted to the topic of *yantra*,[20] *adhyāya*s 26–27 and 36–37 are particularly rich in descriptions of the benefits of *yantra* worship for rulers. Here motifs of expansion and protection of the kingdom, although virtually ubiquitous, are found side by side with many other possible attainments on the part of rulers. A key passage found in *adhyāya* 26 addresses these issues:

> One desirous of a kingdom, one who has been deprived of it, or one conquered by [other] rulers, after having paid respect with large masses of wealth to the supreme *guru*, the giver of Sudarśana's *yantra*, considering [him] superior to all, should propitiate God Nārāyaṇa – who has large eyes like lotuses, is [of] a dark [complexion], clad in a yellow garment, adorned with all ornaments, and with four arms – following the rules given by the teacher.
> He should have the supreme *yantra* constructed out of refined gold, with decorations of gems and coral and with all [the necessary] adornments. Just by doing this, he shall obtain a kingdom free of disorder. Having [properly] installed it, he should respectfully worship this [*yantra*] which bestows all accomplishments. Then he shall obtain the [whole] earth with its seven divisions and cities. Siddhas, Gandharvas, and Dānavas will be forever subdued. On earth he will rule over the entire kingdom of the three worlds. [The demons born of] the aggressive magic (*abhicāra*) of [his] enemies, having failed to take hold of him, frightened, will possess the performer [of the ritual]

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[20] *yantra*s could be tentatively described as diagrams that represent the deity and catalyse its powers. An overview of their use in the Pāñcarātra context can be found in RASTELLI 2003: 142–151.

(i.e., the enemy himself), like a river['s fury] blocked by a mountain. Droughts will end and enemies will run away. In his kingdom there will be no dangers in the form of untimely deaths, wild animals, beasts of prey, thieves, illnesses, etc. and strength shall reside in his lineage.[21]

Right at the beginning, the text expresses the two main concerns of rulers in the AhS: the wish to either increase one's power and dominion or to retain it, for example by protecting it from enemies. The next stanza clearly implies how instrumental the officiant is for the ruler's success. This is followed by the actual worship, with the implication that it is the king who sponsors the construction of any solid substratum (an idea expressed by the causative *kārayet*).

After this come the actual benefits. Note how the theme of expansion comes first and is divided into two phases: the kings are first promised the conquest of the earth and subsequently even that of the complex of three worlds (*trailokya*). Then the description shifts to the theme of protection, which is related to hostile magic, enemy troops, and calamities. Finally, the expression *vidyate tatkule balam* ("strength shall reside in his lineage") could be taken to include other benefits such as freedom from diseases, a long life, wealth, etc.

One should also notice how the deity and its worship are given great prominence. A deity like Sudarśana is already perfectly suitable in this context, yet the redactors felt the need to state this as clearly as possible:

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[21] AhS 26.82c–91b: *rājyārthī hṛtarājyo vā paribhūto 'thavā nṛpaiḥ* || 82 *saudarśa-nasya yantrasya pradātāraṃ guruṃ param | sarvebhyo hy adhikaṃ matvā tam abhyarcya mahādhanaiḥ* || 83 *tato nārāyaṇaṃ devaṃ puṇḍarīkāyatekṣaṇam | śyāmalaṃ pītavasanaṃ sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam* || 84 *ārādhayec caturbāhum ācāryeṇoktavidhānataḥ | taptajāmbūnadamayaṃ maṇividrumacitritam* || 85 *sarvālaṃkārasaṃyuktaṃ kārayed yantram uttamam | etatkaraṇamātreṇa rājyam āpnoty anāmayam* || 86 *pratiṣṭhāpyārcayed etat sādaraṃ sarvasiddhidam | tato bhūmim avāpnoti saptadvīpāṃ sapattanām* || 87 *vaśyā bhavanti satataṃ siddhagandharvadānavāḥ | trailokyarājyam akhilaṃ pālayaty avanītale* || 88 *abhicārāḥ parakṛtāś cainam aprāpya bhīṣitāḥ | praviśanti prayoktāram āpagevācalāhatā* || 89 *avagrahāś ca naśyanti śatravo vidravanti ca | apamṛtyumṛgavyālacorarogādibhir bhayam* || 90 *na tasya rājye bhavati vidyate tatkule balam |* (89b *bhīṣitāḥ* [ed.] – *dīpitāḥ* [D, the first edition, adds a question mark to this reading (AhS Ed[1]: 246)]). An English translation of a part of this passage can be found in RASTELLI 2003: 149.

"Without the propitiation of this deity [i.e., Sudarśana] there simply cannot be a king."[22]

Let us look at the alleged benefits more closely. Beginning with examples where promises of easy territorial expansion are prominent, the following passage found in the context of the *dhārakayantra*, "the *yantra* of the bearer [of the *sudarśanayantra*],"[23] deserves mention. One should keep in mind that this is neither the only nor the first passage found in the AhS which connects *yantra*s with conquest, but merely an example.[24]

> The king shall obtain a kingdom, victory, wealth, a long life, and freedom from diseases. A king who regularly worships shall conquer this whole earth, with its seven divisions and her garment of seas.[25]

Clearly, the central theme is that of the attainment of universal sovereignty (*cakravartitva*). But even if new territory and victory are mentioned at the beginning of what seems to be a reverse climax, other benefits of a personal nature also found their way into the list. A similar list is found in the context of the daily ritual, but there the ritual "bestows long life, freedom from diseases, victory, and territory" and also "gives wealth and grains" (*āyurārogyavijayabhūpradaṃ dhanadhānyadam*, AhS 28.1). This points to the fact that the above is not a fixed formula but inflected according to the context. It would also appear that on certain occasions the choice of an order is influenced by stylistic criteria. These include not only the metre but alliterations[26] as well as poetic expressions, which can also be appreciated

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[22] AhS 36.46cd: *devam enam anārādhya na kaścij jāyate nṛpaḥ ||*.

[23] RASTELLI explains the use of this kind of *yantra* as follows: "The power of the *saudarśanayantra* is considered to be so great that a human being cannot wear it without additionally having a *dhārakayantra*" (2003: 150f.).

[24] Cf., for example, AhS 25.24 as well as the following passage: "Therefore the king who worships this [*yantra*], being imbued with devotion, will very quickly obtain universal sovereignty over the earth. The king, his attendants, or ministers or others, wishing the benefit of the king, should all worship this supreme [*yantra*]." (AhS 36.24c–26b: *tasmād abhyarcayed etad yo rājā bhaktisaṃyutaḥ || so 'cireṇaiva kālena cakravartitvam āpnuyāt | rājā vā rājabhṛtyā vā mantriṇo vāthavā pare || rājñāṃ hitaiṣiṇaḥ sarve pūjayeyur idaṃ param |*).

[25] AhS 27.33c–34: *rājā rājyaṃ jayaṃ bhūtim āyur ārogyam āpnuyāt || 33 nityam arcayato rājñaḥ saptadvīpavatī mahī | samudravasanā caiṣā viśvā vaśyā bhaviṣyati || 34 (33c jayaṃ [ed.] – priyam [A B C E F]; 34c samudravasanā [ed.] – sasamudravanā [A B C E F]).*

[26] For example in the following passage, where one could notice the alliterative

in this passage itself: note the sequence *viśvā vaśyā bhaviṣyati* and the expression *samudravasanā*, "garment of seas," preserved by D (a manuscript occupying a high position in the hypothetical stemma, although often imprecise) but changed in the other witnesses.[27]

The term *cakravartin* was already found in the *adhyāya* 16 in the context of the important discussion about the officiant and the king. The theme receives further attention in the description of a specific ritual to aid the king's conquest of all directions, including the upper and lower worlds and all the beings dwelling in them (AhS 29) as well as the story of Śrutakīrti (AhS 42).

While there can be no doubt that the theme of conquest receives much attention in the AhS, it also lacks practical connotations. More interesting in terms of relevant details is the theme of protection. As seen above, danger can come from enemy troops, black magic, and calamities. A remarkably vivid description, given that it is not found in one of the narratives but in the later section on *yantra*s, tells of a difficult situation caused by enemy troops:

> When kings are overpowered by enemies with an army (or: by strong enemies), when cities are burnt down and the king's army is driven away, when people in various districts do not have access to food [and other goods] – if the kingdom is thus oppressed by the enemies' army, O great sage, and if in this inadequate situation the king's enemies are unimpeded, he should have a sixteen-armed Sudarśana constructed [and properly installed, for his power is] without obstacles.[28]

The above description was used by Begley to illustrate how the sixteen-armed Sudarśana is closely connected to the theme of warfare.[29]

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beginning in *nīroga* and *niḥsapatna* (as well as in *rājā rājyam*): *anena kṛtakṛtyas tu rājā rājyam avāpnuyāt | nīrogo niḥsapatnaś ca dīrghāyuś ca bhaviṣyati ||* (AhS 27.39), "The king who has fulfilled his obligations by means of this shall attain kingdom and he shall be free of diseases, without enemies, and with a long life."

[27] This might be further evidence for the existence of a common ancestor of ABC and EF, as proposed above.

[28] AhS 37.4–6: *parair abhibhave prāpte rājñāṃ balasamanvitaiḥ | nagareṣu pradagdheṣu rājñāṃ vidrāvite bale ||* 4 *uparuddheṣu bhogeṣu tattadviṣayavāsinām | pīḍyamāne parabalair itthaṃ rāṣṭre mahāmune ||* 5 *sthitāv anupapannāyāṃ rājño 'vyucchinnavairiṇaḥ | kārayet ṣoḍaśabhujaṃ sudarśanam avāritam ||* 6 (4c *pradagdheṣu* [ed.] – *prabhinneṣu* [A B E F]; 4d *rājñāṃ* [ed.] – *rājye* [D]; 4d *bale* [ed.] – *balaiḥ* [D]).

[29] Cf. BEGLEY 1973: 73.

A remarkable passage is found outside the *adhyāya*s on *yantra*s, in chapter 42, which is mostly devoted to a single narrative. However, the opening of the *adhyāya* is not part of such a narrative. The passage is a good example of how calamities and war may be associated with black magic.

An abnormal modification (*vikṛti*) caused by an aggressive ritual (*abhicāra*) against kings, occurring at an improper time, dreadful and all-reaching, is characterised by these signs:

> Horses, elephants, and ministers suddenly perish; the king himself suffers from a serious illness which has seized [his] body; terrifying thunderbolts strike his dominion; the earth produces less grains and multitudes of cows fall dead; his dominion suffers from droughts again and again; the earth-master's queens are seized by serious illness; snakes and ants appear in the palace, at the main gate, and in the pavilion (*maṇḍapa*); meteors fall violently with dreadful sounds; ministers fight with each other out of greediness; a terrifying rainbow shines in the night, even if there are no clouds; great danger because of fire arises here and there in the city; frightful jackals enter the innermost of the temple unimpededly and howl loudly during the [morning and evening] twilights, when the sky is lit up; enemies proud of their strength besiege the king's [capital] city; [the king] is so deluded that he himself forgets what is to be done and not done; in a dream he sees himself with a shaven head and clad in a dark blue garment, travelling towards the southern direction on a cart pulled by a donkey;[30] from such and other signs he should understand that the enemy is performing an aggressive ritual.

> If the hostile spirit (*kṛtyā*) born of the enemy's aggressive ritual takes possession of the king, the latter would die on the spot, simply after having seen her, there is no doubt about that. [The king's] sons, ministers, chief queen as well as the city itself – the hostile spirit, clad in a garland of flames, destroys everything in just a second.[31]

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[30] All these images are notoriously negative, especially the southward journey, i.e., to Yama's region.

[31] AhS 42.15–26: *lakṣyate lakṣaṇair etair nṛpāṇām ābhicārikī | vikṛtiḥ prastutākāle dāruṇā sarvagocarā ‖ 15 akāṇḍa eva naśyanti vājivāraṇamantriṇaḥ | tīvrāmayaparītāṅgaḥ pīḍyate nṛpatiḥ svayam ‖ 16 patanty aśanayas tasya viṣaye ghoradarśanāḥ | alpasasyā vasumatī vinaśyanti gavāṃ gaṇāḥ ‖ 17 bhavanti tasya viṣaye punaḥ punar avagrahāḥ | tīvrāmayagṛhītāś ca mahiṣyas tasya bhūpateḥ ‖ 18 prabhavanty*

Once again, as expressed in the following lines, it is the worship of Sudar-śana which will save the kingdom and the members of the royal court. Descriptions of bad omens or calamities are a common topos in literature of this kind. They are also found in the second part (*khaṇḍa*) of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*[32] as well as in the *Netratantra*.[33] The passage presented above amounts to the statement that calamities can be caused and/or manipulated through ritual action. In the narratives too, kings normally protect themselves against powerful demons,[34] and this contributes to the idea that the AhS is not really concerned with actual politics (or warfare) but rather with giving kings a means of dealing with the unexpected as well as the inexplicable.

As previously mentioned, benefits of a more personal kind are also promised to rulers. One could interpret some of them, such as freedom from diseases or attainment of a long life, as an extension of the theme of protection. Other benefits, such as attainment of wealth, can be connected with a different theme, that of the fulfilment of desires, which receives considerable attention, since a whole complex ritual is devoted to it (the *mahābhiṣeka* ritual of *adhyāya* 39, see below).

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ahivalmīkāḥ prāsāde dvāri maṇḍape | nipatanti maholkāś ca bhṛṣaṃ bhīmasvanā-nvitāḥ || 19 *mantriṇaś ca virudhyante matsareṇa parasparam | rajanyāṃ rājate bhīmam aindraṃ dhanur anabhrajam* || 20 *itas tato vahnibhayaṃ nagare jāyate bhṛśam | praviśya garbhabhavanaṃ kroṣṭāraś cānivāritāḥ* || 21 *krośanti saṃdhyayor bhīmā dīptāyāṃ diśi visvaram | rundhanti nagaraṃ rājñaḥ śatravo baladarpitāḥ* || 22 *kṛtyākṛtyaṃ na jānāti svayaṃ staimityam āsthitaḥ | svapne 'pi paśyaty ātmānaṃ muṇḍitaṃ nīlavāsasam* || 23 *rathena gardabhayujā vrajantaṃ dakṣiṇāṃ diśam | ityā-diliṅgair jānīyād abhicāraṃ sapatnajam* || 24 *parābhicārajā kṛtyā rājānaṃ praviśed yadi | tāṃ dṛṣṭvā kṣipram evāsau vinaśyati na saṃśayaḥ* || 25 *putrāṃś ca mantriṇaś cāpi mahiṣīṃ nagaraṃ tathā | jvālāmālāvilā kṛtyā sarvaṃ nāśayati kṣaṇāt* || 26 (19a *prabhavanty ahi* [ed.] – *prabhavanty api* [A B E F]; 20c *rājate* [ed.] – *jāyate* [D]; 20d *anabhrajam* [ed.] – *anabhrakam* [A B E F]; 23b *āsthitaḥ* [ed.] – *āśritaḥ* [A B E F]).

[32] Cf. *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, *khaṇḍa* 2, *adhyāya* 136ff. The description is quite detailed and explicitly refers to kings, speaking of how their safety as well as that of their kingdoms might be at risk in the presence of certain bad omens. As could be expected, much space is devoted to unusual natural phenomena. There is also a section on interpreting animal behaviour (cf. 2.143). As in the AhS, there are also references to a decline in people's ability to behave according to social standards and regulations (cf. 2.144).

[33] Cf. SANDERSON 2004: 262.

[34] Cf., for example, the story of Indra (AhS 43–44) and that of Citraśekhara (AhS 49). For summaries of the stories, cf. SCHRADER 1916: 132ff. and RASTELLI in this volume.

Promising benefits and illustrating them by means of narratives[35] can thus be seen as the main strategy, but the redactors of the work resorted to other strategies as well. One of these is threatening the court with disaster in case Sudarśana's worship is not conducted properly:[36]

> Having had constructed [an image of] Sudarśana with such various aspects, [but] not having installed [the image properly], the kings and ministers will at once lose [all their] wealth and be defeated by [their] enemies. Because of the absence of worship, they will [eventually] be banished from the kingdom and persecuted.[37]

Other strategies include mentioning kings of the past, usually known from the epics, who apparently would have immensely profited from the worship of Sudarśana,[38] or explaining that the method of worship of the AhS is the perfect one for the current degenerated age.[39]

Notes on the ritual repertoire

So far, the main focus of this papers has been on the *adhyāya*s on *yantra* worship. Now we move on to those concerned with specific rituals, where we find the same basic thematic patterns of offence/defence followed by the fulfilment of desires (*kāmya*).

Besides the ritual of initiation (*dīkṣā*, AhS 20) and the daily ritual (*ārādhana*, AhS 28), which are quite clearly connected to a courtly context,[40] the repertoire of the AhS includes: a ritual to aid the conquest in all

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[35] For further considerations on the functions of narratives in the AhS, see RASTELLI's contribution in this volume.

[36] Cf. also AhS 37.18.

[37] AhS 37.50–51: *evaṃ bahuvidhai rūpair upetaṃ taṃ sudarśanam | kṛtvā tam apratiṣṭhāpya rājāno mantriṇo 'pi vā || 50 vinaṣṭasampadaḥ sadyaḥ paribhūtāś ca śatrubhiḥ | arcanābhāvato rājyād bhraṣṭāś ciram upadrutāḥ || 51.*

[38] Cf., for example, AhS 47.9ff. The identification of the kings of the narratives with those found in the epic is a central issue in RASTELLI's contribution in this volume.

[39] Cf. the beginning of *adhyāya* 25.

[40] In the case of the *dīkṣā* ritual description, the courtly dimension is inferred from a passage at the end of the chapter: "The practice is to be performed for the protection of the three worlds, for the sake of the [welfare of the] earth, for the sake of the kingdom, the king, or a royal officer. [It should be done] only for [their] good, never for evil [purposes]." (AhS 20.50b–51: *trailokyasyātha rakṣāyai bhuvaś cakrasya vā kṛte || 50 rāṣṭrasya vātha rājño vā rājamātrasya vā kṛte | bhāvāyaiva*

directions, including the heavens (*digvijaya*, AhS 29), a ritual to cure various illnesses (*roganivṛtti*, AhS 38), one to fulfil all desires (*mahābhiṣeka*, AhS 39), and a pacificatory ritual (*śānti*, AhS 47). The aims attached to these rituals in the corresponding *adhyāya*s are generally quite straightforward.[41] The description of the pacificatory ritual's aims includes both the theme of protection as well as that of conquest.

Is there anything we can say about this repertoire of rituals? The method adopted here follows the one used by Sanderson in his study of the Śaiva officiant of the *Netratantra*. He compared the repertoire outlined in that work with a list of the *purohita*'s duties from the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* (3.1.10), which, in his rendering, include:

(1) Rituals to ward off dangers and ills of every kind from the king and his kingdom (*śāntikaṃ karma*), some of them simple rites to protect the king's person to be performed at various times every day, others much more elaborate ceremonies to be performed periodically, (2) rituals to restore his health and vigour (*pauṣṭikaṃ karma*), (3) rituals to harm his enemies (*ābhicārikaṃ karma*), (4) the regular and occasional rituals (*nityaṃ karma* and *naimittikaṃ karma*) required of the king, (5) reparatory rites

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vidhiḥ kāryo naivābhāvāya karhicit || 51). In the case of the daily ritual this is slightly less explicit. Notice, however, that its benefit include victory, gaining territory, and dealing with enemies (AhS 28.1–2).

[41] The description of the pacificatory ritual's aims includes both the theme of protection as well as that of conquest. It also attempts to appear more convincing by listing the names of "rulers of old" who had performed the ritual: "[This rite] should be employed by utterly glorious sovereigns of various births – [for this rite] removes all the three kinds of sorrow which begin with the one relating to oneself; causes the destruction of all afflictions; has auspicious marks; destroys all enemies; pacifies (i.e., removes unwanted consequences of ritual mistakes etc.); is the cause of great triumph; kills the demons; brings about prosperities; subdues all, O sage; bestows the longest of lives; is meritorious; [and] was performed by ancient kings. Ambarīśa, Śuka, Alarka, Māndhātṛ, Purūravas, King Uparicara, Dhundhu, Śibi, and Śrutakīrtana – those kings of old attained universal sovereignty after performing this. They became free of diseases and free of enemies. Their fame was widely spread and blameless." (47.5c–10b: *mahārājair mahābhāgaiḥ prayojyaṃ vyastajātibhiḥ* || 5 *ādhyātmikādiduḥkhānāṃ trayāṇām api nāśanam | ādhīnāṃ cāpy aśeṣāṇāṃ nāśanaṃ śubhalakṣaṇam* || 6 *sarvārināśanaṃ śāntaṃ mahāvijayakāraṇam | rakṣohaṇaṃ puṣṭikaraṃ sarvavaśyakaraṃ mune* || 7 *paramāyuḥpradaṃ puṇyaṃ pūrvair nṛpatibhiḥ kṛtam | ambarīṣaḥ śuko 'larko māṃdhātā ca purūravāḥ* || 8 *rājoparicaro dhunduḥ śibiś ca śrutakīrtanaḥ | kṛtvaitac cakravartitvaṃ purā prāpur amī nṛpāḥ* || 9 *nirāmayā niḥsapatnā vistīrṇāmalakīrtayaḥ* |).

(*prāyaścittīyaṃ karma*), and (6) postmortuary rites (*aurdhvadehikaṃ karma*) in case the king or any other member of the royal family dies.[42]

A mere glimpse at the passage above is sufficient to notice that many ritual duties of the traditional Atharvavedic officiant are not part of the repertoire of the AhS. Annual festivals are not considered, and rituals including minor personal services are poorly represented.[43] The procedure for curing various illnesses (AhS 38) could be seen as an exception. Interestingly, postmortuary and reparatory rituals are also not covered by the AhS.[44] In other words, it would appear that much of what makes up the daily routine of a courtly officiant is not dealt with in the AhS, whereas special or extraordinary situations and needs receive most of the attention.

One possible explanation for this could be that the intention of the redactors is really to portray an officiant of quite a high standing, essential to a ruler in truly difficult situations.

Another missing element in the AhS is the practical side of warfare. Annual ceremonies celebrating military power, worship of weapons or horses, battle strategies – none of this is dealt with. The only hint at a dimension which goes beyond those of courtly rituals or literary fancy is the idea that *yantra*s or divine weapons could be of actual help in difficult situations if one meditates on them. Explicit evidence for this is difficult to find outside of the narratives proper.[45] Nevertheless, a couple of passages in the AhS are very interesting in this regard, and their very existence points at a much wider background of the practice of magic for practical military purpose.[46] Again, both the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Netratantra* are quite explicit about this dimension.[47]

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[42] SANDERSON 2005: 239.

[43] It is interesting to note that calendrical rituals and even minor services of the *purohita* figure prominently both in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* and the *Netratantra* (cf. SANDERSON 2004: 256.).

[44] Reparatory rituals are not entirely absent from Pāñcarātra scriptures addressing kings. Saṃhitās which include this kind of procedures are mentioned in CZERNIAK-DROŻDŻOWICZ 2003: 142ff.

[45] Cf., for instance, the story of Sumati (48.64ff.), where the "soporific" weapon (*prāsvapana*) and the "fiery" one (*āgneya*) are deployed by the king in order to win the battle.

[46] Cf., for example, this interesting statement: "He who remembers this at the time when fear comes about or in battle or during a debate has victory in his hand. One should not doubt this." (AhS 26.80: *bhayāgame ca saṃgrāme vāde vā yaḥ smared idam | vijayas tasya hastastho nātra kāryā vicāraṇā ||*). Also relevant is a variant reading found in a passage about divine weapons. While the edition reads *eṣāṃ*

Another source which deserves mention is the *Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā* (SLP), a manual for royal ritual from ca. the sixteenth century in which Lakṣmī is given special prominence. This South Indian work presents various similarities with the AhS. More specifically, the militaristic idioms are very close to those found in the AhS, comprising both conquest as well as protection of the state against enemies or natural disasters as benefits arising from ritual worship.[48] Yet the SLP goes further since it addresses a more pragmatic dimension as well, in the sense that it devotes a number of sections to regular rituals and festivals, some of which are particularly charged with warfare-related imaginary.[49] Remarkably, it includes descriptions of fortresses, horses, and weapons, potentially opening a window on realia as well.[50]

Despite their similarities, the SLP as a whole seems to be the outcome of a different agenda, one not only concerned with marketing a cult but with setting guidelines for the court's daily life as well. The AhS aims instead at illustrating the notion of empowerment as such.

Final remarks

The AhS is quite an extraordinary source of information about the strategies set in place by a certain community to captivate the attention of rulers. In the present case, the efficacy of ritual as a means of dealing with emergency situations is brought into focus. The ritual repertoire as well as the

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darśanamātreṇa vinaśyanty arisainikāḥ ||, "Merely at their (i.e., of the divine weapons) sight, the hostile soldiers will perish" (AhS 40.7cd), ABE and F read *eteṣāṃ dhyānamātreṇa*, "by the mere concentration on these," which makes the idea of a deliberate deployment of their power more explicit.

[47] Cf. SANDERSON 2004: 248 and 255ff.

[48] I am grateful to Somadeva Vasudeva and Péter-Dániel Szántó for pointing this out to me. The presence of such idioms is virtually found throughout the work. Particularly striking is the fact that enemies are placed at the top of a long list of threats found in chapter 10. For a statement concerning control over the entire earth, one could turn to SLP 29.30. The work also knows of the need to counter hostile magic (cf. 30.23).

[49] Particularly striking in this regard are the chapters on Vijayadaśamī (108) and Kumārīpūjā (110).

[50] The final chapters of the work (starting with 128) are rich in such descriptions and convey a more detailed picture of ritualised warfare at the court. The section on fortresses starts with chapter 31, whereas mention of the worship of weapons can be found embedded in the description of various rituals and festivals, as for example ad SLP 105.10.

descriptions of its benefits seem to be the outcome of a well-conceived agenda. Once established inside the court, royal officiants expert in the cult outlined in the AhS would certainly enjoy an elevated status and command the fear and respect of those around them.

The important question of the actual historical impact of the cult could not be addressed in the preceding pages. The reader is reminded that some important references to epigraphical sources are given in Begley's study quoted above. Nevertheless, a narrower focus on scriptural materials can potentially still have significant impact on our understanding of the larger context. We had a glimpse at this every time we dealt with variant readings or raised a question about the history of the text's formation. Moreover, even a brief look at other texts which deal with rituals at the royal court had significant impact on the way we interrogate a work like the AhS.

Appendix: remarks on the
Adyar Library edition of the AhS[51]

The second edition of the AhS (a critical revision by V. Krishnamacharya) includes neither details regarding the stemma of the considered witnesses nor information about the policies adopted in the composition of the apparatus. Only a reduced description of the individual manuscripts is provided.

The first edition, however, includes a manuscript description in Sanskrit which addresses the issue of the relation of some of the witnesses and also gives estimations of their dates. These approximate (-*deśīya*) estimations were dropped in the new edition.[52]

The apparatus of both editions is a negative one, which enhances the chances of committing mistakes while recording the variants.[53] Distinctions between omissions and actual loss of the substratum (entire leaves or pages) seem to follow (in the second edition) the nomenclature of "omission" /

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[51] General remarks about Schrader's difficulties in supervising the editorial work during the years of the First World War are found in the introductory lines to both editions.

[52] However, the adjective "old" figures in the descriptions of A, C, and D.

[53] Obviously, a siglum could be easily omitted. It is the knowledge of the stemma which helps detect the possibility of such mistakes. Unfortunately, in the case of the AhS the relations between the manuscripts are far from clear. An easily detectable mistake is made instead when a siglum is assigned contemporarily to two different readings, as it has happened with B ad AhS Ed[2]: 319.

"gap."[54] A case of transposition is also clearly recorded.[55] Concerning localised damage of the substratum, the only (possible) indication was found once in the first edition, when the editor adds to what could be a missing *akṣara* of a variant *atra granthalopaḥ saṃbhāvyate*, or "here damage of the manuscript is likely."[56] The first edition also adds a number of question marks in cases where the readings are considered ambiguous. This and the preceding features would now usually be indicated by different sets of brackets. However, the second edition does not include any of these potentially useful indications. It might therefore be advisable to cross-check with the first edition, when confronted with a puzzling variant reported in the apparatus, in order to see whether the first editor found the manuscript easily legible at that given point.

A description of the stemma can be found in Schrader's "Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā":

> Unfortunately, as can be seen from a few common omissions and errors, all of these MSS. go back to one already corrupted original. Still, on the whole the Saṃhitā is well preserved. The two oldest and best MSS. are those called E and D. The former is a Grantha MS. from Kalale in Mysore, the latter a MS. written in the Malayālam character and belonging to H.H. the Mahārāja of Travancore. E is more accurate than D. From E descend the four Melkote MSS. F to H, all of them written in Grantha characters and so completely identical that the common symbol F could be used for them. From D (or a similar MS.) descend C, A and B (in this order); C being the Adyar Library paper MS. in Grantha characters (with large omissions), A the Adyar Library palm-leaf MS. in Grantha characters, and B the Telugu MS. belonging to the Mysore Government. The badly damaged Tanjore MS. described in Burnell's catalogue could not be borrowed and was, on inspection, found to be not worth taking into account.[57]

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[54] Cf., for example, AhS Ed[2]: 296 and 345. The apparatus reports the loss of folios of ms. C, which is correctly described as "incomplete" in the manuscript description.

[55] Cf. AhS Ed[2]: 89.

[56] Cf. AhS Ed[1]: 153.

[57] SCHRADER 1916: 94.

These remarks are very important but are also somewhat ambiguous. Based on the evidence adduced in the apparatus, it would seem that the relations between the witnesses are indeed rather complex.

Sometimes, when confronted with one isolated and puzzling variant, it is possible to assume a mistake in the recording of that variant. If a feature appears more than once, the possibility of its being genuine increases.[58]

Without having the possibility to consult the manuscripts themselves, it is safer to focus on relations which are well-attested in the apparatus, such as certain repeating patterns in the lacunae of the various witnesses.

For example, as many as 25 of D's omissions and additions (which run throughout the work and which do not seem to be related to a loss of the substratum) are not found in either A, B, or C.[59] Also, ABC share as many as nine omissions with EF,[60] where D seems to read the proper text. One of these omissions is found in the *adhyāya* 28. In the middle of the description of the daily ritual, ABCEF end abruptly only to begin again 49 stanzas later, which means that D is the only extant witness for a significant part of the *adhyāya*. Although one cannot reach conclusions without a thorough assessment of the original documents, it seems prudent to keep these aspects in mind for a critical reading of the AhS.

Another aspect regards the use of sigla to refer to more than one manuscript. SCHRADER (1916) writes: "[...] the four Melkote MSS. F to H, all of them written in Grantha characters and so completely identical that the common symbol F could be used for them." The four manuscripts are actually F, G, H, and I, with I being coupled with H in the manuscript description of both editions. As far as evident to the present author, manuscripts H and I are never found in the apparatus, probably because the siglum F, which appears regularly in the work, was indeed used to indicate them. However, on a few occasions G is actually found in the apparatus of both editions. G appears to be mentioned only at the beginning of the first volume and to always follow F.[61] Nevertheless, the siglum F is found alone for other variants on the very same pages. Again, one would be tempted to have a look at the originals.

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[58] For instance, when only A and E omit a text portion (AhS Ed²: 567) or even supply the same text (AhS Ed²: 569).

[59] Cf. AhS Ed²: 5, 29, 35, 71, 91, 117, 121, 127, 146, 149, 152, 156, 159 (twice), 168, 195, 210, 251, 252, 263, 265, 273, 278, 324, and 381.

[60] Cf. AhS Ed²: 124, 149, 194, 198, 205, 255, 258, 322, 587.

[61] Cf., for example, AhS Ed²: 34, 36, and 47.

In the preceding pages the text was reported as found in the second edition. The apparatus was added for increased transparency (including also the ways in which variants are reported in the first edition) along with tentative discussions on particularly relevant variant readings.

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Damanotsava: On love in spring, on what Jñānaśambhu wrote, and on the spread of public festivals into the Mantramārga

Studies in the Saiddhāntika Paddhatis II[1]

Dominic Goodall[2]

The principal concern of this paper is the emergence of festivals (*mahotsava*) within the Mantramārga. It is well-known that elaborate *mahotsava*s involving numerous processions, typically with different vehicles on every day and attended by a socially diverse community of actors, are taught in several South Indian Temple Āgamas.[3] But such events are not mentioned at all in pre-twelfth-century sources of the Śaivasiddhānta, whose focus is the religion of individual initiates aspiring to liberation (or, particularly in the earlier sources, aspiring first to enjoy supernatural powers before reach-

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[1] This is the second of a planned series of articles about Paddhatis of the Śaivasiddhānta, the first, about Rāmanātha, being GOODALL 2014.

[2] This article is the revised version of a conference paper entitled "A note on *damanotsava* (a spring rite of reparation) and on the twelfth-century Saiddhāntika ritual manual called the *Jñānaratnāvalī*" given at the international symposium *Tantric Communities in Context: Sacred Secrets and Public Rituals*, organised at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna on February 5–7, 2015 in the context of an SFB project called "Visions of Community." I am grateful to Diwakar Acharya for having informed me about the Nepalese manuscripts that transmit Damana-related material that I have quoted in this paper and to Shaman Hatley and Harunaga Isaacson for having offered numerous improving suggestions to the editions that figure in the appendix when I prepared them for a handout. Unfortunately, because I was in a rush, I seem not always to have noted which improvements were made by whom.

[3] For an excellent recent study of an account attributed to the twelfth-century South Indian exegete Aghoraśiva, see DAVIS 2010. For the improbability of this attribution, see PADOUX 2014: 427, quoting GOODALL 1998: xiii–xvii, n. 24.

ing liberation). We do occasionally encounter the term *mahotsava* in pre-tenth-century scriptures, but only as an allusion, without any particulars, to a celebration that is to mark a moment of achievement of a significant ritual. For example, at the culmination of an installation (*pratiṣṭhā*) in the *Devyāmata*, we read that "With food and the like, one should satisfy the singers and dancers, the naked, the miserable, the blind, the wretched, children, and, having satisfied them, ask their forbearance [for any shortcomings]. At night, a great festival (*mahotsavam*) should be held, with the sounds of singing and instrumental music."[4]

But even though we have no detailed evidence from the early scriptures of the Mantramārga, we do know that great processional celebrations must have been part of Śaiva festivals from at least the time of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*,[5] whose description of temple processions in 8.11–17, even if it is not entirely clear, sounds extremely lavish:[6]

> [11] He who, on the calendrical festival days (*parvan*), performs the organisation of great *pūjā*s, or of chariot-processions for Śiva by processing inside the town,
> [12] with great multi-coloured flags, parasols with bells and capes, rows of flags on canopies, with bells, yak-tail whisks and mirrors,
> [13] with the sounds of conches, drums and the like, mixed up with singing and instrumental music and such, with the Mothers, *yakṣa*s, *gaṇa*s[7] and others [in the form of (?)] puppets (*yantraiḥ*?) made of painted wood,
> [14] with machines that produce water and fire and with many marvels in plenty, and with swings [for?] women, and wheel-machines (?), [and] adorned (°*śobhitām*) with chariot-palaces,

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[4] Devyāmata, NGMPP A 41/15, f.56r: *gāyakān nṛtyakān nagnān dīnā-ndhakṣapaṇān śiśūn |* (emended from *gāyakā nṛtyakā nagnā dīnāndhakṣapaṇāśiśūn*) *bhakṣabhojyādibhis tarpya tarpitāṃs tān* (emended from *tārpitas tāṃ*) *kṣamāpayet | rātrau mahotsavaṃ kāryaṃ gītavāditranisvanaiḥ |.*

[5] HAZRA (1985: 296) has proposed dating the *Śivadharmaśāstra* to between 200 and 500 CE. BISSCHOP (2010: 243) cautiously remarks that "this early dating remains to be confirmed."

[6] The text here is based on a collation of NGMPP A 3/3 [Nepal] *samvat* 321 [scil. 1201 AD], f.27v–28r (= A); NGMPP B 7/3 [Nepal] *samvat* 290 [scil. 1170 AD], f.26r–26v (= B); IFP T. 32 (C20th transcript of a Grantha palm-leaf ms.) (= T); and the Nepalese "print" (hand-written by the editor for these verses) of Naraharinath (= E).

[7] Mothers (*mātṛ*), nature spirits (*yakṣa*), and Śiva's "troops" (*gaṇa*) are three classes of potentially threatening semi-divine creatures.

[15] with gardens, earthworks, drinking spots (?),[8] with large machinery (?), busy with important people, arranged in accordance with their wealth,

[16–17] such an excellent man, having attained the merit of all acts of giving, the fruits of all sacrifices, the merit of extreme acts of asceticism, and the fruits of [visiting] all sacred sites, possessed of glory from organising a Śiva-procession, will constantly delight in great enjoyments, like Śiva [himself], in Śivaloka.

[18] At the end of that time, he will attain the status of a king among the gods for a long time, and after that in turn he will become the glorious overlord of Jambūdvīpa[9].[10]

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[8] The South Indian reading here (beginning *dadhyanna°*) sounds as though it might be referring to the contemporary practice of setting up stalls of food and drink, in particular buttermilk, on or near processional routes, such as one may witness, for instance, in Pondicherry at the festival of Mācimakam.

[9] In Purāṇic geography, Jambudvīpa is the central continent. It is further divided into nine subcontinents and it is surrounded by seven concentric bands of ocean that are separated from each other by further continents. See, e.g., *Parākhyatantra* 5.61ff, translated in GOODALL 2004: 294ff.

[10] *Śivadharmaśāstra* 8.11–17: *yaḥ kuryāt parvakāleṣu mahāpūjāpravarttanam | śivasya rathayātrāṃ vā nagarāntaḥparikramāt* || 11 || *mahācitradhvajaiś chatraiḥ kiṅkiṇīvarakānvitaiḥ / vitānadhvajamālābhir ghaṇṭācāmaradarpaṇaiḥ* || 12 || *śaṅkhabheryādinirghoṣair gītavādyādisaṃkulaiḥ / lepyadārumayair yantrair mātṛyakṣagaṇādibhiḥ* || 13 || *udakāgneyayantraiś ca bahvāścaryair anekaśaḥ / strīdolācakrayantraiś ca rathamandiraśobhitām* || 14 || *udyānakhānapānaiś ca mahāyantraiḥ samāyutān / mahājanasamākīrṇān yathāvibhavakalpitān* || 15 || *sa sarvadānapuṇyāni sarvayajñaphalāni ca / atyugratapasāṃ puṇyaṃ sarvatīrthaphalāni ca* || 16 || *labdhvā naravaraḥ śrīmān śivayātrāpravartanāt / śivaloke mahābhogaiḥ śivavan modate sadā* || 17 || *tasyānte devarājatvaṃ suciraṃ kālam āpnuyāt / jambūdvīpādhipaḥ śrīmāṃs tasyānte ca bhavet punaḥ* || 18 ||.

11b *mahāpūjāpravarttanam*] BT; *mahimāyā pravarttanaṃ* A; *mahāpūjāpravarddhanam* E   **11c** *nagarāntaḥ°*] E; *nagarātaṃ* A; *nagarāntaṃ* B; *nāgarāntaḥ°* T   **12a** *°citradhvajaiś chatraiḥ*] ABE; *°citraiḥ dhvajaiś citraiḥ* T   **12b** *kiṅkiṇīvarakānvitaiḥ*] ET; *kiṃkinīravakānvitai* A; *kiṃkiṇīravakānvitaiḥ* B   **12d** *°darpaṇaiḥ*] BTE; *°bhūṣitaḥ* A   **13b** *°vādyādisaṃkulaiḥ*] ABE; *°nāṭyādisaṃyutaiḥ* T   **13c** *lepya°*] ABE; *lekhya°* T   **13d** *mātṛyakṣagaṇādibhiḥ*] BTE; *nirmānaturagādibhiḥ* A   **14a** *udakāgneyayantraiś*] BE; *udakāgneyamantraiś* A; *udakāntoyayantraiś* T   **14b** *bahvāścaryair anekaśaḥ*] BTE; *varuṭai(?)yeraṭe(?)kapāḥ(?)* A   **14c** *°dolā°*] BE; *°dolāś* AT   **14d** *rathamandiraśobhitām*] B; *gajanārībhiḥ sobhitāḥ* A; *rathamandiraśobhitaiḥ* T; *rathamandiraśobhitam* E   **15ab** *udyānakhānapānaiś ca mahāyantraiḥ samāyutān*] BE; *udyānakhānapādāndaimmahāsaṃbhogasaṃyutāḥ* A; *dadhyannapānakhānādyaiḥ mahāsatrasamāyutaiḥ* T   **15c** *°samākīrṇān*] E; *°padākīrṇṇā* A; *°samākīrṇṇā* B; *°samākīrṇaṃ* T   **15d** *°kalpitān*] ABE; *°vistaram* T   **16a** *sa sarvadāna°*] ABE; *sarva-*

What this paper will touch upon is one of the first annual festivals, albeit one without processions, to be found described in works of the Mantramārga.

The primary purpose of this paper when it was first conceived, however, was to examine a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript that transmits a small portion of the *Jñānaratnāvalī*, a twelfth-century ritual manual written in Benares by Jñānaśambhu, a Saiddhāntika *guru* from the Cōḷa country, with a view to explaining why it should seem almost entirely different from what purports to be the same section of the same text as transmitted in two South Indian manuscripts.[11] It so happens that the portion in question treats the annual spring rite known as *damanotsava*, a rite that appears to have been introduced into the liturgy of the Śaivasiddhānta from elsewhere and that seems to duplicate another festive annual rite of reparation prescribed for three months later in the year, in the month of *āṣāḍha*, known as *pavitrotsava*. Instead of using threads braided by maidens that are called *pavitra*s as expiatory offerings, Śiva is here worshipped with the various parts of the *damana* plant (Artemisia indica or some other variety of Artemisia). Now it might seem at once that the question that most obviously raises itself here might have been: how did a spring festival come to be adopted as a rite with an expiatory structure into the liturgy of a primarily soteriological system? So I should explain why this patent and curious problem was oddly not what first aroused my interest.

I was first intrigued to see that a Paddhati from as late as the twelfth century, describing Saiddhāntika practices that appear gradually to have died away after the twelfth century from every part of the Sanskritic world except the Tamil-speaking South, should have been copied in Nepal. Second, I was excited by the possibility that a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript, written probably several centuries earlier than all the surviving South Indian witnesses, should transmit a better text of Jñānaśambhu's rich work. It is

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dānāni T **16c** *atyugratapasāṃ puṇyaṃ*] TE; *atugratapasāṃ puṇyāṃ* A; *atyugratapasā puṇyaṃ* B **17a** *labdhvā naravaraḥ*] E; *lavdhā navaraḥ* A (unmetrical); *labdhā naravaraḥ* BT **17c** *mahābhogaiḥ*] AB; *mahābhāgaiḥ* TE **17d** *sadā*] BTE; *ciraṃ* A **18a** *devarājatvaṃ*] ABT; *devarājasya* E.

    [11] For the date, provenance, and place of work of Jñānaśiva, see GOODALL 2000: 209–212. For remarks on the manuscript of the *Jñānaratnāvalī* then known to me (IFP T. 231) and on two manuscripts which might appear to transmit the work but do not (IFP T. 106 and 107), see n. 11 on p. 209. For the two principal manuscripts, both from South India, namely Madras GOML R 14898 (from which IFP T. 231 was copied) and Mysore ORI P. 3801, see GOODALL 2004: cx–cxi.

well-known, after all, that many ancient Sanskrit works have survived in a much older state of text in palm-leaf manuscripts kept in the cool, dry climate of the Kathmandu valley.

It was a worrying surprise to me to discover that the account of the rite in the Nepalese text of the *Jñānaratnāvalī* is much shorter than that of the two southern manuscripts, containing none of the discussions and justificatory quotations. Why? Could this have been because the southern text had been expanded by interpolations? The matter is of some importance because the southern sources present Jñānaśambhu's work as a rich, digest-like manual that is interesting to the historian of religion largely because of the wide range of material it quotes and thereby helps to date and contextualise. If the much shorter style of the Nepalese fragment is authorial, then the value of the *Jñānaratnāvalī* for historians is diminished. Instead of being a large corpus of ordered material that can be confidently dated to the twelfth century or earlier, it becomes a hotchpotch of quite undatable snippets that could have been added piecemeal at any time over the course of the transmission of the work in South India.

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Now that we have introduced the various issues at stake that are alluded to in the title of this paper, let us turn first to the first appearance of a *damanotsava* rite in the Mantramārga. The first known account appears to be that of Somaśambhu in the eleventh century,[12] and the way in which it is introduced plainly adverts to the rite's extraneous character.

> Formerly [a] Bhairava called Damana was born from Hara's anger. He subdued all the gods and the mighty Dānavas. Being pleased, Śiva said to him: "Be a plant on earth! Having taken this embodiment, you will serve for my pleasure. Those mortals who worship God [scil. me] with your shoots and other parts will reach the highest state, O Damana, thanks to your power. But for those men who do not observe the calendrical festival (*parva*) of Damana, all the fruits of their meritorious

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[12] On the perhaps still changing front of evidence fixing the completion of Somaśambhu's *Kriyākāṇḍakramāvalī* at different dates (namely 1048/49 CE, 1073 CE, and 1095/6 CE), suggesting perhaps that the work was released in more than one "edition" in the eleventh century, see SANDERSON 2007: 420–421, GOODALL 2014: 172–173 and 177–179, and SANDERSON 2014: 21 (quoting a lecture-handout of 2011).

deeds belonging to the month of Caitra will be given to you." Although this [ritual] is taught in the *Svacchandabhairava*, nonetheless, because that work is [of] shared [scriptural stock] with this [system] (*iha*),[13] it is practised also in the Siddhānta.[14]

We observe here that this myth, which in this extremely abridged form makes no allusion to anything vernal, seems not really coherent, and that the purpose of the ritual, namely to make sure that merit accrued in the month of Caitra does not pass to Bhairava, is odd, since there is no evident reason why anybody's *karman*, good or bad, should be transferred to that particular god.[15] Striking too is that no account of a *damanotsava* has been found in the various versions known to us of the *Svacchanda*: has Somaśambhu chosen a fictional scriptural affiliation to "justify" an eclectic borrowing? The fact that he includes an apology at all might seem to suggest that he is either responsible for introducing the festival into the ritual

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[13] BRUNNER (1968 [SP2]: 202) translates *samānatvāt* with "puisque [les deux écoles] sont dans la même position;" but it is perhaps more likely that Somaśambhu uses the expression in the way that Aghoraśiva often does in his commentary on the *Sarvajñānottaratantra*: there, when he draws on passages from other recensions of the *Kālottara*, he mentions that they are Tantras that are *samāna*, in other words "[from a] shared scriptural [stock]" (e.g. IFP RE 47852, p. 5). Cf. also Rāmakaṇṭha's use in the *Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti* of the expression *samānatāntrika* to refer to those who share a common scriptural tradition (for which, see WATSON, GOODALL & ANJANEYA SARMA 2013: 18).

[14] SP2 2.1–5 (From volume 2 of Brunner's edition [1968: 196ff]. In the Kashmirian edition [KSTS], these verses are 496–501.): *harakopāt purā jāto bhairavo damanāhvayaḥ | dāntās tena surāḥ sarve dānavāś ca mahābalāḥ || 1 || prītenātha śivenokto: viṭapo bhava bhūtale! | tāṃ tanuṃ tvam anuprāpya madbhogāya bhaviṣyasi || 2 || pūjayiṣyanti ye martyā devaṃ tvatpallavādibhiḥ | te yāsyanti paraṃ sthānaṃ damana tvatprabhāvataḥ || 3 || ye punar na kariṣyanti dāmanaṃ parva mānavāḥ | teṣāṃ te caitramāsotthaṃ dattaṃ puṇyaphalaṃ mayā || 4 || svacchandabhairave tantre yady apīdam udāhṛtam | tathāpīha samānatvāt siddhānte 'py upayujyate || 5 ||.* **1c** *tena surāḥ*] Brunner; *tenāsurāḥ* KSTS **4c** *te*] Brunner; *na* KSTS **5d** *upayujyate*] Brunner; *upapadyate* KSTS.

[15] Cf. verse 24 of Appendix III, which contains the same odd justification for the performance of the rite.

Kacchapeśvara's commentary on Aghoraśiva's *Kriyākramadyotikā* recounts a myth that takes into account the elements mentioned by Somaśambhu (see BRUNNER 1968 [SP2]: 198–199), but this may well be the result of Kacchapeśvara joining up the dots to "explain" Somaśambhu's allusion, rather than of Kacchapeśvara recounting the myth that Somaśambhu actually knew.

calendar or that he considers himself to be close in time to the moment of its introduction. But we should be wary of putting much weight on such a supposition, for we find the apology echoed in the *Jñānaratnāvalī* a century later. Furthermore, Trilocanaśiva's twelfth-century commentary on Somaśambhu's work quotes a half-verse attributed to the tenth-century paddhati of Brahmaśambhu that alludes, according to Trilocana, to the possibility of performing an initiation ceremony on the occasion of the *damanotsava* on the first day of the second month of spring.[16] Of course this need not mean that Brahmaśambhu prescribed a Śaiva version of this rite: it might simply mean that Brahmaśambhu recognised the existence of a popular spring festival and mentions the occasion as a possible suitable moment for conducting a *dīkṣā*. Trilocana also quotes from a description of *damanotsava* in another Saiddhāntika work, the *Bṛhatkālottara*,[17] but that text appears to have been unknown to the Kashmirian commentators of the tenth century and may have been contemporary with the *Somaśambhupaddhati* or composed just after it, for the first quotations we know of it are those of Jñānaśambhu and his South Indian contemporaries. Brunner was troubled not only by the existence of this Saiddhāntika account that belied Somaśambhu's claim that the *damanotsava* was not Saiddhāntika, but also by those taught in certain Temple Āgamas, since she had at that time (1968) only begun to suspect them of being later South Indian compositions (SP2, p. 202):[18]

> … mais aucune référence n'est faite aux *Āgama* ou *Upāgama* dont nous avons dit plus haut qu'ils avaient le même chapitre que nous (ce qui, entre parenthèses, peut faire naître des doutes quant à l'ancienneté de l'*Uttara-Kāmika* et de l'*Acintyaviśvasādākhya*). Quoi qu'il en soit, le fait même que Somaśambhu soulève le problème de la légitimité de ce rituel pour les Śaivasiddhāntin, montre qu'à son époque au moins il n'était pas couramment pratiqué dans ce milieu śivaïte, et que les sectes du *Trika* (où Bhairava joue un rôle infini-

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[16] Madras GOML M. 14735, p. 89: … *ata eva brahmaśambhupādaiḥ pavitrotsave damanotsave 'pi dīkṣā kāryety uktam* "*cāturmāsyanimittāni vaiśākhīdamanotsavaḥ*" *iti*. For the date of the composition of Brahmaśambhu's work in 937/938 CE, see GOODALL 2004: xx and SANDERSON 2014: 20.

[17] The passage in question is quoted by BRUNNER 1968 (SP2): 203.

[18] Cf. BRUNNER 1968 (SP2): xiv: "[...] il serait bien téméraire de notre part de déclarer sans autre preuve que ces deux textes, ou tout au moins quelques-uns de leurs chapitres, sont postérieurs à Somaśambhu."

ment plus important) en avaient pratiquement le monopole, sous une forme que nous ignorons.

Brunner had, in other words, begun to ask many of the questions addressed in this article, but she had not yet come to the firm conclusion that the South Indian Temple Āgamas must have borrowed from Somaśambhu, and she suspected that the ultimate source of Somaśambhu's account might have been a spring festival belonging to a Bhairava-centred current of the Mantramārga. Nonetheless, she credits Somaśambhu with having assured, by including the rite in his manual, the continued popularity of the *damanotsava* in South India down to the present day.[19] Although Brunner may well be right that the ritual spread across the traditions of temple worship in South India under the influence of Somaśambhu's Paddhati,[20] there seems to be little trace of the worship in South India today: Brunner, writing in 1968, implies that she knew of numerous South Indian temples where the rite was practised, but Mr. Sambandhaśivācārya, priest of a Vināyaka temple in Cuddalore and employee for many decades of the IFP, has told me today (2015) that it is extremely rarely observed and could cite no instance known to him in the contemporary temple-scene in the Tamil-speaking South of the observance of *damanotsava*.

But let us now turn to the *Jñānaratnāvalī*'s account. Rather than give the whole text of Jñānaśambhu's chapter here, which would involve giving a complete translation and would therefore in turn mean getting wrapped up in the intricacies of interpretation of all its many ritual elements, I have

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[19] BRUNNER 1968 (SP2): xiv: "… la décision de Somaśambhu a eu des conséquences durables puisque Aghoraśiva, dont on sait que ses livres font encore autorité, devait reprendre la damanapūjā dans son manuel de rituel privé, et surtout dans son manuel de rituel public, si bien que nombreux sont encore de nos jours les temples du Sud qui célèbrent ce festival printanier."

[20] I speak of "traditions" in the plural, because I mean to include also Pāñcarātra temple worship. It seems natural to suspect borrowing from the Śaivas by the Pāñcarātra in this case, since the border between the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava Temple Scriptures seems to have been porous in the post-twelfth-century period and there are many other instances of shared notions and terminology that must have developed in the shared South Indian temple milieu. Examples that come to mind that illustrate this are, for instance, the practices referred to as *diśāhoma* and *nityotsava* (q.v. in TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA 3), and terminology that occurs in the South, such as *mūlabera* ("principal image of worship").

given the chapter in its entirety in an appendix (Appendix I), beginning from the concluding verse of the immediately preceding verse, which wraps up the account of the *pavitrotsava*. I shall translate here only the opening, which contains some elements that are relevant to our discussion. (Readers interested in the details of a similar Śaiva version of this festival may of course find a full, annotated translation of Somaśambhu's account in BRUNNER 1968: 196–221.)

> In the *Svacchandabhairava-tantra*, Bhairava is known to be [the] Damana [plant]. Elsewhere (*kvacit*), [we learn that this plant] arose from the ashes of Kāmadeva when they were watered by the tears of [his consorts] Rati and Prīti. (JR 1)
>
> In the Siddhānta, no attention is accorded to it, even by those devoted to expiatory rites. Nevertheless, there is a shared [scriptural] identity here too [scil. in the Siddhānta]. But its performance is taught here because it is mentioned in the chapters on flowers and because it is taught by earlier *ācārya*s. (JR 2–3b)
>
> On the seventh or the thirteenth day in [either of] the two fortnights in the month of Caitra, having performed his daily duties, he should in the evening approach a Damana plant. (JR 3c–4b)

Among the numerous points to comment upon here, we see that although there is the same allusion to the *Svacchanda*, borrowed no doubt from Somaśambhu, Jñānaśambhu refers also to another aetiological myth from some other source. Whereas the myth to which Somaśambhu alludes is incomprehensible to us (and perhaps also to Jñānaśambhu, since he gives no further clues about it), the other myth can be guessed at, not because we know the source from which Jñānaśambhu knew it, but because the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* contains what must be a related tale (*kriyāpāda* 22). There is no need to give that passage in full here, since Brunner has furnished a parallel text and translation of the whole chapter (SP2 Appendix II), but we may outline the story as follows: When Kāmadeva attacked Śiva, Śiva's anger came out as fire from his third eye, which took form as Bhairava; Bhairava reduced Kāma to ashes; Śiva, pleased, told Bhairava that since he had "tamed" (*dāntaḥ*) the triple world, he would henceforth be called the "tamer" (*damana*); Rati, Kāma's spouse, who was among the goddesses waiting upon Gaurī, fainted away, whereupon Gaurī furiously cursed Damana to become a plant:

And he, being cursed by Ambikā, accordingly at once then became a plant, called Damana, [rooted] in the ashes of Kāma's body, of sweet fragrance and with tender parts, watered by the flow of Rati's tears.[21]

One difference from Īśānaśiva's account is clear: in Jñānaśambhu's version the tears of both Kāmadeva's spouses, Rati and Prīti, water his ashes.

As for the plant Damana, it is clear that it is some sort of wormwood or mugwort (Fr. armoise, Ger. Beifuß, Tam. *marikoḻuntu/marukoḻuntu*, etc.). Giving a more precise Latin identification than Artemisia is tricky, for it is possible that slightly different fragrant plants may be identified with *damana* in different regions, as Zotter has remarked.[22]

Once again, as for Somaśambhu, the detailed rite that follows consists essentially in the identification and uprooting of the Damana plant, which is held to be a transformation of Bhairava, and the use of its sprouts, roots, and various parts for worshipping Śiva and his pantheon in a manner that is parallel to the annual autumnal festival known variously as *pavitrotsava*, *pavitrārohaṇa*, *pavitrāropaṇa*, etc. For a succinct description of this rite, see TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA 3 (s.v. *pavitrāropaṇa*), whose article begins as follows:

This is an annual rite of reparation for all omissions and mistakes committed in rituals. Whereas a given *prāyaścitta**, an exculpatory rite taught for a particular transgression, is of course only to be performed after committing such a transgression, the *pavitrārohaṇa* is an annual ceremony. The rite is thus logically to be classed as a regular obligatory one (*nitya**), but some works treat it as *naimittika**, e.g. SP2 1.7. As for the time of its performance, certain days in the four-month period

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[21] *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, kriyāpāda 22.14: *tathā sa śapto 'mbikayā tathābhavat kṣaṇena vīrud damanāhvayas tadā | smarāṅgabhasmany abhirāmasaurabhaḥ sukomalāṅgai ratibāṣpasekajaḥ ||*.

[22] ZOTTER 2010*: 179 and 203: "In der Literatur wird *damanaka* durchweg als *Artemisia vulgaris* L. (Syn. *A. indica* WILLD; fam: Asteraceae) identifiziert. Eine solche Identifikation wurde aber von allen von mir befragten Ritualspezialisten abgelehnt. Newars benutzen heutzutage eine wohlriechende, buschige Pflanze […], deren botanisches Äquivalent ich bislang noch nicht bestimmen konnte. Es könnte sich dabei um eine regional begrenzte Identifikation handeln, denn diejenige Pflanze, die man mir in Benares als *damanaka* präsentierte, war wiederum eine andere."

in which Viṣṇu is said to sleep are typically recommended, particularly the month of Āṣāḍha (see SP2 1.2–4 and notes).

The focus of the ceremony is the offering of knotted rings of woven cotton thread (*pavitraka* [2]*) and the offering of a collection of things used in religious undertakings (*vratāṅga**) and sometimes also a collection of things conducive to pleasure (*bhogāṅga* [2]*).

We cannot delve here into the origins or early history of the *pavitrāropaṇa* rite, which is similarly to be found also in Pāñcarātra sources (once again, see Rastelli's contribution to the same article of the TĀNTRIKĀ-BHIDHĀNAKOŚA) and in Purāṇic ones (KANE V/1: 339–340 cites some of these, mediated through various Dharmanibandha works). It is sufficient for our purposes here for the moment to state that the *pavitrāropaṇa* rite entered (or emerged within?) the Mantramārga at a much earlier stage, since we find versions of it already detailed in the *Kiraṇatantra* (chapter 36) and in the *Mohacūḍottara*.

Now we saw above that Somaśambhu mentioned a curious benefit as the reward for observing the *damanotsava*, namely being able to keep all merit accrued in the month of Caitra rather than losing it to Bhairava. We can see that this further underlines the parallelism with the *pavitrārohaṇa*, which repairs ritual faults of omission and commission over the preceding year. Jñānaśambhu, by contrast, seems to make no clear statement of the purpose of the *damanotsava*, but we can see in the passage just cited that he too probably regards it as having an expiatory or reparatory function, since he observes that it is not typically followed in the Siddhānta, "even by those devoted to expiatory rites."

So in Saiddhāntika accounts, the Damana-rite is a sort of reparatory one, and I have implied (following BRUNNER, e.g. 1968 (SP2): xii, who made the same observation[23]) that this is because both its shape and purpose were calqued upon the reparatory *pavitrārohaṇa*. To understand why it is clear that they were so calqued, further evidence must be drawn into the picture: Damana-related rituals are, it turns out, to be found in other medieval reli-

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[23] Brunner was in turn following what the primary sources themselves more or less explicitly allude to: even in the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā*, a work of the Pāñcarātra, we find a reflection of the awareness that *damanotsava* was strictly parallel to *pavitrārohaṇa* (17.565c–566a): *tasmiṃs tu śukladvādaśyāṃ kuryād damanakotsavam | pavitrārohavat kuryāt*. (The same passage occurs in the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* [12.63abc], which, as MATSUBARA (1994: 28–30) and RASTELLI [e.g., 2006: 59] have shown, is largely based on the *Parameśvarasaṃhitā*.)

gious traditions, and in those traditions they seem unrelated to the Śaiva ones in every particular other than in that they involve the Damana plant and that they typically occur on or close to the thirteenth day of a fortnight in the month of Caitra (a date to which we shall return below).[24]

Let us consider, for example, the *damanapūjā* taught in a sixteenth-century Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava digest, the *Haribhaktivilāsa* (*vilāsa* 14, verses 105ff in the 1848 edition, pp. 491–493).[25] (The erratic verse-numbering is that of the edition.)

> Next, the festival of festooning with the Damana. On the twelfth day of the brightening fortnight of Caitra, one should perform the festival of festooning with the Damana. Its performance, taught in such works as the *Baudhāyana*, is written next.
>
> On the eleventh day of the brightening fortnight of Caitra (*madhoḥ*) after completing his morning duties, he should go to the garden of the Damana plant and there worship an Aśoka tree [as] the god of love (/worship the sorrow-free god of love).
>
> [Here is] the *mantra* for that: "Obeisance to you Aśoka (/sorrow-free), O Kāma, O destroyer of the sorrow (*śoka*) caused by women. Remove the suffering of sorrow from me; bring about joy for me

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[24] I should state at once that it is in no way my intention to give a complete list of textual accounts of spring festivals, since these may be found referred to in other works, such as that of ANDERSON (1993), nor even of all accounts of Damana-related worship in the month of Caitra. References to many more such accounts may be found given, for instance, in the *Jayasiṃhakalpadruma* (pp. 440–445), which mentions (p. 440) that it draws upon the *Madanaratna*, the *Brahmapurāṇa* quoted in the *Nirṇayāmṛta*, the *Nṛsiṃhaparicaryā*, and the *Rāmārcanacandrikā*. Of course one may also consult KANE (V/1: 310–311), who quotes particularly from other Dharma-nibandha works, and the work of MEYER (1937). (My attention was drawn to MEYER's remarkable, richly referenced, and extremely stimulating book, in which he devotes a large section to *damanaka* called "Kāmadeva als Beifuß" (1937: 38–53), by ZOTTER's thesis (2010*). Only a few lesser known accounts and ones that are especially relevant to our theme are treated here.

[25] I am grateful to Dr. Måns Broo for kindly drawing my attention to this passage (after seeing online the abstract for this paper before it was delivered in Vienna in February 2015) and for sending me pages of a Bengali-script edition. For a useful characterisation of the *Haribhaktavilāsa*, which appears to have been composed in 1534, see BROO 2003, in particular pp. 20–23.

every day (*nityam*). I shall take you [home], O tree, you who give joy to Kṛṣṇa, in order to perform worship."[26]

Having thus asked and bowed he should take the bright Damana plant, sprinkle it with the five products of the cow, wash it with water, venerate it, cover it with a cloth, and take it home to the auspicious sound of Vedic recitation and the like.

Now the instruction for the incubation of the Damana plant. He should raise up in front of Kṛṣṇa the Sarvatobhadra-*maṇḍala*; placing the Damana on that, he should let it incubate there at night.

[Here is] the *mantra* for that: "In order to worship the god of gods, Viṣṇu, the spouse of Lakṣmī, the Lord, come here, O Damana, be present; obeisance to you."

And upon the Damana, in the eight directions beginning with the East, he should venerate, using their seed-syllables,[27] (1) Kāmadeva, (2) Ash-bodied, (3) Ānanda, (4) Manmatha, (5) Friend of Spring, (6) Smara, (7) Sugar-Cane-Bow, and (8) Flower-Bow,[28] in due order, accompanied by Rati, in accordance with the rules.

Having recited over him the Kāmagāyatrī 108 times and having given a handful of flowers, he should venerate Kāmadeva using *mantra*s.

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[26] There are a couple of doubtful points here. If one begins with worship of the Aśoka tree, it seems odd that the end of the ritual speech is addressed to the Damana plant, which is to be taken away according to the text that follows. Perhaps *aśoka*, "griefless," is intended rather to be a description of the Damana plant? And yet Kāmadeva, as well as being identified with the Damana, is evidently also identified with the Aśoka tree in the previous verse, as well as frequently elsewhere (see MEYER 1937, in particular pp. 33–38, in which he comments in particular on *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, *uttaraparvan* 135). A related problem is that of *vṛkṣa*, which we have taken to be a vocative, even though we do not expect Damana to be any larger than a small shrub. But should we instead understand it to be part of a compound, *vṛkṣapūjārtham*?

The size and type of plant Damana is, by the way, not referred to with any degree of consistency in our sources: some texts refer to the Damana with expressions such as *taru* and *vṛkṣa* (see, e.g., verses 20 and 22 of Appendix III) and others, like for instance chapter 2.45 of the *Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, refer to it consistently as a sort of grass (*tṛṇa*).

[27] Perhaps each has a *mantra* that involves a seed-syllable based on the first letter of his name: KĀṂ, BHAṂ, ĀṂ, MAṂ, VAṂ, etc. ?

[28] All these are conventional names of Kāma and they presumably refer therefore here to manifestations of the god of love.

And this is the *mantra*:

"Obeisance be to [you] whose arrows are flowers, who give delight to the world, to Manmatha, the eye of the world, who bestow affection upon Rati."

"You have been called, O Lord of gods, ancient one, best of souls. I shall worship you in the morning. Be present, O Keśava. I offer you in the morning the bright Damanaka. Obeisance be always and in every way to you, O Viṣṇu. Be kindly disposed towards me." Having thus addressed the Lord of gods he should again give him a handful of flowers. With singing and dancing and the like he should joyfully observe vigil through the night.

Next, the rite of offering the Damanaka: Having accomplished ablutions and the like in the morning, and having performed regular obligatory worship, he should conduct a great *pūjā* for the purpose of festooning with the Damanaka-[plant]. Then he should reverentially take the Damanaka in his hands and offer it up to Śrī Kṛṣṇa, to the accompaniment of [auspicious] sounds of instrumental music, bells and the like.

The *mantra* for this is: "God of gods, Lord of the universe, bestower of desired boons, fulfil all my desires, O Kṛṣṇa, who are the beloved of Kāmeśvarī! Receive this Damanaka, O God, to favour me. O Lord, make this annual *pūjā* here complete!"

Then offering the garland of Damana, as well as incense and the like, having conducted a festival with singing and such, he should make this plea to Śrī Kṛṣṇa:

"May this annual worship, [performed] with garlands of jewels and coral and with Mandāra flowers and the like, be yours, O Garuḍa-bannered [Lord]! Just as [you wear], O God, the [garland known as the] Vanamālā and the Kaustubha [jewel] constantly against your heart, so too wear this garland of Damana and its *pūjā* next to your heart!"[29]

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[29] *Haribhaktivilāsa* (*vilāsa* 14, verses 105ff in the 1848 edition, pp. 491–493): *atha damanāropaṇotsavaḥ | caitrasya śukladvādaśyāṃ damanāropaṇotsavam | vidadhyāt tadvidhir baudhāyanādyukto 'tha likhyate || madhoḥ sitaikādaśyāñ ca prātaḥkṛtyaṃ samāpya ca | gatvā damanakārāmaṃ tatrāśokaṃ smaraṃ yajet | tatra mantraḥ | aśokāya namas tubhyaṃ kāma strīśoka*nāśana* (°*nāśana* conj.; °*nāśanaḥ* ed.) | *śokārttiṃ hara me nityam ānandaṃ janayasva me iti* || 105 || *neṣyāmi vṛkṣa pūjārthaṃ tvāṃ kṛṣṇaprītikārakam | iti saṃprārthya natvā ca gṛhṇīyād damanaṃ śubham* || 106 || *prokṣya taṃ pañcagavyena prakṣālyādbhiḥ prapūjya ca | va-*

There are several observations to be made here about how this account differs from Śaiva accounts of a rite of the same name, and perhaps we should begin with that name. The rite is repeatedly referred to as one of *damanakāropaṇa*, even though there seems in this case to be no ritual parallel to the *pavitrāropaṇa*/*pavitrārohaṇa*, as there is in the Śaiva case. I have, for want of better ideas, translated *ārohaṇa*/*āropaṇa* with "festooning," since I take it to mean "raising up and laying upon" and that it refers to the way in which the *pavitra*-threads are laid like garlands upon the substrate in which a deity is worshipped. The Damana plant here, however, seems not to be divided up into garland-like parts to parallel the different *pavitra*-threads, and it is not wholly clear whether it is used to garland Kṛṣṇa. So the use of the collocation *damanakāropaṇa* might itself perhaps be evidence of a Śaiva influence, since the name might only be supposed fully to make sense if it describes a rite parallel to the *pavitrārohaṇa*/*pavitrāropaṇa*.

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streṇācchādya vedādighoṣeṇa gṛham ānayet || 107 || *atha damanakādhivāsavidhiḥ* / *kṛṣṇasyāgre samuddhṛtya sarvatobhadramaṇḍalam* / *nidhāya damanaṃ tatra rātrau tam adhivāsayet* / *tatra mantraḥ* / *pūjārthaṃ devadevasya viṣṇor lakṣmīpateḥ prabhoḥ* / *damana tvam ihāgaccha sānnidhyaṃ kuru te namaḥ* / *iti* || 108 || *sabījaṃ kāmadevañ ca tathā bhasmaśarīrakam* / *ānandaṃ manmathañ caiva vasantasakham eva ca* / *smaraṃ tathekṣucāpañ ca puṣpabāṇañ ca pūjayet* / **prāgādidikṣu* (*prāgādidikṣu*] conj.; *pragādidikṣu* ed.) *ratyāḍhyaṃ vidhivad damane kramāt* || 109 || *aṣṭottaraśataṃ kāmagāyatryā cābhimantrya tam* / *dattvā puṣpāñjaliṃ kāmadevaṃ vandeta mantravat* / *mantraś cāyam* / *namo 'stu puṣpabāṇāya jagadāhlādakāriṇe* / *manmathāya jagannetre ratiprītipradāyine iti* / *āmantrito 'si deveśa purāṇa puruṣottama* / *prātas tvāṃ pūjayiṣyāmi sānnidhyaṃ kuru keśava* / *nivedayāmy ahaṃ tubhyaṃ prātar damanakaṃ śubham* / *sarvathā sarvadā viṣṇo namas te 'stu prasīda me* / *ittham āmantrya deveśaṃ dattvā puṣpāñjaliṃ punaḥ* / *gītanṛtyādinā rātrau kuryāj jāgaraṇaṃ mudā* || 110 || *atha damanakārpaṇavidhiḥ* / *prātaḥ snānādi nirvarttya nityapūjāṃ vidhāya ca* / *damanāropaṇārthañ ca mahāpūjāṃ samācaret* / *tato damanakaṃ bhaktyā pāṇibhyāṃ parigṛhya ca* / *ghaṇṭādivādyaghoṣeṇa śrīkṛṣṇāya samarpayet* || 111 || *tatra mantraḥ devadeva jagannātha vāñchitārthapradāyaka* / *kṛtsnān pūraya me kṛṣṇa kāmān kāmeśvarīpriya* / *idaṃ damanakaṃ deva gṛhāṇa madanugrahāt* / *imāṃ sāṃvatsarīṃ pūjāṃ bhagavann iha pūrayeti* || 112 || *tato dāmanakīṃ mālāṃ gandhādīni samarpya ca* / *gītādinotsavaṃ kṛtvā śrīkṛṣṇaṃ prārthayed idam* || 113 || *maṇividrumamālābhir mandārakusumādibhiḥ* / *iyaṃ sāṃvatsarī pūjā tavāstu garuḍadhvaja* || 114 || *vanamālāṃ yathā deva kaustubhaṃ satataṃ hṛdi* / *tadvad dāmanakīṃ mālāṃ pūjāñ ca hṛdaye vahetyādi* /.

There are, however, a couple of considerations that seriously weaken such an assumption. One is that we find that the Damana plant is explicitly used to fashion a garland to be laid upon Kṛṣṇa, both here and in more than one of the different Vaiṣṇava versions of this festival related in the *Jaya-siṃhakalpadruma* (e.g. on p. 442, where the Damana plant is used to make a *vanamālā*, and p. 444, where we have a clearer version of the last of the declaratory *mantra*s: *vanamālāṃ yathā deva kaustubhaṃ vahase hṛdi | tadvad dāmanakīṃ mālāṃ pūjāṃ ca hṛdaye vaha*[30] ||). For this, the expression *damanakāropaṇa* might be said to fit perfectly. The second consideration is that, in contemporary practice in Nepal and in Orissa, the festival apparently includes the planting of Damana plants,[31] an act which could

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[30] "Just as you wear the Vanamālā and the Kaustubha, O Lord, on your heart, in the same way bear this garland of Damana and these offerings [of Damana] on your heart!"

[31] I have not observed this practice myself, nor have I seen it described in a Sanskrit text, but it is alluded to as being part of the ceremony in Puri on this website: www.iskcondesiretree.com/page/damanaka-ropana-dvadasi (accessed November 14, 2015):

"Damanaka Ropana Dvadasi
Damanaka Chori or Dayanalagi
The following days the following is observed in Jagannath Puri. This festival is celebrated on the thirteenth and fourteenth days of the bright fortnight of Chaitra (April). Deities of Lord Rama and Lord Krishna are taken in procession to the Jagannath Ballava Math. There the Deities get Their Dayana leaves from the garden at the math. On the fourteenth, the leaves are offered to Lord Jagannath, Lady Subhadra and Lord Balarama.

'Damanaka is a particular type of flowering tree, Artemisia indica. In modern Oriya it is called da-aNA. It is one of the two favorite flowers of Lord Jagannath, the other being campaka. It is said that Lord Jagannath comes to the Jagannath Vallabh garden in Puri to steal these flowers. Aropana means to plant. On this dvAdazI there is a ritual planting of the da-aNA tree.'"

Such planting is not mentioned as forming part of the *damanabhañjikā* rite described as taking place in Puruṣottamakṣetra (Puri) on the night of the thirteenth of the bright half of Caitra in chapter 2.45 of the *Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, where Viṣṇu, accompanied by Śrī and Satyabhāmā, are worshipped on a lotus-*maṇḍala* and Damana grass (*tṛṇa*) is put in his hand so that he may enjoy crushing it (2.45.5–11), and the following day a garland of Damana is taken to Jagannātha and placed upon his head (2.45.12–15). In this case, the garland is compared not to the Vanamālā, but to a garland made from the entrails of the defeated demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, since Damana, according to this text, was once a demon defeated by Viṣṇu.

also be naturally described as *damanakāropaṇa*, for it would be parallel with the expression *aṅkurāropaṇa*, "the planting of sprouts" (for this ritual act, see TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA 1, s.v. *aṅkurārpaṇa*). In other words, there are other ritual actions that could naturally be described as *damanakāropaṇa* and we cannot be certain that the expression originates as a calque upon *pavitrāropaṇa*. Nonetheless, I know of no old attestation for the practice of planting Damana plants as part of the festival,[32] and the oldest attestations of the expression *damanāropaṇa*/*damanakāropaṇa* seem to be in Śaiva contexts where the ritual appears to have been calqued upon the *pavitrāropaṇa*. It therefore seems more likely to me that applying it to the "planting of Damana" would be an inventive repurposing of the term, rather than that it originally referred to planting and was repurposed by the Śaivas to describe a ritual that is parallel to their *pavitrāropaṇa*.

In one respect the *Haribhaktivilāsa* certainly preserves here something that is surely old and that has been effaced from Somaśambhu's ritual, namely its essentially vernal character because of the integral involvement of Kāma: From the declaratory *mantra*s here, we learn that the Damana plant is first identified with Kāmadeva and then offered to Kṛṣṇa. It makes much more sense that a sweet-smelling plant culled for spring-time worship should be identified with Kāma than that it should be a form of Bhairava! No Śaiva influence is acknowledged, of course, for the rite is instead presented here as a Brahmanical one of hoary antiquity; but the mention at the beginning of "such works as the *Baudhāyana*" as an ancient authority for this ritual looks suspicious. Just as Śaiva sources cannily give the *Svacchanda*, a vast scripture that claims several "versions," as a probably fictional locus of attribution for this rite, it looks as though this Vaiṣṇava work has also sought to mention a textual authority and it has done so in such a

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As for Damana-planting in the Kathmandu valley in Nepal, it is alluded to in ZOTTER's thesis (2010*: 336): "Sehr bekannt ist im Kathmandutal […] die Verwendung von *damana*(*ka*) im Frühling. Zum Pflichtprogramm der jährlich in den großen Tempeln zu verrichtenden Rituale gehören das Säen von *damana* (*damanāropaṇa*) und das Verehren von Gottheiten mit dessen Blüten."

[32] There are descriptions that involve a rite of planting sprouts (*aṅkurāropaṇa*) some days before the Damana-festival (see, for example, *Viśvāmitrasaṃhitā* 26.4, part of a Pāñcarātra account), but this is a standard prognosticatory procedure before most festivals in South Indian Temple Āgamas, whether Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava, and there is no indication in these cases that the seeds involved (the reference to "sprouts" in the compound *aṅkurārpaṇa*/*aṅkurāropaṇa* is of course proleptic: it is seeds that are planted) are those of the Damana plant.

vague way that no reader could know quite where to check: after all, perhaps there is somewhere some work that can be styled *Baudhāyana* which describes a Damana-festival?[33]

While Śaivas appear to have colonised this spring festival by calquing its structure on another annual reparatory rite and by making the Damana plant into a transmogrified Bhairava rather than a form of Kāmadeva, there may seem at first blush to have been no Vaiṣṇavisation here, for Kāmadeva, who is in any case no enemy of Kṛṣṇa,[34] is a central figure. But the choice of lunar date for the festival might be a trace reflecting Vaiṣṇava assimilation. In the correlation of lunar days (*tithi*) with particular deities that began to involve in the *Gṛhyasūtra* literature (see EINOO 2005: 101–111), the thirteenth day of the lunar fortnight is typically associated with Kāmadeva. The twelfth day, by contrast, is very frequently associated with Viṣṇu and the fourteenth with Śiva. Exactly these correspondences (Viṣṇu, 12th; Kāmadeva, 13th; Śiva, 14th) may be found in another relatively early account to which Einoo in 2005 did not have access, namely the *Niśvāsa-mukhatattvasaṃhitā* (3.127ff., in KAFLE 2015; see also the tabulation of *Devīpurāṇa* 61 below). It seems likely that a popular tradition of Kāmadeva worship would have been widely associated with the thirteenth day (Kāmadeva's day) of the month of Caitra (Kāmadeva's month), and that this festival was sometimes tugged towards the twelfth by Viṣṇu-devotees, as here, and sometimes to the fourteenth by devotees of Śiva. We find the

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[33] The same vague ascription is recorded by the *Jayasiṃhakalpadruma* (p. 440) as being mentioned in one of its sources, the *Rāmārcanacandrikā*: *rāmārcanaca-ndrikāyāṃ tu dvādaśyāṃ damanotsavaḥ kārya ity uktam:*

   dvādaśyāṃ caitramāsasya śuklāyāṃ damanotsavaḥ
   baudhāyanādibhiḥ proktaḥ kartavyaḥ prativatsaram

(The contrast alluded to here by the particle *tu* is with the other sources reported, the *Madanaratna*, the *Brahmapurāṇa* quoted in the *Nirṇayāmṛta*, and the *Nṛsiṃha-paricaryā*, all of which prescribe beginning the rite on the eleventh, keeping vigil at night, rather than on the twelfth.)

[34] The Sanskrit commentary (the *Digdarśinīṭīkā*, which, according to BROO 2003: 21, is by Sanātana Gosvāmin) that is printed with the *Haribhaktivilāsa* even suggests the possibility of identifying Kāmadeva with Kṛṣṇa, as was pointed out to me by Māns Broo in an e-mail of February 4, 2015, for its commentary on 14.105 begins *tatra damanakārāme aśokavṛkṣarūpaṃ smaram akṣatacandanādinā pūjayet. atra ca kāmarūpeṇa śrībhagavata eva pūjādikaṃ jñeyam. yad vā …* : "In this grove of the Damana plant, one should worship Smara in the form of the Aśoka tree, using un-husked [rice], sandal, and so forth. And here we may understand that the worship and such is of the glorious Lord in the form of Kāmadeva. Alternatively…"

fourteenth, prescribed for instance in the *Jñānārṇavatantra*, in chapter 26.[35]
Similarly, we find a spring festival (*vasantotsava*) involving the worship of
Skanda with, among other things, Damana (*dāmaiḥ* in 39.44) enjoined on
the sixth day of the bright fortnight of Caitra or Vaiśākha in the *Kumāra-
tantra* (39.41–74), the sixth day being typically that of Skanda.

Since we find Śaiva-inflected, Vaiṣṇava-inflected, and Kaumāra-
inflected accounts of *damanapūjā*, it will perhaps be no surprise to discover
that the rite was also adapted by devotees of the goddess. Rather than quote
and translate another long passage as evidence here in the body of this arti-
cle, particularly since the text in question is not easy to edit because of
doubts about which of its many anomalies of grammar and sense are autho-
rial and which transmissional, I have added part of an unpublished account
(kindly brought to my attention by Diwakar Acharya) of Devī-related *da-
manapūjā* to an appendix, so that interested readers may have an impres-
sion of the work. The text affects the style of a Tantra[36] and, once again, it
begins (verse 1), with what looks like a fictional locus of attribution: The
rite is said to have been taught in a scripture vaguely named the
Parameśvara. Here it is the goddess who, in response to a question of Ma-
heśa, recounts an aetiological myth in which it is explained that Damana
was an overweening Asura whom she fought and felled and who, trans-
formed into a plant, has since been used for the worship of Hara. The story
is plainly influenced by that best-known of all works of goddess-
mythology, the *Durgā-Saptaśatī* (or *Devīmāhātmya*), of which, as Diwakar
Acharya has pointed out to me, there are close verbal echoes (see, e.g.,
verse 16).

But might there be any accounts of Damana-*pūjā* that have not been in-
flected by Śaivism or Vaiṣṇavism or devotion to the goddess or to some

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[35] Cf. also *Epigraphia Indica* 23, "No 29. Fragmentary Stone Inscription of Queen
Uddalladevī: V.S 1294" (NĀGAR 1940: 188): …*śrī-uddaladevyā* … *saṃva-
[tsa][rāṇāṃ] dvādaśaśateṣu caturnnavatyadhikeṣu* **damanaka-caturdaśyāṃ** [*gu-
ru*]*vāre śrīvindhyeśvaradevasya* … [*prā*]*sādoyaṃ kāritaḥ pratiṣṭhāpitaś ca*. My
attention was drawn to this passage by KANE V/1: 310.

[36] Its colophonic concluding statement, however, on f. 5r, appears to read
anaṣṭayacchandasā proktaṃ ṣaṣṭhiśokerudāhṛtaḥ | *nirṇītaṃ śrīkamalākhyena pa-
rvvadāmanasaṃjñitaḥ* || 0 || *damanārohaṇavidhi samāptaḥ* || 0 || The verse, once
adjusted for metre and sense, might have been intended to read *anuṣṭupchandasā
proktaṃ ṣaṣṭiślokair udāhṛtam* | *nirṇītaṃ kamalākhyena parva dāmanasaṃjñitam*.
"This [account of the] calendrical rite called *dāmana*, proclaimed in *anuṣṭubh* metre
in 60 *śloka*s, was composed by Kamala."

other divinity? Various works of classical literature, notably the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Kuṭṭanīmata*,[37] allude to spring festivals of Kāmadeva, but perhaps there is no surviving detailed prescriptive account of such an uninflected Damana-related festival of love in Caitra because there may never have been a community – of monotheistic Kāmadeva worshippers, for example – who would have felt the need to set down in writing the niceties of such a public festival in the way that, for instance, Saiddhāntikas did. Nevertheless, it is possible that the mentions in some Purāṇas capture details of practices that predate the appropriation of Damana-*pūjā* by the monotheistic devotional religions.

It is conceivable, for instance, that the *Devīpurāṇa* contains a faint trace of a barely inflected worship of Kāmadeva involving the Damana plant, but it is unfortunately not particularly rich in detail. Its chapter 61 lists the deities who are to be worshipped on each *tithi* of the month of Caitra. One of these is Kāmadeva:

> On the thirteenth day, Kāmadeva is to be worshipped in accordance with the rules, together with Rati and Prīti, [and] adorned with amulets of Aśoka.[38] [He is to be worshipped] in a pot, or drawn upon a white cloth, using leaves and fruits and the like, [and] with offerings of rice cooked with sugar-cane; [if one worships him in this way], one will attain incomparable sexual prowess.[39]

Now there is no mention of any Damana here, but worship with Damana-sprigs (*damanaiḥ*) figures explicitly in the prescriptions for the worship of six of the other deities in Caitra, as the table below shows, so its use here should probably simply be understood from the use of the expression *yathāvidhi*, as has been suggested by MEYER (1937: 53).

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[37] These accounts are discussed at length, along with much else besides, by MEYER 1937: 11–59, as part of a long treatment entitled "Der altindische Liebesgott als Vegetationsdämon und sein Fest," covering pp. 12–38.

[38] I had been inclined to guess that *aśokamaṇi* referred to "gem[-like buds] of the Aśoka," but "amulet" is the interpretation, no doubt correct, of MEYER (1937: 44), when he translates the same line when it appears in another work.

[39] *Devīpurāṇa* 61: *kāmadevas trayodaśyāṃ pūjanīyo yathāvidhi | ratiprīti-samāyukto hy aśokamaṇibhūṣitaḥ || kumbhe vā sitavastre vā lekhyaḥ pattraphalādi-bhiḥ | khaṇḍaśarkaranaivedyaiḥ saubhāgyam atulaṃ labhet ||.*

tithi	deity	verses	substances used	rewards
1	Brahmā	1	Damana, *gandha*, *dhūpa*, *homa*	fruits of all *tīrtha*s and *abhiṣeka*s
2	Umā, Śiva, Fire	2-3b	*haviṣya*, *naivedya*	
3	Devī with Śaṅkara	3c-7	Damana, swing, vigil and many other offerings	*saubhāgya* and children for women
4	Gaṇeśa	8	Laḍḍus, etc	*vighnanāśa*, *sarvakāma*
5	Ananta and other serpents	9	Milk, ghee, *naivedya*	Removal of the effects of all poisons
6	Skanda	10		Happiness (*sukha*) and *saubhāgya* and attainment of Skanda-pura after death
7	Sun	11	Damana, etc.	*bhoga*, conquest of enemies, great *tapas*
8	Mothers	12	Damana	desired *siddhi*
9	Mahāmahi-ṣamardinī	13-14b	Damana, incense, banners, mirrors	victory
10	Dharmarāja	14c-15b		conquest of enemies and the supreme *pada* after death
11	Vṛṣa	15c-16b		wealth, sons and the world of Vṛṣa after death
12	Viṣṇu	16c-17b	incense, sandal, oblations	Viṣṇupada
13	Kāmadeva with Rati and Prīti	17b-19b	To be worshipped in a pot or drawn on a white cloth, with leaves and fruits, sugar-cane, *naivedya*	*saubhāgya*
14	Śiva	19c-22b	Damana, bathing in milk, incense, flowers, oblations, clothes, vigil, etc.	the fruit of a hundred *aśvamedha* sacrifices
15	Indra with Śacī	22c-23b		all desires

Much more interesting, however, is this snippet attributed to the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, quoted in the detailed twentieth-century commentary printed in Tripathi's edition of the *Kuṭṭanīmata* (ad verse 907), for it may reflect an ancient custom of burning the Damana plant in echo of the burning of Kāmadeva by Śiva:[40]

> On the thirteenth of the brightening fortnight of Caitra, having fashioned [an image of] Madana made of Damana and having worshipped it in accordance with the rules, he should fan [it into flames] with a fan. Kāma being burnt in this context causes the increase of sons and grandsons. On the thirteenth day, Kāmadeva is to be worshipped in accordance with the rules, together with Rati and Prīti, [and] adorned with amulets of Aśoka.[41]

MEYER (1937: 44), after examining such evidence, combined with that of European practices of burning Artemisia plants at the summer solstice (Johannisfest) to assuage unhappiness in love (1937: 44ff.), indeed assumed that the burning of mugwort was an ancient custom.

> Wir sehen also: Der Beifuß ist eine Form, eine Urform des Liebesgottes, und an seinem Fest wird der Beifuß mit dem vollen Bewußtsein dieser Identität v e r b r a n n t. Der innige Zusammenschluß der

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[40] The same verses, with minor variations, occur elsewhere, for instance at the beginning of chapter 122 of *pāda* 4 or the *pūrvabhāga* of the *Nāradapurāṇa* (with the corruption *candanātmakam* in place of *damanātmakam*). Neither Meyer nor I have been able to find this passage in the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, but MEYER records (1937: 42) that he has found the first three half-lines of it attributed to the *Pādmapurāṇa* in Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* and to the *Kūrmapurāṇa* in the *Smṛtisāroddhāra*. As we have just seen above, the last pair of half-lines is to be found in the *Devīpurāṇa*, and MEYER (1937: 53) also points to other places in which they occur. We should note that the fact that the verses are not found in the extant *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* is not necessarily an indication that they did not once belong there, for it is clear that much that is quoted with attribution to the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* by commentators and compendium-compilers is no longer to be found there (see HAZRA 1940: 167–173).

[41] *Kuṭṭanīmata* ad verse 907:
caitraśuklatrayodaśyāṃ madanaṃ damanātmakam
kṛtvā saṃpūjya vidhivad vījayed vījanena tu
tatra saṃdhukṣitaḥ kāmaḥ putrapautravivardhanaḥ
kāmadevas trayodaśyāṃ pūjanīyo yathāvidhi
ratiprītisamāyukto hy aśokamaṇibhūṣitaḥ

beiden drückt sich auch darin aus, daß der damanaka aus der Asche des Kāma, in der späteren indischen Vorstellung gewiß des von Çivas Augenfeuer verbrannten, enstanden sein soll.[42]

<center>⌘⌘⌘</center>

Having now discussed the various traditions of *damanapūjā* that we have encountered, let us return briefly to the text-critical problem concerning Jñānaśambhu's work. When we compare the South Indian and Nepalese versions that purport to be Jñānaśambhu's text (compare appendices 1 and 2), the most obvious difference is that the Nepalese version is in prose, punctuated with just a few verses. These verses are common to the South Indian text, excepting one, which is presented as a quotation from another source, the *Mohacūḍottara*. At first blush, there is nothing here to surprise a reader familiar with other parts of the *Jñānaratnāvalī*, for although this particular section of the work in the southern sources is entirely in verse, most other sections are in a mixture of prose and verse and contain numerous marked and unmarked quotations from scriptural sources that justify or complement or contrast with what Jñānaśambhu prescribes.[43] But when we stop to look, we see that the shared verses are in this case, with one exception, simply part of the ritual: they are formulae that are to be addressed to the Damana plant and to Śiva in the course of the rite. The one exception is the verse right at the beginning that alludes to Jñānaśambhu's authorship and concludes the previous section of the text. In other words, no distinctive formulation is shared, other than the authorship-verse: what the two versions have in common is just the sequence of rites that are prescribed. The sequence is formulated in one case in verse and contains aetiological and other discussions – a sort of auto-commentary – and in the other case in prose with little comment. It thus seems clear that to transform the Nepalese version into the southern one would have required a vast intellectual effort of versification and reflection, an effort little different from fresh composition; to arrive at the Nepalese text from the southern one, however,

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[42] ANDERSON (1993: 136–137), who seems not to have been aware of Meyer's work, refers to anthropologists' accounts of such rituals of the burning of effigies of Kāma in South India in recent times.

[43] Of the three other hitherto edited sections of the *Jñānaratnāvalī* of which I am aware, those edited by MIRNIG (2018), namely the *antyeṣṭividhi* and the *śrāddhakarmavidhi*, are almost entirely in verse, but the treatment of Caṇḍeśa worship (edited and translated in GOODALL 2009: 360–366) is in a mixture of prose and verse.

would have been a relatively simple enterprise, requiring cutting out what-
ever was not necessary for ritual performance and restating the ritual acts in
straightforward prose. The Nepalese text bears the appearance of a true
"handbook," a guide that an officiant might hold or lay beside him while
performing the rite, designed only to cover the parallel Śaiva festivals of
pavitrotsava and *damanotsava* and consciously based on the much more
literary and reflective scholastic work of Jñānaśambhu.

Conclusions

Two conclusions are in order here. The first concerns the issue of transmis-
sion. It seems clear, when we juxtapose the Nepalese and South Indian
texts of the *Jñānaratnāvalī*, that it is, fortunately, likely to be the more lit-
erary South Indian version – full as it is of quotations, discussions, and
versified instructions – that is primary, rather than the Nepalese version,
which makes the impression of being a stripped down prose version that
can, as it were, be held in the practitioner's hand while he conducts the
ritual. This means that we can continue to consider the rich compendium
that is the South Indian text, compiled by a South Indian living in Benares,
as an indicator of which scriptures were and were not available to
Saiddhāntika authors in the second half of the twelfth century.

The second conclusion concerns the subject matter of the various pas-
sages we have drawn upon, namely the *damanotsava*. What can explain this
profusion of conflicting details in ritual performance, deity of worship,
conception of purpose, and contradictory mythological explanations for the
involvement of a certain plant or genus of plants? It is clear that we have
with the *damanotsava* a widely practised rite associated with spring and
with love that has been adapted by several different medieval religious
communities and then coloured to suit their particular needs. In most cases,
this has meant crafting a fresh aetiological myth[44] and imagining a scriptur-

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[44] We have referred above to passages that mention or narrate myths in which
Damana is variously to be identified with Kāmadeva, with Bhairava, and with a
demon felled, like Mahiṣāsura, by the Goddess, but we have not hitherto made refe-
rence to a passage in which Damana is the transformation of a watery demon whom
Viṣṇu sought out from the ocean, thrashed and transformed into a grassy plant. This
is briefly narrated in 2.38.113ff. in the *Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*:

> purā damanakaṃ daityaṃ samudrodakacāriṇam |
> bādhitāraṃ janānāṃ vai māyābalaparākramam || 113

al source of authority (*Svacchandatantra*, *Baudhāyana*, *Pārameśvara*) to which an account of the rite and myth could be attributed; but it has also meant altering profoundly the structure of the ritual. In the Śaiva case, the model of an expiatory rite, the *pavitrotsava*, has been adopted wholesale, leading in turn to the rather odd solution of making the ostensible purpose of the rite into something that prevents those who perform it from "losing" the merits that they would otherwise have acquired during the month of Caitra because of their being passed over to Bhairava.

We have seen above that Brunner, misled by the probably fictional ascription of an account of the rite to the *Svacchandatantra*, suspected that the Saiddhāntika *damanotsava* had its origin in a Bhairava-oriented tradition of the Mantramārga. But it seems much more likely that the roots of Damana-worship were to be found in a spring festival of Love that belonged to popular, non-sectarian social religion of the kind termed *laukika* by the *Niśvāsamukhatattvasaṃhitā*.

It seems, in other words, as though the Śaivas who worked the *damanotsava* into their ritual calendar may have started with a popular rite that was irrelevant to them in every way: the event was devoted to Kāmadeva and to the celebration of spring and it promised no rewards that could easily be connected to the often emphasised Mantramārga goals of attaining liberation or supernatural powers. So why did they bother to include the *damanotsava*? It seems to me that we should think in terms of a tension between the soteriological focus of the early religion on the one

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> *bhagavān api māyāvī pitāmahanideśataḥ |*
> *matsyāvatāreṇa vibhuḥ praviśya varuṇālayam ǁ 114*
> *anviṣyākṛṣya velāyāṃ niṣpipeṣa mahītale |*
> *madhoḥ śuklacaturdaśyāṃ patito dānavottamaḥ ǁ 115*
> *bhagavatkarasamparkāt sugandhir abhavat tṛṇam |*

"Formerly [there was] a demon [called] Damanaka who moved in the waters of the ocean and killed people, powerful because of the force of Māyā. At Brahmā's command, the immanent Lord, who is also possessed of Māyā, entered the ocean in his piscine form, searched [Damanaka] out, dragged him to the shore and pummelled him on the ground. The great Dānava was felled on the fourteenth of [the month of] Caitra (*madhoḥ*). By contact with the Lord's hands, he became a fragrant grass."

There is perhaps a trace of a slightly different version of this myth a few chapters later in the same text when the festival (of *damanabhañjikā*) is described, since there the plant is said to sprout out from Damanaka's body (2.45.7): *purā niśīthe 'pi vibhur babhañja damanāsuram | bhaṅktvā lebhe parāṃ prītiṃ tadaṅgotthaṃ ca tat tṛṇam ǁ*: "It was also at night that the Immanent Lord formerly broke the demon Damana. He took great delight in breaking him. This grass rose from that [demon's] body."

hand and its outreach into a growing community of followers on the other. We may imagine *śaivācārya*s seeing their sphere of authority being further and further widened by the broadening of scope of their religion that result-ed from admitting larger categories of people to initiated life, a tendency that is suggested, for instance, by the creation of the category of a "seedless initiation" (*nirbīja-dīkṣā*), an initiation for people such as "women, fools, and kings," in other words, those who for different reasons were held to be unable to follow the time-consuming post-initiatory rituals and religious activities of regular initiates.[45] As the social base broadened, so too did the liturgy, which could naturally be expanded by adapting the calendrical feasts of popular religion.

Early literature of the Mantramārga shows little interest in socio-religious rituals of any kind and appears, as we have seen, to describe no *utsava*s at all. We have seen that this is not because *utsava*s did not exist at the time of the early scriptures, and so it must be assumed that this is be-cause such *utsava*s had no soteriological function. The first *utsava* to figure in the canon of rites, if one does not include the celebratory rituals sur-rounding a *pratiṣṭhā*, appears to be the *pavitrotsava*, which we find de-scribed, for instance, in the *Kiraṇatantra* and in the *Mohacūḍottara*. The inclusion of this festival before all others is perhaps to be explained by its being something that could be given a soteriological function: that of repa-ration of expiable offences of which one might not be aware. The *damanotsava* seems to be the next to have been roped in, after first being rewritten upon the model of the *pavitrotsava*. The motive for its inclusion was, I propose, to harness the popularity of a people's festival that, in the early Siddhānta, would have been of no interest to those composing scrip-tures – to harness this popularity while reducing to an absolute minimum the relevance of spring and the god of love in the festival! Such a broaden-ing of the ritual canon prefigures the total transformation of the religion that begins to be reflected a century later, in the twelfth century, in the South Indian Temple Āgamas, a huge corpus of literature that attempts to describe every aspect of the socio-religious life of a large South Indian temple. This literature, while purporting to belong to the Śaivasiddhānta, in fact pays almost no further attention to soteriologically important rituals such as *nirvāṇadīkṣā* (salvific initiation), and discusses instead at great

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[45] For more detailed reflections on the gradual social broadening of the current of the Mantramārga that became the Śaivasiddhānta, see GOODALL, SANDERSON, ISAACSON et al. 2015: 47–59 and, with a particular focus on the growing prominence of women, GOODALL 2015: 23–49.

length the courtly protocol of rites and processions for temple images. The Śaivasiddhānta had, it seems, by then become so "mainstream" in South Indian society that it became transformed, almost beyond recognition, by the popular temple-based religious traditions that it had engulfed and swallowed.

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Appendix I

Jñānaśambhu's *Jñānaratnāvalī* (C12th). From Madras GOML R 14898 (=M₁, pp. 202ff) and Mysore ORI ms. P 3801 (=M[Y]), a palm-leaf ms. in Nandināgarī. (Also, for first verse only, NGMPP A 49/7 (=N).)

śrīcoladeśasambhūtabhūsureṇa[46] *tapodhinā*
śrīmajjñānaśivenāyaṃ[47] *pavitravidhiḥ kṛtaḥ*[48]

svacchandabhairave tantre bhairavo damanaḥ smṛtaḥ[49]
ratiprītyaśrusaṃsiktasmarabhasmabhavaḥ kvacit[50] 1
siddhānte nādaras tasya[51] *prāyaścittāśayair api*[52]
tathāpīhāpi sāmānyaṃ[53] *puṣpādhyāyeṣu kīrtanāt*[54] 2
pūrvācāryoditatvāc ca tadvidhānaṃ tu[55] *kathyate*

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[46] *śrīcoladeśasambhūta°*] M[Y]; *coladeśasamudbhūta°* N; *śrīcoḷadeśasaṃbhūtā* M₁

[47] *°śivenāyaṃ*] M₁N; *śivena* M[Y] (unmetrical)

[48] There follows in M₁: *śrīmahāgaṇapataye namaḥ*; in M[Y]: *śrīmatkāverīka-pilāṣṭaradakkisarovara-triveṇīsaṃgamaśrīmatrima-kūkpuravarādhīśvaraśrīpūrṇamaṃgalakāmākṣidevīsametaśrī agastyeśvarāya namaḥ // — // śrīvaidyaliṅgāya namaḥ //.*

[49] *bhairavo damanaḥ smṛtaḥ*] em.; *bhairavoditamantrataḥ* M₁; *bhairavo damana smṛtaḥ* M[Y]

[50] *ratiprītyaśrusaṃsiktasmarabhasmabhavaḥ kvacit*] conj.; *iti prītyaśrusaṃsikta-smarabhasmabhavaḥ kvacit* M₁; *ratiriprītyāsusaṃsaktasmarabhasmabhayakvacit* M[Y] (unmetrical). For this conjecture, cf. *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, kriyāpāda* 22.14.

[51] *nādaras tasya*] M1; *nāradas tasya* M[Y]

[52] *°śayair api*] conj.; *°śrutair api* M1; *°śrayair api* (?) M[Y]

[53] *tathāpīhāpi sāmānyaṃ*] em.; *tathāpi bhāvasāmānyaḥ* M₁; *tathāpi hāpi sāmānyaṃ* M[Y]

[54] *puṣpādhyāyeṣu kīrtanāt*] em.; *puṣpāndhyāyeṣu kīrtanāt* M₁; *puṣpādhyāye prakīrtanāt* M[Y]pc; *puṣpādhyāye prakīrtanam* M[Y]ac

saptamyāṃ vā[56] *trayodaśyāṃ caitre māsi dvipakṣayoḥ* 3
kṛtāhnikas tu sāyāhne gatvā damanakāntikam[57]
samprokṣyāstreṇa saṃśodhya pūjayet saṃhitāṇubhiḥ 4
gandhapuṣpapavitrādyaiḥ dhūpadīpādibhiḥ sudhīḥ
praṇamya ca yathāśāstram dāmam āmantrayet tadā[58] 5
oṃ haraprasādasambhūta tvam atra sannidhībhava[59]
śivakāryaṃ samuddiśya netavyo 'si śivājñayā[60] 6
punaś cābhyarcya saṃrakṣya utpāṭya[61] *svagṛhaṃ nayet*
yadi dūraṃ tad ānītaṃ[62] *samāropya samīpataḥ* 7
tatpūrṇapātreṇāropya gṛhe 'py āmantrapūrvavat[63]
yāgaṃ pūrvoktavat kṛtvā pavitrāṇīva śodhayan[64] 8
phalaṃ[65] *puṣpaṃ ca patraṃ ca mūlaṃ nālaṃ tadudbhavam*[66] 9
gavyaughaṃ dantakāṣṭhaṃ ca bhasmabhṛddhātakīphalam
īśānādyuttarāntāsu dikṣu[67] *pātreṣu vinyaset* 10
gandhaṃ damanam āropya[68] *sūryādīnām anukramāt*
devan damanakair iṣṭvā pañcāṅgair avikhaṇḍitaiḥ 11
sāṅgaṃ damanakaṃ dhūpaṃ[69] *dūrvāpuṣpākṣatānvitam*
vidhāyāñjalimadhyastham[70] *idam āmantraṇaṃ vadet* 12
āmantrito[71] *'si deveśa prātaḥkāle mayā prabho*[72]

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[55] *tu*] M₁; *ca* Mʸ

[56] *saptamyāṃ vā*] M₁; *saptamyāyāṃ* Mʸ

[57] *gatvā damanakāntikam*] em.; *kṛtvā damanakāntikam* M₁; *gatvā damanikāṃti-kaṃ* Mʸ. Cf. SP2, 2.6 (of which 3c–4 in Jñānaśambhu's text seem to be an expanded version): *saptamyāṃ vā trayodaśyāṃ gatvā damanakāntikam | śodhayitvāstramantreṇa pūjayet saṃhitāṇubhiḥ ||*.

[58] *dāmam āmantrayet tadā*] M₁; *damāmaṃtreṇa tadyathā* Mʸ

[59] *°sambhūta tvamatra sannidhī*°] em.; *°saṃbhūta atra sannihito* Mʸ; *°sambhūtā tvamatra sannidhī*° M₁

[60] *netavyo 'si*] em.; *tenavyosi* Mʸ; *netavyāsi* M₁

[61] *utpāṭya svagṛhaṃ*] M₁; *yāmādyai svagṛhaṃ* Mʸ

[62] *tad ānītaṃ*] Mʸ; *tathānītaṃ* M₁

[63] *°ṇāropya gṛhe 'py āmantra*°] conj.; *vāropya gṛhe vyāmantra*° M₁; *māropya gṛhe pyāmaṃtra*° Mʸ

[64] *śodhayan*] Mʸ; *śodhayet* M₁

[65] *phalaṃ*] M₁; *phala*° Mʸ

[66] *mūlaṃ nālaṃ tadudbhavam*] Mʸ; *mṛṇālaṃ tattadubhavam* M₁

[67] *°ttarāntāsu dikṣu*] Mʸ; *°ttarāntasya triṣu* M₁

[68] *gandhaṃ damanam āropya*] Mʸac; *gaṃdhaṃ damamanam āropya* Mʸpc; *gandhādamanam āropya* M₁

[69] *sāṅgaṃ damanakaṃ dhūpaṃ*] Mʸ; *sadaṅgamanakandhūpaṃ* M₁

[70] *°madhyastham*] M₁; *°madhyasthām* Mʸ

kartavyaṃ tu yathākālaṃ[73] *dāmaparva tavājñayā* 13
atra sadyodhivāsaś cet[74] *sadyaḥkāle 'bhyudīryatām*
śivāntaṃ[75] *mūlam uccārya sāṅgāyeśāya dīyatām*[76] 14
dhūpadīpādinaivedyais toṣayitvā puroktavat
dattvāgnaye ca taccheṣaṃ kumbhādhastāt puroktavat 15
avaśiṣṭaṃ ca nirvartya rātrau jāgarayed iti[77]
adhivāsavidhiḥ khyātaḥ prātar nityād anantaram 16
sāḍambaraṃ[78] *yajed īśaṃ dvāradikpaghaṭādibhiḥ*[79]
puṣpadūrvākṣatair[80] *dhūpaiḥ kṛtvā damanakāñjalim* 17
ātmavidyāśivais tattvair[81] *mūlādyair īśvarāntakaiḥ*[82]
namontais tryañjaliṃ dattvā[83] *caturdhāñjalinārcayet* 18
oṃ hauṃ makheśvarāya makhaṃ pūraya pūraya[84] *śūlapāṇaye* †*dama-na-kaṃ*† *namaḥ*
aṅgebhyaś ca śivāgneś ca dattvā[85] *kṛtvā balidvayam*
śeṣaṃ pūrvavad atrāpi[86] *kṛtvā gatvā*[87] *śivāntikam* 19
oṃ bhagavann atiriktaṃ vā hīnaṃ vā yan mayā kṛtam
sarvaṃ tad astu sampūrṇaṃ[88] *parva dāmanakaṃ mama*[89] 20

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[71] *āmantrito*] M₁; *oṃ āmaṃtrito* M^Y

[72] *prabho*] M₁; *vibho* M^Y

[73] *yathākālaṃ*] M₁; *yathālābhaṃ* M^Y

[74] °*vāsaś cet*] M^Y; °*vāsaṃ cet* M₁

[75] *śivāntaṃ*] M^Y; *śivānta*° M₁

[76] *sāṅgāyeśāya dīyatām*] M₁; *sāṃgeśāyamudīryatām* M^Y

[77] *jāgarayed iti*] conj.; *jāgaraṇaṃ kuryāt iti* M^Y (unmetrical); *jāgayayāditi* M₁

[78] *sāḍambaraṃ*] M^Y; *sāśambare* M₁

[79] *dvāradikpaghaṭādibhiḥ*] M₁ac; *dvāradikpaghaṭā * bhiḥ* M₁pc; *dvāradi X kṣu?X k pa kpa ghaṭāṇubhiḥ* M^Y (The capital X-s here bracket an uncertain cancelled syllable.)

[80] *puṣpadūrvākṣatai*°] M₁; *dūrvāpuṣpādanai*° M^Y

[81] *ātmavidyāśivais tattvair*] M^Y; *āvidyāni śivaistadvaiḥ* M₁

[82] °*kaiḥ*] M₁; °*gaiḥ* M^Y

[83] *namontais tryañjaliṃ dattvā*] M^Y; *nomnaistryañjalirdatvā* M₁ (unmetrical)

[84] *makheśvarāya makhaṃ pūraya pūraya*] conj.; *makheśvarāya makhapūrāya* M^Y; *magheśvarāya maghaṃ pūraya pūraya* M₁

[85] *śivāgneś ca dattvā*] M₁; *śivāṃge X?X ś ca kṛtvā* M^Y

[86] *śeṣaṃ pūrvavad atrāpi*] em.; *śeṣaṃ pūrvadatrāpi* M^Y (unmetrical); ᴗ *ṣaṃ pūrvavadatrāpi* M₁

[87] *gatvā*] M₁; *datvā* M^Y

[88] *tad astu sampūrṇaṃ*] M₁; *tadasrasampūrṇaṃ* M^Y

[89] *parva dāmanakaṃ mama*] em.; *sarve dāmanakarmaṇaḥ* M₁; *pārvadāmanakaṃ mama* M^Y. This verse (20), with this emendation, is the same as verse 25 of the *damanapūjāvidhi* of the *Somaśambhupaddhati*.

iti vijñāpya deveśe karmātmānaṃ samarpya ca
yāgaṃ visṛjya caṇḍeṣṭiṃ[90] *kṛtvāthāvabhṛthaṃ*[91] *caret* 21
sarvayajñeṣu yat puṇyaṃ tapaḥsarveṣu yat phalam
tat phalaṃ koṭiguṇitam abhiṣekād avāpyate 22
atra śrīsomaśambhupādair[92] *yo viśeṣaḥ*
evaṃ dāmavidhiṃ[93] *kṛtvā kurvīta gurupūjanam*
paritoṣakaraṃ[94] *paścād dvijādīn api tarpayet* 23
gṛhastho brahmacārī vā ya imaṃ kurute vidhim[95]
japapūjādikaṃ[96] *tasya saphalaṃ caitramāsajam*[97] 24
iti
golakīvaṃśajātena śrīmatā jñānaśambhunā
kṛpāvatā munīndreṇa[98] *dāmaparvavidhiḥ kṛtaḥ* 25

Appendix II

Transcription of part of NGMPP A 49/7 (ff. 20r–21r), an apparently complete palm-leaf Nepalese manuscript of 24 folios, numbered 1–24, whose index-card gives it the title *Pavitrakavidhi* (Diwakar Acharya kindly drew this manuscript to my attention):

coladeśasamudbhūtabhūsureṇa kṛpāvatā
śrīmajñānaśivenāyaṃ pavitrakavidhiḥ kṛtaḥ
murāmāṃsī vacā kuṣṭaṃ śaileyaṃ rajanīdvayam
śaṭhī campakamustaṃ ca sarvauṣadhigaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ[99]

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[90] *caṇḍeṣṭiṃ*] M₁; *vaṃdegniṃ* M^Y

[91] *kṛtvāthāvabhṛthaṃ*] em.; *kṛtvāthāvabhṛtaṃ* M^Y; *kṛtvādāvabhṛthañ* M₁

[92] *śrīsoma°*] M^Y; *śrīśambhusoma°* M₁

[93] *dāma°*] M₁; *dāna°* M^Y

[94] *°karaṃ*] M₁; *°guruṃ* M^Y

[95] *vā ya imaṃ kurute vidhim*] em.; *vā ya imāṃ kurute vidhiṃ* M^Y; *va ∪ te vidhiḥ* M₁

[96] *japapūjādikaṃ*] em.; *japahomādikaṃ* M^Y; *japaṃ pūjādikaṃ* M₁

[97] *saphalaṃ caitramāsajam*] M^Y; *sa calaṃ caitramāsanam* M₁. This verse (24) is reproduced from the *Somaśambhupaddhati*: only the words *gṛhastho* and *brahmacārī* are interchanged in Brunner's edition (SP2, 2.26–27).

[98] *munīndreṇa*] M₁; *vinītena* M^Y. With this verse (25), cf. SP2, 2.28: *paropakāraśīlena śrīmatā somaśambhunā | kriyākāṇḍakramāvalyāṃ dāmapūjāvidhiḥ kṛtaḥ ||*.

[99] This is a corrupt version of a verse of the *Mohacūḍottara* that is quoted, e.g., in Nirmalamaṇi's commentary on the *Kriyākramadyotikā*:
tathā śrīmanmohaśūrottare
murāvāṃsī vacā kuṣṭhaṃ śaileyaṃ rajanīdvayam |

atha damanakavidhiḥ| caitraśuklakṛṣṇapakṣayoḥ saptamyāṃ trayo-
daśyāṃ vā kṛtāhnikadvayaḥ san damanakāntikaṃ gatvā astramantreṇa sa-
ṃśodhya ṣaḍaṅgena sampūjya śivavākyena damanakam abhimantrayet|

haraprasādasaṃbhūta tvam a(f. 20v)[*tra sannidhībhava*
śiva]*kāryaṃ samuddiśya netavyo si śivājñayā* [=verse 6 of Appendix I]

anenābhimantrya kavacāstrābhyāṃ saṃrakṣya svagṛhaṃ yāyāt.[100] *dūraṃ*
cet, samūlaṃ mṛttikāsahitaṃ damanakam ānīya mṛtpūrṇapātre nikṣipya| astra-
mantreṇa vāriṇā saṃsicya pūrvavad gṛhe py āmantrya sāyāhnasamaye yāga-
maṇḍapam alaṃkṛtya pavitrakavidhivad adhivāsanaṃ kṛtvā dvāralokapāla-
vāstvadhipatibrahmamahālakṣmīlokapālakalaśavardhanyādīn saṃpūrya vi-
dhivad vistareṇa pañcāmṛtādibhiḥ parameśvaraṃ saṃpūjya kuṇḍasaṃskārā-
dipūrṇāntaṃ karma kṛtvā vahnihṛdaye vidhivac chivaṃ pūjya mūlenāṣṭotta-
raśataṃ hutvā pūrṇāñ ca dattvā mantratarpaṇadīpanaṃ vidhāya pavitra-
kavidhivat damanakaṃ catuḥsaṃskāraśuddhaṃ saṃpā-tāhuti(f. 21r) *śodhi-*
taṃ kṛtvā devasya paścime mṛdanvitaṃ damanakamūlaṃ sadyojātena hṛdā
vā dadyāt| tannālam āmalakaphalaṃ vāmena śirasā vā uttare| tatpatraṃ
bhasma cāghoreṇa śikhayā vā dakṣiṇe tatpuṣpaṃ dantakā-ṣṭhaṃ[101] *tatpuru-*
ṣeṇa[102] *kavacena vā prācyāṃ tatphalasandhi(?) pañcagavyam aiśānyāṃ mū-*
lena gāyatryā vā dadyāt| tadanu ādityadvāradikpālakumbhavarddhanikāsu
gandhadamanakaṃ dattvā dvāradikpālagaṇagurvvādiṣu gandhadamana-
kaṃ[103] *nivedya pañcāṅgair damanakaiḥ śivaṃ saṃpūjya dūrvāpuṣpākṣatā-*
nvitaṃ gandhadhūpayutaṃ paṃcāṃgadamanakam aṃjalimadhyasthaṃ kṛ-
tvā[104] *devaṃ vijñāpayet|*[105]

āmantrito si deveśa prātaḥ kāle mayā prabho|
kartavyaṃ tu yathālābhaṃ dāmaparva tavājñayā|| [=v. 13 of Appendix I][106]

iti vijñāpya …

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musalī caiva mustaṃ ca sarvauṣadhigaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ |
It also appears in the preceding chapter of the *Jñānaratnāvalī*, on the *pavitrakavidhi*.

[100] *yāyāt*] conj.; *yāt* ms.

[101] *danta°*] ms.pc; *tatta°* ms.ac

[102] *tatpuruṣeṇa*] em.; *tatpuruṣe* ms.

[103] *°gurvvādiṣu gandha°*] conj.; *°gurvvānmasu gandhaṃ* ms.

[104] *kṛtvā*] conj.; *kṛ ** ms.

[105] The immediately preceding prose corresponds to verses 11 and 12 in Appendix I.

[106] Note that it is also the same formula as that given in SP2, 2.16.

Appendix III

Text of a goddess-related account transcribed from an unidentified work, parts of which are transmitted by an apparently complete Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript of ten folios numbered 1–10, namely NGMPP A 49/5, whose index card titles it *Damanārohaṇa-pūjā* (Diwakar Acharya kindly drew this manuscript to my attention). Much further work would be required to make an edition of this text, for there are many doubts about which of its many anomalies of grammar and sense are authorial and which transmissional. I have silently corrected a number of dental sibilants to palatal ones and vice versa.

[*siddham*] *oṃ namaḥ śivāya*|
praṇamya pārvatīnāthaṃ pārvatīṃ śaṅkarapriyām[107]|
procyate dāmanaṃ parvva yad uktaṃ pārameśvare|| 1||
śāstroktam api sāmānyam aduṣṭa[ṃ?] *parikīrtitaṃ*|
prakṛṣṭaṃ tyajyate sadbhiḥ śuddhasiddhāntakāribhiḥ|| 2||
kimarthaṃ kriyate devi vidhyuktaṃ kena hetunā|
ity ādiṣṭaṃ maheśena gaurīdaṃ vākyam abravīt|| 3||
śṛṇu deva jagannātha damanotpattim uttamām|
yāṃ vai śrutvā kathāṃ divyāṃ[108] *prāpyate padam akṣayam*|| 4||
adhobhuvanam ākramya saṃsthitaḥ[109] *kālasaṃjñakaḥ*|
tasmā te aṅga vā śaktir damano nāma viśrutā|| 5||
āsīt tatra[110] *pure ramye krīḍate saha yogibhiḥ*|
asurānāṃ pure divye ramate muditātmanā[111]|| 6||
divyadānavagandharvai rakṣoyakṣorageśvaraiḥ|
kinnarāmarasaṃsiddhaiḥ krīḍānandasamudbhavaiḥ|| 7||
nityaṃ pramuditādbhiś ca madāścaryakāribhiḥ(?)|
divyakrīḍāvinodena divyamelāpakotsavaiḥ[112]|| 8||
tasmā[t] *kāryā purā jāto bhīṣaṇo bhīmavikramaḥ*|
krāntās tena surāḥ sarve[113] *dānavāḥ pṛthivītale*|| 9||
bahukālāvyatī(f. 2r)*tena darpeṇātīvasaṃyutaḥ*[114]|

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[107] *śaṅkara*°] em.; *saṅkara*° ms.

[108] *yāṃ vai śrutvā kathāṃ divyāṃ*] conj.; *yāvai śrutvā kathāṃ divyā* ms.

[109] *saṃsthitaḥ*] conj.; *saṃsthitā* ms.

[110] *āsīt tatra*] conj.; *āśītatra* ms.

[111] *muditātmanā*] conj.; *suditātmanā* ms.

[112] °*tsavaiḥ*] ms.pc; °*tsavai* ms.ac

[113] *surāḥ sarve*] em.; *surā sarvve* ms.

pātāla mathitaṃ sarvaṃ bruvan vākyaṃ yadṛcchayā|| 10||
sa nāsti matsamo loke trailokye sacarācare|
puraṃ gṛhnāmy aśeṣaṃ[115] *hi brahmaviṣṇvendra kā kathā*|| 11||
martyalokaṃ samusthāya catuḥsāgaramekhalam|
bhavāmi tīrthasaṃsevī[116] *saṃkrīḍāmi yathecchayā*|| 12||
yāvad evaṃ vaded dhṛṣṭaḥ pṛthivyāṃ ko mamādhikaḥ|
trailokye kaḥ pumān tiṣṭhet samāgadāyataḥ punaḥ(?)|| 13||
krīḍayā tatpuraṃ gatvā duṣṭātmakanmuyaṃ kilaḥ(?)|
devikāvacanaṃ śrutvā ruṣṭo 'sau damanāsuraḥ|| 14||
tataḥ kopaparādhīnaḥ khalo daityaḥ[117] *pratāpavān*|
pātayami na saṃdehaś carvvayāmi na saṃśayaḥ|| 15||
tato yuddham atīvāsīd devyasurayoś cobhayoḥ|[118]
damanāsuraḥ[119] *saṃkruddhaḥ prayayau hantum ambikām*|| 16||
vistāravadanā[120] *devī jihvālalanabhīṣaṇā*|
sopaiti[121] *raktanayanā nādenākrāntadigmukhā*|| 17||
devyā saha tato yuddhaṃ ghoraṃ rudhirakardamam|
saṃjātaṃ vatsarārddhena tadāsau patito bhuvi|| 18||
śūlaṃ[122] *nipātya tatpṛṣṭhe*[123] *hūṃkāroccaiḥ samāhatam*|
asṛgviliptā bhū(f. 2v)*mayaḥ patito 'yaṃ mahītale*|| 19||[124]
tasmād vṛkṣāḥ samutpannāḥ puṣparūpāḥ sugandhinaḥ|

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[114] *darpeṇā°*] em.; *darppenā°* ms.

[115] *aśeṣaṃ*] conj.; *aśeṣā* ms.

[116] *°sevī*] em.; *°śevī* ms.

[117] *kopaparādhīnaḥ khalo daityaḥ*] conj.; *kopaparādhīnakhalādaitya* ms. Cf. *Durgāsaptaśatī* 8.2ab: *tataḥ kopaparādhīnacetāḥ śumbhaḥ pratāpavān*.

[118] Unmetrical. Cf. *Durgāsaptaśatī* 9.7ab: *tato yuddham atīvāsīd devyā śumbha-niśumbhayoḥ*.

[119] *damanāsuraḥ*] conj. (unmetrical); *damanāsura°* ms. Alternatively one could retain the transmitted reading and treat it as a metrically constrained use of the *prāti-padika* for a nominative. Cf. *Durgāsaptaśatī* 9.15: *tasmin nipatite bhūmau niśumbhe bhīmavikrame* | *bhrātary atīva saṃkruddhaḥ prayayau yoddhum ambikām*.

[120] *vistāra°*] conj.; *vistora°* ms. Cf. *Durgāsaptaśatī* 7.7: *ativistāravadanā jihvālalana-bhīṣaṇā* / *nimagnāraktanayanā nādāpūritadiṅmukhā*.

[121] *sopaiti*] em.; *sopeti* ms.

[122] *śūlaṃ*] conj.; *sūraṃ* ms.

[123] *tatpṛṣṭhe*] conj.; *ta pṛṣṭe* ms.

[124] The syntax is irregular, but the verse can perhaps be interpreted (without further repairs) to mean: "Once she had driven down her trident onto his back – [the back of] him who had been struck down by shrill cries of *hūṃ* – the ground-surfaces were smeared with blood [there where] he fell down on the earth."

ato devī susaṃtuṣṭā varaṃ dātuṃ samudyatā‖ 20‖[125]
yāvad vai tiṣṭhate candro yāvad devo divākaraḥ|
tāvad damanaka medinyāṃ harapūjā bhaviṣyasi‖ 21‖[126]
tataḥ prasādenādiṣṭo martyaṃ gaccha tarur bhava|[127]
pauṣpīyatanutāṃ prāpya mama bhogyo bhaviṣyasi‖ 22‖[128]
arcayiṣyanti ye martyā damanāṃgasamudbhavaiḥ|
yāsyanti te paraṃ sthānaṃ yatra devo maheśvaraḥ‖ 23‖
pālayanti na ye parvva dāmanaṃ nāma mānavāḥ|
teṣāṃ puṇyādikaṃ dattaṃ mayā te vai nu māsikam‖ 24‖
kṛtaṃ tasyotsavaṃ pūrvaṃ caitraparvanisaṃbhavaḥ|
prokta vai devadevena damanasya mahātmanaḥ‖ 25‖
damanābhañjanaṃ pūrvaṃ saṃkṣiptaṃ vidhivistaram[129]|
sāmprataṃ procyate devi yāgapūrvādhivāsanam‖ 26‖
caitrasya śuklapakṣe tu trayodaśyāṃ samāhitaḥ|
jalasnānādikaṃ śuddho nityāhnikakriyāparaḥ‖ 27‖
aparāhnikavidhi kṛtvā yāyan nārusamīpakam|
kedārike suvistīrṇe upaviśya tataḥ punaḥ‖ 28‖
vīkṣaṇādisuvi(f.3r)*śuddham āmantrokādaśānubhiḥ(?)|*
taroḥ sambodhanaṃ kuryāt śivavākyena mantriṇaḥ‖ 29‖
devyāḥ prasādasaṃpūrṇaṃ māmārthe saṃnidhībhava|
harayajñaṃ samuddiśya gṛhṇāmi[130] tvāṃ harājñayā‖ 30‖

…

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[125] Once again, the phrasing could be clearer, but we may understand as follows: "From him/there, blossoming fragrant shrubs sprang up. Thereupon the goddess, being pleased, began to give [this] boon."

[126] This is hypermetrical, unless we emend *damanaka* to *damana*. The meaning appears to be: "For as long as the moon and the sun-god remain, you, O Damana, will be upon the earth [for the sake of] worship of Śiva."

[127] *tataḥ prasādenādiṣṭo martyaṃ gaccha tarurbhava*] conj.; *tataḥ prasādenādiṣṭo martyaṃ gaccha* X*puna*X *tarur bhavat* ms. "And so, being ordered out of [my] grace, go to [the world] of mortal[s] and become a tree."

[128] "Once you have become flowery-bodied, you will be a means for my enjoyment."

[129] °*vistaram*] conj.; °*vistaran* ms.

[130] *samuddiśya gṛhṇāmi*] em.; *samuddisya gṛhnāmi* ms.

Hanumān worship under the kings
of the late Malla period in Nepal

Gudrun Bühnemann[1]

In the late Malla period (1482–1768 CE), the Kathmandu Valley was divided into the three independent kingdoms of Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktapur. The rulers of these kingdoms mainly worshipped the goddess Taleju. But the list of titles of many of these kings characterised them not only as Taleju's foremost servants but also as *hanumaddhvaja* ("with Hanumān in their banner").[2] That this title, which attests to the importance of the divinity at that time, was no mere flourish is borne witness to by surviving royal banners with an image of Hanumān on them, such as the one (**Fig. 1**) preserved in the National Museum of Nepal, Kathmandu. It features a fierce-looking, two-armed Hanumān in militant stance.

A painting completed in 1704 shows the standard of a king surmounted by a figure of a two-armed Hanumān standing in militant stance with his arms spread out (**Figs. 2a-b**).[3] The standard featuring the hero Hanumān is well-suited for a king, since it promises victory in battle. Hanumān banners have a fairly long history: the twelfth-century *Narapatijayacaryāsvarodaya* (chapter 5, stanzas 138–191), for example, describes rituals for Hanumān which involve the making of a banner (*patākā*) featuring Hanumān's image and *mantra*, for purposes of protection and the destruction of an enemy's army. The Pāṇḍava Arjuna is also known by the epithet "monkey-bannered"

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[2] See REGMI 1965–1966, part 2: 395 for more information on the titles used by the kings of the late Malla period of Nepal.

[3] The painting is reproduced here from PAL 2003: 85. It is described in PAL 2003: 84, and the text inscribed on it is transcribed, translated, and commented on in PAL 2003: 283.

Fig. 1 *A Hanumān banner preserved in the National Museum of Nepal, Kathmandu. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

Fig. 2a *A painting showing a royal standard surmounted by a figure of Hanumān in the upper left corner. After PAL 2003: 85.*

Fig. 2b Detail: Hanumān

(*kapidhvaja*)[4] since his standard in the battle of Ku-rukṣetra is said to have featured Hanumān. Hanumān standards were also used by Harihara I and Bukka I, the founding kings of Vijayanagara, in the fourteenth century.[5]

But Hanumān was not only featured on mobile banners. In one case his effigy was placed on a column (also called *dhvaja*) and set up on a roof, and in anoth-er case on metal banners positioned on either side of finials (*gajura*). King Pratāpamalla of Kathmandu (r. 1641–1674) installed stone columns (*dhvaja*) on the roofs of the four corners of the Mohan courtyard in his palace in 1655.[6] The columns are surmounted by sculptures of successively Hanumān (**Fig. 2c**),[7] a fish,

[4] This epithet is found, for example, in *Bhagavadgītā* 1.20. The Pāṇḍava standard with a figure of Hanumān is also depicted in art. It can be seen, for example, in a painting in a sixteenth-century illustrated Nepalese manuscript (*kalāpustaka*) il-lustrating scenes from the *Mahābhārata*. The manuscript is preserved in the Univer-sity Library, Cambridge (Add. 864; see PAL 1970: 98 with Fig. 65). On beliefs associated with the *kapidhvaja*, see THAPLIYAL 1983: 71.

[5] See LUTGENDORF 2007: 61 for more information. LUTGENDORF (2007: 84) also refers to the use of Hanumān standards by the Dadu Panthi Nagas in the second half of the eighteenth century.

[6] The chronicle *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī* (vol. 1: 106) refers to the columns coll-ectively as *koṭidhvaja*s. The passage reads: "Since Kavīndra (Pratāpa Malla) was accomplished in all the teachings, he, following the Śāstras, collected four crores of wealth, buried them under Mohana Coka, that he had built according to the *Vāstucakra*, and secured it with four *koṭidhvaja*s. He invoked Hanumān, Matsya, Garuḍa, and a lion in the *koṭidhvaja*s in order to pacify the small-pox deity and to prevent accidents, and various misfortunes and dangers from various ghosts." The expression *koṭidhvaja*s may be derived from the fact that the *dhvaja*s were set up after the performance of a ritual termed *koṭyāhutiyajña*, which involved the offering of ten million (*koṭi*) oblations (*āhuti*) into the fire and took more than one week to complete.

The date of the setting up of the columns surmounted by the figure of Hanumān and a fish is recorded as the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of *mārga* in N.S. 775 (see inscriptions no. 23 and 24 in VAJRĀCĀRYA 1976: 212). It is equivalent to Tuesday, January 5, 1655.

[7] The column surmounted by a figure of Hanumān is termed *hanūma<d>dhvaja* (see inscription no. 23 in VAJRĀCĀRYA 1976: 212) and referred to as *hanumanta-dhvaja* in manuscripts of the later ritual text in the Newari language titled *Mohana-*

a Garuḍa, and a lion and can still be seen on the palace roof. (However, the two shorter columns surmounted one each by a four-armed Hanumān and a fish, which are installed on either side of the Hanumāndhokā palace, right behind the statues of two lions mounted one each by Śiva and Pārvatī, are likely much later, possibly nineteenth-century additions to the palace design.) Small figures of a four-armed Hanumān (**Figs. 3a–3b**) surmount the metal banners set up on either side of the three finials (*gajura*) on the roof of the Golden Gate (*sundhokā*) of the Bhaktapur Palace, constructed (or rather embellished) by King Raṇajitamalla in 1754. It is uncertain whether these banners were part of the original design. It is possible that the two figures of the five-headed Hanumān (**Figs. 16–17**) commissioned by King Bhūpatīndramalla and his son, Raṇajitamalla, discussed below were once installed here.

Fig. 2c The column (dhvaja) surmounted by a figure of Hanumān at the Hanūmāndhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu. Photograph courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Kathmandu.

It is very likely that the Hanumān figures on the roofs of the royal palaces of Kathmandu and Bhaktapur were meant to serve an apotropaic purpose. The Hanumān statue (**Fig. 4a–b**) placed on the roof[8] of the (former) royal palace in Patan must have functioned in a similar capacity. Oral tradition, however, associates the statue with a different purpose. It is said[9] that King Bhūpatīndramalla of Bhaktapur (r. 1696–1722) pretended to offer his help with the restoration and improvement of buildings of the royal palace in Patan, where King Yoganarendra-

cukayā hitiyāta busādhanasa āhuti biya vidhi.

[8] We do not know whether the statue was originally placed on a column or metal banner. A photograph taken by Kurt Boeck in 1899 and exhibited in Gallery H (Historic Views of Nepal) of the Patan Museum shows the sculpture without a pedestal in its current position on the palace roof.

[9] For this account, see HAGMÜLLER 2003: 31.

Fig. 3a *The Golden Gate of the Bhaktapur Palace. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

Fig. 3b *Detail: The figures of a four-armed Hanumān surmounting the metal banners on either side of the three finials on the roof of the Golden Gate of the Bhaktapur Palace. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

Fig. 4a *The royal palace in Patan with the Golden Window, Golden Gate, and the Hanumān statue on the roof. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

Fig. 4b *Detail: The Hanumān statue on the roof.*

malla (r. 1684–1705) ruled. Allegedly, he presented Yoganarendramalla
with the gilt image of Hanumān, which he arranged to have placed on the
upper ridge of the west wing of the Patan palace above the king's bedroom
for destructive purposes. It was believed that this statue actually represent-
ed the heavenly body Saturn (*śani*) and thus functioned as a source of ill
fortune.[10]

It is evident from these examples that Hanumān banners and standards
were popular in the late Malla period both in mobile form and as installa-
tions on the roofs of palaces for protective purposes. With the same goal in
mind, the Malla kings set up two- or four-armed Hanumān statues near the
entrances of their palaces and placed sculptures of the Tantric five-headed
form of the deity on lintels of entranceways and at the apex of tympana.

The aforementioned King Pratāpamalla of Kathmandu, a Tantric practi-
tioner and great patron of the arts, set up two statues of Hanumān close to
his palace in 1672. One of these statues is found at the left side of a gate
(**Fig. 5a-b**). At a later time, the royal palace was named after this gate
(*ḍhokā*) with the Hanumān figure and so came to be known as the
Hanūmānḍhokā Royal Palace. For ritual purposes, however, another gate
marked by two lions (the lion gate [*siṃhaḍhokā*]), which leads to the Taleju
Temple, is used.

The Hanumān statue next to the palace gate[11] is placed atop a column of
about two meters in height. Layers of vermilion paste are regularly applied to
it, as is customary in popular worship, making it difficult to discern the
iconographic features (**Fig. 5a**). An older photograph of the statue[12]
(**Fig. 5b**) shows the statue's facial features more clearly. In this location close
to the gate, Hanumān was considered a powerful guardian deity, a function
well-attested in earlier times.[13] The nineteenth-century chronicle *Nepālika-
bhūpavaṃśāvalī* (vol. 1: 106) specifies that the statue of Vajaraṅga (Hanumān)

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[10] HAGMÜLLER (2003: 31) asserts that "[a]s its restoration revealed, the statue is
held upright with a bar of iron and iron indeed represents the planet Saturn."

[11] The inscription on the statue's pedestal (see no. 33 in VAJRĀCĀRYA 1976: 224–
225) specifies the date of installation as the eleventh/twelfth day in the dark half of
the month of *vaiśākha* in N.S. 792. This date is equivalent to Monday, May 23, 1672.
The inscription is covered by the deity's long robe. A part of it is reproduced in a
photograph published in ARYĀL 2014: 17, but details cannot be discerned.

[12] The photograph – which circulated on a postcard and is also reproduced in
ARYĀL 2014: 16 – was taken in 1908 (ARYĀL 2014: 15).

[13] For a brief discussion of Hanumān's role as a gatekeeper, see LUTGENDORF
2007: 41 and 60.

Fig. 5a *The Hanumān statue near the gate of the Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

had been installed at the gate "in order to prevent all the dangers." The inscription on the statue's pedestal[14] summarises as the three objectives of Hanumān worship the destruction of the enemy, victory in battle, and domestic protection when it states: "In frightful wars [he] brings destruction on the enemy and victory to us and defends the home."[15] The same inscription (with one minor varia lectio) is also found on the pedestal of the second statue of Hanumān[16] (**Fig. 6a-b**), which was installed by King Pratāpamalla on the southwestern side of the palace, opposite the Big Bell, on the same day. Currently the statue's pedestal is not visible (**Fig. 6a**), but

Fig. 5b *A photograph of the Hanumān statue near the gate of the Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu taken in 1908. Photograph: Private collection.*

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[14] See inscription no. 33 in VAJRĀCĀRYA 1976: 224–225. See also the discussion of the inscription in PANT 1964: 26 and SLUSSER 1982, vol. 1: 192. The relevant part of the inscription reads: *viṣamasaṃgrāmaśatrusaṃhāraṇaraṇe jayati gṛhe rakṣati.*

[15] The translation is quoted from SLUSSER 1982, vol. 1: 192.

[16] See also the discussion of the inscription in PANT 1964: 26.

the inscription can clearly be discerned in an older photograph (**Fig. 6b**).

In addition to Hanumān, Pratāpamalla installed yet another deity for protection close to the palace gate in 1673. The king set up a statue of Narasiṃha (**Fig. 7**), which is now found immediately to the left after passing through the gate and entering Nāsalcok. Narasiṃha is shown in fierce form in the act of disembowelling the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu. An inscription on the pedestal[17] states that the king had participated in a dance-drama. At that time Narasiṃha entered the king's dance costume and did not leave. For this reason (i.e., to dismiss the deity) the stone sculpture was installed. However, it is likely that the king had also intended to install the sculpture to function as a gatekeeper. The Hanumān statue at the palace gate and the Narasiṃha in Nāsalcok must have originally formed a pair of guardian deities before the palace gate was relocated when the palace was renovated. Statues of Narasiṃha and Gaṇeśa guarded the entrance to the royal palace of Patan. A figure of Hanumān (**Fig. 8**) was added later, following the example of King Pratāpamalla of Kathmandu (RAU 1984: 259). It is a simple two-armed Hanumān, kneeling on one knee and displaying the gestures of protection and wish-granting. Old photographs show Narasiṃha and Gaṇeśa, placed on pedestals of about the same height, flanking the palace entrance.[18] Next to the statue of Gaṇeśa, the sculpture of Hanumān, which is obviously a later addition, is installed on a pedestal of a different height and design.[19] Since then, possibly after the 1934 earthquake, the sculptures were rearranged and the Hanumān statue was placed between Narasiṃha and Gaṇeśa, which is the arrangement we see today.

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[17] The date of installation is recorded in the inscription on the pedestal (see no. 36 in VAJRĀCĀRYA 1976: 230–231) as the eighth day of the dark half of the month of *āṣāḍha* in N.S. 793. The date corresponds to Friday, July 7, 1673.

[18] See the photograph taken by Ganesh Man Chitrakar around 1900 and exhibited in the Patan Museum and the photograph taken by Dirgha Man Chitrakar around 1920, reproduced in HEIDE 1997: 34.

[19] The statues of Gaṇeśa and Hanumān can also be seen in an old photograph in LE BON 1893: Fig. 388.

Fig. 6a *The Hanumān statue opposite the Big Bell near the Hanūmānḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu (2015). Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

Fig. 6b *An older photograph of the Hanumān statue opposite the Big Bell near the Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu. Photograph courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Kathmandu.*

Fig. 7   *The Narasiṃha statue at the entrance to Nāsalcok of the Hanūmānḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

Fig. 8 *The statues of Narasiṃha and Hanumān in front of the royal palace, Patan. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

King Bhūpatīndramalla of Bhaktapur also set up sculptures of Hanumān and Narasiṃha (**Fig. 9a**) at the entrance to his palace. The year of the installation, recorded in a stone inscription, is equivalent to 1698.[20] The iconography of the Hanumān sculpture (**Fig. 9b**) is more complex than that of the sculptures installed at the entrances to the royal palaces of Kathmandu and Patan. The four-armed, fierce-looking deity, endowed with sharp teeth, is standing in militant stance on an animated corpse whose position of the arms and curls of hair are reminiscent of Garuḍa. (Copies of the two statues were installed at the entrance gate to Bhaktapur's Tekhā Pokharī in circa 2012. Here the head of the Hanumān statue's mount resembles that of an animated corpse rather than that of a Garuḍa.) The stone inscription records

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[20] The exact date of the stone inscription corresponds to February 9, 1698 (VAIDYA & SHRESTHA 2002: 91 and 152–158 [inscription 6 in the Appendix]). The inscription is translated in part in the chronicle *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī* (vol. 1: 93–95).

Fig. 9a *The statues of Hanumān and Narasiṃha in front of the (former) Mālatīcok of the Bhaktapur royal palace. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

details of the regular worship of the two statues that Bhūpatīndramalla instituted. In association with Ugramalla, he made a land grant to a newly formed trust or *guthi*. Such *guthi*s, defined as "association<s> of Newārs of the same caste for the performance of an agreed religious or social act" (CLARK 1957: 176), have played an important role in the social life of the Newar community. From the annual proceeds the *guthi* was obligated to purchase the material needed for the regular worship of the deities and remunerate the priest and his assistants. The services to be performed include the application of a fixed quantity of oil on the sculptures of Hanumān and Narasiṃha. Such detailed prescriptions are of great interest, since they provide a window onto the religious practices of the Newar community at this time.

Fig. 9b *Detail: The sculpture of Hanumān. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

In addition to setting up statues of two- or four-armed images of Hanumān as gatekeepers in front of the entrances of their royal palaces, the Malla kings placed the Tantric five-headed form of the deity on lintels of entrances leading to the temple of the goddess Taleju and at the apex of tympana above the doors of the temples of the goddess.

A small sculpture of the five-headed Hanumān is carved on the lintel below the wooden arched gateway (*toraṇa*) leading to the temple of the goddess Taleju in Mūlcok of the (former) Bhaktapur royal palace (**Fig. 10a-b**). The *toraṇa* was made by King Jitāmitramalla in 1694.[21] Some details of the iconography cannot be clearly discerned and the iconography of the five-headed Hanumān will be discussed later.

A small wooden image of Hanumān (**Fig. 11b**) is found in the unusual position above the tympanum of the lion gate (*siṃhaḍhokā*) (**Fig. 11a**) of the Hanumānḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu, which is the entrance leading to the Taleju Temple. This image is a replacement of an older image which replaced yet older images. I assume that, as in Bhaktapur, the original image was placed on the lintel of the lion gate but was moved to its current location during renovation efforts. This image has only eight arms and four heads, which is likely the result of a mistake of the artist who was commissioned to prepare a replacement on the basis of a defective sculpture which had lost two arms and one of its five heads. VAJRĀCĀRYA (1976: 83) assumed the figure to be Kumāra. However, a close examination shows that the central head is that of a monkey and the other heads are those of Garuḍa, Narasiṃha, and Varāha. Above the Hanumān figure a *kīrtimukha* is seen. It is hard to assign a date to this Hanumān since the figure has been painted and is likely to have been replaced more than once in the course of renovations.

The Tantric five-headed Hanumān images in the important position on lintels of entranceways to the temples of the goddess Taleju in the palaces of Bhaktapur and Kathmandu appear to function as protectors of the goddess. They functioned in the same capacity when placed at the apex of tympana above the doors of Taleju temples.

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[21] The exact date of the tympanum is recorded as Saturday, the ninth day of the dark half of the month of *mārga* in N.S. 815 (see VAIDYA & SHRESTHA 2002: 164, inscription 13). This date corresponds to Saturday, December 11, 1694.

Fig. 10a *The tympanum and lintel of a door leading to the Taleju Temple in Bhaktapur's Mūlcok. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

Fig. 10b *Detail: The five-headed Hanumān on the lintel. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

Thus, the five-headed Hanumān is featured at the apex of the tympanum (**Fig. 12a**) of the eastern door of the Taleju Temple in Mūl courtyard[22] of the Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace. The figure (**Fig. 12b**) has ten arms (two of them are hardly discernible) and treads on an animated corpse (*preta/vetāla*). The five heads are those of a monkey (main head), an eagle (Garuḍa, left), a boar (Varāha, right) and topped by that of a lion (for Narasiṃha) and surmounted by what seems to be a horse's (or Hayagrīva's) head. A comparison with other images shows that the heads of the five-headed form of Hanumān can be arranged in one, two, or three tiers, and one head may also be positioned at the back. The iconography of this composite form suggests an integration of Viṣṇu's Garuḍa mount and three of Viṣṇu's *avatāra*s with the figure of Hanumān. While this five-headed

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[22] The location of the image is indicated in DHANAŚAMŚER 1979: 157 and the entire tympanum depicted in plate 135.

Fig. 11a *The lion gate of the Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu.*
Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.

Fig. 11b *Detail: The four-headed and eight-armed Hanumān above the tympanum of the lion gate of the Hanūmānḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

Fig. 12a *The tympanum of the eastern door of the Taleju Temple, Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace, Kathmandu. Photograph courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Kathmandu.*

Fig. 12b *Detail: The five-headed Hanumān. Photograph courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Kathmandu.*

form with the topmost head of a horse (*haya*) is recorded in descriptions in
printed texts,[23] unedited texts in manuscript form from Nepal reveal a vari-
ant of this iconography according to which the top head is that of a donkey
(*khara*).[24] More manuscript material would need to be examined to deter-

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[23] For a detailed iconographic description, see the following passage attributed to
the *Hanumadgahvara* in *Śrīvidyārṇavatantra*, vol. 2, p. 766, 15–24:

pañcavaktraṃ mahābhīmaṃ tripañcanayanair yutam |
bāhubhir daśabhir yuktaṃ sarvakāmyārthasiddhidam ||
pūrvaṃ tu vānaraṃ vaktraṃ koṭisūryasamaprabham |
daṃṣṭrākarālavadanaṃ bhrukuṭīkuṭilekṣaṇam ||
atraiva dakṣiṇaṃ vaktraṃ nārasiṃhaṃ mahādbhutam |
atyugratejovapuṣaṃ bhīṣaṇaṃ bhayanāśanam ||
paścimaṃ gāruḍaṃ vaktraṃ vajratuṇḍaṃ mahābalam |
sarvarogapraśamanaṃ viṣaroganivāraṇam ||
uttaraṃ saukaraṃ vaktraṃ kṛṣṇaṃ dīptaṃ nabhonibham |
pātālānilabhettāraṃ jvararoganikṛntanam ||
ūrdhvaṃ hayānanaṃ ghoraṃ dānavāntakaraṃ param |
ekavaktreṇa viprendra tārakākhyaṃ mahābalam ||
kurvantaṃ śaraṇaṃ tasya sarvaśatruharaṃ param |
khaḍgaṃ triśūlaṃ khaṭvāṅgaṃ pāśam aṅkuśaparvatam ||
dhruvamuṣṭigadāmuṇḍaṃ daśabhir munipuṅgava |
etāny āyudhajālāni dhārayantaṃ yajāmahe ||
pretāsanopaviṣṭaṃ taṃ sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam |
divyamālyāmbaradharaṃ divyagandhānulepanam ||
sarvāścāryamayaṃ devam anantaṃ viśvato mukham | ...

The same passage, with some variants, is found in the *Śrītattvanidhi*, where it is
ascribed to the *Sudarśanasaṃhitā*; see *Śrītattvanidhi* 1 (*Viṣṇunidhi*, no. 72 [p. 59])
and *Śrītattvanidhi* 2 (vol. 2: *Viṣṇunidhi*; stanzas 188–195; no. 114; p. 36 [text], pp.
104–105 [translation]; fol. 85A/3 [manuscript painting]). NAGAR (2004, vol. 1: 307)
cites a part of this description (with variants) from a manuscript of the *Pañcamukha-
hanumatkavaca* (manuscript no. 5035 in the Ranabiresvara Library, Jammu); the
manuscript is reproduced in NAGAR 2004: vol. 2: 493–494.

[24] See the *Hanūbhairavadevārcanavidhi* ascribed to the *Vaihāyana Saṃhitā*. This
text prescribes the performance of a fire ritual (*homa*) involving offerings of different
kinds of meat and liquor for each of the five heads of the deity. I would like to thank
Péter-Dániel Szántó for sending me a transcript of the manuscript. The donkey head
instead of the horse head is also specified in the description of the five-headed
Hanumān in the manuscript *Navarātrapūjāvidhi*, which describes the Hanūbhairava-
pūjā (fols. 26v11–29v5) as embedded in the Kaumārīpūjā of Navarātra. I would like
to thank Alexis Sanderson for providing a copy of the manuscript. VAJRĀCĀRYA
(1976: 98) also mentions an unpublished manuscript in a private collection according
to which the topmost head of the five-headed Hanumān is a donkey's.

mine how widespread this iconography was and whether it is limited to specific ritual contexts; this is, however, beyond the scope of the present paper. Moreover, in works of art, a horse's head cannot be distinguished easily from a donkey's head. I assume that the horse head became a standard in the iconography of this deity because it is more auspicious and was already a familiar iconographic feature of Hayagrīva. Similarly, Rāvaṇa's tenth head is either described or depicted as that of a horse or of a donkey.

A metal figure of the five-headed Hanumān is also seen at the apex of the tympanum (**Fig. 13a**) of the Golden Door of the Taleju shrine in Mūlcok of Patan's royal palace. The tympanum was made by King Ṛddhinarasiṃha-malla (r. 1715–1717) in 1716.[25] The figure of Hanumān (**Fig. 13b**) is a replacement prepared around December 2012 on the basis of an older photograph,[26] in which the position of the figure on the tympanum can be discerned clearly, but not all of the iconographic details. The original image – along with the others on the central panel of the tympanum – was stolen in the 1970s.

The five-headed Hanumān is also found among the sculptures in the sunken stepped fountain (*hiti*) built by Pratāpamalla in 1652 in the (Man)mohan courtyard, the residential courtyard of the Malla kings (**Fig. 14a**). It is, however, possible that the sculpture was not part of the original group of deities installed in the fountain but was brought here later from another location. The sculpture is damaged but the missing details may be gleaned from a line drawing (**Fig. 14b**) in a circa nineteenth-century concertina-type manuscript catalogued as *Nānāstotracitrasaṃgraha*, which either copies this sculpture or shows a similar iconographic type. This is clearly a fierce (*ugra*) form, as indicated by the garland of severed heads. The sculpture is framed by a rim of skulls and one of flames.

The same king built a special temple for the deity (**Fig. 15**) in his palace in Kathmandu in circa 1655.[27] This temple (which is only accessible to the

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[25] An inscription on the base of the *toraṇa* (see REGMI 1965–1966, part 4: 263, no. 122) records the dedication of the golden tympanum by King Ṛddhinarasiṃha-malla to his *iṣṭadevatā* on the first day of the bright half of the month of *āśvina* in N.S. 836. This date corresponds to Wednesday, September 16, 1716.

[26] The photograph, taken by N.R. Banerjea between 1966 and 1972, is exhibited in the Patan Museum.

[27] See VAJRĀCĀRYA 1976: 97. The exact date of the construction of the temple is unknown.

Fig. 13a *The tympanum of the Golden Door of the Taleju shrine, Mūlcok, Patan Palace. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

Fig. 13b   *Detail: The five-headed Hanumān at the apex of the tympanum.*
Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.

Fig. 14a *The sculpture of the five-headed Hanumān in the stepped fountain in Mohancok in the Hanūmānḍhokā Royal Palace, Kathmandu. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

Fig. 14b *A line drawing of the five-headed Hanumān in a circa nineteenth-century concertina-type manuscript cata-logued as* Nānāstotracitrasaṃgraha. *Photograph courtesy of Rajan Shrestha.*

Fig. 15 *The five roofs of the Pañcamukhahanumān Temple, Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace in Kathmandu. Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.*

officiating priest) stands out because of its circular structure with five su-
perimposed roofs.

A beautifully carved stone sculpture of the five-headed Hanumān was
noticed inside Kumārīcok,[28] a courtyard of the Bhaktapur Palace which is
inaccessible to the public.

Three important inscribed and dated copper-gilt figures of the five-
headed Hanumān are also associated with the kings of Bhaktapur. The first
one (**Fig. 16a**) was recently auctioned at Bonhams.[29] The inscription[30] rec-
ords that King Bhūpatīndramalla dedicated the sculpture on the occasion of
a specific ritual, the *siddhāgni-koṭyāhuti-yajña*, in 1702. A ritual manual
confirms the date of the performance of a *siddhāgni-koṭyāhuti* sacrifice
(*yajña*) on the occasion of the consecration of the Nyatapola Temple at
Taumadhi Tole in Bhaktapur. The ritual, which entails the offering of ten
million oblations into the fire, started on Sunday, the ninth day of the bright
half of the month of *jyeṣṭha* (the date also specified in the inscription of the
Hanumān statue) and continued for 48 days (VAIDYA 1990: 76).

The second one (**Fig. 16b**) was previously on sale at Sotheby's[31] but its
current whereabouts are unknown. According to the description in the cata-

[28] See the detailed description in DEVA 1984: 61 and the mention in VAIDYA &
SHRESTHA 2002: 45 and 89. VAIDYA & SHRESTHA (2002: 89) note that the sculpture
is located on the northwestern side of the open verandah (*dalān*).

DEVA (1984: 66 and 67) also describes two four-armed (apparently one-headed)
Hanumān figures in the Kumaricok. Three four-armed Hanumān statues are found in
the Mahādeva Temple in Sundarīcok of the Hanūmāṇḍhokā Royal Palace, Kath-
mandu; a photograph of one of them is reproduced in ARYĀL 2014: 16.

[29] The sculpture was purchased by William O. Thweatt in Kathmandu between
1958 and 1962. It was auctioned by Sotheby's New York on September 24, 2004 (lot
74) and subsequently became part of the collection of Dr. Helga Wall-Apelt, Florida.
It was again auctioned by James D. Julia Auctioneers, Maine, on March 23, 2015 (lot
184) and by Bonham's on March 13, 2017 (lot 3049). For an image, see also Hi-
malayan Art Resources, item no. 2351 (http://www.himalayanart.org/items/2351;
accessed July 20, 2017).

[30] The text inscribed on the shaft reads: (*siddhi* sign) *svasti* || *śrīśrījayabhūpatī-
ndramalladevasana siddhāgni koṭyāhuti yajñayātaṃ dayakā* || *saṃvat* 822 *jyeṣṭha
sudi* 9 *śubha* ||

"Hail! (This sculpture) was made by the Twice-Blessed victorious King
Bhūpatīndramalla on the ninth (day) of the bright (half of the month) of *jyeṣṭha* in
samvat 822 for (the occasion of) the *siddhāgni-koṭyāhuti-yajña*. Let it be well."

[31] The five-headed Hanumān statue was offered for sale at Sotheby's London on
April 4, 1990, lot 57. It had previously been offered at Sotheby's New York on De-
cember 18, 1981, lot 209.

logue, the inscription on the long shaft of the sculpture records the dedication of this statue in the temple of the Goddess Taleju in Bhaktapur by King Bhūpatīndramalla in 1706.[32]

The inscription[33] on the third sculpture (**Fig. 17**), which is now in the Patan Museum,[34] records that King Bhūpatīndramalla's son, Raṇajitamalla, set up the sculpture on the Golden Gate of the Bhaktapur Palace in 1754. The year 1754 is also commonly assumed to be the year in which Raṇajitamalla constructed (or rather, embellished) the Golden Gate. The Hanumān figure appears to be a copy of the sculpture commissioned by his father. Both sculptures wear a garland of severed human heads and are treading on an animated corpse. It is possible that these two Hanumān figures with their long shafts were placed on the roof the Golden Gate, possibly in place of the two four-armed Hanumān statues referred to in the beginning of this paper.

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[32] Only a part of the inscription can be discerned in the photograph published in Sotheby's catalogue. It reads: *(Bhūpatīndrama)llasana dayakā*, *saṃ* 826 *jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa catu*(*rdaśī*) (misread in the text of the catalogue as *āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa* ...). The date was erroneously converted to 1708 in Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc [1981], no. 209. "(This sculpture) was made by King (Bhūpatīndrama)lla on the four(teen)th (day) of the dark (half of the month) of *jyeṣṭha* in (N.)S. 826."

The description in the catalogue erroneously specifies the eighth day of the dark half of the fifth month of the year N.S. 826 as the date of the consecration of the sculpture. The correct date is likely the fifth day of the dark half of the month of *jyeṣṭha* in the year 826, which is equivalent to Wednesday, June 30, 1706. The eighth day of the dark half of the month of *jyeṣṭha* of the same year would be equivalent to July 3, 1706.

[33] The inscription reads: (*siddhi* sign) *svasti* || *śrī* 3. *sveṣṭadevatā prītina pāradhvākāsa gajuli chāna koṭayāhuti yajña yāṅāva* | *śrīśrījayaraṇajitamalladevasana dutā* || *saṃ* 874 *pau va* 6 *śubham* ||

"Hail! Out of love for his Thrice-Blessed favourite deity (*sveṣṭadevatā*), the Twice-Blessed King Raṇajitamalla set up (this sculpture), after performing a sacrifice with ten million oblations at the time of (the ritual) offering of the finial of Pāladhvākā (i.e., the Golden Gate). (Dated N.S.) 874, the sixth (day) of the dark (half) of (the month of) *pauṣa*. Let it be auspicious." The date converts to January 14, 1754.

[34] The sculpture was assigned the accession no. 598 (see SLUSSER 2002: 120). SLUSSER (ibid.) assumed that the sculpture was "installed as a guardian on a Bhaktapur rooftop."
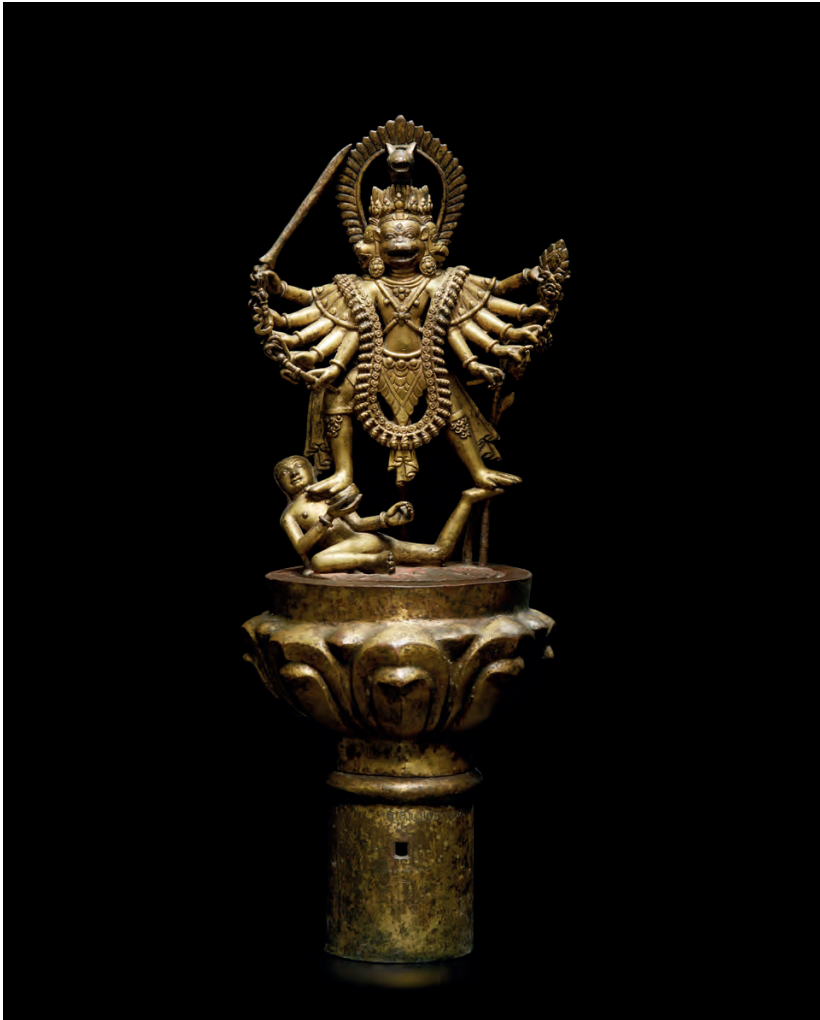
Fig. 16a *A five-headed Hanumān (Bonhams, March 13, 2017, lot 3049). Dated to N.S. 822 [1702 CE]. Photograph courtesy of Bonhams.*

Fig. 16b *A five-headed Hanumān (Sotheby's London, April 4, 1990, lot 57). Dated to N.S. 826 [1706 CE]. Reproduced from the catalogue.*
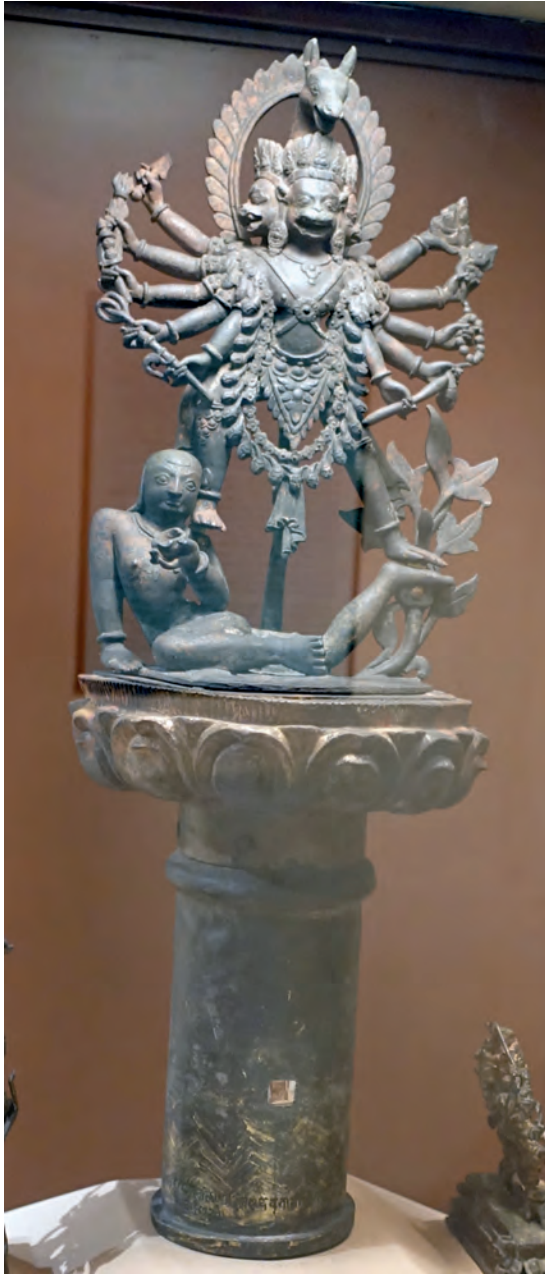
Fig. 17 *A five-headed Hanumān, Patan Museum.*
Photograph: Gudrun Bühnemann.

It is said[35] that the mural of the cosmic form (*viśvarūpa*) of Śiva in the Fifty-five Windows Palace on Bhaktapur's Darbar Square, which is actually a hidden portrait of King Bhūpatīndramalla (r. 1696–1722) and his wife completed between 1702 and 1722, features in one of several rows of heads that of the five-headed Hanumān. However, such detail is difficult to discern in the painting.

The Tantric five-headed Hanumān was obviously considered an important form of Hanumān by the Malla kings. The many extant representations from Nepal[36] and the proliferation of devotional texts[37] dedicated to the deity indicate the popularity of this form in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Nepal.

The five-headed Hanumān is also known as Hanū-Bhairava, as attested by inscriptions on paintings and line drawings and in devotional and other texts. The name Hanūbhairava is inscribed, for example, on a painting (**Fig. 18**) in a scroll from Nepal, commissioned under King Jayaprakāśamalla of Kathmandu (r. 1735–1768) and dating from 1765, and in line drawings.[38]

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[35] Oral information provided by Purushottam Lochan Shrestha on July 19, 2015.

[36] For other sculptures of this form of Hanumān from Nepal not discussed in this paper, see, for example, DEVA 1984, plate 30A (erroneously labelled Narasiṃha), MISHRA 2014: 59, SLUSSER 2002: 118, 120–121, SINGH 1968: 214 (misidentified as a "manifestation of Vishnu" in the caption and on p. 223), Christie's New York 12/1/1982, lot 123 (erroneously labelled as a Tantric form of Mañjuśrī), and Christie's New York 3/20/2012, sale 2640, lot 106 (previously in the Doris Wiener Gallery, New York). The stone sculpture of the five-headed Hanumān installed in a roadside shrine in Pulcok, Patan, which is still an object of worship (MISHRA 2014: 59), is very similar to the one depicted in DEVA 1984, plate 30A; minor details, however, vary. Both representations are without a *vāhana*. A roadside shrine with a statue of a five-headed Gaṇeśa is located next to the shrine of the five-headed Hanumān in Pulcok. For a painting of the five-headed Hanumān, see NAGAR 2004, vol. 3: 128, plate 140.

[37] See the online title list of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP) for more information on the large number of devotional and ritual texts in manuscript form, including such titles as *Hanū(mad)bhairavapūjāvidhi*, *Hanūbhairavastotra*, *Hanūbhairavakavaca*, and *Pañcamukhīvīrahanūbhairavastotra*.

[38] For a line drawing inscribed Hanūbhairava ("Hanūbhailava"), see, for example, BLOM 1989: 21, Fig. 22 and BÜHNEMANN 2013: 471, Fig. 17. Note that in the drawing the topmost head is labelled *sarā* (for *salā*, Newari: horse) and not "snake" as noted in BLOM 1989: 22.

Fig. 18 *A five-headed Hanumān labelled "Hanū-Bhairava;" painting from manu-script 10054 in the collection of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi.*
Photograph courtesy of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan.

One of three copperplate inscriptions[39] at the Tathunāsaḥ (also called Nāsadyo) Temple in Bhaktapur's Kvāthaṃdau area records the dedication of a wooden tympanum to Hanūbhairava in 1713. In the context of reli-gious ritual, the worship of the five-headed Hanūbhairava (*hanūbhairava-pūjā*) became an integral part of the Tantric Navarātra rituals, being em-bedded in the Kaumārīpūjā.[40]

The name Hanūbhairava indicates that in Nepal Hanumān began to be considered a Bhairava and underwent a transformation similar to that of the epic hero Bhīmasena who became known as Bhīmabhairava in seventeenth-century Nepal.[41]

In this paper I focused mainly on the Hanumān worship under royal pat-ronage in mid-seventeenth- to mid-eighteenth-century Nepal. The visual

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[39] The text of the inscription is published in RĀJĀ 1999: 15, no. 26 and is also re-ferred to in GUTSCHOW 2011, vol. 1: 73 in his description of the temple. The inscrip-tion records as the date of the tympanum Sunday, the full-moon day of the bright (half of the month of) *śrāvaṇa* in N.S. 833, which converts to Sunday, August 6, 1713. This tympanum is no longer extant.

[40] I would like to thank Alexis Sanderson for this reference (e-mail message dated February 23, 2015). See also n. 23.

[41] I have discussed Bhīmasena's transformation into Bhīmabhairava in BÜHNEMANN 2013.

and textual material from this time provides a window onto the socio-religious milieu in the late Malla period. There is clear evidence that Hanumān had gained considerable importance as a guardian deity. The amalgamation of the five-headed form of Hanumān and Bhairava as Hanūbhairava is a specific Nepalese development of this time.

Artistic representations of the five-headed Hanumān are also found in India, where a few specimens have been dated to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[42] However, more research is needed to confirm the dating of the material. The representations from India usually do not exhibit the fierce (*ugra*) traits of the Nepalese manifestation. A prominent devotee of the benevolent five-headed form of Hanumān was the South Indian Madhva saint Rāghavendra Svāmī (1595–1671), a contemporary of King Pratāpamalla of Kathmandu.

In recent decades Hanumān has evolved into a widely worshipped deity in India, and some popular god-posters and monumental statues of him also feature the Tantric five-headed form.[43] The Indian diaspora opened the first temple of the five-headed Hanumān outside South Asia in leased premises in Torrance, California, in 2012. The influence of this trend can also be seen in Nepal, where a seven-foot-tall statue of a benevolent five-headed Hanumān was set up in the village of Chhaling on the Telkot-Changu Road a few years ago.

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[42] See LUTGENDORF 2001: 273–274, 2003: 81, and NAGAR 2004, vol. 1: 303. Re-presentations of the five-headed form in Rajasthani and Pahari painting appear to postdate the ones from Nepal.

[43] Philip Lutgendorf has discussed the phenomenon in several publications; see LUTGENDORF 1994, 2001, 2003, and 2007.

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BEYOND TANTRIC COMMUNITIES: THE INTERFACE WITH LAY COMMUNITIES

"Rudras on Earth" on the eve of the Tantric Age: The *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the making of Śaiva lay and initiatory communities

Nina Mirnig[1]

Introduction: Religious and historical context

The fifth to seventh centuries of the Common Era see the beginning of the production of Sanskrit Śaiva religious literature, reflecting the increasing popularity of the Śaiva religion – also on a religio-political level – across the Indic world.[2] One of the products of this time is the *Śivadharmaśāstra* (ŚDh), a popular and widely transmitted work[3] that was composed sometime in the sixth or seventh century,[4] probably in the North of the subcon-

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[2] For works addressing these larger developments within the Śaiva world at this time, see, for instance, SANDERSON 2009, BISSCHOP 2010, and BAKKER 2014.

[3] The ŚDh and *Śivadharmottara* (ŚDhU) have been transmitted in manuscripts from Nepal, Kashmir, Bengal as well as in South India. See SANDERSON 2012–2013: 86, especially n. 220 and n. 221. For references to the recitation of the ŚDh in epigraphical material, see HAZRA 1952: 14 and 16, DE SIMINI 2016b, and SANDERSON 2012–2013: 85.

[4] The dating of the ŚDh and ŚDhU is problematic and remains subject to debate. The first scholar to advance a hypothesis was HAZRA (1952), who proposed a date of composition sometime between 200 and 500 CE. He arrived at this estimation by, firstly, placing the text before the composition of Śaiva Tantras on the grounds that the ŚDh is free of any Tantric influence, and, secondly, he argues that the kind of astrological and astronomical terminology employed in the ŚDh is indicative for a date between the composition of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* as the terminus post quem and the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira as the terminus ante quem. However, evidence collected by Bisschop has demonstrated that such an early date is unlikely for the ŚDh, or at least for the entire text as it has been preserved. In his study of Caṇḍeśa and other deities in early Śaivism, BISSCHOP (2010: 244) discusses material of the sixth chapter of the ŚDh and draws attention to the fact that the deity Gaṇeśa/Vināyaka is described as Śiva's son, a relationship that came to be well-

tinent.[5] It is amongst the earliest extant texts to systematise and canonise Śaiva devotional activities centred on the practices of the lay householder.[6] These include various forms of *liṅga* and idol worship, religious observances (*vrata*) as well as the many ways in which the Śaiva devotees can support religious institutions through offering their services and donating land grants, valuables, or money for religious infrastructure.[7]

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known but was popularised only relatively late, being even entirely absent in demonstrably early Purāṇas such as the *Vāyupurāṇa* and the original *Skandapurāṇa*, which contains the earliest systematisation of Śiva mythology (TÖRZSÖK 2004: 19). The *Skandapurāṇa*, in turn, has been suggested to date to sometime between 550 and 650 (ADRIAENSEN et al. 1998 and YOKOCHI 2013). If this dating is correct and the close relationship of both texts is applicable, this would indicate that it is unlikely that the ŚDh has reached its final form before the sixth century, and perhaps even as late as the seventh century.

[5] See HAZRA 1952: 16–17. However, the issue of provenance remains to be further investigated. So far, HAZRA's assessment from the 50ies has not been improved upon. He ascribes the work to the North on the basis of the sacred sites featured therein (ibid.). He even more specifically hypothesises that it was conceived either in Southern Kashmir or Northern Punjab due to the mention of the "Devikā, a small river in Southern Kashmir, and of the Chandrabhāga" in the Nepalese manuscripts. A full evaluation of such specific claims, however, will need to wait for the critical edition of the chapter in question (chapter 12).

[6] Other texts of this period that concern the forms of lay Śaivism are the following: (1) First, the ŚDhU, a work closely related to the ŚDh and often transmitted together. The ŚDh and the ŚDhU constitute a closely-knit network of information on early Śaiva devotional activities and institutions. Composed in the sixth or seventh century, the two works cover the wealth of Śaiva devotional practices carried out by lay devotees, in particular the worship of the *śivaliṅga*, particular observances (*vrata*), and meditative practices as well as rituals to target the king as a client. While the first two are covered mainly in the ŚDh, the latter two feature as topics of the ŚDhU (see DE SIMINI 2016). Given the complementarity of these two works, the hypothesis has developed amongst Śivadharma scholars that both texts were composed close in time, if not even at the same time. Personally, I currently assume that there is a sequence in their composition, with the ŚDh having been put together first, since many of the theological conceptions and strategies developed in the ŚDhU appear to be a continuous afterthought and build on it. (2) Second, the old *Skandapurāṇa*, the earliest extant systematisation of Śiva-mythology. (3) And third, the *Niśvāsamukha*, which itself is part of the earliest extant Tantric corpus but contains chapters on the various forms of concurrent Śaivism, including the form of lay Śaivism as we find it propagated in the ŚDh (for an edition and translation, see KAFLE 2015).

[7] A brief overview of the ŚDh's topics is found in HAZRA 1952.

Regarding the socio-religious milieu around the ŚDh, with its date of composition the work falls within a period in which the Brahmanical socio-religious order (*varṇāśramadharma*) was firmly established under royal patronage across the subcontinent,[8] paired with an increase of religious systems favouring devotion to a deity (*bhakti*) over Vedic ritualism. At this time, it was in particular the Vaiṣṇava devotional movement – centred on the worship of the god Viṣṇu – which enjoyed a long-standing popularity in the royal sphere as well as amongst the mainstream, a circumstance record-ed in literature, inscriptions, and iconography. These Vaiṣṇava groups were the Śaiva's main competitors for royal patronage and support from the mainstream within the Brahmanical fold.[9] Outside this Brahmanical fold, Buddhist communities also counted amongst their competitors. By the time of the sixth century, Buddhism in its manifold manifestations had already been a major religious force on the subcontinent for many centuries, with its religious life structured around monastic networks and with support from the royal sphere.

As for the Śaiva world at the time, there is plenty of material evidence for Śaiva lay devotional practices – such as *liṅga* shrines – from as early as the beginning of the Common Era, as well as inscriptions attesting to these activities as early as the fourth century.[10] Thus, material and epi-graphical evidence for Śaiva modes of worship predate the ŚDh by some centuries, but are only marginally visible in earlier religious literature (see below, p. 490). Leading up to and including the ŚDh's date of composition, two major developments within Śaiva circles took place: First, members of some Śaiva ascetic groups that were originally at the margins of society had started to increasingly appear in public and institutionalised religious life as temple priests and recipients of religious donations in epigraphical rec-ords.[11] Second, Tantrism emerged as a larger phenomenon in both Śaiva and Buddhist circles,[12] and propagators of this new religious trend gradual-ly stepped out from the purely esoteric sphere into the public domain.[13]

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[8] See, e.g., SANDERSON 2013 for epigraphic references to the king's duty to main-tain the *varṇāśramadharma*.

[9] See, e.g., BAKKER 2014.

[10] See, e.g., SANDERSON 2013.

[11] SANDERSON 2013: 225.

[12] See GOODALL and ISAACSON 2016.

[13] SANDERSON 2009.

It is against the backdrop of these developments that we can attempt to interpret the literary activities of the ŚDh's redactors and try to determine its role within early Śaiva history. Responding to this religious milieu, we can identify two agendas at work: First, the ŚDh offers a normative model for a Śaiva community that synthesises Śaiva practices with the Brahmanical socio-religious substratum, recasting the *varṇāśramadharma* into their devotional framework – a development addressed by Lubin.[14] Second, there is the contemporaneous attempt to create a socio-religious model that has the potential to transcend this Brahmanical order by seemingly foregrounding devotion over caste status. As is typical with this kind of work, there is no single thread that ties all expressed soteriological and spiritual concepts together into a coherent whole, and we are probably confronted with a work that aimed to synthesise several agendas relating to different Śaiva groups. Overall, we will see that the advocated ideals oscillate between a conformity to and the transcendence of Brahmanical norms, just as they do between those of the ascetic and the householder.

In this contribution, it will be argued that a cornerstone of the dual agenda characteristic of this newly emerging Śaiva socio-religious order propagated in the ŚDh is the divinisation of the Śaiva devotee (*śivabhakta*), a novel feature specific to the time of the ŚDh that anticipates similar discourses on divine embodiment by the devotee in popular Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava devotional movements centuries later.[15] It will be shown how this link between devotion and divinisation of the *śivabhakta* acts as a strategic device to advocate the spiritual superiority of the community of practitioners. As such, it will be argued that in addition to recruiting the Brahmanical base into the Śaiva devotional fold, the socio-religious model advocated by the ŚDh also plays a critical role in the spread of the Śaiva teaching into new areas and in creating a socio-religious environ that eventually facilitates the participation of Śaiva initiatory traditions in public religious life on the eve of the "Śaiva Age."[16] In this context, also the relationship between the ŚDh and the initiatory traditions will be investigated: on the one hand, it will be traced how certain practices and concepts of the ascetic Atimārgic traditions are adapted for the householder milieu, despite their

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[14] See, for instance LUBIN's unpublished paper "On feeding *Śivabhaktas* and other rules of *Śivāśrama-Dharma*" (AOS 2017) (LUBIN forthcoming). I thank Prof. Lubin for sharing his paper with me prior to publication.

[15] E.g., see PRENTISS 2000 and HOLDREGE 2015.

[16] The expression "Śaiva Age" alludes to SANDERSON's monumental work (2009) on the rise of Śaiva Tantric groups throughout the early medieval period.

originally esoteric and eccentric nature. On the other, it will be addressed how certain notions of the ŚDh continue into the newly emerging Tantric traditions, the so-called Mantramārga,[17] suggesting that some ideals advocated in the ŚDh may also have influenced the formation of Tantric practices.

The *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s new concept of *śivabhakta*s as divine beings on earth

Prior to the composition of the ŚDh, discourses on the devotee were already well-known in the milieu of Vaiṣṇava devotionalism as, for instance, expounded upon in the *Bhagavadgītā* (BhG) in the early centuries of the Common Era.[18] Here, the conceptualisation of the *bhakta* tends to revolve around the deep bond between the devotee and Viṣṇu,[19] sometimes expressed in terms of mutual love and dependence on each other, and the devotee serving the deity.[20] The community of worshippers is thus defined by their shared love and longing for Viṣṇu. Their socio-religious duty is to carry out their *svadharma*, that is to say, the duties incumbent on the devotee according to their inherent socio-religious status related to the *varṇāśrama* system.[21] The directive is that these duties must be carried out permeated by the love for the deity and without attachment to the fruits of the action.[22] In this way, the devotional framework is synchronised with the Brahmanical socio-religious order, which the devotee must maintain.[23]

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[17] For the emic distinction between the Śaiva Atimārga, referring to the early initiatory ascetic Śaiva traditions, and the Mantramārga, the traditions now commonly referred to as Tantric, see SANDERSON 2013: 212–215.

[18] The dating of the BhG is still subject to debate, moving between the fourth century BCE and the fourth century CE (MALINAR 2007: 14). MALINAR herself estimates that the text in its final redaction dates to the first century CE (ibid.: 15). On the various views regarding the date of the BhG, its textual layers, and the question whether it is to be considered as a separate work or part of the Mbh's narrative, see MALINAR 2007: 29–34.

[19] See, e.g., MALINAR 2007: 9.

[20] See, e.g., MALINAR 2007: 11–12, discussing the subordination of the *bhakta* to the deity in the royal context.

[21] For an overview of the development and principles of the *varṇāśrama* system, see OLIVELLE 1993.

[22] Cf., e.g., EDGERTON 1997 (1944[1]): 161 and 175–176.

[23] See also the large sections on those outside this system, the *pāṣaṇḍa*s, in Vaiṣṇava Dharma literature. Cf. GRÜNENDAHL 1983: 44–45 on the prominence of discourses on *pāṣaṇḍa*s in the *Viṣṇudharma*.

Accordingly, the spectrum of worshippers stretches from the householders of the various *varṇa*s to the Brahmanical renouncer, for each of whom different ways to reach liberation channelled through devotion (*bhakti*) are offered, all consolidated into a single system famously propounded by the BhG. The centrality of the *dharma* and the socio-religious structures implicit in the concept of these forms of Vaiṣṇava devotionalism is also emphasised through the often-used trope that Viṣṇu incarnates on earth as the saviour to reestablish the *dharma* at its decline. Similar sentiments of conformity to the *varṇāśrama* system are further expounded upon in the works closer in time to the ŚDh, such as the *Viṣṇudharma*,[24] the Kashmirian *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*, also known as *Viṣṇusmṛti*,[25] as well as another *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*[26] transmitted as part of the *Mahābhārata* in the southern recensions.

There is evidence that certain well-established tenets of Vaiṣṇava devotionalism as expressed in Sanskrit literature continue into the ŚDh. For instance, the theme of mutual dependency between God and the devotee as taught in the BhG is paralleled in the first chapter of the ŚDh.[27] However,

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[24] See, e.g., GRÜNENDAHL 1983: 64. For editions and studies on the *Viṣṇudharma*, see GRÜNENDAHL 1983, 1984, 1989. Note that studies on the comparison between the *Viṣṇudharma* and the ŚDh are currently being undertaken by Timothy Lubin and Nirajan Kafle and have been presented at various conferences.

[25] See OLIVELLE 2010, in particular the introduction.

[26] This work is known by the same name as the Kashmirian work above, but it is classified as part of the southern recension of the *Mahābhārata*. See Mbh, Appendix, no. 4, lines 168–227. The text is also preserved in a single early Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript, as identified by GRÜNENDAHL (1984: 52–54). Studies about the religious context of the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* are currently being carried out by Marion Rastelli.

[27] Compare BhG 6.30 (***yo māṃ paśyati sarvatra sarvaṃ ca mayi paśyati | tasyāhaṃ na praṇaśyāmi sa ca me na praṇaśyati ||***. "He who sees me everywhere and who sees everything in me, for him I do not disappear and he does not disappear for me.") and BhG 9.26 (***patraṃ puṣpaṃ phalaṃ toyaṃ yo me bhaktyā prayacchati | tad ahaṃ bhaktyupahṛtam aśnāmi prayatātmanaḥ ||***. "He [who offers] me leaves, flowers, [and] fruits with devotion, from [this] devoted soul I accept what was offered with devotion.") with ŚDh 1.30–32 (***patraṃ puṣpaṃ phalaṃ toyaṃ yo me bhaktyā prayacchati | tasyāhaṃ na praṇaśyāmi sa ca me na praṇaśyati || yo māṃ na sarvagaṃ paśyen na ca sarvaṃ mayi sthitam | sa māṃ parvatadurgeṣu mārgamāṇo vipadyate || yo māṃ sarvagataṃ paśyet sarvaṃ ca mayi saṃsthitam | tasyāhaṃ nityam ātmasthaḥ sa ca nityaṃ mayi sthitaḥ ||***. "He who with devotion offers me leaves, flowers, [and] fruits, for him I do not disappear and he does not disappear for me. He who does not see me everywhere and not everything established in me, he seeks in *inaccessible mountains* (?) and fails. He who sees me everywhere and everything established in me,

in addition to such well-established notions, the ŚDh also introduced aspects to the conceptualisation of the *bhakta* and his spiritual status that were novel within the Brahmanical sphere. First of all, unlike the contemporaneous Sanskrit Vaiṣṇava sources, the ŚDh does not stress adherence to the Brahmanical order nor includes discourses on the devotee's *svadharma* or the fate of heretics (*pāṣaṇḍa*s) (see n. 23 and p. 492). Instead, Śaiva devotion is foregrounded, even to the extent that in some passages on this topic Brahmanical norms are openly challenged. The most radical statement to this effect is found in the opening chapter of the ŚDh. Here, in an often-quoted passage, it is stated that through devotion even those who are considered the most extreme kinds of social outsiders according to the Brahmanical order attain a spiritual status equal to a learned Brahmin:

> Even a foreigner (*mleccha*), in whom this eightfold devotion[28] exists, is [equal to] the foremost of learned Brahmins, a glorious sage, an ascetic, and a scholar. I do not care that someone knows the four Vedas; if he is devoted to me, even if he is a dog-eater, to him should be given, from him should be taken, for he should be worshiped just as I am.[29]

Vaiṣṇava devotional literature features similar sentiments, but the subtle difference in framing on this point becomes evident when comparing the above verses with the following passage of the BhG:

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for him I always remain in [his] soul and he always remains in me.").

[28] This eightfold devotion is explained just prior to theses verses and features the cornerstones of Śaiva *bhakti*. It is specified as (1) affection towards Śiva's devotees, (2) rejoicing in the worship others offer Śiva, (3) worshipping Śiva with devotion, (4) carrying out physical work for Śiva, (5) listening to the recitals of Śiva's deeds, (6) being visibly affected by the devotion to Śiva (e.g., trembling), (7) thinking of Śiva at all times, and (8) not living off his revenue; ŚDh 1.26–27: *madbhaktajanavātsalyaṃ pūjāyāś cānumodanam | svayam abhyarcanaṃ bhaktyā mamārthe cāṅgaceṣṭitam || matkathāśravaṇe bhaktiḥ svaranetrāṅgavikriyā | mamānusmaraṇaṃ nityaṃ yaś ca mām upajīvati ||.* This passage and the one quoted in the next note will become frequently quoted, sometimes in modified form, in both Śaiva- and Vaiṣṇava-centred literature, cf., e.g., *Śivapurāṇa* 7.2.10.68–71, *Gāruḍapurāṇa* 1.227.6b–11, and *Haribhaktivilāsa* 11.616–619.

[29] ŚDh 1.28–29: *bhaktir aṣṭavidhā hy eṣā yasmin mlecche 'pi vartate | sa viprendro muniḥ śrīmān sa yatiḥ sa ca paṇḍitaḥ || na me priyaś caturvedo madbhaktaḥ śvapaco 'pi yaḥ | tasmai deyaṃ tato grāhyaṃ sa ca pūjyo yathā hy aham ||.* Note that ŚDh 1.29 is frequently quoted, e.g., Abhinavagupta ad *Tantrāloka* 4.203.

> Even if a very evil doer reveres me with single devotion, he must be
> regarded as the righteous in spite of all; for he has the right resolu-
> tion. Quickly his soul becomes righteous, and he goes to eternal
> peace. Son of Kuntī, make sure of this: no devotee of mine is lost.
> For if they take refuge in Me, son of Pṛthā, even those who may be
> of base origin, women, men of the artisan caste, and serfs too, even
> they go to the highest goal. How much more virtuous brahmans, and
> devout royal seers, too![30]

Here too, devotion is foregrounded so that even someone of lower social
standing or a person who has carried out misdeeds can attain the highest
spiritual goals through this path.[31] However, the BhG's focus rests on social
groups within the *varṇa* system and does not explicitly feature outsiders
such as the foreigner (*mleccha*) or the outcaste (e.g., the dog-eater). Nor is
there a sentiment in the BhG that those of lower castes rise to the status of a
Brahmin through their devotional practice and may be worshipped like a
god. Rather, the passage states that the religion is also accessible to those of
lower social standing. In contrast, we have seen that the ŚDh explicitly, and
perhaps provocatively, features the epitomes of social outsiders and goes as
far as to propose that through Śaiva devotion they themselves become wor-
thy of worship, a position reserved for Brahmins in the Brahmanical reli-
gion. The ŚDh's view expressed in the above verse is thus more radical in
its approach towards the Brahmanical socio-religious system at the time of
its composition, and it is only subsequently that we see similar sentiments
adopted in other Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava works.[32] However, it must be kept in
mind that such principles as the ones expressed in the ŚDh did not neces-
sarily translate fully into the practiced religion. Nor does the ŚDh propose
to completely dismantle the Brahmanical socio-religious structures. Quite
the contrary, other parts of the work foreground alignment with the Brahmani-

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[30] Transl. Edgerton 1997 [1944[1]]: 49. BhG 9.30–33b. *api cet sudurācāro bhajate mām
ananyabhāk | sādhur eva sa mantavyaḥ samyagvyavasito hi saḥ || kṣipraṃ bhavati
dharmātmā śaśvacchāntiṃ nigacchati | kaunteya pratijānīhi na me bhaktaḥ praṇaśyati ||.
māṃ hi pārtha vyapāśritya ye 'pi syuḥ pāpayonayaḥ | striyo vaiśyās tathā śūdrās te 'pi
yānti parāṃ gatim || kiṃ punar brāhmaṇāḥ puṇyā bhaktā rājarṣayas tathā |.*

[31] See also MALINAR 2007: 9. MALINAR (ibid.: 13) argues even further that the
Bhakti tradition as described in the BhG is not to be regarded as a form of religion
associated with "folk" religion or lower strata of society, but rather as a form of eso-
teric knowledge targeting also for higher classes of society.

[32] See above, n. 28 and n. 29.

cal system and the promotion of the Śaiva Brahmin devotee, aspects, which, as mentioned above, also form part of the strategies to establish the Śaiva religion and its institutions in broader society, as discussed by Lubin (see also p. 491).[33]

Nevertheless, the ŚDh seemingly pushes multiple agendas, and passages such as the one quoted above undeniably signal that the propagators sought to create ways of potentially including the social outsider and elevate him on the spiritual hierarchy. The ŚDh goes even further in its rhetoric of spiritual superiority, and throughout the work we find passages that promote the devotees not only as comparable to God but as actual divine beings on earth, as we see here in a passage from the opening chapter:

> Those calm-minded Śiva devotees who have as their goal Śiva and worship the supreme *dharma*, they are Rudras, there is no doubt. Those who meditate on Virūpākṣa once, twice, three times, or always, they are Gaṇeśvaras.[34]

Here, intense devotion to Śiva is considered as indicative of the devotee's divine status in this world as a Rudra, that is to say, as a divine being comparable to Śiva in his manifestation as Rudra.[35] Less often, such devotees are also portrayed as Gaṇeśvaras, the divine chief attendants of Śiva.

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[33] See LUBIN forthcoming. Thus, as we will see below, we also find that despite the claim of *bhakti* transcending caste-boundaries and introducing social equality, the lay devotee Śūdra is still differentiated from the rest in terms of practice and status.

[34] ŚDh 1.13–14: *yair ayaṃ śāntacetaskaiḥ śivabhaktaiḥ śivārthibhiḥ | saṃsevyate paro dharmas te rudrā nātra saṃśayaḥ || ekakālaṃ dvikālaṃ vā trikālaṃ nityaṃ eva vā | ye smaranti virūpākṣaṃ vijñeyās te gaṇeśvarāḥ ||.* For further examples of the promotion of the devotee as a divine being, see ŚDh 3.76c–77b: *kuśāpsu tarukuḍye vā apy aṅgulyāpi* (corr. *aṅgulyāpi*?) *yo likhet || krīḍayā sāyutaṃ kalpaṃ bhavet so 'pi gaṇeśvaraḥ |.* "Even if someone draws [a *liṅga*] with the finger on kuśa water or on a tree wall, or playfully makes a suitable resemblance with half-melted butter, he too is a Gaṇeśvara." ŚDh 12.2 (T32, p. 142 and T72a, p. 141): *kvacid gacchan yadā *paśyet* (T32, *payśyaṃ* T72a) *śivaliṅgam *apūjitam* (T72a, *prapūjitam* T32) | **tadā* (T72a, *sadā* T32) **saṃpūjya* (T32a, *tat pūjya* T72a) *yo gacchet sa rudro nātra saṃśayaḥ ||.* "When going anywhere, he who sees a *śivaliṅga* that is not worshipped [and] then only proceeds after having worshipped it, that [person] is a Rudra, there is no doubt."

[35] This would potentially result in the existence of multiple Rudras; this understanding may build on earlier beliefs and myths of Rudras being followers of Rudra, already found in Vedic literature (e.g., *Śatarudrīya*), which appears to have been a common perception at the time (note the reference to this concept even in BhG 10.23).

The ŚDh offers several approaches on explaining this divine nature of Śaiva devotees on earth. The first is associated with the then well-established trope that on account of their meritorious activities on earth, the worshippers will achieve divine existence in heaven. In the case of Śaiva devotees, the ŚDh specifies that they become Rudras in Rudra's heaven (*rudraloka*) due to their acts of Śaiva devotion. The concept of the divine devotee implies that after having exhausted all their merit, they return to earth, not only in the form of some auspicious rebirth but also while retaining their divine identity.[36] Thus, continuing the passage quoted above, the ŚDh teaches the following:

> Those who always worship Rudra are not ordinary men [but] Rudras descended (*paribhraṣṭa*) from Rudraloka. They are Rudras, there is no doubt.[37]

This theme of descending from Rudra's heaven upon earth is often encountered throughout the work,[38] at times paired with the idea that the devotee

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[36] Note that in the 11th/12th-century *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* of the *Śivapurāṇa*, we find the same sentiment of Rudras descending to earth, but here it is linked with the idea that they do so out of compassion, almost reminiscent of Buddhist Bodhisattva ideals; *Vāyavīyasaṃhitā* 7.2.11.32: *madbhaktānāṃ hitārthāya mānuṣaṃ bhāvam āśritāḥ | rudralokāt paribhraṣṭās te rudrā nātra saṃśayaḥ ||*. "They are Rudras, who have come down from Rudraloka and taken on a human existence for the benefit of my devotees, there is no doubt."

[37] ŚDh. 1.16: *ye 'rcayanti sadā rudraṃ na te prakṛtimānuṣāḥ | rudralokāt paribhraṣṭās te rudrā nātra saṃśayaḥ ||*. The same sentiment, but with the specification that the devotees are Gaṇeśvaras, is found in ŚDh 7.1: *ye smaranti sadākālam īśānaṃ pūjayanti vā | rudralokaparibhraṣṭā vijñeyās te gaṇeśvarāḥ ||*. "Those who meditate or worship the Lord at all times, they should be known as Gaṇeśvaras, who have come down from Rudra's world." Cf. ŚDh 1.13–14 above (n. 34).

[38] The term *paribhraṣṭa* usually has a negative connotation in brahmanical literature and implies failure of practice or losing one casts (e.g. *Viṣṇudharma* 57.3: *yas tu vipratvam utsṛjya kṣatriyatvaṃ niṣevate | brāhmaṇyāt sa paribhraṣṭaḥ kṣatrayonyāṃ prasūyate ||*. "He who abandons the status of a Brahmin and becomes a Kṣatriya, he has fallen from the status of being a Brahmin and is born in the womb of a Kṣatriya."). However, given the context of divine descent on earth, the term appears to have also a positive connotation in the ŚDh. The amiguity in phrasing may be inspired by a concept in the BhG, according to which a yogin who has failed in his practice (*yogabhraṣṭa*) is not punished for trying but rather – due to his already elevated spiritual status – only "falls" in as much as that he reaches the heavenly worlds after death and thereafter obtains an auspicious rebirth, in which he can continue his

passes through several inferior heavens before an auspicious rebirth.[39] This essentially suggests that the devotee is divine because prior to his current

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quest for perfection, see BhG 6.41–43: *prāpya puṇyakṛtāṃ lokān uṣitvā śāśvatīḥ samāḥ | śucīnāṃ śrīmatāṃ gehe yogabhraṣṭo 'bhijāyate || athavā yoginām eva kule bhavati dhīmatām | etad dhi durlabhataraṃ loke janma yad īdṛśam || tatra taṃ buddhisaṃyogaṃ labhate paurvadehikam | yatate ca tato bhūyaḥ saṃsiddhau kurunandana ||,* "Someone who has failed in his yogic practice (*yogabhraṣṭo*) reaches the heavens for meritorious people [and] after dwelling [there] for a long time (lit. eternally) is reborn in a house of pure and noble people. Alternatively, he is even born in a family of wise yogins; but a rebirth of such kind is difficult to obtain. There, [once reborn], he [re]gains knowledge/understanding of his previous life and then strives again for complete perfection, O descendant of Kuru." It may be that the ŚDh's notion of descended Rudras developed from similar concepts and is, in fact, a reworking of the BhG's teaching: similar to the yogins, the Śaiva devotees in question are already far advanced on their spiritual path but require another rebirth to strive for complete perfection. Passages as the following might support this, see ŚDh 8.36: *rudralokāt paribhraṣṭo bhavej jātismaro naraḥ | pūrvābhyāsena tenaiva punaḥ śivapadaṃ bhajet ||.* "Having descended from Rudra's heaven, [that] man remembers his [previous] birth, and through [his] previous practices he again enjoys the state of Śiva." I am grateful to Timothy Lubin for pointing the important passage in the BhG out to me.

For more on the theme of descending from Rudra's world in the ŚDh, see n. 39 below.

[39] For a similar example, see, e.g., ŚDh 8.21: *samyak samprekṣaṇaṃ kṛtvā rudralokam avāpnuyāt | surūpaḥ subhagaḥ śrīmān paribhraṣṭas tu jāyate ||.* "[He who] performs in the proper manner a spectacle [along with his *liṅga* worship (described in the verses preceding this)] attains Rudra's world [and] [after having] descended [from it] is reborn with a handsome look, with riches, and possessing luck." For an example of a gradual descent from Rudra's heaven as part of the spiritual path, see, e.g., ŚDh 10.100–109 (edition in preparation by Nirajan Kafle), which teaches an observance called the *umāmaheśvaravrata* for female devotees, as a result of which a woman first enjoys some time in Rudraloka with the Rudras and then gradually descends through the various heavens, spending further time in each of them until she is reborn on earth and obtains a young king as a husband. A similar notion to the gradual descent from Rudra's heaven is also found in the portrayal of lay religion in the *Niśvāsamukha* 1.108c–110b; here the devotee descends from Rudraloka via Vāyuloka and Agniloka and is reborn on earth as king or Brahmin. Incidentally, we can note that in the contemporaneous Vaiṣṇava sources, such as the VDh, commonly either a general heaven (*svarga*), Brahmaloka, and/or Viṣṇuloka (examples are endless, but see, e.g., VDh 7.23 for *svargaloke*, VDh 47.5 for *brahmaloke*, and VDh 3.42 for *viṣṇuloke*) are found as the spiritual destinations of the devotee, as opposed to the multitude of heavens – topped with Rudraloka – in the ŚDh. We can also note that the VDh does not incorporate any heaven of Śiva/Rudra. This may be one indication for a relative chronology of these works, with the ŚDh being composed after the VDh.

rebirth he already enjoyed a divine status in heaven, which is indicative of the fact that the devotee had already advanced far on his spiritual path in previous births and therefore already holds a much higher spiritual status than ordinary men, potentially also being close to obtaining the highest spiritual goal of liberation.[40] While it is likely that this rationalization was rather a doctrinal attempt to provide some sort of cosmological structure for explaining the proposed divine status of Śaiva devotees on earth, rather than a wide-spread belief in practiced religion, some passages suggest that the concept of the divine devotee is not merely to be understood figuratively. To this effect, we find statements that emphasise the corporeal reality of a Rudra on earth, the most explicit image being that of the devotee being a Rudra bound in human skin:

> He who in this way keeps the vow for as long as he lives, he is a Rudra bound in human skin, there is no doubt.[41]

This sentiment of tangible manifestation of divinity ties in with the second approach to account for the divine nature of the devotee on earth, namely through linking it to the performance of certain ritual activities and the adoption of certain characteristic features reminiscent of Śiva's iconography. Thus, in the following passage a devotee carrying *rudrākṣa*-beads is declared to be Rudra both in this world and thereafter:

> How wonderful is it that one becomes Rudra through the gift of *rudrākṣa*-beads! [He who carries] his rosary in his hand at all times is a Rudra walking on earth. The *rudrākṣa*-beads themselves are Rudra, and so are those who carry the *rudrākṣa*s. By carrying the *rudrākṣa*s one is Rudra in this world and the next.[42]

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[40] Cf. n. 38 above for the possibility that this rationalization is a reworking of the BhG's concept of spiritually advanced yogins, who need another rebirth to attain complete perfection (BhG 6.41–43).

[41] ŚDh 3.48: *evaṃ nirvahate yas tu yāvajjīvaṃ pratijñayā | mānuṣyacarmaṇā baddhaḥ sa rudro nātra saṃśayaḥ ||*. This verse features at the end of a longer discourse on the importance of worshipping the *liṅga* and Śiva, to the extent that it is better to commit suicide or cut off one's head than to eat without previously worshipping Śiva (ŚDh 3.47: *varaṃ prāṇaparityāgaḥ śiraso vāpi chedanam | na tv evāpūjya bhuñjīta bhagavantaṃ trilocanaṃ ||*).

[42] ŚDh 12.103–104 (T32, p. 152): *rudro rudrākṣadānena bhavatīti kim adbhutam | tanmālayā sadā haste rudraś ca kramate kṣitau || rudrākṣāṇi svayaṃ rudro ye ca*

Further, the divine embodiment of the devotee is also emphasised in the following verse, linking it to the practice of ash-bathing:

> Therefore he who takes the fiery Śiva-bath (i.e., the ash-bath) is a Rudra with this very body, there is no doubt.[43]

In another passage containing a long list of characteristics a *śivabhakta* should have (see p. 489), the ŚDh further depicts the devotee as consisting of Rudra (*rudrātman*), as well as being part of the supreme Rudra (*rudrāṃśa*), the latter being a slightly different notion to the former:[44]

> They consist of Rudra, they are intent on Rudra, they are in part Rudra, they feel devotion to Rudra; [these] are men on earth endowed with such conducts.[45]

Based on this paradigm shift to divinise the devotee, the ŚDh further propagates the idea that this divine identity is central to the devotee's performance of devotional activities. One can worship the deity only as a Rudra:

> A non-Rudra does not think of Rudra, a non-Rudra does not worship Rudra, a non-Rudra does not praise Rudra, a non-Rudra does not obtain Rudra.[46]

As we will see below (p. 501), this imperative to identify with the divine in order to worship the divine is a notion that will continue into the Tantric

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rudrākṣadhārakāḥ | rudrākṣadhāraṇāt tasmād iha rudraḥ paratra ca ||.

[43] ŚDh 11.30: *tasmād etac chivasnānam āgneyaṃ yaḥ samācaret | anenaiva śarīreṇa sa rudro nātra saṃśayaḥ ||.* Note that descriptions of ascetics smeared in ashes are also reported in the Chinese travel records, testifying to the social reality of such practices. See, e.g., BEAL 2004 (1884[1]): 55 and 114.

[44] Note the term *rudrāṃśa* has a complex history within Śaiva literature, ranging from denoting a practitioner considered to be a partial incarnation of Rudra to simply being a devotee of Rudra; see Mirnig's forthcoming entry in TAK 4.

[45] ŚDh 4.9: *rudrātmāno rudraparā rudrāṃśā rudrabhāvanāḥ | ityācārasamāyuktāḥ bhavanti bhuvi mānavāḥ ||.*

[46] ŚDh 1.24: *nārudraḥ saṃsmared rudraṃ nārudro rudram arcayet | nārudraḥ kīrttayed rudraṃ nārudro rudram āpnuyāt ||.*

sphere, where, in an extended form, it becomes a core feature of Tantric ritual ideology.

The novelty of the concept of the divine Rudra-nature of the devotee also becomes apparent when we compare the ŚDh with other sources within the Śaiva sphere. Contemporaneous works dating to about the sixth or seventh century that describe the same religious milieu of the Śaiva lay householder – the *Skandapurāṇa* and sections of the *Niśvāsamukha* (see n. 6) – do not conceptualise the devotee in the same manner. While they too teach that divine existence in heaven is the spiritual goal of pious devotees, the nature of this heavenly existence often remains unspecified, and if it is specified, devotees are portrayed as a chief of Śiva's divine attendants (*gaṇa*s), namely a Gaṇeśvara ("chief of attendants"), but never as a Rudra.[47] Nor do we find the trope of the divine Rudra-devotee on earth in these early sources but only in those postdating the ŚDh.[48] Even in an episode of the *Skandapurāṇa*, which alludes to the specific practice of the ash bath by relating how gods diving into a heap of ashes next to Śiva were identified as devotees, they are only referred to as *raudra*s, i.e. "followers of Rudra".[49]

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[47] We may note here that the Śaiva sources differ from the contemporaneous Vaiṣṇava texts on this point, in which the devotee is granted entry into heaven rather than given a specific divine identity (see, for instance, the examples of the VDh given in n. 39).

[48] E.g., LP 2.21.81: *ekakālaṃ dvikālaṃ vā trikālaṃ nityam eva vā | ye 'rcayanti mahādevaṃ te rudrā nātra saṃśayaḥ ||* (almost parallel to ŚDh 1.14) and LP 2.21.82, parallel to ŚDh 1.24 (see n. 46). *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* 10.217c–218b: *ye śrīmadvijayeśānam arcayanti yathāvidhi || rudralokāvatīrṇās te rudrā eva mahītale |.* "Those who worship the venerable Lord of Victory (i.e., Śiva) according to the rules, they certainly are Rudras on earth, having descended from Rudra's heaven." *Śivopaniṣad* 7.138–139: *ye śrāvayanti satataṃ śivadharmaṃ *śivārthinaḥ* (conj.; *śivārthinām* cod.) *| te rudrās te munīndrāś ca te namasyāḥ svabhaktitaḥ || ye samutthāya śṛṇvanti śivadharmaṃ dine dine | te rudrā rudralokeśā na te prakṛtimānuṣāḥ ||.* "Those who are longing for Śiva [and] always proclaim the Śivadharma, they are Rudras, and they are the best of sages, to be worshipped through one's own devotion. Those who get up and listen to the Śivadharma every day, they are Rudras, the Lords of Rudra's heaven, they are no ordinary men."

[49] SP 32.209ab: *raudrāḥ paśava ete hi praveśād bhasmano 'dhunā |.* See also SP (Bh) 180.2c–4b.

Points of influence in the *Śivadharma's* conceptualisation of the divine devotee

While the ŚDh introduces many concepts that are novel compared to other contemporaneous literature, such texts were certainly not produced in isolation. As products of their time, they reflect and respond to existing practices and also feature direct influences or inspirations of earlier or concurrent traditions. As we would expect, this is also the case with the conceptualisation of the devotee, in which certain elements can be linked with preceding or contemporaneous motives or practices, even if they were pieced together differently to propagate a new model. The following identifies such aspects from three strands of influence, namely the Brahmanical tradition, old Śaiva ascetic initiatory groups, and early Buddhist traditions.

The Brahmanical milieu: of Brahmins and kings as divine embodiments on earth

The trope of the divine walking the earth in human form, as we have seen in the passages above, is not in itself a novel feature of the ŚDh. We find this motive already in the Brahmanical literature, but there it is restricted to the political and religious elites of the system, namely kings and Brahmins. Thus, in classical literature we find that kings are often described as God incarnate on earth, analogous to the mythical kings Rāma and Daśaratha, who are considered as incarnations of Viṣṇu.[50] As for Brahmins, it is a well-known idiom that they are divine beings on earth,[51] which is how their prerogative of receiving offerings on behalf of the deity is explained. As will also be discussed below, encroaching on this privileged space of the Vedic Brahmin was one of the strategies of the propagators of the ŚDh. This agenda may be a contributing factor to the development of the trope of worshippers as divine Rudras on earth, mirroring the Brahmanical concept

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[50] For Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu walking the earth, see, e.g., Mbh 3.147.28: *atha dāśarathir vīro rāmo nāma mahābalaḥ | viṣṇur mānuṣarūpeṇa cacāra vasudhām imām ||.* "Then the son of Daśaratha, the hero of great strength named Rāma, was Viṣṇu walking this earth in human form." A similar example with Āditya can be found at Mbh 2.11.2. See also VdhU 1.36.12.

[51] Cf. VDh chapter 50 outlined in GRÜNENDAHL 1984: 15–16.

of the divine identity of exceptional practitioners and extending it to the entire community of Śiva worshippers regardless of social level.

Ascetic practices transposed into the householder ritual milieu

Another point of influence appears to come more directly from the Śaiva milieu. As we have seen, divine identity is also linked with the bearing of the characteristic marks of Śaiva devotees, such as the *rudrākṣa*-beads and ashes. These go back to the sectarian marks and eccentric practices pertaining to the Śaiva ascetic groups of the Atimārga (see n. 17), in particular the Pāśupatas, for whom the wearing of such marks of devotion form part of the soteriological path.[52] In part, these marks are worn in order to imitate Śiva in his ascetic cremation-ground manifestation.[53] In the formation of a new model for conceptualising the devotee community, Śaiva propagators may thus also have been inspired by these well-known ascetic practices aimed at imitating the divinity, while conceptually shifting from imitation of the deity to adopting a divine identity – from *raudra* to *rudra*, as it were. While the authors may in fact have originally envisaged the ascetic practitioners when speaking of these characteristics, they – at least theoretically – extended these practices to the householder devotee, who now is also recommended to carry *rudrākṣa*-beads or smear himself with ashes. Thus, aspects that are considered core elements of the antinomian practices on the Pāśupata's soteriological path also form part of the practices of lay householders in the context of the ŚDh.

A paradigmatic example for this is the *śivaliṅgamahāvrata* taught for lay devotees in the ninth chapter,[54] "the great observance of the *śivaliṅga*," a term directly alluding to the sectarian *mahāvrata*.[55] This is an ascetic

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[52] For instance, bathing in and sleeping on ashes constitute the first injunctions for the ascetic Pāśupata practitioner in the tradition's authoritative scripture, the *Pāśupatasūtra*. Thus, see *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.2–3: *bhasmanā triṣavaṇaṃ snāyīta* || *bhasmani śayīta* ||. "One must bath in ashes three times a day [i.e., at dawn, noon, and sunset]. One must lie in ashes [for sleeping]." See also *Kauṇḍinya*'s commentary thereon. On the significance of ashes in the Pāśupata context, see HARA 2003, and for literary descriptions of Pāśupatas wearing ashes outside the tradition's prescriptive literature, see HARA 2002b: 150–151, n. 29.

[53] See, e.g., BAKKER 2010 and ACHARYA 2013: 127.

[54] A critical edition and study of this chapter is currently under preparation by the author.

[55] See Bisschop's forthcoming entry on *mahāvrata* in TAK 4.

observance that consists of imitating the deity's expiatory observance after cutting off Brahman's head by walking around smeared with ashes and with a skull bowl. Not only does the terminology of the *śivaliṅga-mahāvrata* call into mind this practice, but also the observance itself as described in the ŚDh contains ritual elements that are particular to Pāśu-pata practice. These include, for instance, a specific set of offerings (*upahāra*) that the adherent is to present to Śiva, consisting of eccentric elements such as mad dancing, laughter, and making the ominous "mouth-sound" (*mukhavādya*).[56]

Also the conceptualisation of the spiritual goal of ultimate liberation appears at times to be inspired by Pāśupata terminology in the ŚDh. In some passages the spiritual goal is described as the state in which merit (*dharma*) and demerit (*adharma*) no longer affect the soul, a dictum frequently used to describe the final liberated state of the Pāśupata ascetic practitioner.[57] Here we encounter the by this time common transposition of spiritual goals associated with ascetic practice into the householder context: liberation is no longer the result of austere practices classically associated with the soteriological path, but it is promised along with worldly desires to the householder as the result of devotional ritual activities, which here also contain elements of Śaiva ascetic practices. This synthesis of both value systems – the one of the ascetic and the one of the householder – that characterises many parts of the ŚDh is epitomised in passages such as the following, in which the devotee obtains Rudra's world through *liṅga* worship and may choose between *bhukti* (enjoyments) and *mukti* (liberation) once his heavenly existence comes to an end:

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[56] See, e.g., ŚDh 5.8–9, 129 and 158. For these *upahāra*s, see *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.8. The exact nature of the *mukhavādya* sound is still subject to debate; probably it consists of making sounds by hitting the mouth. See BISSCHOP & GRIFFITHS 2007: 34, n. 155.

[57] For instance, *dharmādharmavivarjita*, "free of merit and demerit," in ŚDh 3.53. Cf. the description of the final liberated state of the Pāśupata yogic practitioner in Kauṇḍinya's commentary on *Pāśupatasūtra* 5.38–39: *ekaḥ kṣemī san vītaśokaḥ | apramādī gacched duḥkhānām antam īśaprasādāt |.* "Alone, secure, existing [without action], free from sorrow, mindful he will reach the end of suffering from the grace of the master." (Transl. HARA 1966): *atra dharmādharmayor vṛttyor uparame avasitaprayojanatvāt pakvaphalavat sarpakañcukavad gataprāyeṣu kāryakaraṇeṣu rudre sthitacitto niṣkala eka ity abhidhīyate.* "When merit and demerit cease their activities and the effect [body] and the instruments [sense-organs] have almost departed since they have accomplished their object like a ripened fruit or like the slough of a serpent, the aspirant with his mind fixed upon Rudra and without material components is called alone." (Transl. HARA ibid.).

He who establishes one *liṅga*, following the prescriptions, together with gifts [such as the ritual fee] attains ten million times ten million of the amount of merit arising from all religious traditions. Having rescued twenty-one generations from the mother's side and the father's side, and the wife he has married, he is celebrated in the heaven of Rudra. After having enjoyed plenty of pleasures [in heaven], at the time of cosmic dissolution, he reaches union [characterised by ultimate, liberating] knowledge (*jñānayoga*) and is liberated right there. Alternatively, if he desires a kingdom, he will be born in another life as a powerful king over the earth with its seven continents and oceans.[58]

Buddhist themes

In several aspects of the conceptualisation of the devotee in the ŚDh we can sense themes and influences that were already well-established within the Buddhist sphere, even if we cannot trace specific textual influences. Given the spatial proximity of Buddhist and Brahmanical groups and their competition for the same resources and patronage of kings, it would, however, not be surprising to see similar aspects and strategies in these emerging Śaiva works and practices. For instance, the ŚDh's stance that the degree of devotion can supersede caste-boundaries in terms of spiritual status and the absence of any emphasis on the concept of *svadharma* calls into mind the Buddhists' fundamental rejection of the Brahmanical socio-religious system, with discourses on the insignificance of caste and class already long present at the time. Already in the Pali canon we find the concept of the "true Brahmin," whose superiority is defined through his morals and actions rather than his birth status.[59] Eltschinger has demonstrated how Buddhist thinkers as early as the fourth to sixth centuries even provided sub-

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[58] ŚDh 3.59–62: *yo liṅgaṃ sthāpayed ekaṃ vidhipūrvaṃ sadakṣiṇam | sarvā-gamoditaṃ puṇyaṃ koṭikoṭiguṇaṃ labhet || mātṛjaṃ pitṛjañ caiva yāṃś caivo-dvahate striyam | kulaikaviṃśam uttārya rudraloke mahīyate || bhuktvā ca vipulān bhogān pralaye samupasthite | jñānayogaṃ samāsādya sa tatraiva vimuñcati || athavā rājyam ākāṃkṣej jāyate sa bhavāntare | saptadvīpasamudrāyāḥ kṣiter adhi-patir vaśī ||.* Similarly, ŚDh 3.38: *yas tu pūjayate nityaṃ liṅgaṃ tribhuvaneśvaram | sa svargamokṣarājyānāṃ kṣipraṃ bhavati bhājanam ||.* "He who constantly worships the *liṅga* that is the Lord of the three worlds (i.e., Śiva) quickly attains heaven, liberation, or a kingdom."

[59] MASEFIELD 1986: 146ff.

stantial philosophical arguments to refute the ontological reality of caste status and argued that it is merely a matter of convention rather than an innate quality.[60]

Buddhism is also a precursor regarding the idea of developing ways to reach the highest spiritual goal of *nirvāṇa* through devotional practices rather than exclusively through gnostic, meditative and ascetic methods. For instance, in his study on early Mahāyāna inscriptions dating to the beginning of the first millennium, Schopen has demonstrated how lay as well as monastic practitioners donated images with the hope of accumulating merit that would lead them to *nirvāṇa*, despite the imperative to pursue gnostic methods in authoritative scriptures.[61] Similarly, in the ŚDh the establishment of Śaiva cult images – in particular the *śivaliṅga* – are presented to the householder as a way to attain liberation, surpassing the common Purāṇic goals of heavenly existence and auspicious rebirth.[62]

Descriptions of the characteristics of a lay devotee in the ŚDh also appear to mirror principles and characteristics of the Buddhist lay disciple, the *upāsaka* and focus exclusively on moral qualities. Characteristics that are specific to the Brahmanical sphere, such as knowledge of the Veda and Vedic ritual as well as the common physical qualities of proper Brahmin priests are conspicuously absent. Thus, the fourth chapter of the ŚDh opens with the following passage:

> Śiva worshippers, who employ great effort, are completely devoted to the worship of Śiva, self-controlled, [and] endowed with *dharma*, they achieve all goals. [They are] free of all opposites, with eternally zealous minds, completely devoted to serving others, intent on serving the *guru*, honest, gentle, content, agreeable, speaking good words, not proud, possessing intellect, having abandoned envy, without desire, calm, with a smiling face, gracious, always pronouncing welcomes, of concise speech, speaking little, valiant, experienced in giving, perfected through pure conduct, completely focused on compassion and kindness, free of deceit and jealousy, speaking in accordance with the truth, intent on sharing, wise, and also honest and unreproachable, and also not attached to any sense objects, just like the lotus leaf [is not stained] by water, not distressed, nor tainted, nor

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[60] ELTSCHINGER 2012 (2000[1]).

[61] SCHOPEN 1997.

[62] See MIRNIG 2016 for Nepalese epigraphical evidence for such practices contemporaneous to the ŚDh.

subject to disease, they have their selves focused, have faith, and are honoured by good people. [These] wise men, being free of all passions, they are not unsteady regarding their feet, hands, mouth, eyes, ears, genitals, and stomach. They consist of Rudra, they are intent on Rudra, they are in part Rudra, they feel devotion to Rudra; [these] are men on earth endowed with such conducts. Resorting to exclusive devotion [for only Śiva], they abide in these good qualities. [They should] eternally worship Śiva for attaining lower and higher powers.[63]

The divinisation of the devotee: strategy and impact on socio-religious structures

To what extent is this conceptualisation of the divine worshipper on earth relevant for forming an understanding of the community of worshippers envisaged by the text? Considering the religio-political landscape at the time of the composition of the ŚDh, we know that prior to this period Śaiva devotional practices were not very visible in Sanskrit normative literature or the epics,[64] although archaeological and epigraphical evidence demonstrates that forms of Śiva worship were already present in the population for some centuries prior, as alluded to earlier.[65] Some signs that suggest the presence of *liṅga* worship are also mentioned in the epics; however, as

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[63] ŚDh 4.1–10: *śivabhaktā mahotsāhāḥ śivārcanaparāyaṇāḥ | saṃyatā dharmasampannāḥ sarvārthān sādhayanti te || sarvadvandvavinirmuktā nityam udyuktacetasaḥ | paropakāraniratā guruśuśrūṣaṇe ratāḥ || ārjavā mṛdavaḥ svasthā anukūlāḥ priyamvadāḥ | amānino buddhimantaḥ tyaktaspardhā gataspṛhāḥ || śāntāḥ smitamukhā bhadrāḥ nityaṃ svāgatavādikāḥ | alpavāco 'lpavaktāraḥ śūrāḥ tyāgaviśāradāḥ || śaucācāreṇa sampannā dayādākṣiṇyatatparāḥ | dambhamātsaryanirmuktāḥ yathātathyaprabhāṣiṇaḥ || samvibhāgaparāḥ prajñāśaṭhāś cāpy akutsitāḥ | viṣayeṣv api nirlepāḥ padmapatram ivāmbhasā || na dīnā nāpi malinā na ca rogavaśānugāḥ | bhavanti bhavitātmānaḥ śraddhāḥ sādhuniṣevitāḥ || na pādapāṇivākcakṣuḥśrotuśiśnodare budhāḥ | capalyaṃ naiva kurvanti sarvavyasanavarjitāḥ || rudrātmāno rudraparā rudrāṃśā rudrabhāvanāḥ | ityācārasamāyuktā bhavanti bhuvi mānavāḥ || ekāntabhaktim āsthāya guṇeṣv eteṣu vartante | pūjanīyaḥ śivo nityaṃ parāparavibhūtaye ||.*

[64] For the discrepancy between early archaeological evidence of Śiva worship and its late appearance in Sanskrit literature, see BAKKER 2001, especially pp. 402–404.

[65] See SANDERSON 2013. A well-known example is, for instance, the production of *śivaliṅga*s in Mathurā starting from the third century onwards. On the development and dating of the iconographical scheme around the production of *śivaliṅga*s in Mathurā, see KREISEL 1986.

Bakker argues, they are there associated with the practices of certain kinds of demonic beings (*rakṣa*), thereby suggesting that this mode of worship was associated with more inferior social groups from the orthodox Brahmanical point of view.[66] These facts indicate that although this level of devotional practices was present, it was sidelined by the religious elite, unlike devotion directed to Viṣṇu, which is widely emphasised in the epics and normative literature as well as in the iconography of kings leading up to this period.[67] With the sixth century, it thus seems that works such as the ŚDh were produced to elevate this level of practice by producing a Sanskrit corpus that provided scriptural authority. In this religio-historical context, the device of divine identity of the devotee community can also be seen as a tool to transgress existing social norms and generally elevate the status of Śaiva worshippers in a religious world dominated by a Brahmanical religious elite, which favoured Vaiṣṇavism over Śaivism and promoted the spiritual superiority of the Vedic Brahmin. By introducing such strong notions of the Śaiva devotee's spiritual superiority, the ŚDh was able to promote the *śivabhakta* as a worthy receptacle for offerings – a crucial position within the socio-religious framework and a prerogative originally reserved for the community of Brahmins. As discussed earlier, Brahmins were also described with the same trope of being the divine walking the earth.[68] The parallelism between the divine *śivabhakta* and the divine Brahmin is striking, and in fact – as Lubin shows[69] – one of the agendas found in the ŚDh includes the substitution of ordinary Brahmins by *śivabhakta* Brahmins as a receptacle for offerings (*pātra*). Lubin argues that this is part of the larger agenda to subsume and recast the Brahmanical social order within a Śaiva devotional framework, redefining each of the life stages of the *varṇāśrama* system as a *śivāśrama* in the ŚDh's eleventh chapter, and teaching that each of these stages is enhanced through Śaiva devotion. Thus, as alluded to earlier, despite the radical statements of superiority over the Brahmanical system, we see that the work neither rejects adherence to the traditional system nor suggests that it should be abandoned, an inclusivistic attitude that will remain central to the success of Śaiva traditions.[70]

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[66] BAKKER 2001.

[67] See, e.g., GONDA 1993 (1954[1]): 164–167.

[68] See p. 485.

[69] LUBIN forthcoming.

[70] See SANDERSON 2013 on the adherence of Śaiva initiatory groups to the Brahmanical socio-religious order.

At the same time, the ŚDh also promotes Śaiva ascetics as suitable re-
ceptacles for offerings, as will be discussed below (see p. 494). Further,
throughout the ŚDh this adherence to the Brahmanical socio-religious order
is never explicitly made an imperative. In fact, as was alluded to earlier,
key terms and discourses present in the contemporaneous Vaiṣṇava works
to promote adherence to the Brahmanical order are absent in the ŚDh.
Thus, the term *svadharma* does not feature a single time, nor do we find
any treatments of heretics (*pāṣaṇḍa*), both of which are important topics in
Vaiṣṇava literature and make up large parts of works such as the
Viṣṇudharma.[71] Further, with the exception of the Brahmin and a single
verse about the Śūdra (see below), the categories of *varṇa* are not men-
tioned outside the *śivāśrama* chapter. On the contrary, we have seen that in
the opening chapter even the ultimate social outsiders according to Brah-
manical norms, the dog-eaters and foreigners, are considered better than a
Brahmin if only they are Śaiva devotees. Nor is the quality of knowing the
Vedas ever mentioned as a requirement, as we have seen earlier.[72] The re-
definition of the spiritual status not according to concurrent orthodox norms
but through one's divine nature as a *śivabhakta* thus introduced a paradigm
shift that opened the door to the participation of groups considered inferior
or outside the social system as well as religious professionals from lower
classes. Within the Brahmanical system this concerns particularly the
Śūdras, who in the ŚDh are explicitly included as participants in institu-
tionalised religious life, as servants to *yoga* masters, and as living on the
temple grounds and tending to the temple gardens.[73] In this context, we
may note that the Śūdra devotee is referred to as *gaṇa*, a divine attendant,

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[71] See GRÜNENDAHL (1983: 64) who points to the frequent discourses on
*pāṣaṇḍa*s and how they threaten the Brahmanical socio-religious order in the
Viṣṇudharma; e.g., chapter 25 and 44. The topic of the *pāṣaṇḍa*s in the VDh will be
further explored by LUBIN forthcoming.

[72] Cf. ŚDh 4.1–10 on pp. 489f.

[73] ŚDh 11.42–44. Incidentally, we find that in Tantric works such as Trilo-
canaśiva's *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* the Śūdra lay devotee also features in the list of
communities for which purificatory rituals are prescribed. There, the Śūdra lay devo-
tee is associated with the practice of wearing ashes and *rudrākṣa*-beads. See
Prāyaścittasamuccaya 584: *ye ca māheśvarāḥ śūdrā bhasmarudrākṣadhāriṇaḥ |
teṣāṁ pañcadaśāhena śuddhiḥ sūtau mṛtāv api ||*. "As for lay-devotees of Śiva who
are Śūdras and who wear ash and *rudrākṣa*s, they are purified after fifteen days, both
in the case of birth and death." (Transl. SATHYANARAYAN 2015: 303).

thus again giving the devotee an elevated divine status, albeit one inferior to the Rudra.[74]

This potential to include lower social groups or even those outside the *varṇa* system may have been a contributing factor to why the text became particularly popular in the South, where the society featured several groups that were not considered part of the orthodox Brahmanical *varṇa* system. We know that *bhakti* movements grew to constitute an important religious force in the South Indian religious landscape. In fact, the ŚDh only slightly precedes, if at all, the vernacular devotional literature, such as the Tēvāram, a collection of Śaiva devotional poetry dating to the seventh to eighth centuries. In her analysis of *bhakti* in the South, Prentiss points out that in the hymns of one of the Śaiva saints named Appar Tirunāvukkaracu Nāyaṉār (seventh century) "the sameness of the *bhakta*s through the shared essence of kinship and partaking of Śiva's nature" is emphasised. She argues that through this rhetoric of shared identity the practitioners did not only promote the *bhakta*s as superior in the spiritual hierarchy but also derived a divine ethnic legitimation, since "Śiva is the Lord of the Tamil lands and language, the *bhakta*s share their Tamilness with each other and with Śiva."[75]

The promotion of the Śaiva yogin: "cala/jaṅgama liṅgas"

Aside from – at least theoretically – making the religion thus available for social outsiders, the ŚDh follows another significant agenda alluded to above, namely the promotion of Śaiva ascetic *yogin*s. Especially in the twelfth chapter we find a broad range of recommended donations to such

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[74] Note that in subsequent Tantric circles initiation names given to Śūdras – who in this context were also not excluded from participation – were, in fact, names ending in -*gaṇa*. See GOODALL's entry on *gaṇa* in TĀNTRIKĀBHIDHĀNAKOŚA 3. While we do not have explicit reference to Śaiva initiations for Śūdras in the ŚDh, note that there are two passages, which enjoin that Śūdras without a *śivasaṃskāra*, i.e. to some Śaiva purificatory ritual or even initiation, may not drink milk from a Kapilā cow, whose milk is considered particularly sacred for brahmanical ritual activities, namely ŚDh 5.14: *kāpilyaṃ yaḥ pibec chūdraḥ śivasaṃskāravarjitaḥ | pacyate sa mahāghore suciraṃ narakārṇave ||*; and ŚDh 8.50: *kapilāṃ yaḥ pivec chūdraḥ śivasaṃskāravarjitaḥ | sa prayāti mahāghoraṃ narakaṃ nātra saṃśayaḥ ||.* These verses could be interpreted both ways: either that there is a possibility to receive *śivasaṃskāra* for Śūdras and if they do so they obtain the ritual priviledge to drink the milk from a Kapilā cow; or the verses may imply that Śūdras cannot receive *śivasaṃskāra* and are therefore unable to drink the sacred milk.

[75] PRENTISS 2000: 68.

*śivayogin*s, including valuables, practical items, and housing. Further, we find that such *śivayogin*s are even recommended as suitable receptacles for food during *śrāddha* offerings.[76] Offering housing and making *śivayogin*s part of core religious rites suggests that the ŚDh thus also envisaged an increasing institutionalisation of such ascetic groups, supported by the laity, reminiscent of the ways in which Buddhist monastic circles looked for support from the sphere of lay practitioners.[77]

In this respect, the content and history of the following passage of the ŚDh is particularly interesting. In the third chapter, which is dedicated to the origin myth of *liṅga* worship and discusses various types of *liṅga*s and how to worship them, a passage classifies the *liṅga* into mobile (*cara*) and immobile (*acara*) forms, with the former possibly referring to the ascetic practitioner:

> There are two *liṅga*s enumerated, namely the mobile and the immobile. The mobile is known as *prāṇin* [i.e., the living being];[78] the immobile [consists of those materials] such as earth. Maheśvara, being

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[76] Timothy Lubin, in a series of conference presentations provides various sources of evidence to show that more generally the *śrāddha* feeding of Brahmins was itself encouraged as a response to insitutionalized feeding of Buddhist monks and other ascetics (e.g. "Feeding Monks, Feeding Brahmins: Competing Idioms of Religious Semiotics in Early india", 45th Annual Conference on South Asia, Madison, 20–23 October 2016), thus making this move to promote *śivayogin*s as recipients of *śrāddha* offerings part of a larger development (see also Lubin's paper on On Feeding Śivabhaktas and Other Rules of Śivāśrama-Dharma," paper for a panel on "Śivadharma and the Formation of Lay Śaivism" at the 227th Meeting of the American Oriental Society, Los Angeles, 17–20 March 2017.)

Note that feeding Śaiva ascetics features also in later Tantric ritual *śrāddha* practices. See, e.g., MIRNIG 2019.

[77] BISSCHOP 2010.

[78] The constitution of the text is uncertain and corrupted at this point in most manuscripts. This translation is based on the marginal corrections of the Nepalese palm-leaf ms. Add 1645 (Cambridge) and ms. G3852 (Calcutta). Other readings, however, appear to support this reading: *prāṇeti* in ms. G4077 (Calcutta), *pratīti* in the post correctionem reading of A1082-3 (NAK) and in the Pondicherry transcript IFP 514, *prītīti* in the ac reading of A1082-3 (NAK) and post correctionem reading of G3852 (Calcutta), and *prāṇī* in the ante correctionem reading of Add 1645 (Cambridge); Bod. Or. B 125 (Oxford) reads *vratīti*, i.e., "the vow-holder," suggesting that the scribe also thought it suitable to explicitly mention the ascetic and thus further supporting the interpretation. The full apparatus will be available in the author's forthcoming edition of this chapter.

pleased, resides at all times in the moving [*liṅga*]. The unmoving [*liṅga*] is prepared with *mantra*s. Both are eternal and forever auspicious. By disrespecting the moving [*liṅga*]/the ascetic, the fixed [*liṅga*] becomes fruitless. Therefore the wise man should never disrespect either *liṅga*.[79]

While in this passage the mobile *liṅga* can also be interpreted to refer to a small *liṅga* carried by the practitioner, it may also denote a practitioner that is considered as a moving *liṅga*, that is to say Śiva, a conceptualisation that closely corresponds to the concept of the divine on earth. This interpretation of the mobile *liṅga* denoting a Śaiva practitioner and more particularly an ascetic is not only suggested by the readings of the manuscripts, but also by a later addition to the text in the southern recension. Here, one transcript defines the mobile (*jaṅgama*) *liṅga* explicitly as an initiate, and another as the worshipper.[80] While this cannot completely clarify whether this was originally intended at the time of the ŚDh's composition, the interpretation of the ascetic or worshipper as a mobile form of the deity appears in subsequent sources. For instance, we have a close parallel example in a later Vaiṣṇava text on ascetics, namely the *Yatidharmaprakāśa*, where the mobile form of the deity is explicitly named to be the renouncer, the *saṃnyāsin*.[81] Further, we find that in the Vīraśaiva tradition, whose authoritative scriptures often draw on the ŚDh,[82] precisely the above quoted passage is frequently drawn upon to demonstrate that Vīraśaiva ascetics are to

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[79] ŚDh 3.54–56: *liṅgadvayaṃ samākhyātaṃ sacarācaram eva ca | caraṃ prāṇīti vikhyātam acaraṃ pārthivādikam || care sadā vasaty eva prītiyukto maheśvaraḥ | acaro mantrasaṃskāro dvayaṃ nityaṃ sadāśivam || jaṅgamasyāpamānena sthāvaro niṣphalo bhavet | tasmāl liṅgadvayaṃ prājño nāvamanyeta jātucit ||.*

[80] Insertion by T 32 and T 514 after verse ŚDh 3.55: *sthāvaraṃ jaṃgamaṃ caiva dvividhaṃ liṃgam *ucyate* (T 514, *iṣyate* T 32) *| sthāvaraṃ *sthāpitaṃ liṃgaṃ jaṃgamaṃ dīkṣitaṃ viduḥ* (T 32, *liṃgam ity āhuḥ jaṃgamaṃ tasya pūjakam* T 514) ||. "The liṅga is said to be of two kinds, namely an immobile and mobile one. *They know the immobile liṅga to be the one that has been established [through a consecration ritual and] the mobile [*liṅga*] to be an initiated [person] (T32, T 514: They call the immobile one the liṅga, and the immobile one the worshipper)."

[81] *Yatidharmaprakāśa* 53.18: *vāsudevasya dve rūpe calaṃ cācalam eva ca | saṃnyāsī tu calaṃ rūpam acalaṃ pratimātmakam ||.* "There are two forms of Vāsudeva: the mobile and the immobile. The mobile form is the renouncer, while the immobile consists of images." (Text and transl. from OLIVELLE 2011: 235–236).

[82] A paper on this topic is currently being prepared by Jonathan Duquette and Nina Mirnig.

be perceived as mobile *liṅga*s, i.e., mobile manifestations of the deity. Further, southern epigraphical material of the Kālāmukhas frequently features the same notion of the *jaṅgamaliṅga* denoting the Śaiva ascetic.[83] We also find another example of this concept in the South Indian Śaiva Tantric tradition, more particularly the prominent Śaiva Siddhānta, where in the twelfth century Aghoraśiva, a famous author of ritual manuals and philosophical treatises, describes in a passage on ritual processions that the Śaiva Tantric priest is sometimes referred to as the mobile version of Śiva.[84] Thus, we see that here too, the conception of the divine deity on earth in the form of the practitioner – here in terms of the *liṅga* – becomes an important and influential trope in the perception of this particular religious group and its professionals.

The ŚDh and the Śaiva initiatory traditions

With the various strategies contained in the ŚDh, the work lends itself to the promotion of Śaiva cults within the mainstream and in new territories. This raises the question of which specific organised Śaiva groups were behind its production or may have subsequently taken advantage of it. Given the religious landscape at the time, it is tempting to link the production of the work to some of the Śaiva initiatory groups that had formed by the sixth century and were looking to expand their reach. However, if we try to link the ŚDh to specific Śaiva initiatory groups that may have been involved in its composition, we are faced with the problem that the work contains no explicit sectarian references.[85] Even in the case of the *śivayogin*

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[83] See, e.g., RIPEPI 2007: 74, n. 23, FILLIOZAT 2001: 61–62, and V. FILLIOZAT & P.S. FILLIOZAT 2012.

[84] DAVIS 2010: 38: "Priests even invoke Śiva into a bowl of moist paste that is smeared on the liṅga, the icons, and the devotees just before the great chariot procession on the seventh day. Some Āgamas describe the priest himself as a form of Śiva, a 'mobile liṅga' (*calaliṅga*). It is as if the festival were designed to offer a practical demonstration of Śiva's ubiquity."

[85] Some speculations on this topic have already been voiced. Thus, while HAZRA remains silent on this issue regarding the ŚDh (HAZRA 1952), he claims that the ŚDhU is a Pāśupata text because it mentions terminology originating in these circles (HAZRA 1956). In the same line of argument, the SP, probably contemporaneous with the ŚDh, has been suggested to be a Pāśupata text. See ADRIAENSEN & BAKKER & ISAACSON 1998: 4 and, in particular, BISSCHOP 2006: 38–50. However, these exclusive claims of Pāśupata authorship cannot be regarded as certain, as will be demonstrated below.

no sectarian affiliations are specified. This question of sectarian affiliation is also further complicated by the range of different socio-religious agendas at play. On the one hand, the strong promotion of Śaiva Brahmins could be interpreted as an indication that precisely such groups originating from the Brahmanical elite, rather than from Śaiva ascetic circles, were involved in the composition of the text. On the other, we see that another central agenda is to promote the transcendence of the Brahmanical socio-religious order as well as to further the institutionalisation of Śaiva ascetic practitioners, who originally largely adopted antinomian practices that would not be acceptable in an orthodox Brahmanical context. The single uniting factor is the notion of the elevated divine identity of the Śaiva devotee. Essentially an egalitarian ideal is promoted, so that within this community any kind of *śivabhakta* is spiritually equal. This strategy makes the ŚDh's socio-religious model highly flexible and adaptive, serving a multitude of agendas and allowing for both the participation of religious officiants that do not conform to Brahmanical norms as well as the compliance with Brahmanical ritual life, which is considered enhanced by Śaiva devotion. I would like to argue that it is through this dual agenda that the ŚDh canonised a Śaiva social order that facilitated the rise of the integration of Śaiva initiatory traditions into public life, thus creating the religious milieu that contributed to their success. After all, the composition of the ŚDh follows an increased presence of public expressions of adherence to Śaiva faith and Śaiva devotional activities amongst the mainstream in the epigraphic records as well as the appearance of members of ascetic groups, such as the Pāśupatas, in public life.[86] And it is from this period onwards that Tantrism became an important religious force within the Śaiva world, further highlighting the pivotal moment for Śaiva history which is also characterised through the composition of the ŚDh. In the following, continuities from the existing initiatory traditions into the ŚDh and continuities from the ŚDh into the newly emerging Tantric ideology will be traced to further investigate this point.

The Śivadharma and the Atimārga

At the time of the composition of the ŚDh, Śaiva initiatory groups consisted of ascetic groups, subsequently grouped by the Śaiva tradition under the umbrella term Atimārga (see n. 17). Amongst these it was in particular the

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[86] See, e.g., SANDERSON 2013: 225. For more on early epigraphical evidence for Śaivism in this period, see also the contribution in BOSMA & MIRNIG 2013.

Pāśupatas who emerged as officiating priests, recipients of donations, and administrators of temple assets in epigraphical records,[87] despite the fact that their prescriptive sources prohibit precisely this kind of interaction with public life.[88] It is those Pāśupatas that are commonly put forward as key players in the production of the ŚDh, a proposition first made by Hazra (see n. 85). As we have seen, there are several aspects which suggest that Pāśupata propagators indeed formed part of the religious milieu from which the ŚDh emerged: First, the emphasis on ash-bathing, which is also central to the Pāśupata practice.[89] Second, certain technical terms and phrases associated with Pāśupata teachings appear in the ŚDh, such as forms of Pāśupata worship and the description of the liberated state.[90] From a societal point of view, given the eccentric and antinomian practices associated with the Pāśupatas and designed to provoke the mainstream,[91] they constitute precisely the kind of group that would have seemed objectionable in an orthodox Brahmanical setting. In the ŚDh, however, we have already seen that the ritual and visual features originating from this scene were not only integrated into the range of recommended practices, but they were also directly linked with the divine nature of the devotee on earth. By featuring such eccentric practices, the ŚDh thus clearly demonstrates an attitude of openness towards even controversial forms of Śaiva devotion, making it not only acceptable but commendable. This would have also promoted the participation of priests from this sphere – as evidenced in plenty of inscriptions[92] –, even if they may at first have seemed objectionable to orthodox society. To demonstrate the case in point, the Nepalese epigraphical material provides an example in which we can trace this process in society. Here, while protection of the Brahmanical *varṇāśramadharma* was clearly

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[87] For an overview, see SANDERSON 2013. For case studies, see, e.g., RAMESH & TIWARI 1990 for Pāśupatas in Bagh and MIRNIG 2016 for Pāśupatas in the Kathmandu Valley.

[88] See SANDERSON 2013.

[89] See above and, e.g., *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.2. *bhasmasnāna*. Cf., e.g., HARA 2002a: 61–62 for the centrality of ashes to Pāśupata ritual and the purifying nature they are believed to have.

[90] E.g., ŚDh 3.53cd: *śivatvaṃ yānti vai kṣipraṃ dharmādharmavivarjitāḥ ǁ*. "[These Śaiva religious practitioners] quickly attain Śiva-nature and become free of *dharma* and *adharma*." See p. 487, n. 57.

[91] One of the stages of Pāśupata practice famously constitutes imitating mad behaviour in order to induce a merit transfer from those wrongly judging the practitioner. See, e.g., HARA 2002b: 105ff. and INGALLS 1962.

[92] See SANDERSON 2013.

expressed as a duty of the king,[93] we find an upsurge of Śaiva donative records starting with the fifth century, suggesting the increase of Śaiva devotion amongst the elite. Initially there are no specific religious officiants linked to these activities, aside from a single reference to Brahmins, but with the beginning of the seventh century we see the appearance of Pāśupata priests in leading roles, not only as recipients of donations but also as administrators and agents in the establishment of infrastructure. Further, the location initially linked with their activities, the Pashupatinath Temple, emerges as the national shrine around the same time, suggesting a strong link to the ruling elite.[94]

While the Pāśupatas were the most prominent Śaiva ascetic and initiatory group at the time, there are also others that have largely disappeared from our textual records, but whose presence remains known from epigraphical material and occasional references in belletristic and Tantric literature, such as the Kālāmukhas and Lākulas (SANDERSON 2013: 229–232). These few references indicate that their appearance and practice must have been based on premises similar to those of the Pāśupatas.[95] Of those groups, we have a more prominent epigraphical record for the Kālamukhas, namely in the area of present-day Karnataka, where they feature in inscriptions as being in charge of temples and supported by the royalty.[96] Significant for the present context is that the Kālamukhas thus represent another ascetic group that would have profited from the kind of socio-religious environ created by the ŚDh's model as the Pāśupatas. In fact, as alluded to above, we know that the ŚDh was popular in this area, partly from epigraphical references as well as through the wide circulation of the text we find in the South. Further, the ŚDh and many of the notions expressed in the text can be shown to have carried into and strongly impacted the formation of the scriptural corpus of the local Vīraśaivas/Liṅgāyats.[97] These groups followed precisely the same agenda of including social outsiders into a socio-religious framework that transcends Brahmanical norms and yet remains rooted in the Veda, reminiscent of the ŚDh's model.

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[93] Cf. SANDERSON 2009: 41, in particular n. 1.

[94] MIRNIG 2016.

[95] This also often leads to the conflation of the various Atimārgic ascetic groups in belletristic literature, as discussed by FERSTL in this volume.

[96] See LORENZEN 1991 (1972[1]): 13ff and FILLIOZAT 2012.

[97] A paper on this topic is currently under preparation by Jonathan Duquette and Nina Mirnig.

Nevertheless, it has to be kept in mind that – beyond the shared practices alluded to above – the ŚDh specifically refers to neither the Pāśupatas nor the Kālamukhas. The *śivayogin* is never specified beyond the fact that he practices *yoga* and wears ashes, *rudrākṣa*-beads, and the *tripuṇḍra*, all of which are features that could apply to many of the ascetic groups. It may be precisely this vagueness and flexibility that made the ŚDh's model so attractive in providing a framework that aligned a potential mainstream householder society – within and outside the Brahmanical order – with the presence and participation of unorthodox and nonconformist Śaiva initiatory groups, potentially collectively subsumed under the nebulous *śivayogin*.

Continuities into the Tantric milieu

Around the time of composition of the ŚDh, Tantric initiatory traditions emerge on the scene in both Śaiva and Buddhist circles.[98] Tantric communities were initially a marginal phenomenon on the periphery of society, as demonstrated by studies of the *Niśvāsa*, the earliest extant Śaiva Tantra.[99] However, at the same time we know that these Tantric communities very quickly transformed into dominant players on the socio-religious scene of early medieval India.[100] The transformation from the Atimārga to the Mantramārga is still subject to some speculation, since there is little evidence available for the period between the earliest signs of the Atimārgic tradition in the fourth century and the first firm testimonies of Tantric Śaivism.[101]

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[98] For an account of the shared features of ritual syntax of the newly emerging Tantric systems in both Śaivism and Buddhism, see ISAACSON & GOODALL 2015.

[99] See GOODALL 2015. On the *Niśvāsa* being the oldest surviving Śaiva Tantra, see also SANDERSON 2006 (particularly pp. 153–154), GOODALL & ISAACSON 2007, GOODALL 2009, and GOODALL & ISAACSON 2016. That the *Niśvāsa* represents an early stage within the corpus of Tantric literature is also suggested by the fact that the text does not refer to different schools in the Mantramārga and may well predate a split into the various schools of Tantric Śaivism, i.e., the Śaiva Siddhānta and the various non-Saiddhāntika traditions (GOODALL 2014: 29).

[100] Sanderson 2009.

[101] The earliest evidence of the Pāśupata Pāñcārthika tradition is found in a Mathura pillar inscription dated 380 CE (BHANDARKAR 1931 and SANDERSON 2006: 148). Evidence for Mantramārga or Āgāmic/Tantric Śaivism can be traced back to ninth-century Nepalese manuscripts preserving some of the early Śaiva scriptural corpus that may go back as early as the fifth century, references by tenth-century Kashmir commentators, and references to practices based on Śaiva scriptures in inscriptions in Cambodia of King Rājendravarman (r. 944–968), which refer to a

However, a major discovery in this respect has been the aforementioned *Niśvāsa*, which, as Sanderson points out, "shows a greater awareness of pre-Āgamic Śaivism than other texts of this tradition" and contains evidence of the transition from the Atimārga to the Mantramārga.[102] On the basis of this account, Sanderson establishes that there were certain links between the Atimārgic and Mantramārgic ritual world, which he traces through the structural and functional similarities of the initiation rituals of the Atimārgic Lākulas and in Tantric traditions.[103]

In addition, I would like to suggest that a further intermediate space within this development is occupied by the ritualistic and socio-religious world envisaged in the Śivadharma literature. In fact, the set of values advocated by the ŚDh may in itself have played an important role in the formation of Tantric ideology and the ways in which it was embedded in society. This is suggested by the fact that several features found in the ŚDh appear as part of the new Tantric ideology and practice. These include in particular the following notions.

The first point relates to the issue of the divinisation of the Śaiva devotee in the ŚDh. As we have seen, this divine identity is also declared central to the performance of the devotional practices, in the sense that it is only as a Rudra that one can worship, meditate upon, and be devoted to Rudra. This is reminiscent of the core principle of Tantric ritual worship, namely the self-identification with the deity before its worship,[104] as expressed in

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Śaiva *ācārya* who died in ca. 890 and was employed to perform sacrifices for the king (SANDERSON 2001: 7, n. 5). This evidence is outlined in SANDERSON's monumental work "History through textual criticism" (2001), in particular pp. 2–7, and it is also found in the details concerning the scriptural corpus of the Śaiva Siddhānta listed in GOODALL 2004: xviii-xxxiii.

[102] SANDERSON 2006: 153 and GOODALL 2015.

[103] See SANDERSON 2006. The issue in question concerns the new conception of the initiation ritual within Tantric ritual, where it not only serves to grant access to the religion and its scriptures but also has a transformative function to the extent that through initiation the soul can be directly liberated. Sanderson has shown that passages on the Lākula's initiation ritual in the *Niśvāsa*'s *Mukhasūtra* reveal that such groups already practiced some form of transformative initiation ritual of this kind. See *Niśvāsamukha* 4.88d–98. An edition, annotated translation, and study of the *Niśvāsamukha* is KAFLE 2015.

[104] This observation was first made by Dominic Goodall during a joint reading session of the author's critical edition of ŚDh, chapter 3, during a research stay at the EFEO, Pondicherry, in January 2016. I would like to thank Dominic Goodall for his input and exchange of ideas at the time.

the common dictum *śivaṃ bhutvā śivaṃ yajet*, one must identify with Śiva in order to worship Śiva.[105] While this is usually considered one of the specifically novel Tantric features of ritual technology, the ŚDh already anticipates this in its conceptualisation of the devotee and his practices. Related to this, there is also another concept that is expressed in the ŚDh and that Tantric circles will include in their dictum, namely the terminology of being "a part of Rudra" (*rudrāṃśa*). In the Tantric world, this term will be used as a designation for either a kind of *sādhaka* – a Tantric practitioner who aims at attaining supernatural powers (*siddhi*) – a lower-level initiate (the *samayin*), or a lay devotee.[106]

Secondly, we have seen how one of the main ritual and spiritual strategies of the ŚDh is to extend practices and values from the ascetic milieu to the domain of the householder. The attainment of liberation or spiritual benefits were now accessible through ritual and no longer required engagement in arduous ascetic or yogic practices, and among spiritual goals the practitioner could choose between enjoyments (*bhukti*) or liberation (*mukti*). Precisely the same mechanisms are promoted in Tantric traditions, albeit with an enhanced Tantric ritual technology, and the same duality of *bhukti* and *mukti* is promoted as goals unrestrictedly available to the householder practitioner.[107]

Thirdly, as alluded to earlier, Sanderson has shown that part of the success of the Śaiva Tantric traditions was their ability to maintain adherence to the Brahmanical socio-religious order while at the same time transcending it. As we have seen above, precisely this aspect is also characteristic of the ŚDh. Here too, it is possible to maintain one's socio-religious status according to the Brahmanical order while at the same time enhancing one's spiritual status by additionally adopting modes of Śaiva worship.

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[105] See DAVIS 1991, chapter 2, where he argues that through this ritual identification with Śiva the worshipper continually enacts his liberated state in preparation of his final liberation (e.g., DAVIS 1991: 83).

[106] See MIRNIG forthcoming. The term thus features in the pre-tenth-century Saiddhāntika Tantric scripture *Kiraṇa* and is frequently referred to in Saiddhāntika ritual manual literature from the eleventh century onwards.

[107] Some formulations, such as *parāparavibhūti* (ŚDh 4.10, see above), are paradigmatic to this effect.

Conclusion: the *Śivadharma*'s socio-religious model
and the success of Tantric groups

The new normative model the ŚDh canonised and promoted laid the socio-religious foundations that were conducive to these new players. We have seen how early Tantric groups built on some of the core features of the ŚDh' teachings, including the notion of embodying the divine in order to worship the divine. As such, the ŚDh's socio-religious model may constitute an important piece of the puzzle in the formation of Tantric traditions. While evidence from the *Niśvāsa* suggests that Tantric communities first formed from Atimārgic ascetic circles, it may be that some of the notions in the ŚDh formed important aspects of the emerging Tantric ideology in these early stages, especially in relation to the householder practitioner. Further, we have seen that the ŚDh's socio-religious model lays the foundations for the participation of officiants pertaining to the Śaivite initiatory traditions in public life, who until then had appeared as rather antinomian groups at the fringes of society.[108] Eventually, it was through the same structures that Tantric groups were successful in taking up important positions in the religio-political landscape of early medieval South Asia. While alignment with the Brahmanical socio-religious order was possible both in the model of the ŚDh and that of Tantric groups, theoretically the social order promoted in those texts could even exist independently of an established Brahmanical substratum. Such ideas would be of potential importance when considering the introduction or adaptation of this religious order in new territories of different socio-religious constitution. We know that the Śaiva religion expanded beyond South Asia into South-East Asia, and in the context of Śaiva Tantric traditions Sanderson has identified the ability to offer socio-religious structures for such new territories as one of the aspects that have led to their success in putting down firm roots throughout the early medieval period (SANDERSON 2013). The same potential holds true for the ŚDh with its flexible and adaptable socio-religious model. The ŚDh and its teachings may well have been part of the literary

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[108] Concrete examples for the interface between Tantric and lay communities are, for instance, found in prescriptions for Tantric postmortem ancestor worship (*śrāddha*). Here, explicit references show how Tantric priests extended their services to perform *śrāddha* rituals to lay communities. The prescriptions in the ŚDh, which promote Śaiva Brahmins as well as Śaiva Yogins as suitable receptacles for *śrāddha* offerings instead of the ordinary Brahmin, as we have seen above, would thus play into the hands of these new Tantric funerary priests.

package, as it were, that travelled with Śaiva propagators who sought to
reach into new territories. After all, epigraphical evidence has been identi-
fied that suggests that the ŚDh was known in the Khmer kingdom[109] and
Campā,[110] bearing testimony to the presence of the work as far east as pre-
sent-day Cambodia and Vietnam.

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    ton, A.B. Gajendragadkar, P.V. Kane, R.D. Karmakar, V.G. Paranjpe,

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[109] See SANDERSON 2012–2013: 86, especially n. 222 and n. 223. A tenth-century
Old Khmer inscription cites a Sanskrit verse that appears in the ŚDh, and an undated
stele probably prepared during the reign of Sūryavarman (1002–1050) describes the
king as "a meditator on Śiva, skilled in the *ṣaḍaṅgavidhiḥ*," which SANDERSON iden-
tifies as a distinctive royal rite prescribed in the ŚDhU.

[110] See BISSCHOP 2018: 18–19.

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Inclusivism revisited:
The worship of other gods in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the *Skandapurāṇa*, and the *Niśvāsamukha*

Peter Bisschop

Inclusivism has been famously described by Paul Hacker as a "typically Indian thought form," defined as "claiming for, and thus including in, one's own religion what really belongs to an alien sect" (HACKER 1995: 244).[1] The term was used by Hacker in particular, though not exclusively, to characterise certain tendencies of modern Hinduism and to criticise a perceived Hindu rhetoric of tolerance towards other religions. Hacker further added that the inclusivist method "was employed especially by such religious groups as felt themselves inferior to their environment" (HACKER 1995: 245). In his contribution to the volume "Inklusivismus: Eine indische Denkform" (1983), Albrecht Wezler has argued that it may rather reflect a struggle for power between a new and an old form of religion, giving expression to an inversion of power relationships.[2] Such an understanding of inclusivism would make sense in the case of Śaivism, since it appears com-

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[1] See also HACKER 1983: 12: "Inklusivismus bedeutet, daß man erklärt, eine zentrale Vorstellung einer fremden religiösen oder weltanschaulichen Gruppe sei identisch mit dieser oder jener zentralen Vorstellung der Gruppe, zu der man selber gehört. Meistens gehört zum Inklusivismus ausgesprochen oder unausgesprochen die Behauptung, daß das Fremde, in irgendeiner Weise ihm untergeordnet oder unterlegen sei. Ferner wird ein Beweis dafür, daß das Fremde mit dem Eigenen identisch sei, meist nicht unternommen." For a critical, highly subjective and downright distortive review of Hacker's scholarship and all scholars following in his wake, see BAGCHEE and ADLURI 2014, who argue that it is contaminated by Hacker's personal underlying Evangelical motivations.

[2] See WEZLER 1983: 90: "(...) daß der 'Inklusivismus' als Versuch der Legitimierung wesenhaft darin besteht, daß sich die Minderheit einer 'neuen' Glaubensgemeinschaft der Übermacht der etablierten Traditionen dadurch zu erwehren trachtet, daß sie die real gegebenen Machtsverhältnisse umkehrt, d.h. für sich selbst den Anspruch auf Höherwertigkeit erhebt und das 'Alte' in sich 'hineinnimmt.'"

paratively late on the scene and as such, perhaps more than others, had to secure itself a position among the dominant religious traditions of the time.

The inclusivist tendencies of Śaivism have been noted by Alexis Sanderson in particular with reference to the Mantramārga:

> It elaborated an inclusivist model of revelation that ranked other religious systems as stages of an ascent to liberation in Śaivism, the religion of the king manifest in his initiation, his consecration, and his royal temples, thus mirroring and validating the incorporative structure of the state's power.[3]

An inclusivist attitude has also been recognised by Judit Törzsök in her article "Icons of Inclusivism" (TÖRZSÖK 2003), in which she identifies an inclusivist model in the *maṇḍala*s of early Śaiva Tantras, elaborating on the findings presented in an earlier article by SANDERSON (1986) on the inclusivist *maṇḍala*s of the Trika school of Śaivism. These studies use the term inclusivism in a neutral manner, without the ideological connotations of Hacker's use of the term.

While inclusivist tendencies have been clearly identified in the case of Tantric Śaivism, the traditions of lay Śaivism have received less attention so far.[4] The present paper proposes to examine, through three examples representative of the lay, non-Tantric Śaiva perspective, whether the inclusivist model is limited to Mantramārga Śaivism alone or is in fact representative of a broader line of thinking in Śaivism. It does so by looking at the representation of the worship of other gods than Śiva in three early Śaiva texts: the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the *Skandapurāṇa*, and the *Niśvāsamukha*.

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[3] SANDERSON 2009: 301–302.

[4] Hacker has studied the incorporation of Vaiṣṇava mythology in the Śaiva Purāṇas in his study of Prahlāda (HACKER 1959). On this basis Hacker writes: "Aber immerhin ist mir in denjenigen Stellen śivaitischer Purāṇen, die Gegenstand meiner Untersuchung waren, aufgefallen, daß hier offensichtlich der Śivaismus die unterlegene Religion ist. Wie ich schon sagte, ist der Inklusivismus ein Mittel des Unterlegenen oder des noch Schwachen, des noch in Entwicklung Begriffenen, sich durchzusetzen, sich Geltung zu verschaffen. Die śivaitischen Purāṇen, die ich gesehen habe, machen das deutlich, in manchen Fällen sogar überdeutlich. Die viṣṇuitischen sind ganz anders, sie sind weder inklusivistisch noch tolerant." (HACKER 1983: 17). This conclusion needs to be reconsidered given that Hacker mainly based himself on Śaiva Purāṇas that can be safely dated to early medieval times, that is to say, a period in Indian history during which Śaivism was actually the dominant party (see SANDERSON 2009).

In varying degrees, the approaches towards other gods in these three texts may be regarded as inclusivist, in the sense that they recognise and teach the worship and existence of other gods but that they do so from a hierarchical perspective, in which the true and ultimate master is Śiva and their power derives from him. The inclusivist stance of early Śaivism may tell us something about the position from which Śaivism started and thus add to a study of Śaivism, and by extension Tantra, in its socio-historical context.

The *Śivadharmaśāstra*

The *Śivadharmaśāstra* is the first of what grew to be a corpus of eight texts in total, collectively known as the *Śivadharma* and transmitted as such in a number of palm-leaf and paper manuscripts from Nepal: 1. *Śivadharmaśāstra*, 2. *Śivadharmottara*, 3. *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, 4. *Śivopaniṣad*, 5. *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, 6. *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, 7. *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, and 8. *Dharmaputrikā*.[5] The *Śivadharmaśāstra* is most probably a product of North India and may be tentatively dated to about the sixth to seventh centuries CE.[6] The work consists of twelve chapters in total and is addressed to a community of lay Śiva worshippers, betraying no influence of Tantric teachings. It is specifically concerned with the methods for installing and worshipping Śiva in the form of the *liṅga*. A characteristic feature of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*'s teachings is its notion that those who are exclusively devoted to Rudra are veritable Rudras on earth:[7]

> They who always worship Rudra, are no ordinary men (*prakṛti-mānuṣa*).
> They are Rudras descended from Rudraloka. There is no doubt about it.[8]

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[5] Manuscripts of the first two works also survive outside of Nepal. The transmission of a Śivadharma corpus consisting of eight works appears to be limited to Nepal. For more details, see DE SIMINI 2013: 157–161, who proposes to understand the Nepalese manuscripts as "corpus-organizers."

[6] See BISSCHOP 2014: 139, n. 13, for references regarding different dates that have been suggested for the composition of different parts of the text.

[7] On this, see MIRNIG in this volume.

[8] ŚiDhŚ 1.16:
ye 'rcayanti sadā rudraṃ na te prakṛtimānuṣāḥ |
rudralokāt paribhraṣṭās te rudrā nātra saṃśayaḥ || 16 ||

16ad] Omitted in *P2* ● 16a *ye 'rcayanti*] C K1 K2 N Ś, *arcayanti* P1 ; *sadā rudraṃ*] C K1 N P1, *mahārudra* K2, *mahārudraṃ* Ś ● 16c *rudralokāt*] C K1 N P1 Ś, *rudraloka°* K2 ● 16d *nātra*] K1 K2 N P1 Ś, *nānātra* C (unmetr.).

We come across references to other gods in the text, but these are as a rule placed in a relation of strict dependence on Śiva. Thus we are taught in two passages that the gods acquired their position as god through worship of different types of *liṅga*s. The first passage follows after the famous myth about the origin of the *liṅga*, in which Brahmā and Viṣṇu attempt to find its end, but do not succeed in locating it.[9] After several verses teaching that everything ultimately rests in the *liṅga*[10] and that by installing a *liṅga* one installs everything, we are informed of the following:

All quotations of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* in this article are from my own draft edition of the text. For this I have used six manuscripts and the "edition" of the Śivadharma corpus by NARAHARINATH (1998), which appears to be a transcript of a Nepalese manuscript. I have not referred to the most recent edition by JUGNU & SHARMA (2014), since its readings are practically all identical to my manuscript P1. The manuscripts come from different parts of the Indian subcontinent and thus give us some insight into the transmission of the text, but they reflect only a limited sample of the actual surviving manuscripts. As a general policy I have given preference to the readings of K1, an eleventh-century Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript in good condition written by a careful scribe. I am very grateful to Florinda De Simini for having provided me with colour photographs of K1 and Ś. The list of sigla can be found at the end of this article.

[9] For a study and translation of the Liṅgodbhava story of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, see KAFLE 2013.

[10] One verse in this section (ŚiDhŚ 3.17) deserves special attention because it is quoted in the Buddhist *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*:

   ākāśaṃ liṅgam ity āhuḥ pṛthivī tasya pīṭhikā |
   ālayaḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ līyanāl liṅgam ucyate || 17 ||

17c *ālayaḥ*] C K1^pc K2 P1, *ālayaṃ* K1^ac N ● 17d *līyanāl*] C K1 K2 N, *layanāl* P1.

The verse is missing in P2 and Ś due to loss of several *pāda*s in this part of the text. In the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* the verse is quoted in connection with Maheśvara's appearance from Avalokiteśvara's forehead. Avalokiteśvara predicts that Maheśvara will be active in the Kali age (text and translation of KVSū 265, 4–6 as given by ELTSCHINGER 2014: 84, n. 198):

   bhaviṣyasi tvaṃ maheśvara kaliyuge pratipanne | kaṣṭasattvadhātusamutpanna ādideva ākhyāyase sraṣṭāraṃ kartāram | te sarvasattvā bodhimārgeṇa viprahīṇā bhaviṣyanti ya īdṛśaṃ pṛthagjaneṣu sattveṣu sāṅkathyaṃ kurvanti || ākāśaṃ liṅgam ity āhuḥ pṛthivī tasya pīṭhikā | ālayaḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ līyanāl liṅgam ucyate ||.

O Maheśvara, you will be [active] when the Kaliyuga arrives. Born as the foremost of the gods in the realm of suffering beings, you will be called the creator and the agent [of the world]. All beings who hold the following discourse to(/among) ordinary people will be deprived of the path to enlightenment: "It is said that space is [Maheśvara's] *liṅga*, [and that] the earth is [his] pedestal; it is the receptacle of all beings, [and it is] because [they] merge(/fuse) [into it that it] is called *liṅga*."

- Brahmā acquired the state of Brahmā by worshipping a stone (*śailamaya*) *liṅga*.
- Indra acquired the state of Indra by worshipping a crystal (*maṇimaya*) *liṅga*.
- Dhanada (Kubera) acquired the state of Dhanada by worshipping a golden (*hemamaya*) *liṅga*.
- The Viśvedevas acquired the state of Viśvedevas (*viśvatva*) by worshipping a silver (*raupya*) *liṅga*.
- Vāyu acquired the state of Vāyu by worshipping a brass (*pittalasaṃbhava*) *liṅga*.
- Viṣṇu acquired the state of Viṣṇu by worshipping a sapphire (*indranīlamaya*) *liṅga*.
- The Vasus acquired the state of Vasus by worshipping a bell-metal (*kāṃsika*) *liṅga*.
- The two Aśvins acquired the state of Aśvins by worshipping an earthern (*pārthiva*) *liṅga*.

Following a lead by DANIÉLOU (1960: 352), who quotes the verse and attributes it to "the Skandapurāṇa," REGAMEY (1971: 431, n. 49) and STUDHOLME (2002: 28–29) searched in vain in editions of the *Skandapurāṇa* to trace it. We can now safely say that the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* most probably quotes it from the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, whose main teaching is, after all, *liṅga* worship. This quotation then would have implications for the dating of the text and attest to the work's impact on non-Śaiva communities. ELTSCHINGER observes that this passage is not represented in the Gilgit manuscripts of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, because of lack of folios, but he argues that "considering that the only known significant divergence between the Nepali and the Gilgit version concerns a very neatly delineated section (Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin's quest for the ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā), I see no compelling reason to doubt the presence of this passage in the textual tradition reflected in the Gilgit manuscripts" (ELTSCHINGER 2014: 84, n. 198). This would give us an ante quem date of 630 CE for this verse, as the two Gilgit manuscripts are dated to before 630 CE (METTE 1997: 7, following the dating of von Hinüber). It would then most probably have been in existence by the end of the sixth century, if not earlier. Interestingly, the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* adopts a strong inclusivist approach to the "Hindu" gods (Candra, Āditya, Maheśvara, Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, Sarasvatī, Vāyu (?), Dharaṇī (= Pṛthivī), and Varuṇa), presenting them as having originated from different body parts of Avalokiteśvara: *cakṣuṣoś candrādityāv utpannau, lalāṭāṇ maheśvaraḥ, skandhebhyo brahmādayaḥ, hṛdayān nārāyaṇaḥ, daṃṣṭrābhyāṃ sarasvatī, mukhato vāyavo jātāḥ, dharaṇī pādābhyāṃ, varuṇaś codarāt* (KVSū 265, 1–3). STUDHOLME (2002: 37–41), following the suggestion by REGAMEY (1971: 429), argues that this idea was modelled on the Ṛgvedic "Puruṣasūkta."

- Varuṇa acquired the state of Varuṇa by worshipping a quartz (*sphāṭika*) *liṅga*.
- Agni acquired the state of Agni by worshipping a jewel (*ratnamaya*) *liṅga*.
- Sūrya acquired the state of Sūrya by worshipping a copper (*tāmra*) *liṅga*.
- The Buddha acquired the state of Buddha by worshipping a golden (*jambūnadamaya*) *liṅga*.
- The Arhat acquired the state of Arhat by worshipping a flower *liṅga* (*puṣpaliṅga*).
- Soma acquired the state of Soma by worshipping a pearl (*muktāphala*) *liṅga*.[11]

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[11] ŚiDhŚ 3.20–33:

brahmā pūjayate nityaṃ liṅgaṃ śailamayaṃ śubham |
tasya saṃpūjanāt tena prāptaṃ brahmatvam uttamam || 20 ||
śakro 'pi devarājendro liṅgaṃ maṇimayaṃ śubham |
bhaktyā pūjayate nityaṃ tenendratvam avāpa saḥ || 21 ||
liṅgaṃ hemamayaṃ kāntaṃ dhanado 'rcayate sadā |
tenāsau dhanado devo dhanadatvam avāptavān || 22 ||
viśve devā mahātmāno raupyaṃ liṅgaṃ manoharam |
yajanti vidhivad bhaktyā tena viśvatvam āpnuvan || 23 ||
vāyuḥ pūjayate bhaktyā liṅgaṃ pittalasaṃbhavam |
vāyutvaṃ prāptavān tena anaupamyaguṇānvitam || 24 ||
indranīlamayaṃ liṅgaṃ viṣṇur arcayate sadā |
viṣṇutvaṃ prāptavān tena adbhutaikasanātanam || 25 ||
vasavaḥ kāṃsikaṃ liṅgaṃ pūjayanti vidhānataḥ |
prāptās tena mahātmāno vasutvaṃ sumahodayam || 26 ||
aśvinau pārthivaṃ liṅgaṃ pūjayantau vidhānataḥ |
tena tāv aśvinau devau divyadehaṃgatāv ubhau || 27 ||
sphāṭikaṃ nirmalaṃ liṅgaṃ varuṇo 'rcayate sadā |
varuṇatvaṃ hi saṃprāptaṃ tena vṛddhibalānvitam || 28 ||
liṅgaṃ ratnamayaṃ puṇyam agnir yajati bhāvitaḥ |
agnitvaṃ prāptavān tena tejorūpam aninditam || 29 ||
tāmraliṅgaṃ sadākālaṃ bhaktyā devo divākaraḥ |
triṣkālayajanāt tena prāptaṃ sūryatvam uttamam || 30 ||
buddhenāpy arcitaṃ liṅgaṃ jambūnadamayaṃ śubham |
tena buddhatvam āpnoti sadāśāntam avasthitam || 31 ||
ārhatas tu sadākālaṃ puṣpaliṅgārcanāt param |
tenārhatvam avāpnoti yogaṃ cāpi sudurlabham || 32 ||
muktāphalamayaṃ liṅgam somaḥ pūjayate sadā |
tena somo 'pi saṃprāptaḥ somatvaṃ satatojjvalam || 33 ||

20ab] These and the previous *pāda*s are omitted in Ś ● 20c *saṃpujanāt tena*] ∑, *saṃpūjanād eva* Ś ● 21c *bhaktyā pūjayate nityaṃ*] C K1 K2 N, *apūjayad yadā bhaktyā* Ś, *kṛtvā pūjayate nityaṃ* P1, *– tyā pūjayate nityaṃ* P2 ● 21d *tenendratvam avāpa saḥ*] C K1 K2^pc, *tenendram avāpa saḥ* K2^ac (unmetr.), *tenendratvam avāpa sa* N, *tadā śakratvam āpnuvān* Ś, *tena śakratvam āptavān* P1 P2 ● 22a *hema°*] ∑, *haima°* P2 ● 22b *dhanado 'rcayate sadā*] ∑, *dhanadenārcitaṃ yadā* Ś ● 22d *avāptavān*] C K1 K2 N P1, *avāpnuyāt* Ś, *– – ptavān* P2 ● 23b *raupyaṃ*] ∑, *raupya°* C ; *mano-haram*] C K1 K2 P1 P2, *manoramam* N Ś ● 23c *yajanti vidhivat bhaktyā*] C K1 N, *apūjayan yadā bhaktyā* Ś, *yajante vidhivat tena* P1, *yajante vidhivat bhaktyā* P2 ● 23d *tena viśvatvam āpnuvan*] K1 K2 N, *tena viśvatvam āpnuyāt* C, *viśvedevatvam āpnuyuḥ* P1 Ś, *tena viśvatva – – –* P2 ● 24a *vāyuḥ pūjayate bhaktyā*] C K1 K2^ac N P1, *vāyu pūjayate bhaktyā* K2^pc, *apūjayad yadā vāyur* Ś, *– – pūjayate bhaktyā* P2 ● 24b *°saṃbhavam*] ∑, *°jaṃ śubham* P1 ● 24c *prāptavān tena*] C K1 N, *tena saṃprāptam* K2 Ś P1 P2 ● 24d *anaupamyaguṇānvitam*] C K1 N, *aṇaupamy-aguṇāvaham* K2, *anaupamyaṃ guṇāvaham* Ś, *anaupamyaguṇāvaham* P1 P2 ● 25a–d] This verse occurs after 21 in P1 ● 25b *viṣṇur arcayate sadā*] C K1 K2 N, *viṣṇur yat samapūjayat* Ś, *viṣṇuḥ pūjayate sadā* P1 P2 ● 25c *viṣṇutvaṃ prāptavān tena*] ∑, *samāsasāda viṣṇutvam* Ś ● 25d *adbhutaikasanātanam*] C K1, *arcitena sanātanam* K2 N, *adbhutaikaṃ sanātanam* Ś, *so 'dbhutaikaṃ sanātanaḥ* P1, *so tbhutaikaṃ sanātanam* P2 ● 26a *vasavaḥ*] ∑, *vasubhiḥ* Ś ; *kāṃsikaṃ liṅgam*] C K2 P2, *kāṃśikaṃ liṅgam* K1, *kāsikaṃ liṅgam* N, *kāṃsyaṃ liṅgam tu* Ś, *kṣaṇikaṃ liṅgam* P1 ● 26b *pūjayanti vidhānataḥ*] ∑, *pūjitaṃ saṃvidhānataḥ* Ś ● 26cd] C K1 K2 N P1, *mahātmabhis tataḥ prāptaṃ vasubhis tair mahodayam* Ś, *prāptās tena mahātmāno vasutvaṃ ca mahodayam* P2 ● 27a *aśvinau*] ∑, *aśvibhyāṃ* Ś ● 27b *pūjayantau*] C N P1 P2, *pūjayaṃto* K1, *pūjayanti* K2, *pūjitaṃ saṃ°* Ś ● 27d *divyadehaṃgatāv*] K1 N, *divyandehagatāv* K2, *divyaṃ dehagatāv* C, *divyadehagatāv* Ś P1, *divyaṃ dehaṃ gatāv* P2 ● 28a *sphāṭikaṃ*] ∑, *sphaṭikaṃ* N ; *nirmalaṃ liṅgam*] ∑, *siddhaliṅgaṃ tu* Ś ● 28b *varuṇo 'rcayate sadā*] ∑, *varuṇenārcitaṃ yadā* Ś ● 28c *varuṇatvaṃ hi saṃprāptaṃ*] C K1 K2 N P1, *varuṇatvaṃ tadā prāptaṃ* Ś, *tena tad varuṇatvaṃ hi* P2 ● 28d *tena vṛddhibalānvitam*] C K1 K2 N, *teneha vibhavānvitaḥ* Ś, *tena ṛdhyā samanvitam* P1, *prāptaṃ ṛdhyā samanvitam* P2 ● 29a *liṅgaṃ ratnamayaṃ puṇyam*] C K1 K2 N, *bhāvitenāgninā liṅgaṃ* Ś, *liṅgam annamayaṃ puṇyaṃ* P1 P2 ● 29b *agnir yajati bhāvitaḥ*] C K1 K2 N P1, *piṣṭam annamayaṃ yadā* Ś, *agnir abhyarcya bhāvitaḥ* P2 ● 29c–32d Omitted in P2 ● 29c *prāptavān tena*] C K1 K2 N P1, *tena saṃprātaṃ* Ś ● 29d *tejorūpam aninditam*] C K1 N, *tejorūpasamanvitam* K2 P1 Ś ● 30a *tāmra°*] C K1 K2 N P1, *tāmraṃ* Ś ● 30c *triṣkālayajanāt tena*] K1, *triṣkāla-yajanāntena* C^ac, *triṣkālam iṣṭavān tena* C^pc, *arcanena sadākālam* K2, *triṣkālaṃ yajanāt tena* N, *trikālaṃ yajate tena* P1, *atyantya tena ca sadā* Ś ● 31–32] Omitted in P1, while Ś has these verses after 33 ● 31a *buddhenāpy arcitaṃ*] C K1 N, *budhe-na cārcitaṃ* K2, *buddhenābhyarcitaṃ* Ś ● 31b *jambū°*] C K1 K2 Ś, *jambu°* N ● 31c *buddhatvam āpnoti*] C K1 N, *budhatvam āpannas* K2, *buddhatvam āpannaṃ* Ś ● 31d *avasthitam*] C K1 N, *manaḥsthitam* Ś ● 32a *ārhatas tu sadākālaṃ*] K1 N, *ār-hantas tu sadākālaṃ* C, *aharntaś ca sadākālaṃ* K2, *arhadbhis sarvadā bhaktyā* Ś ●

The text continues to state that the Nāgas, the Rākṣasas, the Piśācas, the
Guhyakas, and the Mātṛs each attained the highest position by worshipping
*liṅga*s made of different materials as well (*Śivadharmaśāstra* 3.34–39). It is
noteworthy that the two verses on the Buddha and Arhat are missing in the
manuscript from Pondicherry (P1), while the Srinagar manuscript (Ś) has
them after Sūrya and Soma.[12] Whether this is due to accidental loss of text
or in fact represents an early addition in the transmission of the text cannot
be said with certainty at this state of research,[13] but it attests to the per-
ceived boundaries of Brahmanical religion, which would not normally in-
clude the spiritual masters of the Buddhist and Jaina communities. This is
no isolated case, for, as will be discussed below, there is another instance in
the *Śivadharmaśāstra* where references to the Buddha and the Arhat appear
to have been added in the transmission of the text.

I have referred to this list in all its repetitiveness because it reflects, in
my opinion, a clear strategy to drive home the idea of the utter dependence
of all the gods on the worship of the *liṅga*. A second passage expressing a
similar idea occurs in chapter 9, following a description of the worship of
the *liṅga*:

> By this precept (*vidhi*) all the gods reached the state of godhead
> (*devatva*). Devī acquired the state of Devī, Guha acquired the state
> of Skanda, Brahmā acquired the state of Brahmā, Viṣṇu acquired
> the state of Viṣṇu, Indra acquired the state of Devarāja, the Gaṇas

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32b *puṣpaliṅgārcanāt*] C K1 K2 N, *puṣpair liṅgārcanaṃ* Ś ● 32c *tenārhatvam avāpnoti*] C K1 N, *tenārhantatvasamprāpto* K2, *tenārhatvaṃ samāsādya* Ś ● 32d *yogaṃ cāpi sudurlabham*] C K1 K2 N, *yogaḥ śāntaḥ sudurlabhaḥ* Ś ● 33cd *tena somo 'pi samprāptaḥ somatvaṃ*] C K1 N P1 P2, *tenāsau so pi somatvaṃ prāptavān* K2, *tena sampūjitenāptaṃ somatvaṃ* Ś ● 33d *satatojjvalam*] ∑, *mahad uttamam* Ś.

[12] Note that the formulations relating to the worship by the Buddha and the Arhat are also slightly different. While the text tends to use present tense to refer to the continuous worship by the gods and past participle or perfect to refer to the acquiring of their respective positions, for the Buddha and the Arhat we find past tense used to refer to their worship (indicating that they are no longer alive?) and present tense to refer to the acquiring of their respective positions.

[13] It would require more research into the surviving manuscripts and a proper understanding of their transmission.

acquired the state of Gaṇa, the sages obtained liberation, and the Mothers Motherhood.[14]

While these passages convey the idea that all the gods obtained their respective position by worship of the *liṅga*, they do not teach the worship of the gods themselves. One can, however, infer their relatively high status at the time of composition of the text from the fact that they need to be mentioned at all. A different case is chapter 6 of the text.

This chapter is the lengthiest of the entire text, covering more than 250 verses, and consists of a long invocation of all cosmic powers and deities for appeasement (*śānti*). The extensive *mantra* takes us from the inner circle around Maheśvara, which includes Nandīśa, Vināyaka, Mahākāla, Ambikā, Mahāmahiṣamardinī, Bhṛṅgiriṭi, and Caṇḍeśvara, to Brahmā and Viṣṇu, followed by the Mothers, to a host of other deities and powers.[15] It is a veritable inventory of cosmic power and gives a good impression of the pantheon of gods at the time. Each god is invoked in his or her own sphere and their worship is recognised with a standard formula asking for peace. Similar invocations are known from other sources, such as the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (BṛS 48.55–70) and the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (ViDhP 2.22), but what distinguishes this *mahāśāntimantra* from others is not only its wealth of detail, but in particular a tendency conforming to what we

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[14] ŚiDhŚ 9.16–17:

anena vidhinā devāḥ sarve devatvam āgatāḥ |
devī devītvam āpannā guhaḥ skandatvam āgataḥ || 16 ||
brahmā brahmatvam āpanno viṣṇur viṣṇutvam āgataḥ |
indraś ca devarājatvaṃ gaṇāś ca gaṇatāṃ gatāḥ |
munayo mokṣam āpannā mātaro mātṛtāṃ tathā || 17 ||

16a *devāḥ*] K1 N P1 P2 Ś, *saṃyyak* C, *saṃmyak* K2 ● 16b *sarve devatvam āgatāḥ*] K1 K2 N P1 P2, *sarvadevatvam āgatā* C, *sarvadevatvam āgatāḥ* Ś ● 16cd–17ef] These eight *pāda*s are omitted in K2 ● 16cd] These two *pāda*s are omitted in Ś ● 16d *guhaḥ*] K1 N P1 P2, *guhya* C ; *āgataḥ*] K1 N P1 P2, *āgatāḥ* C ● 17b *viṣṇur*] K1 N Ś, *harir* C P1 P2 ; *āgataḥ*] C N P1 P2 Ś, *āgatāḥ* K1 ; After this P1 repeats 16ab ● 17c *indraś ca devarājatvaṃ*] K1 N P1 P2 Ś, *indroś ca devarājyatvaṃ* C ● 17d *gaṇāś ca gaṇatāṃ gatāḥ*] C K1 N P1 P2, *gaṇeśaiś ca gaṇeśatāṃ* Ś ● 17ef] These two *pāda*s are omitted in C, P1 and P2, while Ś has instead: *nandī caiva vidhiṃ kṛtvā nanditvaṃ samupāgataḥ* ● 17f *tathā*] K1, *gatāḥ* N.

[15] For an introduction to this chapter and an overview of the various gods invoked, see BISSCHOP 2014. See now also Bisschop 2019, for an edition, translation and study of the chapter.

have already identified so far. Almost each and every deity is invoked, at the end of their invocation, with one or more adjective expressing their devotion to Śiva or Rudra. A significant exception concerns the gods that belong to the inner circle. Among these, only Nandīśa and Bhṛṅgiriṭi receive such an adjective. Thus Nandīśa is described as "constantly devoted to the worship of Śiva, solely intent upon contemplation of Śiva" (ŚiDhŚ 6.14ab: *śivārcanaparo nityaṃ śivadhyānaikatatparaḥ*),[16] while Bhṛṅgiriṭi is said to be "the son of Rudra, a great hero, whose mind is solely given to Rudra" (ŚiDhŚ 6.25ab: *rudrātmajo mahāvīro rudraikāhitamānasaḥ*).[17]

The absence of these adjectives in the case of the other members of Śiva's inner circle suggests that they were held to be so close to Śiva that there was no need to make their devotion to Śiva explicit.[18] The moment the *mantra* turns to other deities in the pantheon, however, the use of adjectives expressing their devotion is fairly consistent and conspicuous. Two examples may suffice: Brahmā, who is described as "seated on a lotus, resembling a lotus, with four lotus-heads, bearing a water-jar, fortunate, worshipped by gods and Gandharvas," is said to be "solely intent upon contemplation of Śiva" (*śivadhyānaikatatpara*) and "steeped in the reality of Śiva" (*śivasadbhāvabhāvita*),[19] while Viṣṇu, who is "seated on Garuḍa,

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[16] This is the reading of K1, K2 and N. P1 has: *śivadhyānaikaparamaḥ śivabha-ktiparāyaṇaḥ*. These two *pāda*s are missing in C, P2, and Ś.

[17] 25a *rudrātmajo*] ∑, *rudrātmaja* C ; *mahāvīro*] C K1 N Ś, *rudrabhakto* P1 ● 25b *rudraikāhita°*] K1 N, *rudraikagata°* C K2 P1 P2 Ś.

[18] Some adjectives express a family relation: Kārttikeya (*kṛttikomāgni-rudrāṅgasamudbhūtaḥ surārcitaḥ*, ŚiDhŚ 6.11cd); Vināyaka (*rudrasya tanayo devo nāyako 'tha vināyakaḥ*, ŚiDhŚ 6.17cd). On the significance of these epithets expressing a family relation of Vināyaka and Bhṛṅgiriṭi, see BISSCHOP 2010: 243–246.

[19] ŚiDhŚ 6.28–29:
padmāsanaḥ padmanibhaś caturvadanapaṅkajaḥ |
kamaṇḍaludharaḥ śrīmān devagandharvapūjitaḥ || 28 ||
śivadhyānaikaparamaḥ śivasadbhāvabhāvitaḥ |
brahmaśabdena divyena brahmā śāntiṃ karotu me || 29 ||

28a *padmāsanaḥ padmanibhaś*] C K1 K2^pc N P1 P2, *padmāsanapadmanibhaś* K2^ac (unmetr.), *padmāsano mahāpadmaś* Ś ● 28b *°paṅkajaḥ*] ∑, *°paṅkaja* C ● 28c *°dharaḥ*] ∑, *°dharāṃ* C ● 28d *deva°*] ∑, *siddha°* P2 ● 29a *śiva°*] ∑, *śive* N ; *°paramaḥ*] C K1 K2 N, *°nirataḥ* Ś P1 P2 ● 29b *śivasadbhāvabhāvitaḥ*] K1 K2 N Ś P1, *śivaṃ sambhāvabhāvinaḥ* C, *śivasadbhāvakovidaḥ* P2 ● 29c *divyena*] ∑, *davye-na* C ● 29d *brahma*] K1 Ś P1 P2, *brāhma°* C, *brahma* K2 N ; *śāntiṃ*] ∑, *śānti* C.

with four arms, bearing conch, discus, and maze, dark, dressed in yellow clothes, of great power and strength," is said to be "endowed with the favour of Śiva" (*śivaprasādasaṃpanna*) and "engaged in contemplation of Śiva" (*śivadhyānaparāyaṇa*).[20] While this remains a consistent feature of the *mantra*, the author has introduced a great variety of adjectives to express the same idea, which again illustrates that this was central to the *mantra*'s composition. I have drawn up the following inventory, organised around different names of Śiva, just to give the general idea:[21]

- Śiva: *śivabhakta* (104c, 106c, 107c, 114c, 184c, 204a, 211a, 214c), *śive bhakta* (108c, 118c), *śivabhaktipara* (67c, 136a), *śivabhaktiparāyaṇa* (148f), *śivabhaktisamanvita* (80b), *śivabhaktisamutsuka* (89d), *śivārcanarata* (40a, 117c), *śivārcanapara* (14a, 147c, 156c), *śivapūjāpara* (119c, 198c) *śivapūjāparāyaṇa* (34b, 148d, 204b), *śivapūjāsamudyukta* (69c, 71c, 75c, 86c), *śivapūjāsamutsuka* (211b), *śivapūjārcane rata* (111d, 211d), *śivapūjājapodyukta* (83c), *śivadhyānaparāyaṇa* (31b), *śivadhyānaikatatpara* (14b), *śivadhyānaikaparama* (29a), *śivadhyānaikamānasa* (147d, 190d), *śivadhyānena saṃpanna* (80a), *śivadhyānārcanodyukta* (155c),

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[20] ŚiDhŚ 6.30–32:

tārkṣyāsanaś caturbāhuḥ śaṅkhacakragadādharaḥ |
śyāmaḥ pītāmbaradharo mahābalaparākramaḥ || 30 ||
yajñadehottamo devo mādhavo madhusūdanaḥ |
śivaprasādasaṃpannaḥ śivadhyānaparāyaṇaḥ || 31 ||
sarvapāpapramāthakaḥ sarvāsuranikṛntakaḥ |
sarvadā śāntabhāvena viṣṇuḥ śāntiṃ karotu me || 32||

30a *tārkṣyāsanaś*] C K1 K2 P1 P2, *tārkṣāsanaś* N, *tārkṣyārūḍhaś* Ś ● 30b °*gadādharaḥ*] ∑, °*gajādhara* C ● 30c °*radharo*] ∑, °*rādhāro* C ● 30d *mahābalaparākramaḥ*] K1 K2 N Ś, *mahābalaparākramām* C, *vanamālāvibhūṣitaḥ* P1 P2 ● 31a °*dehottamo*] K1 K2 N Ś, °*devottamo* C P1 P2 ● 31c °*prasādasaṃpannaḥ*] K1 K2 N Ś P2, °*prasādasampanna* C, °*praṇāmaparamaḥ* P1 ● 31d °*dhyānaparāyaṇaḥ*] ∑, °*dhyānaikatatparaḥ* P1 ● 32a *sarvapāpapramāthakaḥ*] K1, *sarvapāpapramasthāno* C, *sarvapāpapraśamakaḥ* N, *sarvapāpapraśamano* K2 Ś, *śivārcanaparo nityaṃ* P1, *śivārcanaparaḥ śrīmān* P2 ● 32bc Omitted in C K2 P1 P2 Ś ● 32d *viṣṇuḥ*] ∑, *viṣṇu* K2 ; *śāntiṃ*] ∑, *śānti* C.

[21] Reference is made to the stem ending of the adjectives. The verse numbers and readings refer to my draft edition of *Śivadharmaśāstra* 6. I do not report variants in this list.

śivadhyātṛ (204a), *śivapadārcanapara* (150c), *śivapādārcane rata* (167b, 190b), *śivapādābjapūjaka* (179b), *śivaikāhitamānasa* (40b, 92b), *śivapraṇāmaparama* (80c), *śivasmaraṇabhāvita* (83d), *śivasadbhāvabhāvita* (29b, 162b, 187d), *śivaprasādasaṃpanna* (31a, 152c, 204c), *śivadharmaparāyaṇa* (86b), *śivatejaḥsamāyukta* (126e), *śivājñānuvidhāyin* (132f, 136b, 151f, 235b), *śivacodita* (142d).

- Rudra: *rudrabhakta* (38a, 52a), *rudrabhaktiyuta* (206d), *rudrārcanapara* (105c, 192c), *rudrārcanarata* (38b, 57a, 89b), *rudrārcanasamāyukta* (206e), *rudrārcāhitamānasa* (52b), *rudrārcanaparodyukta* (196c), *rudrapūjāpara* (169b, 208c, 215c), *rudrapūjārcane rata* (220b), *rudrapraṇāmamanasa* (59c), *rudrapraṇāmanirata* (220a), *rudrapraṇāmaparama* (206c), *rudraparāyaṇa* (217d), *rudraikāhitacetaska* (61c, 220c), *rudraikāhitamānasa* (25b), *rudrapradhyānanirata* (63c), *rudrapādārcane sakta* (183b).

- Other names: *haraparāyaṇa* (181b), *harapādārcaka* (202c), *harapādārcane rata* (98b, 175b, 194b), *harapādanatottama* (194d), *haradhyānaikaparama* (194c), *harārcanapara* (200c), *mahādevārcane sakta* (136a), *mahādevānubhāvita* (136b), *maheśvarapara* (158a), *maheśapādapūjaka* (158b), *maheśārcanabhāvita* (122b), *parameśārcanarata* (65c), *parameśvarabhāvita* (95b), *īśānārcanatatpara* (115d), *paśupater nata* (177b).

- Special constructions: *arcayantī sadā śivam* (44b), *śivaṃ saṃpūjya yatnena* (67c), *arcayanti sadākālaṃ devaṃ tribhuvaneśvaram* (141cd), *īśānaṃ pūjayanty etāḥ sarvakālaṃ subhāvitāḥ* (145ab), *pūjayataḥ sadā śivam* (149d), *pūjayanti sadākālaṃ rudraṃ bhuvananāyakam* (151cd), *hāṭakeśvaradevasya nityaṃ pūjāparāyaṇaḥ* (160cd), *bhāveṇa ca pareṇāśu yajante sarvadā śivam* (164ab), *sarvabhūtapatiṃ devaṃ parameśaṃ maheśvaram, pūjayanti sadā nadyaḥ* (187ac).

This list of adjectives clearly reflects a hierarchical and inclusivist model, in which all and everything is dependent upon Śiva. The chapter ends with a *jaya* invocation to Śiva (ŚiDhŚ 6.236–242). The final epithet in this section once again reminds us that he is the object of praise of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Indra (ŚiDhŚ 6.242c *brahmaviṣṇvindravandyāya*). The hierarchical

model underlying this *mantra* perfectly mirrors that of early medieval king-ship, which involves many types of *sāmanta*s all empowered by their loyal-ty and devotion to the supreme ruler. This shared model, as Sanderson has argued, may well have been one of the keys to the success of Śaivism and its popularity among early medieval rulers (SANDERSON 2009). It comes as no surprise to encounter it here in the context of a *śānti* invocation that played a prominent role in ritual kingship.

   As before, some manuscripts expand the pantheon to include also the heads of Buddhism and Jainism. In these manuscripts we come across a couple of verses that invoke the Arhat and the Buddha, again followed by the significant specification that they are "only thinking about the knowledge of Śiva" (*śivajñānaikacintaka*), "intent upon union with Śiva" (*śivayogena bhāvitaḥ*), and "devoted to the knowledge of Śiva" (*śivajñāna-parāyaṇa*).[22] It remains to be studied when, where, and in what context

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[22] After ŚiDhŚ 6.32d (in N and Ś, but not in C, K1, K2, P1, and P2):

arhan devaḥ śāntarūpī piñchakañcukapāṇikaḥ |
digvāsā malapaṅkaś ca saumyacittaḥ samāhitaḥ || 1 ||
saṃvṛttalocanaḥ śāntaḥ śivajñānaikacintakaḥ |
śāntiṃ karotu me śāntaḥ śivayogena bhāvitaḥ || 2 ||
jitendriyaḥ samādhisthaḥ pātracīvarabhūṣitaḥ |
varadābhayapāṇiś ca jñānadhyānarataḥ sadā || 3 ||
yogadṛṣṭisamāyuktaḥ śivajñānaparāyaṇaḥ |
śāntiṃ karotu me buddhaḥ sarvasattvahite rataḥ || 4 ||

   1ab] Ś, *ārhantaḥ śāntacetaṣkaviśvātman viśvayātitaḥ* N ● 1c *digvāsā malapaṅkaś*] N, *digvāsāḥ kṛttivāsaś* Ś ● 1d *°cittaḥ*] Ś, *°citta* N ● 2a *saṃvṛtta°*] Ś, *samvartta°* N ● 2d *°yogena bhāvitaḥ*] N, *jñānaikatānvitaḥ* Ś ● 3b *°bhūṣitaḥ*] Ś, *°bheṣitaḥ* N ● 4a *°dṛṣṭisamāyuktaḥ*] Ś, *°dṛṣṭiḥ sadāyuktaḥ* N ● 4b *°jñānaparāyaṇaḥ* Ś, *°jñānena bhāvi-taḥ* N ● 4c *buddhaḥ*] conj., *deva* N, *bauddhaḥ* Ś.

   These verses are followed in N and Ś by two more additional invocations, to Vi-jayā and cows:

pītavarṇena dehena hāreṇa suvicitriṇā |
sarvāṅgasundarī devī vijayā jayakāriṇī || 5 ||
śivārcanaratā nityaṃ śivapūjāparāyaṇā |
dharitrī lokamātā ca nityaṃ rakṣāṃ karotu me || 6 ||
kṣīrodād utthitā gāvo lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā |
prīṇayanti sadā devān viprāṃś caiva viśeṣataḥ |
nityaṃ tu devatātmānaḥ kurvantu mama śāntikam || 7 ||

   5c *devī*] Ś, *devi* N ● 5d] N, *jayā vijayakāṅkṣiṇī* Ś ● 6b *°pūjā°*] Ś, *°jāpya°* N ● 7a *utthitā*] Ś, *utthito* N ● 7d *viprāṃś*] N, *viprāś* Ś ● 7e *tu*] N, *ca* Ś.

these additions were made. They express a more overarching inclusivist model that also incorporates Buddhism and Jainism into the fold.

The *Skandapurāṇa*

The early *Skandapurāṇa*, although it likewise addresses the Śaiva laity, is a text with a very different character.[23] It is a Purāṇa, whose main framework of narratives is mythological, and it is as such within the narration of myth cycles that we come across references to other gods. The *Skandapurāṇa* has less to say on their actual worship, although a number of myths clearly indicate an attempt to take up position against another religious tradition, most notably Vaiṣṇavism. There are no references to Buddhism or Jainism in the text.

A good example expressing the competition between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism is the myth of Kṣupa and Dadhīca (SP 31). It starts with a dispute between Kṣupa, a devotee of Viṣṇu, and Dadhīca, a devotee of Śiva, about whether the Kṣatra or the Brahman is supreme. A battle ensues, in which Dadhīca proves victorious, even when he comes under the attack of Viṣṇu himself. He is after all protected by Śiva. As so often in the *Skandapurāṇa*, the story is told to extoll the holiness of a particular sacred site, in this case the Śaiva site of Sthāneśvara (Thanesar), said to be the place where the enmity between Kṣupa and Dadhīca was stopped (*sthita*).[24] Stories such as this may well reflect actual, historical struggles between different religious communities. Rather than inclusivist, this myth suggests an antagonistic agenda of worship of Śiva to the exclusion of all other gods. However, we come across several passages in the text that indicate a more inclusivist model. Thus it is said that Śiva granted half of his body to Viṣṇu, creating the Hari-Hara or Viṣṇu-Śaṃkara form, and that one who

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[23] For a recent historical study of the *Skandapurāṇa*, situating the text in sixth-to-seventh century North India, see BAKKER 2014.

[24] SP 31.105–106:

dadhīca uvāca
yasmāt sthitam idaṃ vairaṃ varadānāt tava prabho |
iha tasmāt tava sthānaṃ nāmnaitena bhavatv aja || 105 ||
deva uvāca
sthāneśvaram iti khyātaṃ nāmnaitat sthānam uttamam |
bhavitṛ krośaparyantaṃ nānāpuṣpalatākulam || 106 ||

See BAKKER 2007 for the historical connections between Sthāneśvara (= Thanesar) and Pāśupata Śaivism.

worships Śiva-Viṣṇu will reach the highest goal.[25] The hierarchical model is obvious: it is Śiva who grants Viṣṇu half of his body and not the other way around.

Another case concerned with Śiva's relation to Viṣṇu within a geographically defined area is the conclusion of the myth about the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, which ends in a unique manner in the *Skandapurāṇa*. After Dakṣa's sacrifice has been destroyed, Śiva proceeds to Mount Mandara and is followed by Viṣṇu and Brahmā. Not far from Bhadreśvara,[26] the place where he sets off, he tells Viṣṇu to stop. Viṣṇu does so, while bowing to the lord's feet and hanging onto the branch of a mango tree (*āmra*). The place where this event took place is called Kubjāmra and is expressly referred to as a prosperous holy field of Viṣṇu, yielding the results of the donation of a thousand cows.[27] The site can be identified at the confluence of the Candrabhāgā and Gaṅgā rivers in Rishikesh and still has an old Viṣṇu temple (the Bharata Mandir). The tradition about Kubjāmra is also known from local sources and hints at an old centre of Viṣṇu worship

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[25] SP$_{Bh}$ 121.20–21:

tasya devaḥ svayaṃ śūlī tuṣṭaḥ prekṣya tathāvidham |
śarīrārdhaṃ dadau tasmai tad abhūd viṣṇuśaṃkaram || 20 ||
ya imāṃ śṛṇuyān martyaḥ sadā parvasu parvasu |
arcayec chivaviṣṇuṃ ca sa gacchet paramāṃ gatim || 21 ||

See also SP 21.37ab (in a hymn of praise): *viṣṇor dehārdhadattāya tasyaiva varadāya ca |*.

[26] Bhadreśvara is the place from where Śiva and Pārvatī were watching the destruction of Śiva's sacrifice by Haribhadra, Bhadrakālī, and the Gaṇas, also referred to as the hermitage of Raibhya (Raibhyāśrama). For more details see BAKKER 2014: 174–181, who identifies it with the archaeological site "Vīrabhadra," "on the high bank of the Rambhā, near its confluence with the Gaṅgā [...] 20 km northeast of the Dakṣeśvara temple, i.e. Kanakhala, the spot where Dakṣa's sacrifice is supposed to have taken place" (BAKKER 2014: 178).

[27] SP 32.143–147:

evam astv iti sa procya mandaraṃ cārukandaram |
jagāma bhagavāñ charvaḥ somo gaṇaśatair vṛtaḥ || 143 ||
devāpi rājñā sahitās tasmin sthāne yathāsukham |
tasthur brahmā ca viṣṇuś ca jagmatur devapṛṣṭhataḥ || 144 ||
sa gatvā stokam adhvānam ubhābhyāṃ sahitaḥ prabhuḥ |
nātidūre tataḥ prāha tiṣṭha viṣṇo mahābala || 145 ||
yasmād āmraṃ samālambya tasmin deśe sthito hariḥ |
nirīkṣamāṇo deveśaṃ deśas tasmād abhūd asau || 146 ||
kubjāmraka iti khyāto viṣṇoḥ kṣetraṃ samṛddhimat |
puṇyaṃ nivartanāny aṣṭau gosahasraphalapradam || 147 ||

(BAKKER 2014: 181–183). The *Skandapurāṇa* appears to acknowledge this, but explains its existence through reference to the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice and thus incorporates a contemporary local site of Viṣṇu worship within its own inclusivist narrative.[28]

Throughout the text, the other gods are depicted in a position of complete dependence upon Śiva. This is expressed for example in several cases in the narrative, where they form part of or are incorporated in Śiva's body. And while the existence of Viṣṇu's *avatāra*s is acknowledged, Phyllis Granoff has shown that the *avatāra* accounts in the *Skandapurāṇa* come with a new and inclusivist message: "it is Śiva who gives Viṣṇu the task of slaying demons; it is also Śiva who releases Viṣṇu from his animal form so that he will be ready to assume another form when required" (GRANOFF 2004: 124). The inclusion of Viṣṇu's *avatāra* stories, which originally be-

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[28] The *Skandapurāṇa* attests to good knowledge of the local geography of the area. Another site in the vicinity is explained with reference to the same narrative mentioned above. When Brahmā continues to follow him after Viṣṇu has stopped at Kubjāmraka, Śiva tells him to turn back and himself enters the sky. Brahmā thereupon makes a circumambulation. The spot is called Brahmāvarta and described as a holy place, where, upon dying, one reaches Brahmaloka (SP 32.149–152):

nātidūraṃ tato gatvā bhūyo devaḥ pitāmaham |
nivartety abravīd vyāsa gaganaṃ ca samāviśat || 149 ||
tasmin viyadgate deve brahmā prāñjalir unmukhaḥ |
pradakṣiṇaṃ samāvṛtya praṇamya prayayau tataḥ || 150 ||
yasmāt tatra haraṃ tena kurvatā vai pradakṣiṇam |
āvartaḥ svaśarīrasya prakṛtaḥ puṇyakarmaṇā |
tasmāt sa deśo vikhyāto brahmāvarteti śobhanaḥ || 151 ||
aśvamedhaphalaṃ tatra snātaḥ prāpnoti mānavaḥ |
sādhayitvā caruṃ cātra bhojayitvā tathā dvijam |
prāṇān parityajya tato brahmalokam avāpnuyāt || 152 ||

Bakker has suggested the possibility that this Brahmāvarta may be identical with "the early historical mount at Shyampur Garhi, ca. 6 km west of VBA [Vīrabhadra] on the Golapani (Goila Nala), a small tributary of the Ganges" (BAKKER 2014: 184). The story seems to attest to the integration of a site originally connected to the worship of Brahmā. After the events relating to the coming into being of Kubjāmra and Brahmāvarta are over, Viṣṇu and Brahmā go back and Brahmā installs a *liṅga* dedicated to Paśupati at Bhadreśvara, performes *pūjā* there, and bathes in the Bhadra-karṇahrada, after which he returns to heaven (SP 32.153–154):

tato 'bhyetya suraiḥ sārdhaṃ brahmā viṣṇupuraḥsaram |
bhadreśvare paśupater mahimānam athākarot || 153 ||
sa liṅgaṃ tatra saṃsthāpya pūjāṃ kṛtvātibhāsvarām |
bhadrakarṇahrade snātvā saha devair divaṃ yayau || 154 ||

longed to Vaiṣṇava circles, reflects a deliberate narrative strategy of the authors of the text, aimed at integrating other cults and traditions under the broad umbrella of Śaivism.

Two chapters in the text deal with more mundane matters and give rules for the actual worship of Śiva. Chapters 27 and 28 contain material that shows, if not actual textual parallels, great correspondences in style and content to the literature of the *Śivadharma*. Again we encounter the model of including all other gods within Śiva, for example in SP 27.42, where all holy places and temples (presumably of all deities) are said to rest in Śiva's two feet.[29] Most relevant for the present purposes is SP 28.20–23. While this passage occurs within a section that deals with Śiva worship, the text allows for and incorporates the worship of other gods as well:

> Now, for the sake of the respectful offering (*argha*) in [rites] for the gods or for the ancestors, he satisfies the ancestors, as well as the sages and all the gods, for thirty thousand years, by [offering oblations of] white mustard seeds, and obtains a magnificent form, and is worshipped by cowgirls in the Cow-world for one Manu-period. For all the gods, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and the sages, make [themselves] present in [this] oblation: know that it has come forth from them! One who knows this great secret, O Devī, he is a great ascetic. Due to its miraculous power one is born rich, with a pleasing appearance, provided with the qualities of intelligence and beauty, for a million years.[30]

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[29] SP 27.42 (Śiva speaking):

yāni lokeṣu tīrthāni devatāyatanāni ca |
pādayos tāni suśroṇi sadā saṃnihitāni me || 42 ||

[30] SP 28.20–23:

siddhārthakair athārghārtham daive pitrye 'thavā punaḥ |
triṃśad varṣasahasrāṇi tarpayet sa pitṝn api || 20 ||
ṛṣīṃś ca sarvadevāṃś ca rūpaṃ cāpnoti puṣkalam |
manvantaraṃ ca goloke gokanyābhiḥ sa pūjyate || 21 ||
sarve devās tathā viṣṇur brahmā ṛṣaya eva ca |
kurvanty arghe hi sāṃnidhyaṃ tebhyas tad viddhi niḥsṛtam || 22 ||
guhyam etat paraṃ devi yo vetti sa mahātapāḥ |
tasya prabhāvāj jāyeta dhanavān priyadarśanaḥ |
prajñārūpaguṇair yuktaḥ saṃvatsaraśatāyutam || 23 ||

Aside from this one passage, however, we come across few other rituals that involve any other god but Śiva.[31] Overall, we can conclude that the primary teaching of the *Skandapurāṇa* is Śiva devotion, at the expense of everything else. It is a staunch Śaiva text. The only other deities whose worship is expressly acknowledged are Devī and the Gaṇas, but they are worshipped as, respectively, wife and servants of Śiva.

The *Niśvāsamukha*

The *Niśvāsamukha* is again a very different type of text, but it attests to similar notions as the *Śivadharma* and has much to say on matters of lay religion. The *Niśvāsamukha* stands at the threshold of Tantric literature. It forms the introduction to the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and introduces the Mantramārga teachings of the main work by presenting it as the revelation of Śiva's fifth face.[32] The *Niśvāsamukha* addresses the relation between the Tantra teaching of the Mantramārga and other forms of religion by introducing a model in which Śiva emits five streams of knowledge from his five faces. The inclusivist model is most apparent here: all religious practice derives from the teachings of Śiva in the end. The western face teaches the Laukika or mundane religion, the northern face the Vaidika or Brahmanical religion, the southern face the Ādhyātmika or system of knowledge of the self, and the eastern face the Atimārga or Pāśupata doctrine and practice. The upper, Īśāna face, however, teaches the ultimate knowledge, that of the Mantramārga.[33]

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[31] A rare exception is SP 28.9, which prescribes offering foods to the gods and ancestors for a year:

saṃvatsaraṃ tu yo bhuṅkte nityam eva hy atandritam |
nivedya pitṛdevebhyaḥ pṛthivyām ekarāḍ bhavet || 9 ||

[32] For the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, see GOODALL 2015, which presents a critical edition with annotated translation of the *Mūlasūtra*, *Uttarasūtra*, and *Nayasūtra*. Not yet included in this edition is the extensive *Guhyasūtra*. The *Niśvāsamukha* is the subject of the PhD thesis by Nirajan Kafle at Leiden University (KAFLE 2015). All citations are from Kafle's edition.

[33] NiMukh 3:196cd: *paścimenaiva vaktreṇa laukikaṃ gaditaṃ sadā*; NiMukh 4:41: *vedadharmmo mayā proktaḥ svarganaiśreyasaḥ paraḥ | uttareṇaiva vaktreṇa vyākhyātaś ca samāsataḥ ||* ; NiMukh 4:42: *ādhyātmikaṃ pravakṣyāmi dakṣiṇāsyena kīrttitam | sāṃkhyañ caiva mahājñānaṃ yogañ cāpi mahāvrate ||* ; NiMukh 4:131ad: *atimārggaṃ samākhyātaṃ dviḥprakāraṃ varānane | pūrveṇaiva tu vaktreṇa sarahasyaṃ prakīrttitam |* ; NiMukh 4:135: *pañcamenaiva vaktreṇa īśānena dvijottamāḥ | mantrākhyaṃ kathayiṣyāmi devyāyā gaditaṃ purā ||*. For this model of the five

The largest part of the *Niśvāsamukha* is reserved for the Laukika religion, covering the first three out of the total of four chapters of the text. It includes various religious practices, such as digging wells and setting up parks, pilgrimage, fasting, following observances, and religious suicide, under this heading. Although the Laukika religion described in the text primarily relates to the worship of Śiva, the category is in fact broader and also includes the worship of other deities. Thus we find in the section on pilgrimage not only reference to many important Śaiva centres, but also to pilgrimage sites dedicated to Viṣṇu, such as Śālagrāma and Mathurā (NiMukh 3.31–32).

Most interesting for the present purposes is an elaborate passage that promotes fasting on different days of the year (NiMukh 3.60–195). Each *tithi* is associated with a particular deity as follows: Brahmā (first), Agni (second), Kubera (third), Gaṇeśa (fourth), Nāgas (fifth), Skanda (sixth), Āditya (seventh), Śiva (eighth), Mahādevī (ninth), Yama (tenth), Dharma (eleventh), Viṣṇu (twelfth), Anaṅga (thirteenth), Parameśvara (fourteenth), Pitṛs (full and new moon).[34] The text prescribes fasting and worship of the deity, accompanied by the invocation of twelve names of the deity, on the days in question for a year. Thus, for example, Viṣṇu should be worshipped for a year on the twelfth *tithi* of both halves of the month with the names: 1. Keśava, 2. Nārāyaṇa, 3. Mādhava, 4. Govinda, 5. Viṣṇu, 6. Madhusūdana, 7. Trivikrama, 8. Vāmana, 9. Śrīdhara, 10. Hṛṣīkeśa, 11. Padmanābha, and 12. Dāmodara.[35] Various fruits of this worship are listed, depending on the gradation and kind of worshipper. By worshipping Viṣṇu with these names for a lifetime, accompanied by the gift of various substances and objects, one reaches the world of Viṣṇu.[36] In the same manner, worshipping Agni with his twelve names for a lifetime will get one to the world of Agni, worshipping Skanda will get one to the world of Skanda, etc.

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teachings in the *Niśvāsamukha* and subsequent Śaiva literature, see the lemma *pañca vaktrāṇi* by Diwakar ACHARYA in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* III (GOODALL & RASTELLI 2013: 358–359).

[34] For a useful survey of the *tithi*s and their presiding deities in Brahmanical literature, see EINOO 2005.

[35] NiMukh 3.126c–138b.

[36] NiMukh 3.139c–141b:

yāvajjīvaṃ samabhyarcya puṣpair ggandhaiḥ sugandhakaiḥ || 139 ||
bhakṣyabhojyaiś ca dhūpaiś ca cchatradhvajavitānakaiḥ |
hemajair bhūṣaṇair ddivyair mmaṇiratnavicitrakaiḥ || 140 ||
vastraiḥ pūjāṃ vicitrāñ ca kṛtvā viṣṇupadaṃ vrajet |

Now, for most of the gods mentioned, the text does not provide guidance specific to each different month of the year. The only exceptions concern Śiva, who is associated with the eighth and the fourteenth day of each half of the month,[37] and Viṣṇu, associated with the twelfth day of each half of the month.[38] In their case, for each month specific instructions are given, along with the mention of the reward of the fast and the worship at each individual month. In other words, these two deities are treated on a different level from the other gods mentioned. While it is not surprising that this should be the case for Śiva in a Śaiva text, it is quite revealing that Viṣṇu gets special treatment as well. This no doubt reflects the prominent position of Viṣṇu worship at the time, but it may also be due to the origin of the practice. In fact, the only parallel that I am aware of for this practice of the worship of a god with twelve names on set days of each month, with the exception of Śiva,[39] concerns Viṣṇu. For we find the same notion in the *Viṣṇudharma* and several Vaiṣṇava passages in other texts as well.[40] It appears then that the recitation of twelve names originally belonged to the worship of Viṣṇu alone and was subsequently expanded, as attested in the *Niśvāsamukha*, to include other gods as well. Overall we can conclude that, of the three texts discussed, the *Niśvāsamukha*'s attitude is the most open

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[37] NiMukh 3.92–106b and NiMukh 3.146–150. The twelve names to be used on the eighth *tithi* are: Śaṅkara, Devadeva, Tryambaka, Sthāṇu, Hara, Śiva, Bhava, Nīlakaṇṭha, Piṅgala, Rudra, Īśāna, and Rudra. The twelve names to be used on the fourteenth *tithi* are: Hara, Śarva, Bhava, Tryakṣa, Śambhu, Vibhu, Śiva, Sthāṇu, Paśupati, Rudra, Īśāna, and Śaṅkara. Specific instructions relating to each month are only given for the eighth day of the month.

[38] NiMukh 3.126c–138b.

[39] ŚiDhŚ 10 has a similar passage on fasting and worshipping Śiva with different names in twelve successive months on the eighth and fourteenth day. The list of names for the eighth day of the month is given as follows: Śaṅkara, Śambhu, Maheśvara, Mahādeva, Sthāṇu, Śiva, Paśupati, Ugra, Śarva, Tryambaka, Īśvara, and Rudra (ŚiDhŚ 10.17–31). Note that the list is different from the one in the Niśvāsamukha, suggesting that this was not yet a standard practice. No list of names is given for the fourteenth day of the month.

[40] The same set of twelve names of Viṣṇu with reference to the twelve months from Mārgaśīrṣa to Kārttika occurs in ViDh 5.23–26, MBh 13 App. I, no. 12 and MBh 14 App. I, no. 4, ll. 2998ff., BṛS 105.14–16 (the two MBh passages in particular show close correspondence).

See also GONDA 1970: 71–72, referring to *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 14,2,2,12 (on twelve names and the fullness of the year). The observance of a fast on the twelfth day, while worshipping Viṣṇu with his respective name, on twelve successive months is referred to as *nakṣatrapuruṣavrata* in several Purāṇas. See SHASTRI 1969: 188, n. 1.

and inclusivist. It certainly expresses a less antagonistic attitude than the *Skandapurāṇa*.

Conclusion

In this brief survey of three early sources on lay Śaiva religion, I have focussed on those passages that address the worship or existence of other gods than Śiva. The passages attest to an inclusivist model that allows for the worship of other gods, but with the underlying message that their power and position ultimately stems from Śiva. This is the case for the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, which teaches that the gods obtained their position as gods from the worship of the *liṅga*. The model of cosmic power, as expressed in particular in the text's *śāntimantra*, mirrors the earthly model of early medieval kingship with its system of *sāmanta*s, *mahāsāmanta*s, and *mahārāja*s. The *Skandapurāṇa*, by contrast, shows a more antagonistic attitude, with many stories revolving around the opposition between Śiva and the other gods. This may well reflect a moment in time when Śaivism moved from a position on the sides to a position in the centre, but it may also be characteristic of narrative literature in general. Its inclusivism is more aggressive, as it first of all involves the denigration of the other gods before they are reinstated in their respective domain. If we are looking for a parallel from Indian kingship, it brings to mind the model of the *digvijaya*, as famously expressed in Samudragupta's *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* and chapter 4 of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, with its image of defeat and subsequent reinstatement of regional kings, following the conquest by a new and more powerful ruler on the scene. Finally, the *Niśvāsamukha* provides the most perfect inclusivist model, with its concept of Śiva's five faces teaching the five different streams of religion, where the highest stream, that of the Mantramārga, is reserved for the upper, fifth face. It forms the introduction to the earliest surviving Śaiva Tantra, the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, and as such provides the transition from the previous religious traditions to the new ritual system for centuries to come. There is no antagonistic attitude here, it rather reflects a strong belief in the supremacy of the lord Śiva who himself happily teaches the worship of other gods to Devī.

Finally, when talking about inclusivism, it should not be forgotten that there is always an exclusivist aspect involved as well. This aspect gets little notice in Hacker's work. This exclusivism may not always be addressed explicitly, but it is there nonetheless. Thus it is noteworthy that all three texts do not engage with the non-Brahmanical religions of Jainism and

Buddhism. They reflect a common shared Brahmanical model of religion which had integrated local forms of religion such as goddess and Nāga worship, but whose pantheon does not include Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tīrthaṅkaras, or Arhats.[41] As such, this is not inclusivism in Hacker's limited use of the term, since the deities involved in fact all form part of a well-established Brahmanical tradition, to which Śaivism aligns itself. The inclusivism encountered here is not a case of "claiming, what really belongs to an alien sect," but rather seems to reflect a more general Brahmanical perspective on what constitutes religion.[42] The only exception that in

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[41] The situation appears to be different in the case of Vaiṣṇavism, where, for example, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* tells of Viṣṇu's production of a heresiarch called Māyāmoha, who deludes the Asuras with his heretic doctrines, first disguising himself as a Jaina ascetic and then as a Buddhist monk. Subsequently the Buddha was integrated into the standard list of Viṣṇu's *avatāras*. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, as Vincent Eltschinger has observed, gives much attention to the denigration of the *pāṣaṇḍa*s, who are seen as a sign of the Kali age (ELTSCHINGER 2014: 57–66). This attitude is shared by the *Viṣṇudharma*, which is full of statements on avoiding contact with *pāṣaṇḍa*s (in particular ViDh 25), who, as ViDh 105.37–40 makes quite clear, are none other than Buddhists, Jains, and the like:

pāṣaṇḍabhūtam atyarthaṃ jagad etad asatkṛtam |
bhaviṣyati tadā bhūpa vṛthāpravrajitotkaṭam || 37 ||
na tu dvijātiśuśrūṣāṃ na svadharmānupālanam |
kariṣyanti tadā śūdrāḥ pravrajyāliṅgino vṛthā || 38 ||
utkocāḥ saugatāś caiva mahāyānaratās tathā |
bhaviṣyanty atha pāṣaṇḍāḥ kapilā bhikṣavas tathā || 39 ||
vṛddhāḥ śrāvakanirgranthāḥ siddhaputrās tathāpare |
bhaviṣyanti durātmānaḥ śūdrāḥ kaliyuge nṛpa || 40 ||

Also noteworthy is Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, which includes descriptions of the Buddha and the "god of the Arhats" in the section on the iconography of deities (BṛS 58.44–45):

padmāṅkitakaracaraṇaḥ prasannamūrtiḥ sunīcakeśaś ca |
padmāsanopaviṣṭaḥ piteva jagato bhavati buddhaḥ || 44 ||
ājānulambabāhuḥ śrīvatsāṅkaḥ praśāntamūrtiś ca |
digvāsās taruṇo rūpavāṃś ca kāryo 'rhatāṃ devaḥ || 45 ||

[42] Similar criticism has been voiced by Wezler regarding the usage of the term "inclusivism" to describe the interactions between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism: "Ist die Annahme, daß die Mythenüberlieferungen beider zu irgendeinen Zeitpunkt, 'ursprünglich', in dem Sinne strikt śivaitisch bzw. viṣṇuitisch waren, daß der Gott des konkurrierenden Glaubens in ihnen nicht nur keine Rolle spielte, sondern auch gar nicht vorkam? Muß nicht angesichts der letzlich vedischen Herkunft beider Traditionsströme vielmehr davon ausgegangen werden, daß die zentrale göttliche Gestalt des einen von Anfang an auch in dem anderen nicht nur vorkam, sondern auch eine

fact proves the rule are the two passages about the Buddha and Arhat in the *Śivadharmaśāstra* for which the manuscript evidence is ambiguous. Most revealing, however, is a short line in the *Niśvāsamukha*, where Śiva tells Devī that he has taught five paths only and that "those different from them are following the wrong path" (NiMukh 1.56d: *ato 'nye kupathe sthitāḥ*). What these wrong paths are the text does not say, but it is not difficult to imagine.

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K1   National Archives, Kathmandu, 3/393, microfilmed by the NGMPP: A 1082/3, palm leaf, dated [Nepāla] Saṃvat 189 (1069 CE)

K2   National Archives, Kathmandu, 5/841, microfilmed by the NGMPP: B12/4, palm leaf, apograph dated by another hand: [Nepal] Saṃvat 315 (1194–95 CE)

N   Yogin Naraharinath, *Śivadharma Paśupatimatam Śivadharmamahāśāstram Paśupatināthadarśanam*. Kathmandu : Bṛhadādhyātmikapariṣada, saṃvat 2055 (1998 CE).

P1   Institut Français de Pondichéry (IFP), T 32, paper transcript, dated June 26, 1959. Copied from a manuscript belonging to Kilvelur. Available online: http://muktalib7.org/IFP_ROOT/IFP/transcripts_data/T0

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gewisse, wenn auch nachgeordnete, Rolle spielte? Und, wenn letzteres richtig ist, kann man dann eigentlich von 'Inklusivismus' im wörtlichen Sinne sprechen? […] Das Wesentliche an dem Phänomen, das Hacker 'Inklusivismus' nennt, läge dann in der weiteren Ausgestaltung und Zuspitzung einer mit der Entstehung der jeweiligen Sekte bereits gesetzten Glaubensüberzeugung von der uneingeschränkten Suprematie des 'eigenen' Gottes, wobei der Prozeß der Verteidigung und der 'ideologischen' Durchsetzung dieses Anspruchs eine besondere Dynamik dadurch erhalten hätte, daß dieses Konkurrenzverhältnis über Jahrhunderte hin fortbestand und zu gleichartigen, die Auseinandersetzung vielleicht gar eskalierenden theologischen Reaktionen auf beiden Seiten führte." (WEZLER 1983: 82).

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Mātṛtantra texts of South India with special reference to the worship of Rurujit in Kerala and to three different communities associated with this worship

S.A.S. Sarma

Mātṛtantras of South India

There exist a few hitherto unpublished South Indian texts that describe the rituals of the female deities collectively known as the Seven Mothers, and it is in these Mātṛtantra texts that we see the deity Bhadrakālī emerging as the principal deity of the Tantric cult. In this tradition Bhadrakālī is worshipped, either on her own or as Cāmuṇḍā, as one of the Seven Mothers, accompanied by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa.

We find in these texts the description of the regular worship to be performed in temples of Bhadrakālī, usually patronised by royal families and established for the sake of victory over their enemies, while in the northern Mātṛtantra tradition we see the description of the worship as performed by individual initiates for their own purposes. Works that may, as we now know, be included in the southern Mātṛtantra tradition are the two southern *Brahmayāmala*s, the *Mātṛsadbhāva*, the *Śeṣasamuccaya* (chapters 7, 8, and 9) and certain other minor texts that deal with the installation of, and rituals related to, Bhadrakālī.

Two southern *Brahmayāmala*s

In his thesis on the *Brahmayāmala*, a pre-ninth-century Śaiva Tantric scripture, HATLEY (2007: 4–5) mentions five other later texts that bear the label "*Brahmayāmala*"[1] and belong to the Mātṛtantra tradition. Among these

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[1] See HATLEY 2007: 3–5: "(…) a South Indian text connected with the cult of Bhadrakālī, in which some traces of the older *BraYā* are discernable; another South Indian *Brahmayāmala* related to this of which only a few chapters survive; a short text preserved in a Bengali manuscript expounding a series of ritual diagrams (*cakra*s or *yantra*s), with no discernable relation to the older *BraYā*; a text of the cult of Tārā

five, two are from South India, the *Brahmayāmala* [*Brahmayāmala-mātṛpratiṣṭhātantra*], available in the French Institute (ms. T. 522), and another *Brahmayāmala* [*Brahmayāmalapratiṣṭhātantra*] for which there is an incomplete manuscript available in the Trivandrum Manuscript Library (ms. T. 982). As SANDERSON (2014: 40–41) observes:

> These [texts] claim to be part of the *Brahmayāmala* and indeed are derived from it to the extent that they share its core pantheon and a number of other formal features; but they differ from it radically in that they prescribe a regular cult of Cāmuṇḍā/Bhadrakālī and the Seven Mothers to be conducted before the fixed idols in temples by non-Brahmin priests of the *pāraśava* caste for the protection of the state and its subjects and the enhancement of royal power.[2]

We also see that the Bhadrakālī in these texts is attended by the same four goddesses, namely Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahocchiṣṭā, as Caṇḍā Kāpālinī, the supreme goddess in the northern *Brahmayāmala*, though Mahocchuṣmā, the fourth, appears under the variant name Mahocchiṣṭā:

> The one named Raktā should be installed in the eastern direction; Karālī should be installed in the south, Caṇḍākṣī should be installed in the west, [and] Mohocchiṣṭā should be installed in the north.[3]

And:

> Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākṣī, [and] Mohocchiṣṭā [should be installed] separately.[4]

On the cult of Bhadrakālī and the worship that the southern *Brahmayāmala* texts introduce, SANDERSON (2007a: 277–278) further observes that it "is indeed fully Tantric, it is much more integrated into the civic dimension of

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by this name transmitted in an untraced Bengali manuscript, a section of which has been published; and a *Brahmayāmala* preserved in a single, fragmentary Nepalese MS, which though eclectic, draws directly from the older *BraYā*."

[2] See also SANDERSON 2007a: 277–278.

[3] BY$_{IFP}$, p. 7, edition by SANDERSON 2007a: 277, n. 141: *raktākhyāṃ vinyaset prācyāṃ karālīṃ dakṣiṇe nyaset | caṇḍākṣīṃ paścime nyasya mahocchiṣṭottare nyaset |.*

[4] BY$_{IFP}$, p. 89, edition by SANDERSON 2007a: 277, n. 141: *raktā karālī caṇḍākṣī mohocchiṣṭā pṛthak pṛthak |.*

religion than are the early North Indian Śākta traditions exemplified by the Trika and Kālīkula. [...] and the principal purpose of this worship is said to be to foster the victory of the monarch over his enemies, as in the Orissan cult of Bhadrakālī, and, more generally, to protect the kingdom from danger (*deśaśāntiḥ*, *rāṣṭraśāntiḥ*), such temple being, at least in main, royal foundations and recipients of royal patronage." We also see that these southern Yāmala texts embedded the Tantric *mantra*s from the Kālīkula.[5]

The *Brahmayāmala* (IFP, Pondicherry)

The incomplete southern text of the *Brahmayāmala*, available in the French Institute of Pondicherry, contains approximately 1,900 verses in *anuṣṭubh* metre in 49 chapters. This text has the format of a ritual manual (*paddhati*) and contains details of the installation of the Seven Mothers,[6] the daily rituals performed for them, festivals, and special rituals such as the *mātṛśānti* and the *kujavārabali*. Chapter 19 of the text gives a complete description of the animal sacrifice (*paśuyāga*) to be performed in a temple of the Seven Mothers. The forty-ninth and final chapter, on rules regarding impurity (*āśaucavidhi*), is incomplete. This transcript was prepared based on a manuscript available from Candraśekhara Gurukkal of Tirukkalukkunram. Though we have no information on the author of the text, it contains evidence that he was a Tamil speaker, whose native language occasionally left unintended traces on his composition.[7]

We also see that certain rituals and musical instruments described in the text are known in Tamil Nadu as well as in Kerala, which further confirms

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[5] For the details of the *mantra*s that are imported, see SANDERSON 2007a: 278–279.

[6] Their names are given, for example, in the following list: Cf. BY$_{IFP}$, p. 15: *brāhmī māheśvarī caiva kumārī vaiṣṇavī tathā | vārāhī caiva māhendrī bhadrakālī tathaiva ca ||*.

[7] Cf. COX 2016: 249, n. 92. Cox gives the following evidence: "(e.g. epenthetic *ya-śruti*s [as in 6.25d: *tasmād yetāni varjayet*] or hypercorrections [e.g. 5.12cd *tadarthaṃ kaṇṭavistāraṃ tadarthaṃ bilam ucyate*, in both cases for correct *tadardhaṃ*]) see e.g. 6.5ab *āgneyayamayor madhye pitarasthānam uttamam*, 'the best shrine to the **ancestors** is located in the south-southeast' [thematisation of Skt. *pitṛ* to *pitara*, *cf.* MTL *pitarar*] 6.27a, *nallamallasamākīrṇaṃ*, '[the village picked for a temple-site should be] filled with **good** wrestlers' [*nalla-*, *cf.* Tamil *naṉmai*, adj. stem *nalla-*, 'fine, good'] and 7.23cd: *śikhāyān tu śikhāṃ nyasya kavacaṃ tanamastake*, 'placing the crest [-*mantra*] on the [Goddess'] crest, [place] the armor [-*mantra*] on **her** head,' understanding *tana-* to be a thematisation influenced by the Tamil reflexive pronominal base *taṉ*; the correct form and *sandhi* (*tanmastakam) would break the metre."

the southern origin of this text. For example, the text lists the musical in-
struments to be played during the installation of the trident (*śūla*), mention-
ing drums, namely the *karaṭī* and *timila*, as well as the *mātṛghoṣa*, a partic-
ular voiced sound intoned by women, all of which is peculiar to the South:

> [Making] auspicious proclamations (*svastivācakavākyam*), the sound
> of Vedic recitation (*brahmaghoṣam*), and [sounds of the instruments
> known as] *paṭaha*, *maddala*, *tāla*, *karaṭī*,[8] *timilā*, and ululation
> (*mātṛghoṣam*) along with [sounds of the] conch and *kāhala*.[9]

The text also mentions a particular dance, the *mudrānṛtta*, performed be-
fore the *bali* offering described in the *Mātṛśāntipaṭala*, the chapter on the
propitiatory rites for the Mother-goddess to avert evil or calamity,[10] and
another one by an oracle (*veliccapāḍ*)[11] before the *bali* offering known as
bhūtabali, also performed in the Piṣārikāvu Temple of Kollam, Kerala:[12]

> At the time of circumambulation, one should perform the dance in-
> volving *mudrā*s (*mudrānṛttam*).[13]

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[8] I was unable to locate any references so far regarding the music instrument *ka-
raṭī*. Though studies on the musical instruments of Kerala, such as the *Temple Musi-
cal Instruments of Kerala* (RAJAGOPALAN 2010), describe the instruments that are
listed here, they remain silent on *karaṭī*.

[9] BY$_{IFP}$, p. 159: *svastivācakavākyañ ca brahmaghoṣan tathaiva ca | paṭahaṃ
maddalaṃ tālaṃ karaṭītimilā tathā | śaṃkhakāhalasaṃyuktaṃ mātṛghoṣan tathaiva
ca |*. (*śaṃkhakāhalasaṃyuktaṃ*] conj; *śaṃkhakālasamāyuktaṃ* ms.)

[10] Cf. BY$_{IFP}$, pp. 75–83. This is an eight-day *bali* festival, and each festival day is
dedicated to one Mother-goddess. Rice mixed with different substances is offered,
and on the eighth day the animal sacrifice (*paśubali*) takes place. The text also men-
tions that other divinities should be invited during the festival: "May these [divini-
ties], [namely] the Kūśmāṇḍas, Guhyakas, Nāgas, Siddhās, Yakṣas, Marudgaṇas,
Vidyādharas, and Gandharvas come [to this] festival." *kūśmāṇḍa-guhyakānāgāsi-
ddhāyakṣāmarudgaṇāḥ | vidyādharāś ca gandharvā āgacchantu mahotsave ||*
(*mahotsave*] conj.; *mahotsavam* ms.; IFP T. 522, p. 75).

[11] The *veliccapāḍ*, or oracle, is considered a representation of the deity in a temp-
le. He is dressed in red with ornaments and garlands and carries hooked swords.
Once in trance, accompanied by the beatings of drums, he dances and grants the
devotees blessings and predictions.

[12] Though I am not sure of its practice in Tamil Nadu, in Kerala such dances are
performed, namely, one by a Kuruppu and one by a *veliccapāḍ*. A *kurup* belongs to
the *ambalavāsi* or "temple servants" group; see also CALDWELL 1999: 97.

[13] BY$_{IFP}$, p. 78: *paribhramaṇavelāyāṃ **mudrānṛttaṃ** samācaret |*.

The dance involving *mudrā*s (*mudrānṛttam*) should be performed along with laughing and playing. Especially the dance involving *mudrā*s should be performed with every effort.[14]

According to this *Brahmayāmala*, the priests who are eligible to perform the worship of the Seven Mothers must be non-Brahmins, termed *pāraśava*, who are the offspring of a Brahmin father and Śūdra mother:[15]

One born of a Brahmin man and a Śūdra woman in conformity of the rules is considered to be a *pāraśava*. [Should they] resort to Bhadrakālī for their livelihood, they are held to be [her] priests.[16]

As SANDERSON (2007a: 277) observes, the Śaiva character of this priest is also "expressed by the transformation of *pāraśavaḥ* into *pāraśaivaḥ* as the title of those who have been initiated and consecrated as officiants of this cult":

At first the *pāraśava*s are invariably worshippers[17] of the goddess. [Once] initiated, these *pāraśaiva*s are particularly qualified for rituals.[18]

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[14] BY_IFP, p. 79: **mudrānṛttaṃ** tu kartavyaṃ hāsanakrīḍanādibhiḥ | **mudrānṛttaṃ** viśeṣeṇa kārayet sarvayatnataḥ |. (krīḍanādibhiḥ] conj; krīḍanādiśet ms.).

[15] In the Dharmaśāstra texts, *pāraśava* is defined as the offspring of a Brahmin man and Śūdra mother: yaṃ brāhmaṇs tu śūdrāyāṃ kāmād utpādayet sutam | sa pārayann eva śavas tasmāt pāraśavaḥ smṛtaḥ || (Manusmṛti 9.178), "When a Brahmin fathers a son by a Śūdra woman out of lust, tradition calls him a *pāraśava*, because while still able (pārayan) he is a corpse (śava)" (translation OLIVELLE 2005: 159). See also *Brahmayāmala* IFP, p. 88 (= SANDERSON 2007a: 277): ādau pāraśavāś caiva nityaṃ devyās tu pūjakāḥ | dīkṣitāḥ karmayogyās te pāraśaivā viśeṣatah ||. *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* (143.1–2) also mentions the *pāraśava* as the priests of Bhadrakālī. The *pāraśava*s are known as *uvaccaṉ* and defined as "Members of a caste of temple drummers and Pūjāris of Kālī" (*Tamil Lexicon* s.v. *uvaccaṉ*). See also PILLAY 1953: 220–248 and SHULMAN 1980: 219–220.

[16] BY_IFP, p. 146, edition by SANDERSON 2007a: 277, n. 142: śūdrāyāṃ vidhinā viprāj jātaḥ pāraśavo mataḥ | bhadrakālīṃ samāśritya jīveyuḥ pūjakāḥ smṛtāḥ |.

[17] Even though the term *pūjaka* denotes a "priest" here, in general it could also refer to a worshipper.

[18] BY_IFP, p. 88, edition by SANDERSON 2007a: 277, n. 142: ādau pāraśavāś caiva nityaṃ devyās tu pūjakāḥ | dīkṣitāḥ karmayogyās te pāraśaivā viśeṣataḥ |.

The establishment of a temple devoted to the Seven Mothers as well as the worship that is described in this manual is said to favour the victory of the monarch over his enemies (*śatrunāśa*) as well as to protect the kingdom from danger (*devaśānti, rāṣṭraśānti*):

> Bhadrakālī [who is] Cāmuṇḍī always causes victory to prosper. [She] is proclaimed to have arisen from Śiva in the Kaliyuga for the destruction of enemies. Four embodiments [of her] are to be known. She invariably creates peace (*śāntikarī*). One should worship her four embodiments with all efforts. [They] restore peace to the nation; [through them] victory arises for kings, [it] destroys all sins, [brings about] peace, and is invariably the source of victory.[19] One should worship the Mothers according to [the manner enjoined for] their four embodiments.[20]

> [It] is taught to be the cause for peace and prosperity of the nation [that comes about through] the installation [of Bhadrakālī].[21]
> ...

> The fire offering for Devī, ending with [the pronouncement of] *svāhā*, increases the well-being of a city.[22]

Unfortunately, we have been able to locate only a single transcript of this text in the French Institute Library and it is badly corrupted.

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[19] The translation of this sentence is uncertain as no grammatical agent is indicated.

[20] BY$_{IFP}$, p. 2, edition by SANDERSON 2007a: 278, n. 143: *bhadrakālī tu cāmuṇḍī sadā vijayavarddhinī | śatrunāśe śivodbhūtā kaliyuge prakīrtitā | catasro mūrtayo jñeyā **sadā śāntikarī bhavet** | tasyās sarvaprayatnena caturmūrtiṃ prapūjayet | deśaśāntikarāś caiva **nṛpāṇāṃ vijayaṃ bhavet** | sarvapāpaharaṃ śāntaṃ sadā **vijayasaṃbhavam** | caturmūrtividhānena mātṛpūjāṃ ca kārayet |.*

[21] BY$_{IFP}$, p. 50, edition by SANDERSON 2007a: 278, n. 143: *pratiṣṭhāvidhinā proktaṃ **rāṣṭraśāntyarthakāraṇam** |.*

[22] BY$_{IFP}$, p. 50, edition by SANDERSON 2007a: 278, n. 143: *svāhāntaṃ devikāhomaṃ **nagaraśāntivardhanam** |.*

The *Brahmayāmala* (ORI, Trivandrum)

The other incomplete southern *Brahmayāmala* text, available in the Trivandrum Manuscript Library, is in the form of a conversation between Brahmā and Īśvara:

> [I] heard the Great Mother Tantra, an extremely long method.
> ...
> Now I would like to listen to the method (*sādhanam*) [that is the] essence of all [attainments], short in length, great in meaning, adorned with various [ritual] injunctions, called an "installation-scripture" (*pratiṣṭhātantram*), a new settled account drawn from the Yāmala [scripture].[23]

This work claims to teach the rituals based on the Yāmala corpus[24] and breaks off in its fifth chapter. While its first chapter introduces the worship of the Mothers, its second chapter enumerates the details of two types of installation, namely *ekabera* and *bahubera*, and the procedures for them. The third chapter provides the location and places where the Mothers are to be installed. The fourth chapter provides a detailed description of the eligibility of the worshipper, and the fifth describes the qualifications of a teacher (*ācāryalakṣaṇa)* and preliminary preparations for the initiation and then breaks off. The first four chapters end with a colophon which indicates that the text belongs to the *brahmayāmala-vidyāpīṭha*.[25]

As mentioned above, the text describes two types of installation, namely the *ekabera* and *bahubera*. In the case of *ekabera*, *Bhadrakālī* alone is worshipped, while in case of the *bahubera* she is worshipped along with the Mothers:

> The [installation of] Mothers are of two kinds: with numerous icons and with just one icon. Where Durgā alone is present, who is the

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[23] BY_Triv, p. 1: *śrutaṃ mātṛmahātantram ativistārasādhanam | ... | idānīṃ śrotum icchāmi sāraṃ sarvasya sādhanam | alpagranthaṃ mahārthaṃ ca nānāvidhivibhūṣitam | pratiṣṭhātantram ityākhyaṃ yāmalānavanirṇayam |.*

[24] BY_Triv, p. 26: *yāmaloktavidhānena nityam ātmārcanaṃ smṛtam.* See also: *sarvayāmalatantrajño nityaṃ pūjārataḥ śuciḥ* (BY_Triv, p. 2–3, p. 28); *evaṃ tu yāmalācāryaḥ kathitaḥ karmasiddhaye* (BY_Triv, p. 2–3, p. 28).

[25] For example: *iti brahmayāmale sapādalakṣe vidyāpīṭhāvatārite pratiṣṭhātantre ekāśītividhānāṅge prathamodhyāyaḥ* (BY_Triv p. 2–3).

goddess keeping the highest position (*kūṭasthā*) [and] being not man-
ifested through the Mother-powers, she is known as Bhadrakālī.
[...]
Where Bhadrakālī is [alone], this is known as the single-icon
[type].[26]

She is alone in the single-icon [installation] (*ekabere*); [and she] is
known as Bhadrakālī. Alternatively, [she is known] everywhere as
"Mothers" when sevenfold in a multiple-icon [installation].[27]

The single-icon [installation] is praised for victory over and destruction of
enemies. The multiple-icon type is declared for peace and prosperity.

Similar to the IFP *Brahmayāmala*, this text too authorises the *pāraśava* to
perform the temple rituals of Bhadrakālī:

[One who has] undergone the sequence of the "initiation [into the
cult of] the Mothers" (*mātṛdīkṣā*) and [one who has the knowledge]
of the tradition of worship of the four [forms of the goddess] is called
a priest (*pūjakaḥ*) among the *pāraśava*s. Such people are recom-
mended for [the performance of] all rites, and they live from the
worship of the Mothers.[28]

Though presently we have no knowledge of the existence of any other
manuscripts of these two southern *Brahmayāmala* texts, a study of the
manuscripts presently available to us clearly demonstrates their southern
origin, which is further supported by the correlation of the iconography of

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[26] BY$_{Triv}$, p. 3: *bahuberaikabereti ucyante mātaro dvidhā | kūṭasthā yā bhaved de-
vī avyaktā mātṛśaktibhiḥ | durgā bhavati yatraiva bhadrakālī tu viśrutā | [...] yatraiva
bhadrakālī syād ekaberam iti smṛtam |.*

[27] BY$_{Triv}$, p. 3: *kevalā caikabere tu bhadrakālīti viśrutā | saptadhā bahubere vā
mātaraś ceti sarvataḥ | **jayārthaṃ śatrunāśārtham** ekaberaṃ praśaṃsitam | **śānti-
puṣṭikarārthaṃ tu bahuberam udāhṛtam** |.* Cf. SANDERSON 2007a: 278: "When
Bhadrakālī is isolated (*kūṭasthā, ekabera*), the cult is for victory and the destruction
of enemies. When she is worshipped together with the Mothers (*bahubera*) the cult's
purpose is the quelling of dangers and the restoration of well-being."

[28] BY$_{Triv}$, p. 27: *mātṛdīkṣākramopetaṃ caturyāgavidhāgamam | pūjakas tv iti vikhyātaṃ
saṃjño* (sic) *pāravaśātmanām | praśastāḥ sarvakāryāṇāṃ mātṛpūjopajīvakāḥ |.*

the goddess described in these manuscripts with the surviving South Indian images of Bhadrakālī.

   We also noticed that these two southern *Brahmayāmala*s prescribe the installation and worship of the Mothers for the monarch's victory over his enemies (*śatrunāśa*) and the protection of his kingdom from danger, which indeed must have encouraged monarchs to establish temples devoted to the Mothers. Among these temples, the Kolārammā Temple in the Noḷambavāḍi of Karnataka merits special attention, since here we find two Tamil inscriptions containing indications of rituals to be performed in the temple that are discussed in the *Brahmayāmala* text of Pondicherry.

The Kolārammā Temple of Kōlār
and the southern *Brahmayāmala* texts

The Kolārammā Temple must have been in existence at least from the time of the Colas, as can be seen from its inscriptions dating from 1030 CE. Among the several Tamil inscriptions found in the Kolārammā Temple, two inscriptions (*Epigraphia Carnatica* 10, KI 108 and 106d) are dated[29] in the second regnal year of Kō-Rājakesaravarma (alias Rājendracoladeva), the Cola king Kulottuṅga I (1071/1072 CE). These give the provisions for the funding of the Kolārammā Temple of the goddess, detailing the yearly allowances for the staff, including a teacher of grammar and of "Yāmala," the offerings for the deities, and the various ceremonies.[30] As we see in the inscription, there is a teacher appointed to teach the Yāmala texts. This constitutes evidence that the Yāmala texts were known in this area and encourages us to assume that the southern Yāmala text that we now know might have been composed in this area. Moreover, as SANDERSON (2007a: 277, n. 140) observes,[31] this detailed inscription accords precisely with the texts of the southern *Brahmayāmala*. We find in it details of the temple ceremonies that were performed in the Kolārammā Temple, including the special rituals, such as the *kujavārabali* (BY$_{IFP}$ pp. 100–102), *mātṛśānti* (BY$_{IFP}$ pp. 75–83), and *yoginīyogeśvarapūjā*. Also the offering of an alcoholic drink (*matiyapāna*) and of a goat during the *kujavārabali*, both spe-

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[29] In fact, only the first one is dated, but the second seems to be a continuation of the first.

[30] See also SANDERSON 2014: 41 and 2007a: 277.

[31] See also COX 2016.

cific to the Yāmala text preserved in Pondicherry, are some of the rituals mentioned by the inscription.

The Mātṛtantra texts that are produced in Kerala

Though we are only aware of two southern *Brahmayāmala* texts – one in Pondicherry and the other one in Kerala, both incomplete – there are texts produced in Kerala that treat the worship of the Mothers and are based on the southern Yāmala texts we have discussed, especially the *Mātṛsadbhāva* and the three chapters of the *Śeṣasamuccaya*. Of these two, the *Mātṛsadbhāva* merits special attention, since it is a ritual manual entirely devoted to the worship of the Mothers.

The *Mātṛsadbhāva*

The *Mātṛsadbhāva*,[32] a Kerala text, is, as described by its author, a summary of the rituals found in the various Yāmala texts. It provides a detailed South Indian tradition of temple-based Yāmala worship and presents a complete and properly organised account of the cult of Mothers.

> Having offered obeisance to my *guru*, Gaṇeśa, Durgā, and the Kṣetrapāla, I shall declare this Tantra under the name Mātṛsadbhāva. I have examined the Yāmalas and will now, as far as I am able, make a summary of their essentials for the benefit of mankind. Even Brahmā is not able to understand these [texts] that have come forth in various forms from the lotus that is the mouth of Śiva. How much less can such as I?[33]

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[32] There are two palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Mātṛsadbhāva* in Malayalam script bearing the nos. 1017-A and 1017-B as well as a transcript in Devanāgarī script bearing no. T. 792 (copy of ms. 1017A?) in the Trivandrum Manuscripts Library. There is a paper manuscript (ms. MT 5126) in Grantha script in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library in Chennai. See also *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol. XX (DASH 2011: 59).

[33] MSBh_Triv, p. 1: *praṇamya ca guruṃ vighnaṃ durgāṃ ca kṣetrapālakam | mātṛsadbhāvanāmnā ca tantram etat pravakṣyate | yāmalāni samālocya sva-sāmarthyānurūpataḥ | jagaddhitāya cāsmābhiḥ kriyate sārasaṃgrahaḥ | tānīśvara-mukhāmbhojasamudgīrṇāny anekadhā | brahmaṇāpi na śakyāni jñātuṃ kimuta mādṛśaiḥ |*, translation SANDERSON 2014: 51.

The author of the *Mātṛsadbhāva* also informs us that there is no text that provides a complete and properly organised account of the cult of the Mothers:

> Śiva did not teach [all] the rituals for the worship of the Mothers in those Tantras in one [place]. The reason for this I do not know. Therefore †...† I shall teach them in summarised form in their proper order.[34]

Like other Paddhati texts of Kerala,[35] the *Mātṛsadbhāva* follows the tradition of arranging the chapters beginning with the qualifications of the *ācārya* and concluding with the *jīrṇoddhāra*, the removal of a cult-image that is old and used.[36] However, the manuscripts we now have of the *Mātṛsadbhāva* breaks off while describing the *jīrṇoddhāra*.

The text deals with the following topics:

> Those learned in Tantras teach the following as the order [of the topics]: qualities of the teacher, purification of the ground, the sequence of [rites making up] the incubation †…†, the manner of performing the worship of the site (*vāstuyāga*), then the characteristics of temples, the placing of the [first] brick, thereafter the placing of consecration-deposits (*garbhādhānam*), the characteristics of images, then the rules for initiation, the rules for the planting of [prognosticatory] germinated seeds, *bali*, and the worship in that place itself, the steeping of the idols in water and the cleaning of them, and also the sequence of [rites making up] the incubation of the idols, the depositing of precious stones, the characteristics of an installation, the rules for worship, bathing, and the sequence for [the performance of] festivals, the procession for the bath at a sacred site, then the bathing and the removal [and replacement] of worn idols.[37]

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[34] MSBh$_{\text{Triv}}$ p. 1–2, edition by SANDERSON 2007a: 278, n. 143: *naikatra teṣu samproktāḥ kriyās tantreṣu śambhunā | mātṛyāgaṃ samuddiśya na jānīmo 'tra kāraṇam | tasmād †āpajya tāḥ kartuṃ kriyā lokeṣu naiṣṭikāḥ† | anukrameṇa vakṣyante saṃgraheṇa yathāvidhi |.*

[35] Such as the *Śaivāgamanibandhana* and the *Prayogamañjarī.*

[36] MSBh$_{\text{Triv}}$, p. 2: *ācāryalakṣaṇādyan tu jīrṇoddhārāvasānakam | anukramam iti prāhur asmin tantre vicakṣaṇāḥ |.* "The sequence [of topics] in this Tantra, the experts say, begins with the qualities of a teacher and ends with the replacement of a worn-out [idol]."

[37] MSBh$_{\text{Triv}}$ p. 2, edition by SANDERSON 2014: 51, n. 191: *ācāryalakṣaṇañ caiva*

The above-mentioned topics are discussed in 28 chapters; the final chapter is the one on the *jīrṇoddhāra* and is, as mentioned, incomplete. Nevertheless perhaps not much has been lost, since the above summary of topics provided by the author clearly shows that we are missing only a part of the final chapter on the *jīrṇoddhāra*.

The *Mātṛsadbhāva* in its fifth chapter provides a detailed description of the installation of the Mothers as well as of Bhadrakālī and mentions that the installation procedures are prescribed according to the *Brahmayāmala*:

> Now, [I] will succinctly describe the *ekavīrī* icon as taught by the Supreme Lord in the *Brahmayāmala*.[38]

Among the other topics discussed in the text, the procedure for initiation is provided in chapter 6. Like the other Kerala texts, the *Mātṛsadbhāva* indicates the importance of initiation as a qualification for performing an installation:

> [The *ācārya*] should perform an initiation (*dīkṣāṃ*) with due efforts for the authority to use *mantra*s, [to perform] the installation of images of gods, especially for the removal [and replacement] of worn [idols].[39]

Chapter 18 provides a detailed account of the *pūjā* of the Mothers, separately giving the details of the deities surrounding (*āvaraṇa*) the Seven Mothers, Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra. Chapter 19 narrates the installation of the trident and goes on to give the details of the war fought between goddesses and Ruru.

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pṛthivyāś ca viśodhanam | adhivāsakraman †tāsā† ++++++++ | vastuyāgavidhānañ ca tataḥ prāsādalakṣaṇam | ādhānam iṣṭakāyāś ca garbhādhānam anantaram | pratimālakṣaṇañ caiva dīkṣākalpam ataḥ param | bījāropaṇakalpañ ca baliṃ tatraiva pūjanā | jalādhivāsaṃ bimbānāṃ teṣāñ caiva viśodhanam | adhivāsakramaṃ tāsāṃ pratimānāṃ tathaiva ca | ratnanyāsavidhānañ ca pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇaṃ tathā | arcanāya vidhānañ ca snapanaṃ cotsavakramam | tīrthābhiṣekagamanaṃ snapanañ cāpy anantaram | jīrṇoddhārañ ca tantrajñāḥ prāhur evam anukramam |.

[38] MSBh$_{Triv}$, p. 26: *athaikavīrīṃ pratimāṃ pravakṣyāmi samāsataḥ | brahmayāmalatantreṣu yathoktaṃ parameṣṭhinā |.*

[39] MSBh$_{Triv}$, p. 45: *devabimbapratiṣṭhāyāṃ jīrṇoddhāre viśeṣataḥ | mantrādhikāre ca tathā dīkṣāṃ kuryāt prayatnataḥ |.*

As Sanderson observes "the *Mātṛsadbhāva* differs primarily not only in its lucid and generally correct Sanskrit but also in its extensive expurgation of most of the strongly Kāpālika elements of this tradition while in spite of this recalling the tradition's roots in Atimārga III, by, for example, describing the officiant as 'one who has mastered the *Somasiddhānta*.'"[40] We also see that this text "relates the myth of the conquest of the Daitya enemies of the gods by Cāmuṇḍā/Karṇamoṭī and the other Mothers at Koṭivarṣa in the far north of Bengal, that of the origin of that site's sacred Pool of the Trident (*Śūlakuṇḍa*) and the drinking of its water, the granting of the boon to the Mothers as the reward for their victory that those who worship them with devotion will attain whatever *siddhi* they desire and salvation at death, and the presence there with the Mothers of Śiva as Hetukeśvara."[41] We also see the reference to Koṭivarṣa in the ritual process that is described in the *Mātṛsadbhāva*, such as in the context of the ablutions (*abhiṣeka*) of the deity to be performed on the fourth day after its installation, where the text prescribes to install pots filled with water that represent the sacred sites including the Koṭivarṣa.

Even though in its ritual prescriptions we do not find the name of Rurujit ("conqueror of Ruru") as the primary deity, the text does speak of the Dānava Ruru (or Rurutva) being defeated by the goddess and as beneath her foot, pieced by her trident.[42]

Certain rituals prescribed in the *Mātṛsadbhāva* seem to be similar to those that are performed in the Bhadrakālī temples in Kerala, for example, the *bali* offerings in the Piṣārikāvu and in the Kodungallur Temple. *Kāvutīṇḍal*, a famous public ritual unique to the Kodungallur Temple, which we will discuss shortly, may carry an echo of the propitiatory oblations prescribed in the *Mātṛsadbhāva* that are offered in the nearby village of a temple (*grāmabali*).[43]

This text must have been composed before the fifteenth century since it is referred to as the principal authority for the worship of Rurujit-Cāmuṇḍā and the Mothers by Śaṅkaran Nampūtiri, commentator of the *Śeṣasamuccaya*, another ritual manual which we will discuss below.

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[40] SANDERSON 2014: 51.

[41] SANDERSON 2014: 51–52; see also MSBh_Triv p. 138–149. For a detailed description of the myth of the conquest of the Daitya enemies of the gods by Cāmuṇḍā/Karṇamoṭī, see SK_KB 171.78–137.

[42] Cf. MSBh_Triv, pp. 28–29.

[43] Cf. MSBh_Triv, p. 178.

The *Śeṣasamuccaya*

Among the southern texts based on the *Brahmayāmala*, the *Śeṣasamuccaya* attributed to Śaṅkara[44] occupies a prominent place. It is in the *Śeṣasamuccaya* that Bhadrakālī in the form of Rurujit seems to have been introduced as a principal deity, while in its source, the *Mātṛsadbhāva*, as we have discussed, she is not mentioned as the principal deity.

The *Śeṣasamuccaya* provides rituals pertaining to deities such as Brahmā, Āditya, Kubera, Śrīkṛṣṇa, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Gaurī, Jyeṣṭhā, Bhadrakālī, the Mātṛs, Kṣetrapāla, Bṛhaspati, and Indra as well as other lords of the quarters:

> Let these pleased deities --- such as Brahmā, Arka, Vaiśravaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Sarasvatī, Śrī, Gaurī, Jyeṣṭhā, also Kalī [and] the Mothers, Kṣetrādhipa, then such forms as Rurujit and Girīśa, [and] also Indra and the other [guardian deities of directions] --- bestow upon me, who bows down [before them], what I desire.[45]

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[44] While some of the historians of Kerala, such as RĀJARĀJAVARMA ([2]1997: III.486–487), attribute the authorship of the *Śeṣasamuccaya* to one Kṛṣṇaśarma, pupil of Cennas Narayanan Namputiri, others such as PARAMESWARA IYER ([5]1990: II.73–74), NARAYANA PILLAI (1951: iii–v), and MADHAVAN (n.d.: 26) confirm that Śaṅkara, son of the author of the Kerala ritual manual, the *Tantrasamuccaya*, is the author of the *Śeṣasamuccaya*.

[45] ŚS 1.1: *brahmārkavaiśravaṇakṛṣṇasarasvatīśrīgauryagrajā dadatu kāly api mātaro me | kṣetrādhipo 'tha rurujid girīśādirūpāṇīndrādayo 'pi namate 'bhimataṃ prasannāḥ |*. The identification of the deities follows the commentary, see Vimarśinī ad ŚS, p. 1: *kās tā devatā ityāha --- **brahmārkavaiśravaṇakṛṣṇasarasvatīśrīgauryagrajāḥ**, **brahmā** prasiddhaḥ, **arkaḥ** sūryaḥ, **vaiśravaṇaḥ** sa eva, **kṛṣṇo** gośālasthaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ, **sarasvatīśrīgauryaḥ** prasiddhāḥ, **agrajā** jyeṣṭhā, **kālī** bhadrakālī, **mātaro** vīrabhadragaṇapatisahitāḥ prasiddhā eva, **kṣetrādhipaḥ** kṣetrapālaḥ, apiśabdaḥ samuccayārthaḥ. **atha rurujid girīśādirūpāṇi**. rurujid iti rurunāmno daityasya hantrī bhadrakālī, **girīśaḥ** śivaḥ, ādiśabdena tatratyā mātaraḥ kṣetrapālaś ca tadrūpāṇi daivatāni. indrādayaḥ svaprādhānyena sthāpanīyā lokapālāḥ. apiśabdo 'trāpi samuccayārthaḥ. atra brahmādikṣetrapālāntānāṃ tantrāṇi ṣaḍbhiḥ paṭalair abhidhāya saptamādipaṭalair rurujidādīnāṃ tantrāṇi vakṣyāmīti madhyasthasyāthaśabdasyārthaḥ.* "[The text] tells us which deities these are – *brahmārkavaiśravaṇakṛṣṇasarasvatīśrīgauryagrajā*: Brahmā is the well-known [deity of that name]; Arka is the sun; Vaiśravaṇa is himself [Kubera]; Kṛṣṇa is the Dark One who resides in a cow-pen; Sarasvatī, Śrī, and Gaurī are the well-known [deities of those names]; Agrajā is Jyeṣṭhā; Kālī is Bhadrakālī; the Mothers are the well-known [Seven Goddesses], along with Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati; Kṣetrādhipa is [Bhairava as] the protector of

Chapters 7, 8, and 9 of the *Śeṣasamuccaya* are devoted to distinctive rituals of the rare cult of the goddess Rurujit. The principal authority used by the author of the *Śeṣasamuccaya* to describe the rituals of Rurujit is the *Mātṛsadbhāva*, as is indicated by Śaṅkaran in his commentary on the *Śeṣasamuccaya*:

> Explaining the ritual procedure taught in such scriptures as the *Mātṛsadbhāva* in order to show how Śiva, Ekaberī [Bhadra-kālī/Cāmuṇḍā], the Mothers, and the Kṣetrapāla are to be installed simultaneously in a single temple (...).[46]

Some scholars[47] claim that the ritual procedures followed for the worship of Rurujit (*rurujidvidhāna*) embodies the Kashmirian concepts of Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī and the Mahārtha (Krama) tradition of Kālī worship. But a detailed study of the *rurujidvidhāna* in the *Śeṣasamuccaya* makes it clear that there are no traces of Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī and the Mahārtha in the *Śeṣasamuccaya*.[48]

Other texts on *rurujidvidhāna*

The *Rurujidvidhānapūjāpaddhati*, a prose text in Sanskrit available in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library (GOML), Chennai (ms. R 3365),

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the sacred site; the word api is used in the sense of addition (*samuccayārthaḥ*); then (*atha*) such forms as Rurujit and Giriśa. Rurujit is the conqueror of the demon called Ruru, i.e., Bhadrakālī; Girīśa is Śiva; the expression 'and others' (*ādiśabdena*) deno-tes the Mothers that are there, as well as Kṣetrapāla and other divinities that have such forms; Indra and others (*indrādayaḥ*) are the protectors of the eight directions, to be installed in accordance with their [respective direction of] dominance; here too the word api is used as [a conjunction] expressing addition. The word atha placed in the middle expresses the [following] idea: 'here, having spoken about the teachings relating to the deities beginning with Brahmā and going up to Kṣetrapāla in six *paṭala*s, I will speak about the teachings of Rurujit and others from the seventh on-wards.'"

[46] Vimarśinī ad ŚS 7.1: *śivaikaverīmātṛkṣetrapālānāṃ yaugapadyenaikāsminn āyatane sthāpanapradarśanārthaṃ mātṛsadbhāvādyāgamoktakriyākramaṃ vadan* (...), translation SANDERSON 2014: 51, n. 193.

[47] Cf. VAMANAN (n.d.), Introduction to *Śeṣasamuccaya*_{TV} (p. 7), and JAYA-SHANKAR 2001: 28.

[48] See also SARMA 2009: 335.

might be a prose version of the chapters on Rurujit of the *Śeṣasamuccaya*, but a close study of the text will be required to ascertain this.

There is also a ritual manual in Malayalam that was recently published by the Tantravidyāpīṭha of Kerala, a prose version of the chapters on Rurujit from the *Śeṣasamuccaya*, entitled *Rurujidvidhānavuṃ bahubera-vidhānavum*, "Regulations for the worship of Rurujit and also [that of Ru-rujit] with many idols." It is also worth mentioning here that the Shripuram Tantra Research Center, Trichur District, Kerala, is working on a detailed ritual manual on Rurujit, which is expected to be published soon.

Apart from these texts, there are several minor ones that describe the installation of and rituals pertaining to Bhadrakālī. Though these works might not have been based on the southern *Brahmayāmala* texts, in these ritual manuals we see a continuity of the *Brahmayāmala* tradition.

Worship of Rurujit

As we have seen, it is in the *Śeṣasamuccaya* that Bhadrakālī in the form of Rurujit seems to have been introduced as a principal deity, while in its source, the *Mātṛsadbhāva*, she is not mentioned as the principal deity. But the *Mātṛsadbhāva* describes how Dānava Ruru, or Rurutva, was defeated by the goddess and lies under her foot pieced by her trident:

> Having this form, the Mother of the Universe (*jadgaddhātrī*), after felling the demon Ruru and piercing his heart with the trident, fixed her gaze on his face. […] As if touching the demon with the tip of her left foot.[49]

> Seeing the [other] demons slain, the Ruru (*rurutvaḥ*) puffed up with pride over his strength (*baladarpitaḥ*), turned his face to her and fought fiercely. […] This great demon Ruru (*rurutvaḥ*) pierced the earth and went below.[50]

The *Śeṣasamuccaya* in its seventh chapter prescribes how the temple of Rurujit should be constructed:

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[49] MSBh_{Triv} p. 28: *evaṃrūpā jagaddhātrī nipātya rurudānavam | bhittvā śūlena hṛdayaṃ mukhe tasyārpitekṣaṇā | […] vāmapādāgrabhāgena spṛśantīm iva dānavam |.*

[50] MSBh_{Triv} p. 143: *asurān ghātitān dṛṣṭvā rurutvo baladarpitaḥ | tasyās tv abhi-mukho bhūtvā yodhayām āsa dāruṇam | […] rurutvo 'sau mahādaityo bhūmiṃ bhi-ttvā hy adho gataḥ |.*

Here, [in the worship of Rurujit], an independent [temple of] Śiva (*smarajit*) will face east; in front [of him] to the south Cāmuṇḍā, separate (*bhinnā*), will be facing the west. Alternatively, [Cāmuṇḍā] will face east (*namuciripudigāsyā*)[51] without accompanying deities (*niraṅgā*). To the south of Lord [Śiva] or to that of [Cāmuṇḍā], there may be [Seven] Mothers facing north, along with accompanying deities. Alternatively, she may be placed, according to this system (*iha*), to the east of the [Seven Mothers], together with attendants (*sāṅgā*), or all the [Seven] Mothers [together with Cāmuṇḍā] may be placed separately to the south-east [of Śiva].[52]

In the temples that are devoted to Rurujit, such as the Kodungallur Temple in the Trichur District and the Kollam Piṣārikāvu in the Calicut District of Kerala, we see a slightly different arrangement: Śiva is installed facing east; on the southern side facing north or east is Rurujit; on the eastern side of Rurujit facing north are the Seven Mothers, Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa; and on the north-eastern corner, Kṣetrapāla. In some temples Rurujit is also installed along with the Mothers.

The seventh chapter of the *Śeṣasamuccaya* discusses in detail the consecration rituals that pertain to a temple for Rurujit, and its eighth chapter describes at length the daily rituals that are to be performed. This chapter includes the visualisation of Rurujit:[53]

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[51] See *Vimarśinī* ad ŚS 7.2: *athavā tatraiva namuciripudigāsyā pūrvābhimukhā niraṅgā syāt.*

[52] *Śeṣasamuccaya* 7.2: *syāt prāgāsyaḥ svatantraḥ smarajid iha puro dakṣiṇe paścimāsyā | cāmuṇḍā syāc ca bhinnā namuciripudigāsyā niraṃgaiva vātha | devasyāsyās tu vā yāmyadiśi śaśidigāsyā jananyo 'pi sāṅgās | tatprāk sā veha sāṅgānaladiśi nikhilā mātaro veha bhinnāḥ |.* In comparison, in the Mātṛsadbhāva (MSBh_Triv p. 55) we see three types of installations prescribed for Bhadrakālī, namely, *sāṅga* (Bhadrakālī facing north), *niraṅga* (Bhadrakālī facing east), and *bhinnā* (Bhadrakālī facing west). The *Śeṣasamuccaya* prescribes two additional options, namely, the north facing Bhadrakālī together with the Seven Mothers and Bhadrakālī together with the Mothers placed in the southeast of Śiva.

[53] According to the *Brahmayāmala* (BY_IFP p. 28), Bhadrakālī is visualised as having several hands that hold respectively a skull, a trident, a staff with a skull at the top (*khaḍvāṅga*), a shield, a bell, a sacred drum (*ḍamaru*), and a noose. AJITHAN (2015: 11) points out that the Mūssads (cf. p. 546 below) of the Vaḷayanāḍu temple visualise Bhadrakālī as it is described in the *Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa* (SANDERSON 2007a: 266–268) of the Paippalādins, holding [on the right] a trident, an elephant-goad, an arrow, and a sword and [on the left] a vessel filled with blood, a

May she always protect you, [she] who stands on [the corpse of] Śi-
va, who is radiant with a diadem on her head that coruscates with a
fragment of the emblem that is the moon, who holds in her lotus-
hands a noose and hook, a trident and a skull, who is decorated with
a garland of fresh heads, who has three eyes, who wears red unguents
and clothes, who is bright with all [manner of] ornaments, [and] who
is dark in colour, [namely] Śivā [= Bhadrakālī].[54]

The *Śeṣasamuccaya* also gives another option for the visualisation as an
alternative to the above, and we find the same visualisation in the
Mātṛsadbhāva (MSBh_Triv, pp. 26-27):

I venerate Mahābhairavi, who at once wove a garland with the blood-
dripping skins of the heads of demons who had come to battle [with
her] and carefully (*sādaram*) arranges it as an upper garment, and
who holds in her hands a shield, a skull, a snake, a great bell, the
head of the Asura (*śubhaṃkārikā*), a skull-topped staff (*khaṭvāṅga*),
a trident (*triśikhā*), and a sword (*anasi*).[55]

This is the form we mostly see in Rurujit temples in Kerala. In this form,
she uses her hands, smeared with the demon's blood, to put on the garland
made of the heads of demons, which then resembles her upper garment; she
holds in her hands a shield (*kheḍa*), a skull (*kapāla*), a snake (*pannaga*), a
bell (*mahāghaṇṭā*), the head of the Asura (*śubhaṃkārikā*), a staff with a
skull at the top (*khaḍvāṅga*), a trident (*triśikhā*), and a sword (*anasi*).
    In its eighth chapter, the *Śeṣasamuccaya* introduces the *samayavidyā* for
the recitation once all the *nyāsas* – the emplacement of the *mantra*s on the

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noose, a bow, and a shield.

[54] ŚS 8.50: *śambhusthā śaśalakṣmakhaṇḍavilasat koṭīracūḍojjvalā | bibhrāṇā ka-
rapaṅkajair guṇasṛṇī śūlaṃ kapālaṃ tathā | muṇḍasrakparimaṇḍitā trinayanā
raktāṅgarāgāṃśukā | sarvālaṅkaraṇojjvalā śitinibhā vaḥ pātu nityaṃ śivā |.* The
Vimarśinī on ŚS 8.50 reads thus: *śambhusthā śambhurūpapretāsanasthā guṇasṛṇī
pāśam aṅkuśaṃ ca muṇḍasrakparimaṇḍitā uttamāṅgarūpābhiḥ mālābhiḥ parito
maṇḍitā śitinibhā śyāmavarṇā.*

[55] ŚS 8.51: *sadyaḥ saṅkarasaṃgatāsuraśiraḥśreṇībhir āsrolbaṇair | ābadhya
srajam uttarīyam anayā saṃbibhratīṃ sādaram | dorbhiḥ kheṭakapālapannagama-
hāghaṇṭāśubhaṃkārikā | khaṭvāṅgatriśikhānasiṃ ca dadhatīṃ vande mahā-
bhairavīm |.* The *Vimarśinī* on ŚS 8.51 reads thus: *sadyaḥ saṅgareti. sadya eva yu-
ddhāya samāgatānām asurāṇāṃ śironivahaiḥ rudhiradigdhaiḥ srajam ābadhyānayā
sādaram uttarīyaṃ bibhratīm.*

body – are completed and also for certain other occasions, though the *mantra* described seems to be incomplete.[56] In the ninth chapter of the *Śeṣasamuccaya*, we find a detailed description of the festivals that are to be conducted in the temple of Rurujit.

Even though offerings of meat are prescribed in the rituals by the *Śeṣasamuccaya*, in practice only symbolic meat is offered. For example, while giving the details of the rice to be offered to the Mothers, the text mentions *māṃsaudana* for Vārāhī, which the Malayalam commentator of the *Śeṣasamuccaya* explains as an offering representing the meat (*māṃsa*): "For Vārāhi, rice mixed with meat - [rice] mixed with sweet pudding (*vatsan*) that represents the meat […],"[57] meaning a rice cake mixed with jaggery.

Kerala temple priests

The Nampūtiri Brahmins are mostly found in Kerala temples as the officiating priests for the daily rituals as well as the *tantri*s or chief-priests, who are in control of the performance of special rituals such as festivals, consecrations, etc.[58] Even though these Nampūtiris also perform rituals in the Bhadrakālī temples, in certain selected temples of Rurujit, we find members of a non-Nampūtiri communities as priests. It may be worth noting here that according to the southern *Brahmayāmala* texts the priests of a Bhadrakālī temple must be non-Brahmins, known as *pāraśava*.[59]

Even though the Kerala Mātṛtantra texts, the *Mātṛsadbhāva* or *Śeṣasamuccaya*, do not mention non-Brahmin priests carrying out the worship of Bhadrakālī or Rurujit, we see that there are three particular non-Nampūtiri communities that are involved in the worship of Rurujit.

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[56] Cf. AJITHAN 2015: 15. For a detailed discussion on the *samayavidyā*, see SANDERSON 2007b: 307–308, n. 247.

[57] ŚStv p. 247: *vārāhikku māṃsodanam-māṃsa pratinidhiyāya 'vatsaniṭṭat* […].

[58] While the early ritual manuals of Kerala, such as the *Śaivāgamanibandhana* and the *Prayogamañjarī*, insist that a Tantric initiation be undergone if a priest is to be qualified to perform temple rituals and also prescribe the initiation (*dīkṣā*), the latter ritual manuals, such as the *Tantrasamuccaya*, minimise the initiation (*dīkṣā*) rituals, prescribing merely an instruction of the principal (*mūla*) mantra (*mantropadeśa*). For a detailed discussion on this topic, see SARMA 2010.

[59] See n. 15 above.

The three different communities
associated with the worship of Rurujit

There are thirteen[60] known temples in Kerala devoted to Rurujit. Among these, in certain selected temples members belonging to three specific communities perform rituals. While the priests of the Kollam Piṣārikāvu and Vaḷayanāṭukāvu in the Calicut District are of a Mūssad community, the priests of the Māṭāyikāvu in the Kannur District and Mannampurattukāvu in Nilesvaram are of a Piṭāra community. In the famous Kodungallur Temple in the Trichur District of Kerala, the Aṭikaḷ are entitled to perform the rituals. It is to be noted here that these three groups of communities are considered as *pāraśava*s and nowadays often referred to as degraded Brahmins.

The Mūssads

It is believed that a group of Vaiśyas who moved from South Kerala during the period of Mārtāṇḍavarma of the Travancore Kingdom (1706–1758) reached Kollam in the Koyilandi area of North Kerala and installed the Piṣārikāvu Temple devoted to Rurujit. At present, there are eight Vaiśya families who administer this temple. It is said that Vaiśyas initially performed rituals here, but they appointed a Nampūtiri Brahmin for an improved performance of the rituals. Thus, the rituals that had been performed by the Vaiśyas underwent some changes, and especially the offering of liquor and meat was abandoned. Yet, the rituals performed by the Nampūtiri Brahmin made the goddess fiercer and more powerful, and it became difficult for the devotees to bear this. Hence, the Vaiśyas decided to replace the Nampūtiri priest, and they engaged the Mūssad community to perform the temple rituals of the Piṣārikāvu.

The Mūssads are also the priests in the Vaḷayanāṭukāvu[61] in Calicut District. These two temples feature the installation of Rurujit as prescribed in the *Śeṣasamuccaya* ritual manual. The Mūssads who perform rituals in these temples also perform a public ritual known as *śākteyapūjā* in their homes for the benefit of devotees, where they sacrifice a chicken and offer it to the deity along with liquor.[62]

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[60] GIRISHKUMAR (2012: 3) mentions 13 temples of Rurujit in Kerala. However, other scholars list even more temples, for instance, BHAT (2013: 18) provides a list of 15 temples, and in a recent paper AJITHAN (2015: 2–3) gives a list of 16 such temples.

[61] For a detailed study of the rituals in this temple, see AJITHAN 2015: 5–9.

[62] According to AJITHAN (2015: 5), the system of worship of "Mūssad-s is a blend

The Piṭāras

This community is well-known as worshippers of Bhadrakālī, and the Māṭāyikāvu Temple of Kannur District, where they perform worship, is one of the more famous temples of Kerala. It is interesting to note that in Tamil Nadu the fierce goddess is known as Piṭāri.

The Aṭikaḷ

The Aṭikaḷ[63] are a small community and the following is their orally transmitted origin myth: One day, while they were accompanying the great philosopher Śaṅkara, the latter drank liquor to test the fidelity of his followers. They thought if the *ācārya* could drink, they could too, and so they drank the liquor. Śaṅkara then entered a foundry and drank molten metal. After this he challenged them, saying, "Now, see if you can do all that I can do." They apologised to him and were degraded to slaves (*aṭiyāḷ*).

The priests at Kodungallur come from a family at Pallipuram, more than 50 miles north-east of Kodungallur. According to custom, only the men alone, without their womenfolk, are allowed to come to Kodungallur, and men from Aṭikaḷ families marry girls of the local Nayar (non-Brahmin) families and settle in Kodungallur.

There is also a story behind the settlement of the Aṭikaḷ around the Kodungallur Temple. It is said that there were 101 houses of Nampūtiri Brahmins in the vicinity of the Kodungallur Temple. Once, a poor Brahmin

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of Krama systems of Kashmir and South Indian Brahmayāmala traditions. What is to be noted here is that there seems to be two dimensions, i.e. inner and outer, with regard to the worship of Mūssad-s. The inner dimension consists of worship of their cultic deities viz., Śrīvidyā, Kālasaṅkarṣiṇī and Parā. The outer realm consists of worship of Bhadrakālī or Caṇḍakapālinī and Mātṛs along with Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati." However, in order to relate the ritual systems that are followed by Mūssads to the Krama system, the textual materials that are used by Mūssads would need to be studied, which I have not yet located. SANDERSON (2007a: 277–278) observes that it is only certain Tantric *mantra*s of Kālīkula that are embedded in the southern *Brahmayāmala* texts.

[63] INDUCHUDAN (1969: 118) observes thus on the Aṭikaḷ: "They are a very small community in Kerala. In the division of castes they come as a sub-division of what are called Antaralas, with Dvijas or twice-born, i.e. Brahmins and Kshatriyas coming first. They are presumed to be degraded Brahmins, the degradation being the result of service of meat and liquor or their substitutes in the temples. They officiate as priests in some shrines."

approached these houses at night for food, and he was sent from house to house until finally those living next to the temple suggested he should go and beg at the doors of the adjacent house, that being the abode of the goddess. Unaware that it was a temple, the poor Brahmin asked for alms. While the goddess provided him with food, she was angry with the Nampūtiri Brahmins who refused to offer the Brahmin food, and so she burned all the Nampūtiri houses there. Even today there are no houses of Nampūtiri Brahmins near the temple. Since there were no Nampūtiri Brahmins left to perform the temple rituals, the king of that time brought the Aṭikaḷs from Pallipuram, north-east of Kodungallur. At present, the Aṭikaḷ have the right to perform rituals in the Kodungallur Temple, but they appoint Nampūtiri Brahmins for the regular services[64] of the temple rituals. The Aṭikaḷ themselves perform specific rituals only during the festival.

Kodungallur Temple of Rurujit and particular private and public rituals that take place in this temple

It is said that the Cēra King Ceṅkuṭṭuvan̠,[65] after listening to the story of Kaṇṇaki, established a temple in his capital to commemorate her martyrdom. It is also considered that Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ, the younger brother of Ceṅkuṭṭuvan̠, authored the *Cilappatikāram* at a place close to Kodungallur town. According to some scholars, when that area was later inhabited by Buddhist monks, it became a Buddhist temple but then returned to the Hindus during the period of Sāmutiris,[66] the rulers of the medieval kingdom of Kozhikode.

The Kodungallur Temple exhibits some very specific structural features. A long hall built from granite and divided into three chambers is found on the inside of the inner complex. Its central chamber is the sanctum sanctorum in which Bhadrakālī in the form of Rurujit is installed facing the northern entrance. In the western chamber, the Seven Mothers along with Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati are installed facing north. The most eastern chamber is very small, without doors or windows, and known as a secret

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[64] INDUCHUDAN (1969: 287) observes the following: "Nambudiris had practically no hold in the Kodungallur temple. ... The Atikal who manages the whole affairs and the Nambudiri priest only acts on his behalf. A Nambudiri priest, as soon as he comes to Kodungallur, should take technical instructions from the Atikal on the nature of rituals. ... The Nambudiri has only what is called general practices as his own."

[65] Cf. INDUCHUDAN 1969: 16–17; see also MENON 1924: IV.331–332.

[66] Cf. INDUCHUDAN 1969: 165–175.

chamber in which a *śrīcakra* is installed. It is believed that this *śrīcakra* was installed by Śaṅkara himself. This chamber has a subterranean passage that leads towards the east and opens to the ground after about 100 yards. There is also a separate sanctum for Śiva, who faces east, and one for Kṣetrapāla. The structure of a temple described in the *Mātṛsadbhāva* and *Śeṣasamuccaya* for Bhadrakālī along with the Seven Mothers closely corresponds to the structure of the Kodungallur Temple, with the exception of its particular secret chamber.

The idol of Bhadrakālī in a sitting posture in the Kodungallur Temple is made of jackfruit tree wood, about six feet high, and has eight hands, holding on the right side (top to bottom) a trident, a skull staff (*khaṭvāṅga*), a sword, and the severed head of Dāruka and on the left a snake, an anklet, a shield, and a bell. Her left ear features an elephant earring and the right one a lion earring.

The festival rituals in this temple too are unique and complicated. It is not only the structure that accords well with the southern *Brahmayāmala* texts, especially the *Mātṛsadbhāva*, but also certain rituals that are performed in this temple and form part of its unique character. Among these, a secret ritual known as *tṛccandanapoṭicārttal*, or "smearing the idol with holy sandal powder," and a public ritual known as *kāvutīṇṭal*, or "polluting the Kāvu or temple," are considered of special importance.

In the course of the *tṛccandanapoṭicārttal* ritual, or "the smearing the sandal paste,"[67] everyone is sent out of the inner temple complex while three senior members of the Aṭikaḷ community, belonging to three families, enter the sanctum and perform rituals that run for several hours. The details of these are unknown, and according to the tradition only those who perform the ritual know how it is to be done. The details of the ritual will be passed on to a new member only when required. This means when the representative of one family dies, his place will be taken by the next member of the family, and it is only then that this newcomer will learn the ritual. It is obviously believed[68] that the Goddess was wounded after the war and required special medication, so the "smearing the sandal paste" is considered a treatment of the wounds.

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[67] For a detailed description of this ritual, see INDUCHUDAN 1969: 105–106, GENTES 1992: 303, TARABOUR 1986: 374–377.

[68] This fact was also mentioned to me by a senior member of one of the three families who participate in the Kodungallur temple rituals and whom I was able to meet in November 2014.

This ritual is followed by the *kāvutīṇṭal* ritual, or "the polluting of the temple," in which thousands of members of several communities participate, including lower castes but no Brahmins. It is worthy of note that cocks are sacrificed for almost a week prior to this ritual, and there are symbolic offerings of cocks following the *kāvutīṇṭal* ritual as well. As soon as the ritual of "smearing the sandal paste" is completed, everyone within the inner precincts leaves, and the doors all around are locked. The *valiya* or "senior" royal member of Kodungallur then mounts the eastern portico of the temple and spreads out a green coloured umbrella. The moment the green umbrella is spread, the crowd, consisting of the oracle (*veliccappāḍ*) who carries swords and the devotees who carry small sticks, runs around the temple and pollutes it by touching it. In the meanwhile, the devotees dance and sing obscene songs, known as *bharaṇipāṭṭu*.[69] These are a set of songs, some of which have an explicit sexual content while others praise every aspect of the Goddess, especially her sexuality. This is followed by purification rituals before the regular daily rituals begins. In this *kāvutīṇṭal* ritual, we see that the communities that include the higher royal family members as well as lower castes[70] are involved.

Even though it may not be easy to explain why such a ritual is performed,[71] we see an echo of the above-mentioned practices during the *bali* offering that is described in the *Mātṛsadbhāva*. During this *bali* procession, the devotees are asked to carry small sticks and the men are asked to partic-

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[69] For a detailed discussion on this ritual, see INDUCHUDAN 1969: 128–142, TARABOUR 1986: 374–376, GENTES 1992, and RADHAKRISHNAN 2013.

[70] According to RADHAKRISHNAN (2013: 205–206), "the [*kāvutīṇṭal*] festival features Nairs and members from the royal family, it is largely a festival that is celebrated by the lower castes. The main castes that participate are the Vannans, the Mannans, the Pulayas and the Thiyas."

[71] Some observe that this ritual was performed to get rid of the Buddhist nuns who had taken control of the temple once upon a time. RADHAKRISHNAN (2013: 208) notes "the [Kodungallur] temple could have been a Buddhist shrine to begin with. ... Buddhists in Kerala did not build too many stupas or other structures. They choose to conduct several of their meetings in the open air, in small groves, or *kavu*s. The Kodungallur temple is also known as the Sri Kurumba Kavu. The *kavu teendal* ceremony at the *Bharani* then may have originated as a brahminical move to usurp the Buddhist shrine." RADHAKRISHNAN (2013: 208) also points to observations of SADASIVAN (2000) and GENTES (1992), and he states that "they believed the Hindus in the area [Kodungallur] threw meat and alcohol into the Buddhist monasteries to desecrate the sacred space of Buddhist shrines and also harassed the Buddhist monks and nuns by hurling sexually explicit abuses at them."

ipate well-dressed and ornamented, resembling the practice that is presently followed in the contexts of the *kāvutīṇṭal* ritual in the Kodungallur Temple:

> Prominent men who are vigilant should be placed in front, [each] holding a bamboo stick that is straight, long, light and firm, and also at the sides, for protection, especially during the *bali* offering. Outside of them on all sides (*paritaḥ*) guards should process (*gaccheyuḥ*) while playing about (*krīḍantaḥ*); [these should be] youth who are fearless and strong, specially dressed, well-trained, with swords in their hands.[72]

The text further instructs to send away Brahmins, women, and children during the *bali* offering, and it also prescribes ways to behave while participating in the procession:

> Brahmins as well as women and especially the children should be removed [from that area] since they would be conducive to faults (*doṣa*). [...]
> Along with the great noise of the crowd (*janaśabdena*) and the mixed sound produced by the instruments [and also] with different auspicious materials, [the crowd] while playing and waving (the arms) and gaping †...†[73]

A more detailed study of the rituals that are performed in the Kodungallur Temple will be necessary in the future to compare these with the rituals that are prescribed in the southern Mātṛtantra texts.

Can a Brahmin perform *bali*? Ritual beyond ritual manuals

We have seen that according to the southern *Brahmayāmala* texts, the priests of the Bhadrakālī temple must be non-Brahmins. But now let us turn

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[72] MSBh_Triv p. 178: *pradhānapuruṣān agre kalpayed apramādinaḥ | veṇu-daṇḍamṛjuṃ dīrghaṃ pragṛhya ca laghuṃ dṛḍham | pārśvadvaye ca rakṣārthaṃ balidāne viśeṣataḥ | tadbāhye rakṣakās tatra yuvāno bhayavarjitāḥ | alaṅkṛtā viśeṣeṇa khaḍgahastās suśikṣitāḥ | gaccheyuḥ paritas tatra krīḍanto balasaṃyutāḥ |.*

[73] MSBh_Triv p. 178: *brāhmaṇānān tathā strīṇāṃ śiśūnāñ ca viśeṣataḥ | niṣkṛtiṃ kārayet teṣāṃ yathā doṣānurūpataḥ |* and MSBh_Triv p. 180: *mahatā janaśabdena †kṣvelā†sphoṭanajṛmbhitaiḥ | nānātūryavimiśraiś ca nānāśobhāsamanvitam |.*

to a public ritual conducted in a Durgā temple that differs from what is taught in ritual manuals, a case in which the *bali* offering is performed by a Brahmin.

There is a temple of Durgā situated in the fort area of Trivandrum, Kerala, close to the Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī Temple. This temple is patronised by the Travancore royal family and is unique with respect to several features when compared to other Kerala temples. It neither has a flag-mast nor does it host any annual temple festival. While the daily rituals are performed by a Nampūtiri Brahmin according to the Kerala ritual manual *Tantrasamuccaya*, the right to hold the position of the chief priest (or *tantri*) rests with a Tamil Brahmin family who claims it as a hereditary right. It is worth noting that the fort area of Trivandrum is inhabited by several Tamil Brahmin families, most of whom have migrated from the Tirunelveli and Nagerkovil areas, which were once part of the Travancore kingdom.

A three-day public ritual is conducted in this temple every year during the month of *māgha* (February–March), and the rituals are organised and performed by Tamil Brahmins who have settled around the fort area. Our main interest here is the *bali* offering that takes place on the third day of this ritual sequence. In this ritual, at night a group of Tamil Brahmins sings songs in Tamil in praise of Bhadrakālī. The one designated to perform the *bali* ritual becomes possessed, receives the sword from the temple, and leaves the temple in a procession together with drum players to walk around a 15-kilometer radius of the temple and make *bali* offerings in eight directions, with the principal *bali* being offered in a cremation ground. Early the next day, the procession reaches the pond of the Śrī Padmanābhasvāmī Temple, takes an auspicious bath (*maṅgalasnāna*), and then returns to the temple. While we have previously seen that the *Mātṛsadbhāva* states to send away the Brahmins from the area of *bali* offerings, here a *bali* is offered by a Brahmin and takes place in a cremation ground.

The ritual that goes beyond communities:
Āṭṭukāl Poṅgāla, a ritual that takes place in a
Bhadrakālī Temple in Trivandrum

In Trivandrum, the capital city of Kerala, there is a temple of Bhadrakālī, known there as Attukal Amma (Mother). In this temple, the Goddess in the form of Bhadrakālī, the primary deity, is installed facing north and Śiva facing west. This temple is well-known today, although it might not have a long history. During its annual festival on the ninth day of the month

māgha, more than four million women of several communities and classes line the streets with pots to cook porridge as their offering. This offering in the form of a public ritual is known as *poṅgāla*.[74] While the daily rituals of the temple are conducted either by Nampūtiri Brahmins or by Karnataka Tulu Brahmins, its special rituals are conducted by the *tantri*, or chief priest, associated with the Cennas Nampūtiri family, the family of the author of the Kerala ritual manual, the *Tantrasamuccaya*. In the temples of Kerala, where Brahmins are the officiating priests, usually the cooked food prepared outside the temple complex is not used for offerings. But in this temple, on the day of *poṅgāla* women prepare the offering themselves and it is offered to the deity. It is worth noting that every woman belonging to any community may participate in this offering. In this *poṅgāla* ritual, in the late morning the chief priest (*tantri*) lights the stove in the temple kitchen, while the *melśānti*, the priest who conducts the daily rituals, lights a stove that the temple administration keeps outside the temple, and then the fire from this stove is used to light the stoves that are kept ready around the seven-kilometre radius of the temple where the women prepare the offering. In the early evening, the temple priests go around the temple and offer the porridge that has been cooked and kept ready by the female devotees. Even though it is also performed in several other temples in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, the *poṅgāla* ritual is unique to Attukal since it involves the participation of a great number of devotees and thus acts as an example of a public ritual for which no community eligibility is prescribed.

Conclusion

While Alexis Sanderson, Shaman Hatley, and Csaba Kiss have brought to our knowledge the *Brahmayāmala* tradition of the North through their editions and studies, its southern tradition is still little known and hardly studied. As we have seen, the southern *Brahmayāmala* texts, too, could be considered part of the Brahmayāmala corpus.

While the southern *Brahmayāmala* text (IFP, Pondicherry) proposes that non-Brahmin priests perform the worship of Bhadrakālī, the *Mātṛsadbhāva*, which uses the southern *Brahmayāmala* materials as its source, does not mention non-Brahmins as priests and prohibits the participation of Brahmins in certain rituals. We see that in Kerala, especially in the temples of Rurujit, non-Brahmins as well as Nampūtiri Brahmins perform the worship,

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[74] For a detailed study on the *poṅgāla* ritual, see JENETT 1999 and 2005.

both claiming to follow the *Śeṣasamuccaya* manual for the Rurujit rituals. It is sad to note, however, that in most of the temples the rituals for Rurujit are not followed as prescribed by the *Śeṣasamuccaya*. The *Mātṛsadbhāva* as well as the *Śeṣasamuccaya* mention the offering of meat, but when the rituals are performed by Brahmins, only a substitute is offered. When the rituals are performed by non-Brahmins, meat is offered.

Even though the author of the *Mātṛsadbhāva* mentions that he used Yāmala materials for his work, it seems as though he adopted them in a way that would fit in with the Kerala temple ritual system, turning a non-Brahmanical ritual into a Brahmanical one, and this adaptation was then followed by the later authors of ritual manuals of Kerala, such as the *Śeṣasamuccaya*.

The two rituals that we discussed above, that is, a *bali* ritual performed by a Brahmin and the *poṅgāla* ritual that is performed in the Trivandrum Attukal Temple without any community bar, clearly demonstrates that these rituals do not strictly follow the ritual manuals but are adapted and modified according to necessity.

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Further *Mahāpratisarā* fragments from Gilgit

Gergely Hidas[1]

Until recently the Gilgit collection was considered to preserve five incomplete manuscripts of the *Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī* (MPMVR), "The Great Amulet, Great Queen of Spells." Thanks to new inspections, identifications of seven shorter fragments of the same text were communicated in 2014.[2] The present paper examines the contents of these further pieces and places them within the whole *Mahāpratisarā* corpus from Gilgit and thus serves as an update and supplement to the edition published in HIDAS 2012, where the five manuscripts of the text, registered already decades ago, were published for the first time. It also investigates why so many copies of the same scripture were likely to be kept in one collection and what this could tell about the ritual practices of the Buddhist community in the area around the middle of the first millennium CE.

Introduction

The MPMVR is a magical-ritualistic scripture of Dhāraṇī literature, a genre centred around spells, their benefits, and instructions for use. This text is likely to have emerged in North India between the third and sixth centuries CE,[3] and its first chapter (*kalpa*) directly refers to the Mahāyāna as a Bud-

[2] VON HINÜBER 2014, KUDO 2014. Three pieces were identified by Dr. Klaus Wille, one simultaneously by Dr. Klaus Wille and Prof. Noriyuki Kudo, two by Prof. Noriyuki Kudo, and one by Prof. Oskar von Hinüber.

[3] The dating of this scripture involves a terminus post quem (3rd c. CE), the likely beginning of the appearance of Dīnāra coins mentioned in the text, and a terminus ante quem (early 7th c. CE), the possible date of the Gilgit manuscripts of this scripture based on donors' names belonging to the Patola Shahi dynasty.

dhist sectarian denomination. As for further classification, the MPMVR con-tains some *vajra*-vocabulary[4] as well as further notable links to the Vajrayāna displayed by its elaborate (and most likely reworked) setting that introduces the place of teaching and the audience (*nidāna*). The relation of this scripture to esoteric Buddhism is also strengthened by the mention of *samaya* (vow), *maṇḍala*(*ka*) (ritual space/circle), *abhiṣeka* (consecration), and *mudrā* (ritual hand gesture) – all characteristic terms of Tantric traditions.[5]

The earliest manuscripts of the MPMVR were found near Gilgit.[6] This collection was discovered in the 1930s, in the ruins of a building which may have been the residence of a small community of monks and served as a library, scriptorium, or genizah, perhaps simultaneously. On the basis of ruler names in colophons, the collection developed from ca. the sixth to the eight centuries, and it is important to note that this is the only extant library from ancient South Asia.[7] The Gilgit finds were deposited in various plac-es, with the New Delhi and Srinagar collections being the most diverse.[8] A facsimile edition of the Delhi folios, the largest group, was published by Raghu VIRA & Lokesh CHANDRA (1959–1974),[9] and it is recent good news that a high-quality colour reproduction of the same pieces is being printed in a new book series.[10] Some private photos of the Srinagar folios were taken in the 1980s, but so far only a few pieces have been published.[11]

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[4] In the formation of Buddhist ritual texts over time, there is a tendency towards an increased appearance of words and phrases elaborated by the term *vajra* (thunder-bolt/diamond). On this process of '*vajra*-isation,' see TRIBE 2000: 217–222.

[5] There are at least two other Tantric texts surviving in the Gilgit collection. GBMFE 1724–1733 preserves parts of the *Mahāmaṇivipulavimānaviśvasupratiṣṭhi-taguhyaparamarahasyakalparājadhāraṇī* with references to *mudrā*, *maṇḍala*, and *abhiṣeka* (SANDERSON 2009: 234–235). GBMFE 3321–3322, 3340–3341 contains portions of the **Devītantrasadbhāvasāra* (SANDERSON 2009: 50–51), an exegesis of the Vāma division of the Vidyāpīṭha.

[6] As for later witnesses, the MPMVR survives in a few palm-leaf manuscripts from Eastern India dated to the eleventh to thirteenth centuries and in more than 300 palm-leaf and paper codices from Nepal from the period between the eleventh and twentieth centuries.

[7] For recent overviews of the Gilgit collection, see VON HINÜBER 2014, 2018 and his preface to CLARKE 2014. On the topic of Buddhist genizah, see SALOMON 2009.

[8] Further collections include the one in Ujjain, the Shah collection acquired by Giuseppe Tucci, and the Stein collection in the British Library. For details and a bibliography, see WILLE 1990 and VON HINÜBER 2014.

[9] This was reprinted in a compact form in 1995.

[10] For the first two volumes, see CLARKE 2014 and KARASHIMA et al. 2016.

[11] See Klaus Wille's survey in VON HINÜBER 2014: 112–113.

The earlier identified Gilgit *Mahāpratisarā* manuscripts amount to 81 folios. Ms. no. 6. GBMFE 1080-1129 preserves 50 folios, no. 14. GBMFE 1130-1138, no. 15. GBMFE 1139-1156, and no. 17. GBMFE 1157-1165 nine folios each, and finally no. 56. GBMFE 3328-3335 preserves four folios.

The recently identified Gilgit *Mahāpratisarā* fragments add up to nine folios. Ms. no. 47. GBMFE 3119-3120, no. 51. GBMFE 3264, no. 51. GBMFE 3279-3280, no. 52. GBMFE 3320 and 3322 preserve one folio each, while no. 51. GBMFE 3266-3267 and no. 60. GBMFE 3352-3355 preserve two folios respectively.

These nine folios appear to belong to five, six, or seven different manuscripts, one of which is the already published ms. no. 6., GBMFE 1080-1129.[12] Ms. no. 52. GBMFE 3320 may also be a missing part of this manuscript. Ms. no. 51. GBMFE 3264 may be a part of no. 17., GBMFE 1157-1165.[13] Thus the number of newly identified manuscripts amount to four, five, or six pieces. It should also be noted that ms. A55 of a single folio in the Srinagar collection, identified by Chandrabhal Tripathi as a *Mahāpratisarā* fragment, does not transmit the text of the MPMVR.[14]

In light of the above, we can now see a 9% increase of Gilgit folios of the MPMVR. Approximately 50% of the new identifications contain textual parts considered lost beforehand, thus there is a ca. 5% growth of *Mahāpratisarā* sources from Gilgit. It is reassuring that the editorial policies and the list of the Eastern Indian and Nepalese manuscripts which preserve earlier, Gilgit-related variants presented in HIDAS 2012 have been on the whole confirmed.

With these new identifications the ranking of Gilgit texts has also changed. So far manuscripts of the following scriptures were most numerous: *Saṃghātasūtra* (13 mss.), *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (9 mss.), *Prajñā-pāramitā* (8 mss.), *Ekottarikāgama* (7 mss.), *Sumāgadhāvadāna* (6 mss.), *Mahāpratisarā* (5 mss.), and *Bhaiṣajyaguru* (5 mss.). Now the *Mahā-pratisarā* has become the second highest ranking text in Gilgit with nine, ten, or eleven manuscripts. This positioning, however, is not at all conclusive. It should be remembered that some of the Gilgit manuscripts vanished from sight in the 1930s, so what is currently available is only a part of a part of a collection. A verified listing of the items in the Srinagar group,

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[12] Siglum G_1 in HIDAS 2012.

[13] Siglum G_4 in HIDAS 2012.

[14] I am grateful to Dr. Klaus Wille for sending me his unpublished transcription.

which appears to contain 28 *Mahāmāyūrī* and 47 medical text fragments, will also reveal more.

As for social settings, the five earlier identified and longer *Mahāpratisarā* manuscripts all contain donors' names inserted into the *dhāraṇī*s, with two of them being queens of the Patola Shahi dynasty. These five manuscripts are both "ready-made" and "tailor-made" ones as it has been noted,[15] i.e., in the former case empty spaces are left out for the donor's name to be subsequently inserted, whereas in the latter the sponsor's name is written together with the whole text. None of the new fragments, however, contain donors' names since no *dhāraṇī* parts survive. Nevertheless, the high number (nine, ten or eleven) of MPMVR manuscripts, along with the presence of "ready-made" ones, reflects extensive production, and we should not forget the previously mentioned 28 *Mahāmāyūrī* fragments either, which belong to the same type of Rakṣā literature. Drawing on later, better documented practices, it appears that such protective incantation texts were produced for members of the *saṅgha* for donations.[16] These often personalised apotropaic objects, i.e., the manuscripts, were meant to be kept in the donor's home, and it seems that persons of various rank, but especially from more affluent segments of society, took advantage of such monastic services. At the moment it appears that Dhāraṇī and Vidyā texts constitute the most numerous category in the Gilgit library with ca. 25 pieces (the second one is Avadāna with ca. 15 texts), and with the Srinagar collection spells amount to 53, medical texts to 47, and *avadāna* legends to 24 pieces. This reflects marked preferences for protection, healing, and storytelling (and thus proselytising) – activities that most likely served the strengthening of Buddhism from the side of monastics and demonstrate considerable lay receptivity in the area.

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[15] SCHOPEN 2009: 202–203, VON HINÜBER 2014: 80–81.

[16] See, e.g., HIDAS 2012: 30–33.

An edition of the recently identified *Mahāpratisarā* fragments

Abbreviations, symbols, paragraphs, sigla, normalisations, and punctuation follow HIDAS 2012:

( ) – unclear or uncertain reading
[ ] – restoration of damaged or partly visible *akṣara*s
{...3...} – lacuna with the approximate number of missing *akṣara*s
{...} – a longer lacuna
< > – GBMFE folio numbers after Raghu VIRA & Lokesh CHANDRA 1959-1974
[29] – paragraph numbers as given in the critical edition of the Eastern Indian and Nepalese mss.
corr. – correction
em. – emendation
conj. – conjectural emendation

Silent orthographical normalisations

*avagraha*s are not used in the mss. and have been supplied.
Consonant geminations before *r* have been normalised.
ri sometimes written as *ṛ* and vice versa have been normalised.
Medial *anusvāra*s have been changed to homorganic nasals and homorganic nasals to *anusvāra*s when needed. Final *anusvāra*s before vowels and at the end of sentences or verses have been changed to *m*.

Punctuation

A single dot used in the original folios has been written as a single *daṇḍa* while a double *daṇḍa* has been preserved in its original form. A single dot and a double *daṇḍa* has been indicated with three *daṇḍa*s. In the case of a double dot (*visarga*), a *daṇḍa* has been given in the edition and the double dot has been indicated in the apparatus. All punctuation marks have been placed according to the original folios.

G$_1$: Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts Facsimile Edition. *Śata-piṭaka* Vol. 10. Part 10. Ser. no. 52. 3320, 3322. Fragment 3322 is a missing piece of Vol. 10. Part 6. Ser. no. 6. 1109. Fragment 3320 may also be a surviving piece of a missing folio of the same manuscript from between 1104 and 1105.

- Birch bark leaves. Two folios with two or three remaining lines. All sides of the folios are broken off. No reference to the real size of the folios is given in the GBMFE. The number of surviving *akṣara*s in a line varies between three and seven. Originally there must have been approximately 20–28 *akṣara*s in a line.
- Round, earlier Gilgit-script. Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I. Appears to be the same hand.
- Ca. first half of the seventh century
- Incomplete
- Continuous text
- No interlinear or marginal corrections
- Foliation: no foliation survives
- The original folios are kept in the National Archives, New Delhi
- Identification by Noriyuki Kudo
- Listed in VON HINÜBER 2014: 108 (no. 52d.5) and KUDO 2014: 518 (no. 52d). Detailed study and transcription in KUDO 2015: 260–262.

Contains parts of paragraphs [26] = Fifth narrative: merchant Vimalaśaṅkha's ship is saved from seamonsters and a sea-storm; and [29] = Sixth narrative: King Prasāritapāṇi is granted a son.

[26] <G$_1$ 3320a> *miṅgilaiḥ pota*{...13...}[*ś*](*a*)*bdaṃ kartum ārabdhā* <G$_1$ 3320b> [|| *ahaṃ*] *v*[*o*] *mo*{...12...} [*t*]*ato dhīrama*[*n*]{...}

[29] <G$_1$ 3322b> *kim iti* {...16...}*gadhavi*[*ṣa*] <G$_1$ 3322a> *k*[*o*] *babhūva* {...16...}[*ena*]*rā*[*jñā*]{...}

G$_6$: Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts Facsimile Edition. *Śata-piṭaka* Vol. 10. Part 10. Ser. no. 47. 3119-3120

- Birch bark leaf. A single folio with eight lines. All sides of the folio are broken off in different degrees. No reference to the real size of

the folio is given in the GBMFE. The number of surviving *akṣara*s in a line varies between 5 and 18. Originally there must have been approximately 22–28 *akṣara*s in a line.

- Round, earlier Gilgit-script. Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I.[17]
- Ca. first half of the seventh century
- Incomplete
- Continuous text
- No interlinear or marginal corrections
- Foliation: no foliation survives[18]
- The original folio is kept in the National Archives, New Delhi
- Identification by Klaus Wille, Noriyuki Kudo
- Listed in VON HINÜBER 2014: 106 (no. 47b) and KUDO 2014: 517 (no. 47). Transcribed in Raghu VIRA & Lokesh CHANDRA 1995: I. 45–46.[19] Detailed study and transcription in KUDO 2015: 258-260.

Contains parts of paragraph [13] = Various benefits of this protection. Enumeration of the deities who safeguard its user.

[13] <G₆ 3120> *śayaḥ*
śakraś[20] *ca tridaśaiḥ sā*[rdhaṃ]{...10...}
kayaṃ ca mahākālaṃ nandikeśvaraṃ kā{...9...}
[ndi]keśvaraṃ*
sarve mātṛgaṇā tasya tathānye mārakā{...9...}
jā devā caiva mahardhikā
te sarve rakṣāṃ kari{...10...} *vai* |[21]
buddhā[22] *caiva mahātmāno vidyādevyo mahā*{...3...}
[kī bhṛkuṭ](ī) tārāṅkuśī |*
vajraśaṃkalā [śve]{...9...}
supāśī vajrapā{...21...}
takuṇḍalī
[a]{...26...}
<G₆ 3119>*kuṇḍalī* |

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[17] KUDO 2014: 517 and 2015: 258 classify the script as Type II.

[18] VON HINÜBER 2014: 106 remarks that this is folio no. 114. I have been unable to trace this foliation.

[19] The text is not identified here.

[20] *śakraś*] corr.; *śaklaś* G₆

[21] *vai* |] corr.; *vaiḥ* G₆

[22] *buddhā*] conj.; *bauddhā* G₆

puṣpa{...16...}
[ā]t[e]jā tathā dhanyā vidyumā{...12...}
tathā buddhā kṣitikanāmnā ca
kāpālinī va{...12...}
(pi) bahuvidhās tathā |
te sarve tasya rakṣa[nti] {...9...}*gatā bhavet*
hārītī pāñcikaś caiva śaṅ[kh]{...12...}
sarasvatī nityānubaddhā rakṣārthe
pratisarā{...15...}
[dy]ārājā mahābalā |[23]
sarvasiddhi sadā{...13...}
[r]bhāṇi vardhante sukhaṃ prasū[ya]{...}

G[7] : Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts Facsimile Edition. *Śata-piṭaka* Vol. 10. Part 10. Ser. no. 51. 3264.[24]

- Birch bark leaf. A single folio with six and seven lines. The sides of the folio are somewhat broken off. No reference to the real size of the folio is given in the GBMFE. The number of surviving *akṣara*s in a line varies between 15 and 17. Originally there must have been approximately 25–27 *akṣara*s in a line.
- Round, earlier Gilgit-script. Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I.
- Ca. first half of the seventh century
- Incomplete
- Continuous text
- No interlinear or marginal corrections
- Foliation: no foliation survives
- The original folio is kept in the National Archives, New Delhi
- Identification by Klaus Wille
- Listed in VON HINÜBER 2014: 107 (no. 51b.2)

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[23] *mahābalā |*] corr.; *mahābalāḥ* G[6]

[24] This leaf may be a missing folio of Vol. 10. Part 6. Ser. no. 17 (siglum G[4] in HIDAS 2012) as the sequence of the text and the size of the lacuna suggest between GBMFE 3264 and 1157. Paleographically, however, it appears that this leaf and those of no. 17. are written by a different hand (cf. especially the punctuation marks) and the shape of the folios are dissimilar, too.

Contains parts of paragraph [13] = Various benefits of this protection. Enumeration of the deities who safeguard its user.

[13] <G$_7$ 3264a>*śaḥ* |||
yaḥ kaścid dhārayate vidyā kaṇṭhe [*b*]{...10...}
kāryāṇi siddhyante nātra saṃśayaḥ |
nityaṃ rakṣanti de[*ve*]{...10...}
dhisatvā mahāvīryā buddhā pratyekā nāyakāḥ
{...10...}*devyo mahardhikā*
rakṣāṃ kurvanti satataṃ prati{...8...}
pāṇiś ca yakṣendra rājānaś caturas tathā |
tas[*ya*] {...9...}*śayaḥ*
śa[*kra*]*ś ca tri*[*daśai*]*ḥ sārdhaṃ brahmā vi*{...5...}
<G$_7$ 3264b> *key*(*a*) *ca* {...5...}*ndikeśvaraṃ*
sarve mātṛga{...10...}*kā* |
ṛṣayaś ca mahātejā devā[25] *caiva mahardhikā*
{...10...}[*ti*]*sarādhārakāya vai* |[26]
buddhā[27] *caiva mahātmāno vi*{...9...}[*l*](*a*)*parākramā* |
māmakī bhṛkuṭī tārāṅkuśī{...10...}
mahākāli eva ca | *dūtyā vajradūtyā*[28] *ca*
s[*u*]{...10...}*āṇir mahābalā*
vajramālā mahāvidyā ta{...10...}
mahādevī kālakarṇī mahāvirya
tathā dha{...}

G$_8$: Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts Facsimile Edition. *Śata-piṭaka* Vol. 10. Part 10. Ser. no. 51. 3266-3267

- • Birch bark leaves. Two folios with six lines. All sides of folio 3266 and the left side of 3267 are broken off. No reference to the real size of the folios is given in the GBMFE. The number of surviving *akṣara*s in a line varies between 9 and 19. Originally there must have been approximately 22–26 *akṣara*s in a line.

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[25] *devā*] corr.; *tevā* G$_7$

[26] *vai* |] corr.; *vaiḥ* G$_7$

[27] *buddhā*] em.; *boddhā* G$_7$

[28] *vajradūtyā*] corr.; *vajradūpyā* G$_7$

- Round, earlier Gilgit-script. Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I. Appears to be the same hand.
- Ca. first half of the seventh century
- Incomplete
- Continuous text
- No interlinear or marginal corrections
- Foliation: no foliation survives
- The original folios are kept in the National Archives, New Delhi
- Identification by Klaus Wille
- Listed in VON HINÜBEr 2014: 107 (no. 51b.4)

Contains parts of paragraphs [42] = Ritual instructions: how to prepare the amulet; and [44] = Various benefits of this protection. Enumeration of the deities who safeguard its user.

[42] <G$_8$ 3266a> [*sukhi*]*to bhonti mucyante karma*[*ś*]{...9...}
[*kṣārthaṃ*] *strīṇāṃ garbhasamudbhavaṃ* |
bha[*vi*]{...8...}[*dr*]*yavraṇarohana* |
upavāsoṣito bhū[*tv*]{...7...}*te*
buddhapūjāpareṇa ca | *bodhicittaṃ* {...8...}
[*ce*]*tasā* |
snātvā candana[29]*karpūrakāstūryo*{...10...}
vṛtya mahādhūpanadhūpitā |
[*tā*] {...4...} <G$_8$ 3266b>{...5...}*samanvitam* |
pūrṇakumbhātra ca[*tvā*]{...7...}
[*pa*]*dhūpāṃś ca gandhāś ca dātavyātra mahā*{...7...}
spṛkkāṃ ca turuṣkā pañcaśarkarā |
dātavy{...7...}*kālaṃ yathārtum*[30]|
sarvapuṣpapha[*l*]{...8...}
[*ta*]*mākṣikadugdhābhyāṃ pāyasādibhiḥ*
{...12...}[*ṇāḍhyāṃ*] *praśasyante*
supūritaṃ {...}

[44] <G$_8$ 3267a> [*dha*]*naṃ*
rakṣāyaṃ tasya yāvaj jīvaṃ bhaviṣyati |
puruṣā{...5...}*ṃ* [*yu*]*ddhasaṃgrāmabhairave* |

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[29] *candana*] corr.; *dandana* G$_8$

[30] Note the lack of *sandhi* here.

anena varadā yā{...7...}[*ni*]*ścitāḥ*
atha pāpavināśārthaṃ likhita{...8...}
gatā vilokenti bodhisatvās tathaiva{...9...}
m āyuś ca vardhate |
dhanadhānyasa{...10...}
khaṃ svapati medhāvī sukhaṃ
<G₈ 3267b> {...15...}*ṇāṃ sarvabhūtagaṇair api*
{...13...}[*ni*]*tyaśaḥ*
vidyāyā sādhyamā{...12...}
khaṃ vā sādhaye vidyā avighne nā{...9...}
sarvakalpāsya praviṣṭā sarvamaṇḍale |
{...7...} *bhavet sarvatra jātiṣu |*
vaiśvāsiko bhavet ta{...5...}[*hya*]*dhāraṇe |*
sarvamaṅgalasaṃpūrṇa sarvāśāsya ma{...}

G₉ : Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts Facsimile Edition. *Śata-piṭaka* Vol. 10. Part 10. Ser. no. 51. 3279-3280

- Birch bark leaf. A single folio with five and six lines. The right side of the folio is somewhat broken off. No reference to the real size of the folio is given in the GBMFE. The number of surviving *akṣara*s in a line varies between 28 and 34. Originally there must have been approximately 32–36 *akṣara*s in a line.
- Round, earlier Gilgit-script. Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I.
- Ca. first half of the seventh century
- Incomplete
- Continuous text
- No interlinear or marginal corrections
- Foliation: numeral on the mid-left margin of recto side: GBMFE 3279-3280 equalling folio 21[31]
- The original folio is kept in the National Archives, New Delhi
- Identification by Oskar von Hinüber
- Listed in VON HINÜBER 2014: 108 (no. 51d)

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[31] This folio number fits well the proposal put forward in HIDAS 2012: 14 that originally there had been an earlier and shorter *nidāna* which later on was transformed into a longer, more detailed one.

Contains parts of paragraphs [30]–[31] = Sub-narrative: merchant Dhar-mamati and his poor servant. Sixth narrative ends.

[30] <G₉ 3279>*ṣṭhino-m-idam abravīt aham āryasya niveśane bhṛ[ti]{...2...}[karmaṃ kariṣyā]mi | dharma[ṃ] ca [śr]{...1...}mi | yadā mat kiṃcid bhaviṣyati | tadāhaṃ dharmaṃ pūjayiṣyāmi | tasya gṛhavyā-pāraṃ³² kurvata dha{...2...} śṛṇvata | apareṇa samayena tena śreṣṭhinā tasya puruṣasya³³-m-ekaṃ dīnā{...3...} tena sarvasatvaparitrāṇārthaṃ bodhicittam utpādya sarvasatvasādhāraṇaṃ kṛtvā ma{...3...}sararatne niryātita | evaṃ ca praṇidhānaṃ kṛtam anena dānamahāphalena mama {...2...} <G₉ 3280>satvānāṃ ca dāridrya³⁴samuccheda syāt tena kāra-ṇena tad³⁵ dānaṃ parikṣayaṃ³⁶ na gacchati |*
[31] *e[vaṃ] {...1...}huvidham anekavidham api puṇyābhisaṃskāraṃ³⁷ kṛta | devatāni ca pūjita vandana yā{...4...}gavantaḥ pūjitāḥ tadā śuddhāvāsakābhir devatābhiḥ³⁸ svapnadarśanaṃ dattam | e{...2...}cā-bhihitam | bho mahārāja samantajvālāmālā³⁹viśuddhisphuritacintā-{...2...}mudrāhṛdayāparājitā mahādhāraṇi vidyārājñā mahāpratisarā nāma yathā{...2...}dhinālikhya yathāvidhi kalpābhihitam upavā-soṣitā{...}*

G₁₀ : Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts Facsimile Edition. *Śata-piṭaka* Vol. 10. Part 10. Ser. no. 60. 3352-3355

- Birch bark leaves. Two folios with six lines. The upper and lower sides of the folios are somewhat broken off. No reference to the real size of the folios is given in the GBMFE. The number of surviving *akṣara*s in a line varies between 8 and 24. Originally there must have been approximately 22–24 *akṣara*s in a line.

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[32] °*vyāpāraṃ*] corr.; °*vyāvāraṃ* G₉

[33] *puruṣasya*] conj.; *purusya* G₉

[34] *dāridrya*°] em.; *daridryā*° G₉

[35] *tad*] corr.; *ta* G₉

[36] *parikṣayaṃ*] corr.; *parikṣayaṃn* G₉

[37] *puṇyābhisaṃskāraṃ*] conj.; *puṇyābhiskāraṃ* G₉

[38] *devatābhiḥ*] corr.; *devātābhiḥ* G₉

[39] °*mālā*°] corr.; °*mala*° G₉

- Round, earlier Gilgit-script. Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I. Appears to be the same hand.
- Ca. first half of the seventh century
- Incomplete
- Continuous text
- No interlinear or marginal corrections
- Foliation: numeral on the mid-left margin of recto side: GBMFE 3352-3353 equalling folio 18 and GBMFE 3354-3355 equalling folio 56
- The original folios are kept in the National Archives, New Delhi
- Identification by Klaus Wille
- Listed in VON HINÜBER 2014: 111 (no. 60a)

Contains parts of paragraphs [26] = Fifth narrative: merchant Vimalaśaṅkha's ship is saved from seamonsters and a sea-storm and [49]–[50] = Ritual instructions: how to perform a healing and protecting rite. Enumeration of benefits.

[26] <G_{10} 3352> *vidyolkāṃ tāṃ ca vajrāśiniṃ taiś ca timiṅgilaiḥ potam avastabdhaṃ dṛ[ṣ]ṭvā mahāntam utkrośanāśabdaṃ kartum ārabdhāḥ*[40] *te devatāviśeṣām āyācayanti na ca kaścit teṣāṃ paritrāṇaṃ bhavati | tato sārthavā[ha]syopagamya te karuṇakaruṇam idaṃ vacanam abruvantaḥ*

paritrāyasva mahāsatva mocayāsmān mahābhayāt ||
a{...3...} sa mahāsārthavāho dṛḍhacitto mahā[ma]{...6...}
<G_{10} 3353>{...4...}[daṃ] *vacanam* [*abruvan*
mā bhair mā bhair va]{...8...}*vrajaḥ*
ahaṃ vo mocayiṣyāmi ito duḥkhamahārṇavā |
tato [*dhī*]*ramanā bhūtvā vaṇijā idam abruvan*
kim etan mahāsatva brūhi[41] *śīghram avighnataḥ*
yāvaj jīvitam asmākaṃ tvatprabhāvān mahāmateḥ
kathyatām[42] *jñānamāhātmyaṃ paścā tvaṃ bhūyo kiṃ kariṣyasi ||*
{...1...}[*yo*] *sārthapatis teṣām iyaṃ vidyām udāharīt*
asti me mahā{...}

[49] <G_{10} 3354> *hy ayaṃ vidyā sarvarogopaśāntaye |*

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[40] *ārabdhāḥ*] em.; *ābdhāḥ* G_{10}

[41] *brūhi*] corr.; *brūhi brūhi* G_{10}

[42] *kathyatāṃ*] corr.; *katthyatāṃ* G_{10}

bhūyo sapta vārā vai |[43] *balikuṃbhaṃ sumantritam* |
paścā nivedayen mantra balipuṣpaṃ yathālābhaṃ yathāvidhim |
sūtrakaṃ vāṇisaktavāṃ padumamiśritā |[44]
ity eva dakṣiṇe pārśve kṣipeta sapta-m-eva tu |
paścimāyāṃ ca saptaiva uttarāyāṃ diśi s-tathā |
ūrdhvaṃ paṭhitamātreṇa kṛtā rakṣā a{...13...}
[*duḥkhā*]*t pramucyate* |
eṣa ra<G$_{10}$ 3355> {...13...}
[*nā*]*sty asya* [*para*]*to kaści ra*[*kṣā*]*vidyā tribhave vidyate kvaci*[*t*]

[50] [*na ta*]*sya mṛtyur na jarā na rogo*
na cāpriyaṃ nāpi ca viprayoga |
yadvasya vidyaṃ hi subhāvitātmā
bhaviṣyate mṛtyugaṇena pūjitaḥ
yamo 'pi tasya varadharmarājā
kariṣyate mṛtyugaṇena pūjita |[45]
kathayiṣyati devapuraṃ hi gaccha
kṣaṇikaṃ mameha[46] *narakapuraṃ kariṣyasi* |
tato vimānehi bahuprakā{...}

Conclusion

As we have seen, these recently identified fragments of the *Mahāpratisarā* from Gilgit contain various parts of this scripture. This shows that the entire text was copied in considerable numbers, being much valued in the local Buddhist community. This esteem stems from the belief that such apotropaic works were supposed to provide protection for manuscript owners from practically any sort of danger and illness and were trusted to grant everything good and auspicious unceasingly.

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[43] *vai* |] corr.; *vaiḥ* G$_{10}$

[44] Note that this line is not transmitted in the later Eastern Indian and Nepalese manuscripts edited in HIDAS 2012.

[45] *mṛtyugaṇena pūjita* seems to be mistakenly repeated and written instead of a likely *pūjāṃ sagauraveṇa*, the reading attested in all the Eastern Indian and Nepalese manuscripts

[46] *mameha*] conj.; *maheha* G$_{10}$

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Index

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