

Atharvavedins in Tantric Territory
The *Āngirasakalpa* Texts of the Oriya Paippalādins and their
Connection with the Trika and the Kālīkula

With critical editions of the *Parājapavidhi*, the *Parāmantravidhi*,
and the **Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa*

Alexis Sanderson

Introduction: The Rise of Āgamic Ritual

The early medieval period, from the fifth century onwards, saw the Śaivism of the Mantramārga rise to pre-eminence as the principal beneficiary of patronage throughout the Indian subcontinent and in much of Southeast Asia. Among the religious specialists whom we would expect to have been adversely affected by this development were those brahmins, Atharvavedins or adherents of other Vedas versed in the rituals of the Atharvaveda, who had long been appointed to office as the personal priests of rulers (*rājapurohitaḥ*), performing their consecration ceremonies (*rājyābhiṣekaḥ* and *puṣyābhiṣekaḥ*) and a wide range of rituals, regular and occasional, for the protection of the kingdom and the thwarting of its enemies.¹

It is not possible to establish from the evidence known to me how far this office was overshadowed or diminished by the rise of Śaivism in particular kingdoms and periods. But encroachment by Śaiva officiants into ritual territory long reserved to it is clear from the literature that sets out the rituals that they should or may perform when occasion arises. The Śaivas prescribed their own form of royal consecration ceremony, to be performed by their officiants for a king who had received Śaiva initiation; they offered a full range of apotropaic, protective, and hostile rituals, both Saiddhāntika and Śākta Śaiva, for which kings were the natural patrons; and they had in the *Netratantra* detailed instructions for a class of officiants whose practice shadowed or took over most of the functions in which the brahmanical *rājapurohitaḥ* operated, including the performance on the king's behalf of his daily and periodic worship.

The *Netratantra*, I have argued, is a Kashmirian work, and there is no evidence that it was followed widely outside Kashmir itself. It is possible, therefore, that it had little or no impact on the practice of courts in other regions.² Moreover, while the practice of giving Śaiva initiation to kings is well and widely documented from the seventh century onwards, that of following this

¹On the question of the Veda of the king's personal priest see nn. 28 and 29 on p. 204 below.

²On the function, provenance, date, and influence of the *Netratantra* see SANDERSON 2005b.

ceremony with a Śaiva adaptation of the brahmanical royal consecration is evidenced only in prescriptive sources, namely in the tenth-century *Naimittikakarmānusamdhāna* of Brahmaśambhu (the earliest surviving Paddhati of the Śaiva Mantramārga) and the Kashmirian *Kalādīkṣāpaddhati*, a work originally composed by Manodadatta in the fourteenth century but in its present form much expanded by later additions of uncertain date, of which that pertaining to the post-initiatory royal consecration is one.³ However, the abundance of instruction in the Śaiva literature in the performance of rituals of propitiation to bring about results (*siddhiḥ*), hostile and other, for the benefit of kings and the state, the emergence among the Vaiṣṇavas during these same centuries of an extensive Āgamic literature, in the form of the Pañcarātra scriptures, which offered a repertoire of rituals very similar in style, range, and function to those of the Śaiva Mantramārga, and the pervasive evidence of a decline during this period in the sponsoring of Vedic ritual and a corresponding increase in the patronage of the new religions encourage us to look within the literature of the Atharvavedins themselves for evidence of adaptation to these changes.

The Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas

There can have been no realistic hope of reversing the drift of centuries away from Vedic ritual.⁴ We may surmise, therefore, that the Atharvavedins' only viable strategy was to respond to the altered expectations of their royal clients by adding Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava rituals to their repertoire, composing or appropriating texts that prescribe them and adding these to the corpus of their sacred literature.⁵

Evidence of the co-opting and embedding of Śaiva practice by the Atharvavedins is already present in the collection of ancillary tracts known as *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas*. For they include an adaptation of the Pāśupata observance (*Pariśiṣṭa* 40: *Pāśupataavrata*), and the *Ucchuṣmakalpa* (*Pariśiṣṭa* 36), which details fire sacrifices for supernatural ends that invoke Ucchuṣmarudra and the Ucchuṣmarudras with Mantras of a Śaiva character.⁶ But there the phenomenon is marginal and the Śaivism involved is either pre-Mantramārgic, as

³For textual and epigraphical evidence of the giving of Śaiva initiation to kings and on the textual evidence of Śaiva royal consecration see SANDERSON forthcoming.

⁴The futility of the Vaidikas' hope for a renaissance of their tradition that would enable them to prevail over the Śaivas and Pañcarātrika Vaiṣṇavas supported by the court is deftly portrayed by the Kashmirian philosopher Jayantabhaṭṭa around the end of the ninth century in the prelude to the fourth act of his play *Āgamaḍambara* ('Much Ado About Religion').

⁵Compare the incorporation of prescriptions of Saiddhāntika, Dakṣiṇa, and Śākta rituals in the *Uttarabhāga* of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* discussed in SANDERSON 2005b, p. 235, n. 10.

⁶See BISSCHOP and GRIFFITHS 2003 for an introduction to and an edition and annotated translation of *Pariśiṣṭa* 40 on the *pāśupataavrata*. Rightly judging as exaggerated the view of WEBER (1858, p. 339) that the whole collection is permeated by sectarian devotion to Rudra, they

in the case of the Pāśupata observance, or probably so, as in the case of the Ucchuṣmarudra rites. Ucchuṣma, ‘Desiccating [Fire]’, was well-established in the early Buddhist Mantranaya as a wrathful subduer of demons,⁷ and, more specifically, as the deity invoked to remove the impurity of left-overs (*ucchiṣṭam*) and human waste by devouring them.⁸ In the Śaiva Mantramārga the as-

list the *Ucchuṣmakalpa* and the text on the *koṭihomaḥ* (*Parīśiṣṭa* 31) as the only other documents in the collection that bear on the cult of Rudra-Śiva (p. 317). I have omitted the latter since its Śaiva character is limited to the frame-story of the revelation of this ritual. The ritual itself has no specifically Raudra or Śaiva characteristics.

⁷We see Ucchuṣma in this role in the Buddhist *Mahābalasūtra*, where he is identical with the wrathful, four-armed, fat-bellied (*lambodara*) deity Mahābala. This text was translated into Tibetan by Śīlendrabodhi, Jinamitra, and Ye shes sde around AD 800, and into Chinese in AD 983 (Taishō 1243, KBC 1097; see LANCASTER 1979, p. 377a, giving AD 933; LINROTHER 1999, p. 60, note 6, correcting the date), and numerous copies of this scripture, in both languages, have been found in the Dunhuang caves (STRICKMANN 2002, p. 156). In §18 of that work Vajrapāṇi teaches Bhūtādhipati the Maṇḍala of Ucchuṣmakrodha with its secret. The latter is the Mantra that follows: OṂ VAJRAKRODHA MAHĀBALA HANA DAHA PACA . . . LAMBODARA UCCHUṢMAKRODHA HŪM PHAṬ A AṂ MA HAṆ SVĀHĀ. He then teaches that anyone who enters this Maṇḍala will attain success in all he does. He will not suffer untimely death. His body will be immune to assaults and sickness. He will never be tormented by demons. In §13 the Mantrapadas OṂ VAJRAKRODHA MAHĀBALA DAHA HANA PACA . . . LAMBODARA UCCHUṢMAKRODHA HŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ are said to protect against every species of demon. In §12 a ray emerges from Śākyamuni and Māra comes with all his demon hordes. Ucchuṣma appears and terrifies them. Three texts of the exorcistic Ucchuṣma cult in Chinese are attributed to the translator A zhi da san (Ajitasena), a North Indian who worked in Anxi in the Turfan region of Central Asia in the first half of the eighth century: the *Wei ji jin gang jin bai bian fa jing* (KBC 1264, Taishō 1229), the *Wei ji jin gang shuo shen tong da man tuo la ni fa shu ling yao men* (KBC 1265, Taishō 1228), and the *Da wei li wu chu se mo ming wang jing* (KBC 1266, Taishō 1227). For the exorcistic and therapeutic contents of the first and third of these see STRICKMANN 2002, pp. 156–161. The three ‘translations’ were presented in AD 732 (LANCASTER 1979, p. 421b; DEMIÉVILLE *et al.* 1978, p. 236a [s.v. Ashitsudassan]). LINROTHER (1999, pp. 51–54) proposes with due caution that Mahābala/Ucchuṣma may be the identity of the two four-armed wrathful figures, squat and full-bellied, that attend two sculptures, one of Avalokiteśvara and the other of Vajrapāṇi, that flank the entrance porch of Monastery I at Ratnagiri in Orissa, assigning them to the period AD 600–700.

⁸For the latter role see, e.g., STEIN 1973, pp. 465–466; *Samvārodāya* 8.38cd: *utsṛṣṭabali saṃhārya bhūtam ucchuṣma dāpayet*; and, in the Esoteric Buddhism of the Far East, STRICKMANN 1996, pp. 248–249; 2002, pp. 156–63. There he is known in Chinese as *Wei ji jin gang* and in Japanese as *Eshaku kongō*, meaning ‘the Vajra-being (*jin gang*, *kongō*) of Impure (*wei*, *e*) Traces (*ji*, *shaku*)’ or ‘the Vajra-being of Impure (*wei*, *e*) Accumulations (*shaku*)’ and in Japan also as *Fujō kongō* (‘the Vajra-being [*kongō*] of Impurities [*fujō*]’), *Joe-funnuson* (‘the venerable [*son*] wrathful one [*funnu*] who purifies [*jo*] impurities [*e*]’), and *Ususama Myōō* (Ucchuṣmavidyārāja) (FRANK 1991, p. 158). In Japan he became the deity whose presence purifies latrines (STRICKMANN 2002, p. 156). See also the Mantra in *Mahābalasūtra* §14, in which he is commanded to ‘stop all impurities’, and the account of the subjection of Rudra/Maheśvara in the 15th chapter of the Tibetan *Rnying ma pa Mahāyogatantra Gsang ba’i snying po*, in which Heruka devours Maheśvara and excretes him in the form of an ocean of filth which Ucchuṣma then swallows (STEIN 1974, p. 511). A version of the *Pa dma thang yig*, the *Bka’ thang gser phreng* of Sangs rgyas gling pa composed in 1341 or 1389 (STEIN 1995, p. 124), relates that Ucchuṣma was rewarded after the subjection of Rudra by being given a place at the edge of the Maṇḍala as the receiver of the

sociation of Ucchuṣma with the elimination of impure substances is seen in the *Niṣvāsaguhya*, which makes Ucchuṣmarudra preside in a city of iron that bears his name in the first of the subterranean paradises known as the Pātālas. This, we are told, is the destiny of souls who have allowed the substances left from Śiva's worship to fall to the ground. Here they worship Caṇḍeśa (/Caṇḍeśvara), the ferocious Gaṇa of Śiva to whom such remnants are to be offered in Saiddhāntika worship, in order to remove the danger they pose.⁹ Moreover, the Vaiṣṇava *Varāhapurāṇa* declares that those who follow the impure forms of Rudra worship (*raudraṃ śaucavarjitam*), which it defines as those other than that laid down in the Veda-congruent [Saiddhāntika] *Niṣvāsasaṃhitā*, are to be seen as Ucchuṣmarudras (*ucchuṣmarudrās te jñeyāḥ*).¹⁰ This is probably to be understood as 'Rudras addicted to the consumption of impure substances', an interpretation supported by a variant reading of this passage as it is cited by Raṅgarāmānuja in his commentary *Bhāvoparakāśikā* on Sudarśana's *Śrutaparakāśikā* on Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* 2.2.42, where these beings are termed Ucchiṣṭarudras 'Rudras of [pollutant] remnants' (*ucchiṣṭarudrās te jñeyāḥ*).¹¹ Further, the *Picumata/Brahmayāmala* is also known as the Tantra of Ucchuṣma (*ucchuṣmatantram, tantram ucchuṣmasaṃbhavam*),¹² and this name alludes to the strict indifference to impurity or rather to the cultivation of con-

remains of the offerings (STEIN 1973, p. 466). I thank my colleague Miyako Notake of Waseda University for her help with the Japanese names.

⁹*Niṣvāsaguhya* ff. 54v6–55r1: *āyāsī prathamā bhūmi purī bhasma ... | ... yasya nāgasya tathā ucchuṣmarudrayoḥ | ucchuṣmeti purī khyātā āyāsī harmamālinī | caṇḍīsaṃ pūjayantītha nirmālyapatane gatāḥ*. The form *caṇḍīsaḥ* here is evidently a MIA-influenced Aiśa variant of *caṇḍeśaḥ*.

¹⁰*Varāhapurāṇa* 71.50–56b (Ed. and Raṅgarāmānuja, *Bhāvoparakāśikā* on *Śrutaparakāśikā* on *Śrībhāṣya* 2.2.42 [R]; verse numbers of Ed.): 50 *evam abhyarthitas tais tu purāhaṃ dvijasattamaḥ | vedakriyāsamāyuktāṃ kṛtavān asmi saṃhitām | 51 niḥśvāsākyāṃ tatas tasyāṃ līnā bābhavyaśāṇḍilāḥ | *alpāparādhā ity eva śeṣā baidālikābhavan* (R: *alpārādhāc chrutvaiva gatā baidālikā bhavan* Ed.) | 52 *mayaiḥ mohitās te hi bhaviṣyaṃ jānatā dvijāḥ |* (Here Ed. has an extra line, lacking in R: *lalyārthinās tu śāstrāṇi kariṣyanti kalau narāḥ*) 53 *niḥśvāsasaṃhitāyāṃ hi *lakṣamātrapramāṇataḥ* (R: *lakṣamātram pramāṇataḥ* Ed.) | *saiva pāsupatī dikṣā yogāḥ pāsupatas *ca saḥ* (R: *tv iha* Ed.) | 54 *etasmād vedamārgād dhi yad anyad iha jāyate | tat kṣudrakarma vijñeyam raudraṃ śaucavarjitam | 55 ye rudram upajīvoanti kalau baidālikā narāḥ |* (Extra line in Ed. here, repeating Ed.'s 52cd) **ucchuṣmarudrās* (Ed.: *ucchiṣṭarudrās* R) *te jñeyā nāhaṃ teṣu vyavasthitaḥ* 'O best of brahmins, in the past when they requested me [to give them some scripture for the Kali Age] I created the *Niḥśvāsasaṃhitā*, which includes the rituals of the Veda. Then the Bābhavyas and Śāṇḍilas followed it, for their offence [against the Veda] had been less. The rest[, whose offence was greater,] became religious frauds. For I myself had deluded them, O brahmins, knowing the future. It is in the *Niḥśvāsasaṃhitā*, whose extent is but 100,000 [verses], that this Pāsupata initiation and meditation [have been revealed]. Know that whatever [teaching] comes into being that is other than [this] path of the Veda is the Raudra, base practice void of purity. Know that those frauds who live off Rudra in the Age of Kali are Ucchuṣmarudras. Among them I do not dwell'.

¹¹Cf. the substitution of Mahocchiṣṭā for Mahocchuṣmā reported below in n. 141 on p. 277.

¹²*Picumata* f. 21r2–3 (4.255): *raktā karālī caṇḍākyā mahocchuṣmā tathaiḥ ca | ucchuṣmatantre nāmāni guhyakānāṃ na saṃśayaḥ*; f. 185r5 (colophon of Paṭala 36): *ity ucchuṣmatantre picumate*; f. 1v2 (1.3cd): *yat paraṃ sūcitam deva tantram ucchuṣmasaṃbhavam*; f. 5r2 (2.14cd): *athāto mātaraṃ vakṣye tantre ucchuṣmasaṃbhave*.

tact with impurity as a means to power and liberation that characterizes this scripture. But in spite of these connections I am not aware of any Śaiva Kalpa that could have served as the prototype of the rites of the Ucchuṣmarudras seen in *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa* 36. Moreover, the Atharvavedic *Ucchuṣmakalpa* does not conform closely to the Mantramārgic model. The Mantras taught in the Kalpa comprise one for self-protection (*ātmaraḥṣā*) followed by formulas invoking protection of the four cardinal directions, the zenith, and nadir, with blows from the weapons of their respective guardian deities, an Ucchuṣmahṛdaya, an Ucchuṣmaśikhā, a Kavaca, and an Astramantra, and a long Mantra for *japaḥ*. The Hṛdaya, Śikhā, Kavaca, and Astra bring to mind the Mantramārgic model in which these are the names of the Ancillaries of any main Mantra (*mūlamāntraḥ*); but they are not presented here in that role; nor are we given the Śiras or Śiras and Netra that complete the set of those Ancillaries in the rituals of the Mantramārga.¹³ Nor do we find instructions for the installation of these Mantras (*nyāsaḥ*) on the hands and parts of the body, or for the visualization of the deity (*dhyānam*), both features fundamental to any properly Mantramārgic Kalpa. Furthermore the style of the Mantras is strongly reminiscent of a type that has a much earlier history, being seen, for example, in the Mantrapadas of the Buddhist *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī*,¹⁴ the first two Chinese translations of which were listed in the *Qin lu*, a catalogue of the period AD 350–431, according to that compiled by Yuan zhao in AD 800.¹⁵

The third section (*khaṇḍaḥ*) of the *Mahāgaṇapatīvidyā*, a long Mantra in ten sections recited to ward off assault by demons, Yoginīs, and the like, and preserved in the ritual tradition of Kashmir, summons the aid of Ucchuṣmarudra and ends with an invocation of the Ucchuṣmarudras.¹⁶ However, this too,

¹³On the ancillary Mantras in Mantramārgic Śaivism see BRUNNER 1986.

¹⁴Thus, for example, in the *japamantraḥ* of the Atharvavedic *Ucchuṣmakalpa* we have (9.3) NAMAḤ KAṬA VIKAṬA KAṆṬE MĀṬE PĀṬALE VIKALE ASAURYĀSAU ASAURYĀSAU PṚTHIVĪṢṬA-KĀ IṢṬAKĀJINĀTYŪNYO SAUGALUṀTIGALUṀTE KAṬAM ASI KAṬAPRAVRṬE PRADVIṢA RUDRA RAUDREṆĀVEŚAYĀVEŚAYA HANA HANA DAHA DAHA PACA PACA MATHA MATHA VIDHVAM-SAYA VIDHVAMSAAYA VIŚVEŚVARA YOGESVARA MAHEŚVARA NAMAS TE 'STU MĀ MĀ HIM-SĪḤ HUM PHAṬ NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ. This may be compared with *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī*, pp. 23, l. 22–24, l. 12: AKAṬE VIKAṬE HARIṆI HĀRINI DHARAṆI DHĀRAṆI HUKKE HUKKE VUKKE VUKKE HANA HANA HANA HANA HANA HANA HANA HANA HANA AMITRĀN MAMA SARVASATTVĀNĀM CA DAHA DAHA DAHA DAHA DAHA DAHA DAHA DAHA DAHA DAHA AHITAIṢIṆO MAMA SARVASATTVĀNĀM CA PACA PACA PACA PACA PACA PACA PACA PACA PACA PACA PRATYARTHIKĀM MAMA SARVASATTVĀNĀM CA Compare also the *Ucchuṣmakalpa*'s Mantra for self-protection (1.4) ŚIVE JAṬILE BRAHMACĀRIṆI STAMBHANI JAMBHANI MOHANI HUM PHAṬ NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ with HARI HĀRIṆI CALI CĀLINI TRAMAṆI TRĀMAṆI MOHANI STAMBHANI JAMBHANI SVAYAMBHUVĒ SVĀHĀ in *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī*, p. 15.

¹⁵The *Mahāmāyūrī*'s two earliest Chinese translations, of unknown authorship, are KBC 305 (Taishō 986) and KBC 306 (Taishō 987). For Yuan zhao's report see LANCASTER 1979, p. 113a. There are also early Chinese translations by Kumārajīva (KBC 304, Taishō 988), produced between AD 402 and 412 (LANCASTER 1979, p. 112b), and Saṅghabhadra (KBC 307, Taishō 984), produced between AD 502 and 520 (LANCASTER 1979, p. 113b).

¹⁶*Mahāgaṇapatīvidyā*, pp. 57–58: OM BHAGAVATE UCCHUṢMARUDRĀYA SAPTADVĪPEŚVARĀ-

like the Atharvavedic *Ucchuṣmakalpa*, is not properly Mantramārgic. Similar Mantras are found in the Śaiva exorcistic tradition preserved in such works as the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, but they too have an archaic style that probably predates the Mantramārga.¹⁷

The Āngirasakalpa

However, there is another relevant corpus, one that has received little scholarly attention, which is preserved in a number of *Āngirasakalpa* manuscripts now

YA HĀRAKAṬAŚARĪRĀYA ŚARAṆAKṚTAŚARĪRĀYA MANUṢYAŚARĪRAM ĀVEŚAYA 2 PRAVEŚAYA KHAṬVĀNGAṆ DRĀVAYA 2 SVARŪPAṆ DARŚAYA 2 MĀHEŚVARĪM MUDRĀM GRḤṆA 2 KĀPĀLĪM MUDRĀM BHAṆJAYA 2 VAIṢṆAVĪM MUDRĀM *DĀRAYA (conj.: DHĀRAYA Ed.) 2 ŚIVADŪTIRŪPAṆ DARŚAYA 2 JAYA 2 JVALA 2 PRAJVALA 2 KAḌḌA 2 SPHOṬA 2 *PRAHARA (conj.: PRAHARAṆA Ed.) 2 YAKṢO VĀ RĀKṢASO VĀ BHŪTO VĀ PRETO VĀ PĪSĀCO VĀ KŪSMĀNḌO VĀ APASMĀRO VĀ PRETAYĀMINĪ VĀ MATHA 2 MOCAYA 2 KAMPAYA 2 VIDHVAMSA 2 PRAMĀṆARŪPIKĀM DARŚAYA 2 BRĀHMAṆĪ VĀ KṢATRIYĪ VĀ VAIŚYĪ VĀ ŚŪDRĪ VĀ CAṆḌĀLĪ VĀ CARMĀKĀRĪ VĀ MĀLĀKĀRĪ VĀ MĀTAṆGĪ VĀ PUKKASĪ VĀ CĀMUṆḌĪ VĀ YOGINĪ VĀ MAHĀYOGINĪ VĀ ĀKĀSAGĀMINĪ VĀ BHUVANAVĀSINĪ VĀ PĀTĀLAVĀSINĪ VĀ VAUṢAṬ PHAṬ 2 SVĀHĀ. OṆ NAMAḤ ŚĪGHRAGAMANĀYA AKṢARĀYA TRINETRĀYA TRISŪLAHASTĀYA HṚDGATĀYA MANTRĀYA MANTRAVRATĀYA *SVAHṚDAYĀYA (conj.: SUHṚDAYĀYA Ed.) *SVAHṚDGATĀYA (conj.: SUHṚDGATĀYA Ed.) ĀGACCHA 2 UCCHUṢMARUDREBHYAḤ SVĀHĀ. *tr̥tīyah khaṇḍah.*

¹⁷Compare, for example, the Vidyārāja of the Rudra Khaḍgarāvaṇa in the *Khaḍgarāvaṇakalpa* of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, f. 45v4–46r1 (the same Mantra is found with minor differences in the tradition of the Keralan Mantravādins; see the anonymous *Tantrasārasaṅgrahaṇyākhyāna*, pp. 186–187 and the *Tantrasārasaṅgrahamantravimarśinī* of Svarnagrāma Vāsudeva, vol. 1, p. 179): OṆ NAMO PAŚUPATAYE NAMO BHŪTĀDHIPATAYE NAMO RUDRĀYA LA LA LA LA KHAḌGARĀVAṆA BALAṆ VIHARA 2 SARA 2 NṚTYA 2 VALGA 2 SPHOṬAYA 2 ŚMAŚĀNABHASMA-CARCITAŚARĪRĀYA GHAṆṬĀKAPĀLAMĀ(LĀ)DHARĀYA VYĀGHRACARMAPARĪDHĀNĀYA ŚAŚĀṆKAKṚTAŚEKHARĀYA KṚṢṆASARPAYAJŅOPAVĪTINE *HANA 2 CALA (conj.: NACALA Cod.) 2 VALA 2 VALGA 2 ANIVARTAKAPĀLINE *HANA 2 (conj.: HANA Cod.) BHŪTĀN TRĀSAYA 2 MAṆḌALAMADHYE KAḌḌA 2 RUDRĀṆKUSĒNA SAMAYAM PRAVEŚAYA 2 ĀVĀHAYA 2 CAṆḌĀSĪDHĀRĀDHIPATIRUDRŌ JŅĀPAYATI SVĀHĀ; and that of the Rudra Lohaka in the *Lohakakalpa* of the same work, f. 59r3–60r1: OṆ NAMO BHAGAVATE RUDRĀYA OṆ NAMO LOHAKĀYA CĪPĪTANĀSĀYA AṢṬABHUJAMAHĀLOHAKĀYA APARIMITABALA*PARĀKRAMĀYA (corr.: PARĀKRAMAYA Cod.) EṢAKIṢAYĀYA MAHĀ*DAṆṢṬROTKAṬĀYA (corr.: DAṆṢṬROTKAṬAYA Cod.) EHI 2 LOHAKA IDAṆ DUṢṬAGRAHAM ĀVEŚAYA SAMAYAM PRAVIŚAYA 2 ĀVIŚAYA 2 SAṆKRĀMA(YA 2) MAHĀBHĀIRAVARŪPA BHO BHO LOHAKA IMAṆ CAṆḌĀLAGRAHASYA ŚIRAS TROṬAYA TROṬAYA GRĪVĀM MOṬAYA 2 HṚDAYAM *MOṬAYA (conj.: MOMOṬAYA Cod.) 2 BHINDA 2 MUDRĀ(M)CHINDA 2 DAHA 2 PACA 2 KUḌḌA 2 GARJA 2 HURU VURU 2 MAHĀGAṆAPATIRŪPAṆ DARŚAYA 2 HASTĀN PĀDĀN GRḤṆA 2 SAMAYAM *ANUSMARA (corr.: ANUSMARAM Cod.) CAṆḌĀLAM ANUPRAVEŚ(Y)OTTHĀPAYA 2 BHRĀMAYA 2 DUṢṬAGRAHAM TRĀ(SA)YA 2 VIDRĀ(VA)YA ĀVEŚAYA 2 SVASTHĀNAM ĀVEŚAYA PUṆYENA SARVASATTVĀ(N) ĀVEŚAYA 2 DEVĀN ĀVEŚAYA 2 TATHĀ KATHAYA 2 *TRAILOKYĀVĀRTĀM (corr.: TRAILOKYĀVĀRTTAM Cod.) KATHAYA 2 MAHĀBHĀIRAVA*ḌĀMARA (conj.: ḌĀMV Cod.) APRATIHAṬAGATE AMOGHASARVAKARMAKARA SIDDHALOHAKA SARVAKARMAKARA SATTVĀ(N) ĀVEŚAYA SIDDH(Y)A AMOGHAMAHĀBALAPARĀKRAMA AJITASARVASATTVASĀDHANA MAHĀBHĀIRAVA LOHAKA SIDDHISĀDHANA (conj.: SIDDHASĀDHANA Cod.) AVIKALPA MAMA †BHŪBHṚTYAMĀNASYA† KRODHOTPANNAḤ †ASĀSĀDHANA† MAHĀGAṆARUDRO JŅĀPAYATI SVĀHĀ.

or formerly in the possession of brahmins of Orissa following the Paippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda,¹⁸ members of a community of such brahmins found in numerous settlements from the Ganjam district in South Orissa to the East-Singbhum district in the southeastern corner of the State of Jharkhand just beyond Orissa's northern border, with concentrations within Orissa around the former royal seats of Puri, Narasinghpur, Bhadrakh, Kendujhargar, and Baripada.¹⁹ For the manuscripts that I have seen, which do not transmit a single, constant work but contain varying but overlapping collections of texts, consist almost entirely of instruction in the procedures of hostile ritual through the propitiation of post-Vedic Mantra-deities following Tantric rather than Vedic liturgical models. One of these, a palm-leaf manuscript in the Oriya script from the home of the Paippalādin Dāmodara Miśra of Asimiḷā village in the Baleshwar District of Orissa, was transcribed and published in 2003 by the Oriya scholar Umākānta PANDĀ as the *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati* 'Directions on the Six [Hostile] Rites beginning with Subjection, according to the Paippalāda[-Atharvaveda]'.²⁰ This was the starting point of my research in this field.

The affiliation of these texts to the Paippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda is proclaimed in many cases through the device of presenting them in the format of instruction given by Aṅgiras in answer to questions put to him by the sage Pippalāda; and the priest selected by the Yajamāna to perform the rituals taught in them is identified as a Paippalādin (*atharvavedāntargatapippalādaśākhā-dhyāyī*) in the formula of intention (*saṃkalpaḥ*) that is to be recited before the ritual commences.²¹

¹⁸The only work on this corpus known to me is a pioneering but very short article by BAHULKAR (1987) in which he briefly outlines the contents and character of two *Āṅgirasakalpa* manuscripts, both used by me here (P₁ and P₂), gathers the few existing references to the *Āṅgirasakalpa* in Dārila's and Keśava's commentaries on the Atharvavedic *Kauśikasūtra*, and in Sāyaṇa's introduction to his commentary on the Śaunaka *Atharvavedasaṃhitā*, and concludes that our work must be different and later.

¹⁹For this distribution and a list of Paippalāda-Atharvavedin settlements in the region see GRIFFITHS 2002, p. 37 and WITZEL and GRIFFITHS 2002. It is probable that the Paippalādins reached Orissa from Bengal, having migrated there from Gujarat. As Kei Kataoka observes in this volume (p. 324), it is not impossible that there were already Paippalādins in Bengal c. AD 700. The earliest evidence, with positive Śākhā identification, of their presence in Orissa is a copper-plate inscription of the tenth century from the central Orissan kingdom of Ubhaya-khiṅjalimaṇḍala recording grants to three Paippalādins, of whom two are said to have migrated there from coastal Orissa (Oḍra) (GRIFFITHS 2002, pp. 41–43). The presence of Atharvavedins in coastal Orissa at least a century earlier is established by a copper-plate inscription of the Orissan Bhaumakara king Śubhākaradeva, which records a grant of two villages to some 200 brahmins of specified Veda, of whom about a quarter were Atharvavedins (see Annette Schmiedchen's contribution in this volume, nos. 12 and 13). Though the inscription does not indicate to which school they belonged, that they were Paippalādins is at least probable.

²⁰This title adequately describes the work's content but is found nowhere in the manuscript, which comes to us as an untitled collection of texts.

²¹*Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati* p. 124: *amukasagoṭram atharvavedāntargatapippalādaśākhādhyāyinam amukaśarmāṇaṃ brāhmaṇam amukasagoṭraḥ amukadevaśarmā rājā mama amukapha-*

The colophons of some of the texts in this open corpus declare them to be works of human authorship or citations from such works, namely the *Prapañcasāra* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, the *Śāradātilaka* of Lakṣmaṇadeśika, the *Mantramuktāvalī* of Pūrṇaprakāśa, the [*Mantra*] *devaparakāśikā* of Viṣṇudeva, the *Āsurīdīpikā* of Bhūdhara, the *Tantrādhyāya* of the *Karmasamuccaya*, the *Lakṣaṇasamuccaya*, the *Ānuṣṭubhakalpamālā* of Śeṣa, and the Paddhati of Vāmanabhavadāsa or Vāmana and Bhavadāsa (the *Vāmanabhavadāsīya*). But those of most of the rest assign them to the *Āṅgirasakalpa*, often identified simply as the *Āṅgīrasa*, thereby claiming that in spite of their manifestly Tantric content they are properly Atharvavedic. For the *Āṅgirasakalpa* (*āṅgīrasaḥ kalpaḥ*, *āṅgīrasām kalpaḥ*), also known as the *Abhicārakalpa* ('The Kalpa of Hostile Ritual'), is among the five Kalpas that had been said since early times to constitute the ancillary literature of the Atharvaveda, namely (1) the *Nakṣatralkalpa*, (2) the *Vitānakalpa*, also called *Vaitānakalpa* or *Vedakalpa* (*/vedānām kalpaḥ*), (3) the *Samhitākalpa* (*/samhitānām kalpaḥ*), also called *Samhitāvidhi*, (4) the *Āṅgirasakalpa*, and (5) the *Śāntikalpa*.²²

lārthaṃ ... amukakalpoktaṃ mama karma kartum ... ācāryatvena tvām ahaṃ vṛṇe 'I, the king, N-devaśarman, being of such and such a Gotra, choose you, N-śarman, a brahmin of such and such a Gotra, a student of the Pippalāda branch of the Atharvaveda, to be the officiant to perform for me such and such a ritual taught in such and such a Kalpa for such and such a benefit ...'. The same specification is seen in P₁, f. 46v3: *amukadevaśarmaṇe brāhmaṇāya atharvavedāṃtar-gatapippalādasākhādhyāyine*.

²²See Upavarṣa's lost commentary on the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* as quoted in the 11th century by Keśava of Malwa in his *Kauśikapaddhati* on 1.8: *upavarṣācāryeṇoktaṃ mīmāṃsāyām smṛtipāde kalpasūtrādhikarāṇe "nakṣatralkalpo vaitānas tṛtīyaḥ samhitāvidhiḥ | caturtho 'ṅgīrasām kalpaḥ śāntikalpas tu pañcamah"* iti. *ete kalpā vedatulyā hi iti bhagavatopavarṣācāryeṇa pratipāditam. anye kalpāḥ smṛtitulyāḥ* 'Upavarṣācārya has said the following [in his commentary] on the *Mīmāṃsā[sūtra]*, in the section on the Kalpasūtras in the *Smṛtipāda*: "[The five Kalpas are] the *Nakṣatralkalpa*, the *Vaitāna*, third the *Samhitāvidhi*, fourth the *āṅgīrasām kalpaḥ*, and fifth the *Śāntikalpa*". The venerable Upavarṣācārya has taught that these Kalpas are equal [in authority] to Śruti, whereas all other Kalpas have the status of Smṛti'. The verse quoted here is also attributed to Upavarṣa by Sāyaṇa in the *Atharvavedasamhitābhāṣya*, vol. 1, p. 25 (with the variant *turya āṅgīrasaḥ kalpaḥ*); and it has been incorporated into the corpus of brahmanical scripture as 2.5.4 of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*. Synonymous variants of this verse appear in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (3.6.13c–14b: *nakṣatralkalpo vedānām samhitānām tathaiḥ ca | caturthaḥ syād āṅgīrasaḥ śāntikalpaś ca pañcamah*) and, with badly defective metre, in the *Caraṇavyūha* ([*Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 49] 4.7: *pañca kalpā bhavanti. nakṣatralkalpo vaitānakalpas tṛtīyaḥ samhitāvidhiḥ | caturtha āṅgīrasaḥ kalpaḥ śāntikalpas tu pañcamah*; cf. also the version of this same defective verse in the corresponding section of the *Caraṇavyūhopaniṣad*, in Arlo Griffiths' contribution to this volume). The *Nārada-purāṇa* (*Pūrvārdha*, 51.2–8b) both lists them and defines their subject matter: (1) the *Nakṣatralkalpa* as dealing with the asterisms and their presiding deities (see *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 1, which deals with these and their various effects, particularly on the fates of the rulers of various nations); (2) the *vedānām kalpaḥ* (= *Vaitānakalpa*) as comprising the *Vidhāna* texts of the four Vedas (*R̥gvidhāna* etc.), setting out the special fire-rites using Vedic mantras for supernatural effects (see *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, *Khaṇḍa* 2, chapters 124–127, which gives *Vidhāna* texts for all four Vedas; cf. p. 188 in Arlo Griffiths' contribution to this volume); (3) the *Samhitāvidhi* as specifying the sage (*ṛṣiḥ*), metre (*chandaḥ*), and presiding deity (*devatā*) of each of the various Atharvanic Mantras; (4) the *Śāntikalpa* as teaching the ritual procedures for countering the effects of portents of all kinds (cf., e.g., *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, *Khaṇḍa* 2, chapters 132–144); and

The term *pañcakalpaḥ* in the meaning ‘one who studies the five Kalpas’ is already given in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali; and it appears in the *Nārāyaṇīya* of the *Mahābhārata* in the meaning ‘possessing the five Kalpas’ with reference to the Atharvaveda itself.²³ The contents of our Orissan *Āṅgirasakalpa* corpus demonstrate beyond doubt that it is not the lost text of that title known to these early works.²⁴ But by taking on this title it asserts that it is; and in this capacity it adds the claim that of all the five Kalpas it is the foremost.²⁵

The Officiants of the Āṅgirasa Rituals

The Atharvavedic priests who created and employed these texts did so to authorize and guide rituals that they expected to be engaged to perform for the court. For with a few exceptions that bear on their personal worship this *Āṅgirasakalpa* corpus comprises rituals in which the king is the sponsor and beneficiary (*yajamānaḥ*), in which the principal stated aims are to subjugate, immobilize, or destroy his enemies,²⁶ and in which the king’s duty to gratify these officiants

(5) the *Āṅgirasakalpa* as setting out the rituals of the six kinds of hostile sorcery (*ṣaṭ karmāṇi*). This is accurate for items 1, 4, and 5, but not for 2 and 3. An old, widely attested, and more plausible tradition takes the *Vaitānakalpa* to be the *Vaitānasūtra*, the Śrautasūtra of the Śaunaka recension of the *Atharvavedasamhitā*, and the *Samhitāvidhi* to be the *Kauśikasūtra*, the Atharvavedic Gṛhyasūtra. *Samhitāvidhi* in this sense is regularly employed in the *Kauśikapaddhati*, Keśava’s commentary on that text, as in its opening words: *atharvavedasya samhitāvidher vivaraṇam kriyate*. It is also supported by Sāyaṇācārya, *Atharvavedasamhitābhāṣya*, vol. 1, pp. 25–27, and followed by BLOOMFIELD (1884, pp. 376–378) and others, e.g. MODAK (1993, p. 124). As BAHULKAR has pointed out (1987, p. 572), the name is appropriate, because the *Kauśikasūtra* goes beyond the range of other Gṛhyasūtras by setting out the ritual applications (*vidhiḥ*) of the *Samhitā* of the Atharvaveda.

²³*Mahābhāṣya* on 4.2.60: *sarvasāder dvigoṣ ca lo vaktavyaḥ. sarvavedaḥ sarvatantraḥ. savārttikah sasamgrahaḥ. pañcakalpaḥ dvitanttraḥ; Mahābhārata* 12.330.34 (Viṣṇu speaking): *pañcakalpam atharvānaṁ kṛtyābhiḥ paribr̥mhitam | kalpayanti hi māṁ viprā atharvānavidas tathā* ‘Likewise learned brahmins expert in the Atharvaveda conceive of me as that Veda rich in Kṛtyās with its five Kalpas’.

²⁴This is also the opinion of BAHULKAR (1987, p. 579). Seeing the Tantric character of the contents of the two *Āṅgirasa* manuscripts in the BORI, Pune, and the fact that the rituals of these manuscripts, unlike those of the section on hostile rites (*abhicāraḥ*) in the sixth Adhyāya of the *Kauśikasūtra*, are not based on the domestic New-moon and Full-moon sacrifice, he concluded that this *Āṅgirasakalpa* cannot be the work of that name known to Dārila, the author of the *Kauśikasūtrabhāṣya*, Keśava, the author of the *Kauśikapaddhati*, and Sāyaṇa, and surmised that it may have been composed after the disappearance of the Śaunaka *Āṅgirasakalpa* to fulfil the needs of the Paippalādins of Orissa for the fifth Kalpa.

²⁵*Āṅgirasa*, P₂ f. 3v1–2: *iti putreṇa samtuṣṭaḥ provāca munir āṅgirāḥ | kalpam āṅgirasam nāma pañcakalpeṣu cottamam* ‘Thus, being pleased with his son [Bṛhaspati], the sage Āṅgiras taught [him] the Kalpa called *Āṅgirasa*, the foremost of the five Kalpas’.

²⁶See, e.g., *Paippalādavaśādisaṭkarmapaddhati* p. 3: *vaśabhedam pravakṣyāmi śatruhīno nṛpo yataḥ | rājño yasya *vaśe* (em.: *vaśet* Ed.) *sarvam tasyeṣṭam kiṁ na siddhyati*; p. 4: *tato vicakṣaṇo rājā vaśa-karmaṇi tatparaḥ | sapatnān vaśam ānīya bhūṅkte rājyam akanṭakam*; p. 5: *tasmāḥ jigamiṣum bhūpam*

with honours, land-grants, jewels, gold, and grain is repeatedly stressed.²⁷

It is therefore probable *prima facie* that the priests who performed these rituals did so as holders of the office of the king's personal priest (*rājapurohitah*). For all sources that speak of the qualifications required of that official role either that he should be an Atharvavedin²⁸ or that he should be an expert in the rituals of the Atharvavedic tradition.²⁹ The latter formulation may have been

*jñātvā stambhanam ācaret; p. 5: ripūnām mohanaṃ caitad rājñām bahumataṃ bhavet | mohito hi na saknoti pratikartuṃ parakriyām; p. 18: rājā rājyajayākāṅkṣī śrīṅṣiṃhaṃ prapūjya ca; p. 26: nṛpasya bhavanāc chālām aiśānyām diśi kārayet; p. 27: tasmād rājā viśeṣeṇa śrīṅṣiṃhaparo bhavet | yato nirupasargaḥ san sarvābhīṣṭam avāpnuyāt; p. 35: dakṣiṇām bhūpatir dadyāt kartr̥tr̥ptikarīm punaḥ | nṛpo digvijayam kuryād idaṃ yantram vidhārayan; p. 36: tasmād rājā yadā śatruṃ balinaṃ jetum icchati | tadātharvavidam prājñam etaṃ homaṃ ca kārayet; p. 36: śrīṅṣiṃhaś ca devaḥ syāt kartā cātharvaṇaḥ sudhīḥ | rājā ced viṣṇubhaktāḥ syāj jayas tasya kare sthītaḥ; p. 41: tato nṛpeśvaro vīro mahājayaparāyanaḥ | brahmavedārthatattvajñam kārayeta mahājayam; p. 56: rājā sarvavaśam kāṅkṣann āsurīm sarvadā japet; p. 59: māraṇam karma kurvīta rājā rāṣṭrasukhāvaham; p. 63: āsurīti tato devī rājakarmasu gīyate; p. 70: etan mantram sadā japtvā niścinto rājyabhug bhavet; p. 81: ātmotsādakaram śatruṃ yuddhe jetum apārayan | deśaraksākaro rājā mārayed balinaṃ ripum; p. 109: mahābījāṃ japan rājā jayam eti na śaṃsayah; p. 111: athavā yuddhasamaye yantram etat svasamnidhau | kenacid dhārayed rājā labhate *vijayaśriyam (corr. : vijayam śriyam Ed.). See also n. 21 on p. 202.*

²⁷Paippalādavaśādisatkarmapaddhati p. 4: atharvavedatattvajñam tasmād rājā prapūjayet | sadātmīyam prakurvīta yasya haste vaśādikam; p. 7: *bahubhir (corr. : bahubhi Ed.) draviṇair vastrair nānāratnair vibhūṣanaiḥ | pūjayitvā tataḥ paścād vidhinā vṛṇuyād dvijam; p. 13: tatkumbhavārinācāryō 'bhiṣīcet taṃ narādhipam | tato 'smai dakṣiṇām dadyād yathāsau paritūṣyati; p. 23: tasmān nara-patir vidvān dānamānādibhir dvijam | turyavedārthatattvajñam ātmīyam kurute sadā; p. 61: nṛpo 'smai dakṣiṇām dadyād dhanaśāṭhyam vīvarjayet | ratnaṃ grāmavaram dhānyam yānāni kanakāni ca; p. 65: tato 'bhiṣīktaḥ nṛpatir dadyād viprāya dakṣiṇām | ratnaṃ suvarṇam dhānyāni yānāni ca vasundharām; p. 131: tasmād rājā viśeṣeṇa atharvāṇam budham dvijam | dānasaṃmānasatkārair nityam samabhipūjayet (echoing Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 4.6.3: tasmād rājā viśeṣeṇa atharvāṇam jiten-driyam | dānasaṃmānasatkārair nityam samabhipūjayet); p. 146: evaṃ vijayam āśādyā rājā mantra-vidē tataḥ | pradadyād *dakṣiṇām (em. : dakṣiṇā Ed.) śreṣṭham grāmaṃ tattṛptikāraṇam; p. 147: ācāryāya nivedayet | svarṇam ratnaṃ ca dhānyam ca yānam grāmaṃ gavām śatam; P₂ f. 31v2: dadyāc ca dakṣiṇām tasmai sahasraṃ śatam eva vā | gavām suvarṇaniṣkāṇām bhūmiṃ *ca sasyaśālinīm (conj. : cātyaśālinīm Cod.).

²⁸Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa 2.5.3: dvivedam brāhmaṇam rājā purohitam atharvāṇam | pañcakalpa-vidhānajñam varayeta sudarśanam 'The king should choose as his chaplain a handsome Atharvavedin brahmin who is versed in [at least] two Vedas and knows the rituals of the five [Atharvavedic] Kalpas'; and a passage in the southern recension of the *Mahābhārata* after 12.72.2 of the critical edition (Appendix I, No. 8), especially ll. 6–7: brahmatvaṃ sarvayajñeṣu kurvītātharvaṇo dvijaḥ | rājñāś cātharvavedena sarvakarmāṇi kārayet 'An Atharvavedin brahmin should serve as the Brahman priest in all [the king's] Vedic sacrifices and should have all the [necessary] rites performed for the king following the Atharvaveda'.

²⁹See, for example, *Arthaśāstra* 1.9.9: purohitam uditoditakulaśīlam sāṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanītyām cābhivīṇitam āpadām daivamānuṣṅhām atharvabhir upāyais ca pratikartāraṃ kurvīta '[The king] should appoint as his personal priest one who is of noble family and conduct, skilled in the Vedas, their ancillary disciplines, portents, and the administration of justice, and able to counteract calamities of divine and human origin with the methods of the Atharvaveda'; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.313: purohitam prakurvīta daivajñam uditoditam | daṇḍanītyām ca kuśalam atharvāṅgirase tathā 'He should appoint as his personal priest one who is expert in portents [and the averting of their consequences], who is of exalted family, and who is expert both in the administration of justice and in the pacifying and hostile rites [of the Atharva-

intended to convey the same sense as the former, since the Atharvavedic literature frequently refers to Atharvavedins proper in this way,³⁰ though it is also possible that the definition by competence rather than birth was intended to accommodate the appointment of persons who though initially Ṛgvedins, Yajurvedins, or Sāmavedins in accordance with their inherited affiliation had subsequently been initiated and trained in the rituals of the Atharvavedic tradition. That non-Atharvavedin experts in Atharvavedic ritual were also appointable may be inferred from the fact that we have passages both in the Atharvavedic literature itself and in the *Mahābhārata* that warn kings that appointing non-Atharvavedins will lead to disaster, a warning that would have no point if kings did not on occasion disregard this restriction,³¹ and is confirmed in the

veda]; *Agnipurāṇa* 239.16c–17b (A) (= *Nītiśāstra* quoted by Sāyaṇācārya in the introduction to his *Atharvavedasamhitābhāṣya*, pp. 5–6): *trayyām ca daṇḍanītyām ca kuśalah syāt purohitaḥ | atharvavedavivitaḥ kuryāc chāntikapauṣṭikam* ‘The [king’s] personal priest should be well-versed in the three Vedas and the administration of justice, and he should perform the rites of pacification and invigoration prescribed by the Atharvaveda’; *Matsyapurāṇa* quoted *ibid.*: *purohitaḥ tathātharvamantrabrāhmaṇapāragam* ‘and a personal priest who has mastered the Mantras and informative passages of the Atharva[veda]’; Sāyaṇācārya, *loc. cit.*: *paurohityam ca atharvavidaiiva kāryam tatkarkāṇām karmanām rājābhiṣekādīnām tatraiva vistareṇa pratipāditavāt* ‘The role of the [king’s] personal priest should be taken only by an expert in the Atharva[veda], since it is in that [Veda] that the rituals of which he is the officiant, such as the king’s consecration, are taught’.

³⁰See, e.g., *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa* 2.2.3–4: *divyāntarikṣabhaumānām utpātānām anekadhā | śamayitā brahmavedajñas tasmād raktitā bhṛguḥ | brahmā śamayen nādhvaryur na chandogo na bahvṛcaḥ | rakṣāṃṣi rakṣati brahmā brahmā tasmād atharvavit*; 2.3.4: *atharvavid guruḥ*; 3.3.7: *brahmavedavit*; *Paippalādavaśādiṣṭakarmapaddhati* p. 23: *turyavedārthatattvajñam*; p. 36: *brahmavedavidām varah*; p. 147: *brahmavedavit*.

³¹Southern recension of the *Mahābhārata* after 12.72.2 (Appendix I, No. 8), ll. 32–34: *bahvṛcam sāmagam caiva vājinaḥ ca vivarjayet | bahvṛco rāṣṭranāśāya rājanāśāya sāmagah | adhvaryur balanāśāya prokto vājasaneyakah* ‘He should avoid [appointing] a Ṛgvedin, a Sāmavedin, or a Vājasaneyin Yajurvedin. A Ṛgvedin [chaplain] is said [in authoritative texts] to bring about the ruin of the kingdom, a Sāmavedin the ruin of the king himself, and a Vājasaneyin Adhvaryu that of the army’; cf. *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa* 2.4.1–5: *paippalādam guruḥ kuryāc chrīrāṣṭrārogyavardhanam | tathā śaunakinam vāpi vedamantravipaścitam | rāṣṭrasya vṛddhikartāram dhanadhānyādibhiḥ sadā | ātharvaṇād rte nānyo niyojyo ’tharvavid guruḥ | nrpeṇa jayakāmena nirmito ’gnir ivādhvare | bahvṛco hanti vai rāṣṭram adhvaryur nāsayet sutān | chandogo dhananāśāya tasmād ātharvaṇo guruḥ | ajñānād vā pramādād vā yasya syād bahvṛco guruḥ | deśarāṣṭrapurāmātyanāśas tasya na saṃśayaḥ | yadi vādhvaryavam rājā niyunakti purohitam | śastreṇa vadhyate kṣipram parikṣīṇārthavāhanaḥ | yathaiiva paṅgur adhvanam apakṣī cāṇḍajo nabhaḥ | evam chandogagurunā rājā vṛddhiḥ na gacchati* ‘He should appoint a Paippalāda[-Atharvavedin] as his priest, for he will increase his wealth, realm, and health, or a Śaunakin[-Atharvavedin], who is learned in the Mantras of [his] Veda. For he will cause the kingdom always to prosper in wealth, crops and the like. A king who desires to prevail over his enemies should appoint no expert in the Atharvaveda as his priest other than an Atharvavedin. For [the Atharvedin royal priest] has been created [as an element vital to his rule], just as the fire [is vital] to the Vedic sacrifice. A [royal priest who is a] Ṛgvedin destroys the kingdom, a Yajurvedin the [king’s] sons, and a Sāmavedin will bring about the loss of his wealth. Therefore [only] an Atharvavedin [should be appointed as his] priest. If out of ignorance or inattention [a king] has a Ṛgvedin [in this office] the loss of his region, kingdom, capital, and ministers will certainly follow. If the king appoints a Yajurvedin as his priest he will soon be killed by the sword, having lost his wealth, horses, and elephants. A king with a Sāmavedin

latter, which concedes that a king may after all appoint a non-Atharvavedin if no Atharvavedin is available,³² a situation that we may suspect from the relative paucity of epigraphical evidence of land-grants to Atharvavedins to have been commoner than the prescriptive textual evidence would suggest. Indeed, the Atharvavedins themselves may have recognized that their numbers had to be supplemented and attempted to control this in a manner that presented the Atharvavedic tradition as a domain of knowledge above that of the common brahmanical tradition. For while acknowledging that non-Atharvavedins may study the Atharvaveda they ruled that such persons should be allowed to do so only if they first underwent the Upanayana ceremony for a second time.³³ This transforms expertise in the Atharvavedic rites, at least for those not privileged by birth as Atharvavedins, into a domain of restricted recruitment within the broader brahmanical religion and thereby conceptualizes it in a manner that makes it analogous to the religions of the Śaivas, Pāñcarātrikas, and others, that is to say, as a tradition to which those within that religion may ascend through a further rite of passage. Indeed the Śaivas themselves have presented the Atharvaveda in just these terms. After defining the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, and Sāmaveda together with the Smṛtis as the common revelation the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s first Ṣaṭka goes on to list those scriptures that are the basis of those religious systems that transcend this level, and includes the Atharvaveda among them:

The Saura, Śaiva, and Pāñcarātra [scriptures], the Lākula and Vaimala [scriptures of the Śaiva Atimārga], the Atharvaveda, [the texts of] Sāṃkhya and Yoga, and the scriptures of the Buddhists, Jains, and the like, are restricted teachings (*viśeṣatantram*), because a person adheres to [one of] them only after taking on specific vows [in addition to or in place of the general obligations imposed by brahmanical authorities].³⁴

This image of the esoteric otherness of the Atharvavedic tradition can only have been made more plausible by the incorporation of the kind of Tantric procedures seen in our *Āṅgirasakalpa* corpus and indeed by the existence of the related

as his priest does not prosper, just as a cripple cannot walk and a bird without wings cannot fly.'

³²Southern recension of the *Mahābhārata* after 12.72.2 (Appendix I, No. 8), ll. 68–70: *vājinam tadabhāve ca carakādhvaryavān atha | bahvṛcaṃ sāmagaṃ caiva nītiśāstrakṛtaśramān | kṛtino 'tharvaṇe vede sthāpayet tu purohitān* 'If there is no [Atharvavedin available] he may appoint a Vājasaneyin or Caraka (Kāthaka) Yajurvedic officiant, a Ṛgvedin, or a Sāmavedin as his chaplain, provided such persons have studied the science of polity and are well-versed in the Atharvaveda'.

³³*Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 49.5.3: *anyavede dvijo yo brahmavedam adhītukāmaḥ sa punar upaneyah* 'A brahmin in another Veda who wishes to study the Atharvaveda must undergo a second Upanayana'.

³⁴*Jayadrathayāmala*, Ṣaṭka 1, f. 166v2–4 (35.68–69b): *sauram śaivam pañcarātram pramāṇam vaimalam matam | atharvam sāmkhyaयोगam ca baudham ārahatādikam | viśeṣākhyam yatas *tatra* (em.: *tantram* Cod.) *viśeṣasamayāt sthitiḥ*. For the whole account of the hierarchy of revelations of which this passage is a part see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 232–235.

Tantric Atharvanic materials that have been presented without the disguise of attribution to this collection in the form of the unpublished *Kālarudratantra* subtitled *Kālikāgama*.³⁵

If the Atharvavedin officiants envisaged in the *Āṅgirasakalpa* corpus were indeed persons occupying the office of the royal priest, having inherited qualification for this office through their patriline or perhaps in some cases through having acquired it through a second Upanayana and subsequent training, then they would have ranked among the highest dignitaries of the states that they served. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*, for example, portrays this official as a member of a small élite consisting besides himself of the king, the chief queen (*agryamahīṣī*), the crown-prince (*yuvarājaḥ*), the chief minister (*mantrī*), the general of the army (*senāpatih*), and the royal astrologer. Nor was he considered an inferior among them. For when the same text prescribes the design and dimensions of the parasol (*chattram*) and yak-tail fly-whisk (*cāmarah*) to be carried by their attendants

³⁵In the twenty-one short Paṭalas of this Tantra Kālarudra teaches Skanda a number of Vidyās for hostile purposes including in the first Paṭala an *atharvaṇī śikhāvidyā* described as the very essence of the Atharvaveda (f. 2v: *turyam ātharvaṇam vedam nānāmantrasamanvitam | tanmadhye kevalam turyam atharvaṇaśiras tathā | *turyāt turyataram* [em.: *turyāturyetaram* Cod.] *caiva *tacchikhetī* [em.: *tatsakhyety* Cod.] *abhidhīyate | atharvaṇī(ṃ) śikhāvidyā(ṃ) yo jānāti sa buddhimān*). The principal deities of these Vidyās, mostly described as Atharvanic (*atharvaṇāstravidyā*, *atharvaṇīkam astraṃ*, *atharvaṇamahāvidyā*), are the goddesses Dhūmāvati (Kākadhūmāvati, Mohinīdhūmikā, Uccāṇadhūmikā, Trailokyamohanī Dhūmāvati), Ārdrapaṭī Kālī, Mr̥tyukālī, Kālarātri, Gharmatikā (also called here Gharmāṭī and Gharmuṭikā), Kālī, and Caṇḍacāmuṇḍī. In the colophons the chapters of the text are described as being *kālikāgame kālarudratantre* (f. 6r) or *śrīkālarudratantre kālikāgame* (f. 17r). Other instances of the disintegration of the boundary between the Vedic and the Tantric in the classification of Atharvanic material exist and could be fruitfully studied. Note, for example, that a Nepalese digest of sources on the propitiation of the Vidyās of the Pratyāṅgirās (Siddhilakṣmī etc.) and Guhyakālī (**Pratyāṅgirādiviṣayakasaṃgraha*) contains a chapter (ff. 30r4–36v10) setting out a Paddhati for the worship of the latter whose colophon attributes it to the *Atharvaṇasaṃhitā* of the *Hāhārāvatantra* or to the *Atharvaṇasaṃhitā* that is the *Hāhārāvatantra* (f. 36v10: *iti hāhārāvatantra atharvaṇasaṃhitāyām guhyakālīpūjāpaṭalāḥ*). Similarly, the 23-syllable Pratyāṅgirā OM HRĪM 2 KṢEM BHAKṢA JVĀLĀJIHVE KARĀLADAMṢṬRE PRATYAṅGIRE KṢEM HRĪM HŪM PHAṬ attributed in that same digest (f. 26r10–11) to the *Devīyāmala* is a variant of the *Atharvaṇabhadrakālīmahāvidyā* OM KṢAM BHAKṢA JVĀLĀJIHVE KARĀLADAMṢṬRE PRATYAṅGIRE KṢAM HRĪM HŪM PHAṬ seen in a South Indian manuscript with the name of that Vidyā as its title. The visualization-verse for this Vidyā goddess given in the digest (f. 26r11–v1) appears at the end of two other South Indian manuscripts in the same collection: the *Pratyāṅgirābhadrakālīmantra* and the *Pratyāṅgirāmantra*. Also to be considered in this context is the *Kubjikopaniṣad*, preserved in Nepalese manuscripts, in which the cult of the Śākta goddess Kubjikā is expounded by Sanatkumāra to Pippalāda for the use in hostile ritual by Atharvavedins, Śaunakin or Paippalādin (5.2). This text was composed in Bengal or in a region influenced by its Śāktism, since it has incorporated the worship of the ten Mahāvidyās (Dakṣiṇakālīkā, Ugratārā, Ṣoḍaśī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Caitanyabhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvati, Bagalāmukhī, Mātāṅginī, and Siddhalakṣmī) (11.1–21.12) that are distinctive of that tradition. It also contains a variant of the Pratyāṅgirāmantra, cited here from the *Devīyāmala* and the *Atharvaṇabhadrakālīmahāvidyā* manuscript: KṢAM BHAKṢA JVĀLĀJIHVE KARĀLADAMṢṬRE PRATYAṅGIRE KṢAM HRĪM NAMAḤ (24.4), and of that beginning OM KHAṬ PHAṬ given in the *Āṅgirasakalpa* materials as one of two Mantras of Mahākṛtyā; see below, p. 214.

in public as the external symbols of their relative standing it tells us that the length of the pole of the king's parasol (*chattradaṇḍaḥ*) should be six cubits, those of the general, royal astrologer, and royal priest five, and those of the queen and crown-prince four and a half (2.13.7c–9), and that the breadth of the parasol should be similarly calibrated, its width in each case being half the length of the pole (2.13.10ab).³⁶ The royal priest, then, was ranked below the king himself but above the queen and the crown-prince, enjoying the same status as the chief minister.

However, there is no unambiguous declaration in these *Āṅgirasakalpa* texts that the officiants envisaged by them occupied this exalted office. The closest to such a statement that I can find is this: 'Therefore a wise king should always make his own with gifts, honours, and the rest, a brahmin who understands the essence of the teachings of the fourth Veda',³⁷ which is strikingly similar to statements in the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* that certainly do refer to the king's appointing an Atharvavedin as the *rājapurohitaḥ*.³⁸ However, suggestive though this parallel is it does not amount to decisive evidence. It is possible, therefore, that the Atharvavedins of the *Āṅgirasakalpa* texts were envisaged as serving their rulers outside this semi-ministerial office, or that the redactors of the texts have avoided greater specificity because they were addressing a situation in which the royal priest was only the foremost among a number of Atharvavedin officiants attached to the court. In any case the texts reveal that for many of the rituals that they teach the king was to engage the services of not one but several brahmins and that all were to be Atharvavedins.³⁹

³⁶Similarly, we are told that the king's fly-whisk should be uncoloured, those of the astrologer, chief minister, and priest yellowish, and those of the chief queen, the crown-prince, and the general black; see *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* 2.12.5–6, emending *rājñā* to *rājño* in 5b.

³⁷*Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*, p. 23: *tasmān narapatir . . .* (quoted in n. 27).

³⁸Thus *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 2.1.4: *daivakarmavidau tasmāt sāmvoatsarapurohitau | gr̥hṇīyāt satataṃ rājā dānasaṃmānarañjanaiḥ* 'Therefore the king should always adopt with gifts, honours, and favours an astrologer learned in astrology and a priest learned in the rituals [of the Atharvaveda]'; and *ibid.* 4.6.3 and 69.7.2: *tasmād rājā viśesena atharvāṇaṃ jitendriyam | dānasaṃmānasatkārair nityaṃ samabhīpūjayet* 'Therefore the king should always show special veneration to an Atharvavedin of controlled senses with gifts, honours, and favours'.

³⁹Thus *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*, p. 18: *parasainyaṃ jetum icchann etat karma samācaret | atyantatvarito rājā dvijair homaṃ vidhāpayet | tathāvidhadvijālābhe ekenaiva tu hāvayet* 'Desiring to conquer the army of an enemy the king [himself] should do this ritual. If he is exceedingly pressed for time he may have the fire sacrifice performed by brahmins. But if he cannot find [the requisite number] he may have it performed by just one'; p. 147: *vidrāvāṇasya siddhyartham kārayed brahmaviddivijaiḥ* 'In order to accomplish the routing [of his enemy] he should have [the fire sacrifice] performed by Atharvavedin brahmins'. I take *brahmavid-* here to mean *brahmavedavid* 'learned in the Atharvaveda'; cf. p. 36: *atharvavedatattvajñāṃ tasmān nrpatir arcayet; ibid.: brahmavedavidāṃ varah;* and *ibid.: tadātharvavidam prājñam etam homaṃ ca kārayet*. For the use of the term *brahmavedaḥ* in the meaning *atharvavedaḥ*, see BLOOMFIELD 1899, p. 10, and, e.g., *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 1.15.1 and 49.1.2: *ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo brahmavedaḥ*; 49.4.1: *tatra brahmavedasya nava bheda bhavanti. tad yathā paippalādāḥ . . .*; P₂ f. 1v4: *brahmaṇo vedanād dhetor brahmavedo 'yam ucyate*; Jayantabhaṭṭa, *Nyāyamañjarī* vol. 1, p. 623, l. 16: *ata eva brahmavedaḥ athar-*

The Manuscripts

Of various potentially relevant Orissan *Āṅgīrasa* manuscripts I have had access to photographic copies of three, all undated and on palm leaf. The first is the Asimilā manuscript transcribed as PAṆḌĀ's *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*. The other two, in the Devanāgarī script, are in the library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune, both catalogued as *Āṅgīrasa (Atharvavedīya)*, i.e. 'the *Āṅgīrasa [Kalpa]* (of the Atharvaveda)'. Both are incomplete.⁴⁰

The Contents of MS P₁ and the materials it shares with MS As (→ Ed^P)

The manuscript BORI 960 of 1887–91 (P₁) opens with a long text on the ceremony of affusion with water empowered with the Mantra of Nṛsimha (*nṛsimhā-bhiṣekaḥ* [ff. 1v–55v]), ending with a colophon that specifies that this is the end of the second Paṭala of the *Vāmanabhavadāśīya*.⁴¹ The contents of the rest of the manuscript (ff. 55v3–) are, barring minor variants, identical with those of approximately the first half of the Asimilā manuscript (As). The common text runs continuously from the beginning of the latter to a point three verses from the end of the *Bhadrakālīmahābījavidhi*. Here P₁ breaks off.⁴² The contents of the portion of the manuscript that it shares with PAṆḌĀ's edition (Ed^P) are as

vaveda iti. In the account of the rites of Āsurī Durgā (*Āsurīkalpa*) we are told that the king should appoint two brahmins to perform the fire sacrifice. These are the principal officiant, termed the *ācāryaḥ*, and his assistant, termed the *brahmā* (*Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*, p. 63): *vṛṇuyād dhomakāriṇau | ācāryaṃ vṛṇuyāt pūroaṃ brahmāṇaṃ tadanantaram*. In his *Āsurīdīpikā* Bhūdhara tells us that there are three possibilities in this tradition. The *yajamānaḥ* may appoint five, namely an *ācāryaḥ*, a *brahmā*, a *prṣṭaprativaktā*, a *mantraniścāyakaḥ*, and a *dravyopakalpakāḥ*—this, he says, is the view of Paiṭhīnasi—, or two, namely an *ācāryaḥ* and a *brahmā*—for this he cites the passage of the *Āsurīkalpa* given above—, or just an *ācāryaḥ*, in which case the *brahmā* is represented by a water-vessel (*udapātram*)—for this he cites the *Vaitānakalpa* (*Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*, pp. 123–124): *tatra pañca brāhmaṇāḥ karmanirvāhakāḥ. teṣv apy eka ācāryaḥ aparō brahmā anyāḥ prṣṭaprativaktā itaro mantraniścāyakaḥ aparō dravyopakalpakāḥ. tathā ca paiṭhīnasiḥ: “ekaḥ karmaṇi yuktaḥ syād eko dravyopakalpakāḥ | ekaḥ prṣṭaḥ san pratibrūyād eko mantrasya niścaye”*. BRĤHASPATE YAJÑAṂ PĀHI *iti brahmajapavidhānād brahmā siddham. tad *evaṃ* (em.: *eva me* Ed.) *tanmate pañcaiva brāhmaṇāḥ. athavācāryabrahmāṇau dvāv eva *vṛtau* (corr.: *vṛttau* Ed.). *uktaṃ cāsurīkalpe “saṃkalpya prathamāvṛttiṃ vṛṇuyād dhomakāriṇau | ācāryaṃ vṛṇuyāt pūroaṃ brahmāṇaṃ tadanantaram” iti. yad vaika eva vidvān kartā. brahmā punar udapātram. vacanaṃ vaitānakalpe “anyaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ *anūcānam* (corr.: *anucānam* Ed.) *upaveśyam udapātraṃ vā” iti. evam ātharvaṇakarmaṇi trividhā brāhmaṇavyavasthā*. The statement said to occur *vaitānakalpe* can be traced to *Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa* 37.16.1.

⁴⁰The contents of the two Pune manuscripts have been briefly described by BAHULKAR (1987). See Arlo Griffiths' contribution to this volume, §2D, for a list of all *Āṅgīrasa* manuscripts available to him and the relevant sigla. Griffiths points out that the original provenance of the two Pune manuscripts must also lie in Orissa.

⁴¹*Āṅgīrasakalpa*, P₁ f. 56v2–3: *iti vāmanabhavadāśīye abhiṣeko nāma dvitīyaḥ paṭalaḥ samāptaḥ*.

⁴²The last words are *tato mahānavamyāṃ tu gandhādyair bahubhir yajet*, which are found on p. 113, l. 10 of the edition.

follows:⁴³

1. P₁ ff. 56v3–61v4; = Ed^P pp. 1–8. Definitions of the six hostile rites (*ṣaṭ karmāṇi*): subjection (*vaśam*), immobilization (*stambhanam*), deluding (*mohanam*), causing dissension (*vidveśanam*), causing panic (*uccātanam*), and killing (*māraṇam*). Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe vaśādiṣaṭkarmāṇi samāptāni*.
2. P₁ ff. 61v4–63r4; = Ed^P pp. 8–9. Incompatibility between various hostile rites. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe karmavirodhakathanam*.
3. P₁ ff. 63r4–64v1; = Ed^P pp. 9–11. Foretelling the future by means of Yantras⁴⁴ of Nṛsiṃha and his 32-syllable Ānuṣṭubha Mantrarāja: UGRAM BHĪMAM MAHĀVIṢṆUM JVALANTAM SARVATOMUKHAM | NṚSIMHAM BHĪṢAṆAM BHADRAM MRṬYUMRṬYUM NAMĀMY AHAM. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase anāgatārthavedanam*.
4. P₁ ff. 64v1–66v1; = Ed^P pp. 11–14. Affusion of the king with water empowered by Nṛsiṃha's 32-syllable Mantrarāja. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe nṛsiṃhābhīṣekah*.
5. P₁ ff. 66v1–68v4; = Ed^P pp. 14–16. The benefits of the 32-syllable Mantrarāja. Colophon *ity āṅgirasakalpe mantrarājaviññānam samāptam*. Ed^P has here an additional section (pp. 16–17): *ity āṅgirase kalpe parakarmanivāraṇam*.
6. P₁ ff. 68v4–75v1; = Ed^P pp. 17–23. Worship of Nṛsiṃha's Mantrarāja for the destruction of the king's enemies, the warding off of drought, and other benefits. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase mantrarājavidhiḥ*.
7. P₁ ff. 75v1–76r4; = Ed^P pp. 23–25. Worship of Nṛsiṃha's Mantrarāja to protect a fort when the king has retreated to it after a defeat in battle. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe durgarakṣāvīdhānam*.
8. P₁ ff. 76r4–77v1; = Ed^P pp. 25–26. Worship of Nṛsiṃha's Mantrarāja to falsify a rumour. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kiṃvadantīmrṣākaraṇam*.

⁴³I am greatly indebted to Arlo Griffiths for having provided me with all the Paippalāda materials used in this paper. In 2004 he sent me a copy of PAṆḌĀ's *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*. When after reading this edition I told him of my interest in its Śākta Śaiva elements he provided me with scans of the Asimilā manuscript and lent me his photocopies of the two *Āṅgirasakalpa* manuscripts in the collection of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. After I had prepared drafts of editions of the *Parājapavidhi*, the *Bhadrakālīmantravidhi*, and the *Bhadrakālīmahābījaprasaṃsā* from the evidence of these three witnesses and sent them to him he did me the great kindness in 2005 of preparing for me while he was in Bhubaneswar collations of my editions of these texts with two other *Āṅgirasakalpa* manuscripts in the collection of the Orissa State Museum, T/121 and T/187, that he had found to contain them. I am also grateful to him for providing me with electronic texts of PAṆḌĀ's edition of the Asimilā manuscript and BOLLING and VON NEGELEIN's edition of the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa*, and for sending me a copy of PATANAYAK's edition of Lakṣmīdharamīśra's *Śaivoacintāmaṇi*, on which see p. 232 and n. 76.

⁴⁴For a definition of Yantra in this sense see n. 134 on p. 264.

9. P₁ ff. 77v1–78r4; = Ed^P pp. 26–27. Bali offered to Nṛsimha and other deities to put an end to unforeseen calamities in the palace, region, or capital. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe nṛsimhabalividhiḥ*.
10. P₁ ff. 78r4–79r1; = Ed^P pp. 27–28. Other benefits of the same. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe nṛsimhabalikarmaphalakathanam*.
11. P₁ ff. 79r1–80r4; = Ed^P pp. 28–30. Worship of 16-armed Abhayanṛsimha to end a major danger. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase abhayanṛsimhavidhiḥ*.
12. P₁ ff. 80r4–85v3; = Ed^P pp. 30–37. Worship of 20-armed Jayanṛsimha for victory in war (Mantra: OM ŚRĪNṚSIMHA JAYA JAYA ŚRĪNṚSIMHA). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase jayanṛsimhakalpaḥ*.
13. P₁ ff. 85v3–89r4; = Ed^P pp. 37–42. Worship of 20-armed Mahājayanṛsimha for victory in war (Bīja: KṢRAUM; Mantra: ŚRĪNṚSIMHA JAYANṚSIMHA AMUKAṀ JAYA 2 NṚSIMHA HRĪM). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase mahānṛsimha ... (P₁), ity āṅgirase mahājayakalpaḥ (Ed^P)*.
14. P₁ ff. 89r4–92r3; = Ed^P pp. 42–46. The Mantra of the four-armed goddess Āsurī Durgā (OM NAMAḤ KAṬUKE KAṬUKAPATRE SUBHAGE ĀSURI RAKTAVĀSASE ATHARVAṆASYA DUHITRE GHORE GHORAKARMAṆI KĀRIKE AMUKASYA PRASTHITASYA GATIṀ DAHA UPAVIṢṬASYA BHAGAṀ DAHA ŚAYITASYA MANO DAHA PRABUDDHASYA HṚDAYAṀ DAHA 5 PACA 2 MATHA 2 TĀVAD DAHA YĀVAN ME VAŚAM ĀGACCHET SVĀHĀ) and her visualizations appropriate to the various hostile rites. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe āsurīdhyānāni*.⁴⁵
15. P₁ ff. 92r3–93r1; = Ed^P pp. 46–47. How to obtain the outcome of one's choice with the Mantras of Āsurī and Nṛsimha. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase aniṣṭasākune iṣṭasiddhiḥ (P₁), ity āṅgirase iṣṭāniṣṭasākune iṣṭasiddhiḥ (Ed^P)*.
16. P₁ ff. 93r1–94r4; = Ed^P pp. 47–48. The worship of Āsurī and the deities of her retinue. Colophon: *iti pūjāvidhiḥ*.

⁴⁵Āsurī is already present in Atharvavedic tradition in the *Āsurīkalpa* of *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 35. Indeed the latter, or a version of it, is probably what is mentioned in *Mahābhāṣya* on 4.1.19 under the name *āsurīyaḥ kalpaḥ*. The *Pariśiṣṭa* gives the Mantra used here in the *Āṅgirasa* collection but without a goddess of this name and no liturgical elements borrowed from or prefiguring the Tantric. There and in the *Āṅgirasa* text *āsurī* is the name of the Indian Black Mustard plant *Sinapis ramosa* Roxb. (MAGOUN 1889, pp. 171–172), which is ground into a meal out of which an effigy of the enemy is fashioned as the focus of hostile sorcery, being smeared with ghee, chopped up, and offered in the sacrificial fire (35.1.6–7: *hantukāmo hi śatrūṁś ca vaśikurovaṁś ca bhūpatīm | āsurīślakṣṇāpiṣṭājyaṁ juhuyād ākr̥tiṁ budhaḥ | arkendhanāgniṁ prajvālya chittoāstrenākṛtiṁ tu tām | pādāgrato 'ṣṭasahasraṁ juhuyād yasya vaśy asau*). In the *Āṅgirasa* text all this is retained but the character of the ritual is transformed by superimposing a Tantric cult of a goddess who bears the plant's name and is equated with Durgā.

17. P₁ ff. 94r4–95r1; = Ed^P pp. 48–49. Fire-offering to Āsurī and the offering in the fire of the parts of a dismembered effigy of an enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase homasāmānyavidhiḥ*.
18. P₁ ff. 95r1–95r3; = Ed^P pp. 49. Assuming the mental states of Āsurī appropriate to the six hostile rites. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase bhāvanāṣaṭkam*.
19. P₁ ff. 95r3–95v1; = Ed^P pp. 49–50. The substances with which the offerings into fire should be smeared in the six hostile rites. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase aṅjanaṣaṭkam*.
20. P₁ ff. 95v1–96r2; = Ed^P pp. 50–51. Ranking of the durations of the hostile fire sacrifices from one to twenty-one days. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase homa-kālanirṇayaḥ*.
21. P₁ ff. 96r2–97r4; = Ed^P pp. 51–52. How to adjust the Mantra of Āsurī according to the goal and context; and the meaning of its words. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase āsurīmantrārthakathanam*.
22. P₁ ff. 97r4–98r1; = Ed^P p. 53. The shape of the fire-pit in the various hostile fire sacrifices. Colophon: *(ity āṅgirase) kuṇḍavidhiḥ*.
23. P₁ ff. 98r1–98v3; = Ed^P pp. 53–54. The metaphysical nature of Āsurī as the root-power (*mūlaśaktiḥ*) that operates through her proximity to Brahma. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase āsurīsvarūpakathanam*.
24. P₁ ff. 98v3–99v4; = pp. 54–55. Rites of a Yantra of Āsurī Durgā. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase ṣaṭkarmasiddhināmāsurīmahāyantram*.
25. P₁ ff. 99v4–101r4; = Ed^P pp. 55–57. Rites of Āsurī Durgā for the subjection of an enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śatruvasaḥ*.
26. P₁ ff. 101r4–101v3; = Ed^P p. 57. Rites of Āsurī Durgā for the immobilization of an enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase stambhanam*.
27. P₁ ff. 101v3–104v3; = Ed^P pp. 57–61. On the nature of immobilizing, deluding, causing dissension, causing panic, and killing the enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase āsurīkalpaḥ samāptaḥ*.
28. P₁ ff. 104v3–108v3; = Ed^P pp. 61–66. A work by an anonymous scholar on a fire sacrifice culminating in the dismemberment and sacrifice of an image of the enemy made of the Āsurī fruit and other substances. Colophon: *ity āsurīvidhānakalpaḥ samāptaḥ*.
29. P₁ ff. 108v3–110r4; = Ed^P pp. 66–67. Fire sacrifice of an image made of meal of the Āsurī-plant for various purposes. This is the *Āsurīkalpa* of *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 35. Colophon: *ity āsurīkalpaḥ*.

30. P₁ ff. 110r4–111v3; = Ed^P pp. 67–70. The worship of the 2000-armed goddess Pratyāṅgirā to ward of the Kṛtyā of the enemy (Vidyā: OM HRĪM NAMAḤ KṚṢṆAVĀSASE ŚATASAHASRASIMHAVĀHINI SAHASRAVADANE MAHĀPRABALE APARĀJITE *PRATYAṅGIRE [P₁:PRIYAṅGIRE Ed^P] PARASAINYAVIDHVAMŚINI PARAKARMAVIDHVAMŚINI PARAMANTROTSĀDINI SARVABHŪTAVIMARDINI SARVADEVĀN VIDHVAMŚAYA 2 SARVAVIDYĀM KṚNTAYA 2 PARAMANTRĀN SPHOṬAYA 2 SARVAŚṚṆKHALĀS TROṬAYA 2 JVALAJJVĀLĀJIHVE KARĀLAVADANE PRATYAṅGIRE KLĪM NAMAḤ OM). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe paravidyānivāraṇam*.⁴⁶
31. P₁ ff. 111v3–113r1; = Ed^P pp. 70–71. Mantra rites of two-armed and ten-armed Kālī for victory (KĀLIKĀYAI NAMAḤ). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase ṣaḍ-akṣarakālī)kalpamantravidhiḥ*.
32. P₁ ff. 113r1–113v4; = Ed^P pp. 71–72. Mantra rite of Kālī to be worshipped on a sword to be given to the king before he enters battle (OM NAMAḤ KĀLIKĀYAI). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe kālīkamantravidhiḥ*.
33. P₁ ff. 114r1–115r1; = Ed^P pp. 72–74. Worshipping Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara in the king's bow before battle with the Atharvavedic Mantra OM DHANVANĀ GĀ DHANVANĀJIM JAYEMA DHANVANĀ TĪVRĀḤ SAMADO JAYEMA | DHANUḤ ŚATOR APAKĀMAM KṚNOTU DHANVANĀ SARVĀḤ PRADIŚO JAYEMA (*Paippalādasamhitā* 15.10.2).⁴⁷ Colophon: *ity āṅgirase dhanurmantravidhiḥ*.
34. P₁ ff. 115r1–115v1; = Ed^P p. 74. An Atharvavedic Mantra (*Paippalādasamhitā* 1.3.1) to empower the king's arrows for victory: OM VIDMĀ ŚARASYA PITARAM PARJANYAM BHŪRIDHĀYASAM | VIDMO HY ASYA MĀTARAM PṚTHIVĪM VIŚVADHĀYA(SA)M. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śaramantraḥ*.
35. P₁ ff. 115v1–116r3; = Ed^P pp. 74–76. Rite to be commissioned by the king for the pacification of inimical planets. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe graha-śāntividhiḥ*.
36. P₁ ff. 116r3–118r1; = Ed^P pp. 76–78. Rite of the formless Vijñānabhairava Rudra with the Atharvavedic Mantra OM BHŪḤ BHUVAḤ SVAḤ SVĀHĀ JANAD OM (e.g. *Vaitānasūtra* 1.3.18), which both frees from the sin incurred

⁴⁶Pratyāṅgirā is a Tantric personification of Atharvavedic counter-sorcery (*pratyāṅgirasam*).

⁴⁷The final words of the Mantra are ... *pṛtanā jayema* in BHATTACHARYA's edition, who follows here the reading of the Orissa manuscripts; however, the Kashmir manuscript reads ... *pradiśo jayema*, and the authenticity of this reading is confirmed both by the testimony of the *Āṅgīrasa* tradition, and by the nearly identical parallel that is *Ṛgvedasamhitā* 6.75.2.

by commissioning hostile rites and bestows self-realization. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase vijñānabhairavamantraḥ*.⁴⁸

37. P₁ ff. 118r1–120r2; = Ed^P pp. 78–81. Rites of two Mantras of the lion-faced goddess Mahākṛtyā to kill an enemy without going to war: KHAṬ PHAṬ DEVI MAHĀKṚTYE VIDHŪMĀGNISAMAPRABHE | HANA ŚATRŪN TRISŪLENA KRUDHYASVA PIBA ŚONITAM (cf. the Atharvadic *Kubjikopaniṣad* 22.5: KHAṬ PHAṬ JAHĪ MAHĀKṚTYE VIDHŪMĀGNISAMAPRABHE | DEVĪDEVI MAHĀKUBJE MAMA ŚATRŪN VINĀŚAYA MAMA ŚATRŪN VINĀŚAYOM) and OM HRĪM MAHĀYOGINI GAURI TRIBHUVANAṀKARI⁴⁹ HŪM PHAṬ. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase mahākṛtyāvidhānam*.⁵⁰
38. P₁ ff. 120r2–120v4; = Ed^P pp. 81–83. Rite of another Kṛtyāmantra: KRṢṆA-VARṆĪ BRĤADRŪPI BRĤATKARṆĪ MAHADDBHAYI | DEVI DEVI MAHĀDEVI MAMA ŚATRŪN VINĀŚAYA. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kṛtyāmantravidhānam*.
39. P₁ ff. 120v4–123r3; = Ed^P pp. 83–87. A Kṛtyāmantra rite to be commissioned by a king to cause the effect of any Kṛtyā rite to be directed back to the enemy who has performed it against him with the Atharvavedic Mantra OM SABANDHUŚ CĀSABANDHUŚ CA YO ASMĀM ABHIDĀSATI | SABANDHŪN SARVĀMŚ TĪRTVĀHAṀ BHŪYĀSAM UTTAMAḤ . . . (*Paippalādasamhitā* 19.5.14). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kṛtyāpratisārah*.
40. P₁ ff. 123r3–123v3; = Ed^P p. 87. A metaphysical explanation of the efficacy of such counter-rites. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kṛtyāpratisāre yuktiḥ*.
41. P₁ ff. 123v3–124v2; = Ed^P pp. 87–89. How a king may recognize that a hostile rite has been directed against him (*kṛtyācihnāni*). No colophon.
42. P₁ ff. 124v2–125r1; = Ed^P p. 89. A golden Yantra by means of which a king can cause the effect of hostile rites to revert to his enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase pratisārayantram*.
43. P₁ ff. 125r1–125v4; = Ed^P pp. 89–91. A tantricized rite of the Atharvavedic Abhayamantra of Rudra (OM ABHAYAM SOMAS SAVITĀ . . . , *Paippalādasamhitā* 1.27.1) to be performed by the king for his security. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase 'bhayamantraḥ*.

⁴⁸For those familiar with the Kashmirian Śaiva literature the name Vijñānabhairava will bring to mind the *Vijñānabhairava*, a scriptural text with a Trika background concerned with meditation techniques for liberation which received a commentary by Kṣemarāja and has enjoyed great popularity down to recent times. It is probable that the same association was in the mind of the namer of this Āṅgirasa Mantra. Here in P₁ the Mantra of Vijñānabhairava is Vedic. But in P₂ it is Tantric; see below, p. 220.

⁴⁹Cf. the reading BHUVANABHAYAMKARI in this Mantra in item 10, below on p. 218.

⁵⁰The term *kṛtyā* refers in the Atharvaveda to a hostile spell that may take the form of an effigy with human features, particularly one used against an enemy; see, e.g., *Atharvavedasamhitā* 10.1.

44. P₁ ff. 125v4–126v1; = Ed^P pp. 91–92. A parallel tantricized rite of the Atharvavedic Abhayamantra of Indra (OM YATA INDRA BHAYĀMAHE . . . , *Paippalādasamhitā* 3.35.1). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase aindrābhayamantraḥ*.
45. P₁ ff. 126v1–127v4; = Ed^P pp. 92–93. Rite of the Mantra of Sarvakāmbhairava (OM BHAIKAVĀYA NAMAḤ) for the attainment of any limited goal by any person and for the attainment of identity with Rudra (*rudratvam*) by a meditator (*yogī*) or gnostic (*jñānī*). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase sarvakāmbhairavaḥ*.
46. P₁ ff. 127v4–128v2; = Ed^P pp. 94–95. A tantricized rite of a Ṛgvedic Mantra (8.64.1, OM AVA BRAHMADVIṢO JAHĪ) that accomplishes simultaneously self-protection and the destruction of one's enemies. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase svarakṣāripughātaḥ*.
47. P₁ ff. 129r1–129v2; = Ed^P p. 95. A rite of the goddess Pratyāṅgirā on a Yantra of gold or birch-bark to ward off the spells of an enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase paravidyānivāraṇayantravidhiḥ*.
48. P₁ ff. 129v2–130r3; = Ed^P p. 96. Rite of the one-syllable Mantra of Bhairava (BHAM) for the attainment of liberation. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase ekākṣarabhairavamantraḥ*.
49. P₁ ff. 130r3–132r2; = Ed^P pp. 96–98. Rite of the trisyllabic Mantra of the goddess Tripurabhairavī (HSRAIṢ HSKLRĪṢ HSRAUḤṢ) for the attainment of various effects, hostile and other. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase tripurabhairavīvidhānam*.
50. P₁ ff. 132r2–134v3; = Ed^P pp. 98–101. Rite of the Mantra of the goddess Parā (SAUḤ) for the attainment of liberation. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase parājapavidhiḥ*.
51. P₁ ff. 134v3–135v1; = Ed^P pp. 101–102. Rite of the Vidyā goddess Gharmaṭikā (OM GHARMAṬIKE 2 MARKAṬIKE 2 GHORE 2 VIDVEṢIṆĪ 2 VIDVEṢAKĀRIṆĪ 2 AMUKĀMUKAYOḤ PARASPARADVEṢAṢ 2 KURU 2 SVĀHĀ VAṢAT) to bring about hostility between one's enemies (*vidveṣanam*). Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe gharmaṭikāvidhiḥ*.⁵¹
52. P₁ ff. 135v1–136v4; = Ed^P pp. 102–103. Factors that prevent the success of Mantra rites and procedures for counteracting them. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe 'siddhipratikāraḥ*.

⁵¹The origin of the name Gharmaṭikā, which also appears in the forms Gharmuṭikā and Ghurmuṭikā (*Śāradātilaka* 24.15), is obscure. The fact that the vocative *gharmaṭike* is followed in the Vidyā by *markaṭike* suggests the tentative hypothesis that this goddess that causes dissension personifies in these epithets the mosquito (cf. Prakrit *ghammoḍī*) and the spider (cf. Prakrit *makkaḍa* m., Panjābī *makkaṭī* f., Kumāunī *makurī* f., Hindī *makṛī* f.)

53. P₁ ff. 136v4–137v1; = Ed^P pp. 103–104. Signs of impediments to the success of Mantra rites; the means of preventing such impediments, notably that the commissioner of the rite, the principal officiant (*kartā*), and the secondary officiants (*sadasyāḥ*) should all be Vaiṣṇavas, and of counter-acting them, namely thousands of special oblations in the sacrificial fire. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase karmavighnapratīkārah*.
54. P₁ ff. 137v1–138r2; = Ed^P pp. 104–105. How to prevent the success of an enemy's hostile ritual. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase parakarmanivāraṇam*.
55. P₁ ff. 138r2–142r4; = Ed^P pp. 105–109. Mantra rites of Bhadrakālī for victory in battle: [1] OM HRĪM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒŚVARI PHAT; [2] BHADRAKĀLI BHAVĀBHĪṢṬABHADRASIDDHIPRADĀYINI | SAPATNĀN ME HANA HANA DAHA ŚOṢAYA TĀPAYA | ŚŪLĀSĪAKTIVAJRĀDYAIR UTKṚTYOTKṚTYA MĀRAYA | MAHĀDEVI MAHĀDEVI RAKṢĀSMĀN AKṢATĀTMIKE; [3] OM BHADRAKĀLI JAYAM DEHI PHAT; [4] Bīja: HSKHPHREM. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase bhadrakālīmantravidhiḥ*.
56. P₁ ff. 142r4–142v3; = Ed^P p. 110. Praise of the Great Seed (HSKHPHREM) of Bhadrakālī. Colophon: *iti bhadrakālīmahābījaprasāmsā*.
57. P₁ ff. 142v3–145v4; = Ed^P p. 113. The worship of the Great Seed on a Yantra in combination with the nine-syllable and eleven-syllable Mantras of Bhadrakālī, with special procedures to be adopted on the eve of battle, to empower the royal weapons; a Bhadrakālīvrata to be observed on the ninth day of the bright fortnight; and the annual propitiation of Bhadrakālī with thrice-daily worship, a nightly fire-ritual, and sacrifices of buffaloes and other animals during the fifteen days leading up to Mahānavamī. Colophon in As: *ity āṅgiraskalpe bhadrakālīmahābījavidhiḥ* (Ed^P: *ity āṅgirasakalpe bhadrakālībalimahāvidhiḥ*). The last surviving folio of P₁ ends three verses before the end of this section.

In PAṆḌĀ's text, that is to say, in the *Asimilā* manuscript, the *Bhadrakālīmahābījavidhi* with which the shared text ends is followed by the *Āsurīdīpikā* of Bhūdhara (pp. 113–127), the *Paśubalidānavidhi* of the *Āṅgirasakalpa* (pp. 127–130), the *Śatruparājayavidhi* and related materials from the *Tantrādhyāya* of the *Karmasamuccaya* (pp. 130–140), materials on the worship of Vakratuṅḍa (Gaṇeśa) from the *Mantramuktāvalī* of Pūrṇaprakāśa (pp. 140–148) and the *Ṣaḍakṣaravakratuṅḍakalpa* 'taught by Bṛḥgu' (pp. 148–153), the *Siddhaudanaprakāra* on the food to be offered to Gaṇeśa, the *Sarvatobhadramaṇḍala* (p. 154) on the design of [his] Maṇḍala, and the *Ānuṣṭubhakalpamālā* of Śeṣa, an exhaustive Paddhati for the regular worship of Nṛsiṃha with his Ānuṣṭubha Mantra (pp. 154–209).⁵²

⁵²The remaining pages (210–249) of PAṆḌĀ's edition contain a number of Vaiṣṇava Atharvavedic Upaniṣads: *Anucūlikopaniṣad*, *Viśvarūpākhyopaniṣad*, *Kṛṣṇaśāntopaniṣad*, *Tripuraprakaraṇopaniṣad*, *Bṛhannṛsiṃhopaniṣad*, *Puruṣasubodhinī*, *Rāmacandropaniṣad*, and *Pāvamānīsūkta*.

The discontinuity between the shared portion and that which follows it in the Asimilā manuscript underlines the possibility that the missing last part of P₁ contained not this additional matter but only the end of the section on Bhadrakālī in which the manuscript breaks off, in fact the three final verses of that section in PAṆḌĀ's edition.

The Contents of MS P₂

The second Pune manuscript, BORI 959 of 1887–1891 (P₂), contains much that is not found in the first or in the Asimilā manuscript and Ed^P. But there is also substantial common material. Its contents are as follows:

1. P₂ ff. 1v1–3r4; not in Ed^P or P₁. The superiority of the Atharvaveda over the other three Vedas and the special virtue of honouring Atharvavedins. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe atharvavedaprasāṃsā*.
2. P₂ ff. 3r4–21v1; not in Ed^P or P₁. An untitled Kalpa applicable to the worship of any deity: initiation (*dīkṣā*), the ritual of lighting the fire for sacrifice, transforming the fire (the *agnisaṃskārāḥ*) beginning with conception (*garbhādhānam*), worship of Agni, the *āghārāḥ*, *ājyabhāgau*, *vyāhrtayaḥ*, the fire sacrifice (*homaḥ*) to the Mantra to be mastered and its retinue, followed by the *iṣṭahomaḥ*; the order of regular worship (*nityayāgaḥ*), including *karanyāsaḥ*, *dehanyāsaḥ*, and *aṅganyāsaḥ*, purification of the site of worship (*sthānaśuddhiḥ*), preparing the vessels (*pātrasādhanam*), worshipping the throne (*pīṭhapūjā*), bringing down the deity (*āvāhanam*), presenting offerings (*upacārāḥ*) to it and its retinue; three kinds of worship (*yāgaḥ*) of descending degrees of elaboration; rules concerning eating; times and places for *mantrasādhanam*; the deities of the weekdays; *japaḥ*; lunar days, modifications of the Mantra, rosaries, fire-offerings, and other variables in the various desiderative rites (*pauṣṭikādīni karmāṇi*). It breaks off without a colophon on f. 21v1; the rest of f. 21v and the whole of f. 22 are blank.
3. P₂ ff. 23r1–24v2; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worship of Lakṣmī with the *Śrīsūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śrīsūktavidhānam*.
4. P₂ ff. 24v2–25r3; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worship of Lakṣmī with the *Lakṣmīsūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śrīlakṣmīsūktavidhānam*.
5. P₂ ff. 25r3–27r1; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worship of Viṣṇu with the *Viṣṇusūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase viṣṇusūktavidhānam*.
6. P₂ ff. 27r1–31r1; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worship of Nārāyaṇa with his eight-syllable Mantra (OM NAMO NĀRĀYAṆĀYA) following Paṭala 20 of the *Prapañcasāra* and employing its visualization verse (f. 27v3–4; = *Prapañcasāra* 20.7). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase nārāyaṇāṣṭākṣaravidhiḥ*.

7. P₂ ff. 31r1–31v2; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worship of Durgā with the *Devīsūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase devīsūktavidhiḥ*.
8. P₂ ff. 31v2–32r2; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worship of Devī [Durgā] with another *Devīsūkta* (f. 31v2–3: *athāparaṃ devīsūktam ucyate. yāsya devīr iti devīsūktasya ...*). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase yāvaiśvadevīvidhānam*.
9. P₂ ff. 32r2–32v3; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worship of Sarasvatī with the *Sārasvatasūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase sārasvatasūktavidhānam*.
10. P₂ ff. 32v3–35r1; not in Ed^P or P₁. A rite to kill an enemy by means of a Kṛtyā (Kṛtyāmantra: OM KRĪM MAHĀYOGINI GAURI BHUVANABHAYAM-KARI HŪM PHAT). This is an extended version of the text seen in Ed^P pp. 80–81. It includes a fire sacrifice for various purposes in which Kṛtyā is surrounded by the eight Bhairavas Asitāṅgabhairava, Rurubhairava, Caṇḍabhairava, Krodhabhairava, Unmattabhairava, Kapālibhairava, Bhīṣaṇabhairava, and Saṃhārabhairava, and by the Kṣetrapālas. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase *pratisaramantravidhānam* (em. : *parisaramantravidhānam* Cod.).
11. P₂ ff. 35r1–39v2; not in Ed^P or P₁. Kṛtyā fire sacrifices for various hostile purposes using the Āṅgīrasa Mantras. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase āṅgīrasamantrakalpaḥ*.
12. P₂ ff. 39v2–42v3; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worship of Mahālakṣmī with her Mantra ŚATRUM PĀHI . . . for various purposes, principally protective and hostile. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śatruṃpāhimantravidhānam*.
13. P₂ ff. 42v3–46r1; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worship of Gaṇapati for various purposes, optionally using the *Gaṇapatisūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase gaṇapati-sūktavidhānam*.
14. P₂ ff. 46r1–50r1; not in Ed^P or P₁. Kalpa of a Rudramantra (= *Atharvaśira-upaniṣad* 40a) for martial and other purposes; taught by Āṅgīrasa to Pippalāda; an 8-armed Rudra Mahādeva surrounded by the Gaṇeśvaras, Mātṛs, Lokapālas, and their weapons. Colophon: *ity raudre pippalādakalpaḥ*.
15. P₂ ff. 50r1–51r4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rudrakalpa of another Rudramantra (= *Atharvaśira-upaniṣad* 40b) for the attainment of learning, pacification (*śāntiḥ*), long life [on birthday], and hostile purposes; a 10-armed Rudra closely related in iconography to the South Indian form of the Saiddhāntika Sadāśiva; accompanied by the Śaktis Vāmā to Manonmanī and surrounded by the Mūrtis, Ancillaries, Vidyeśvaras, Gaṇeśvaras, Lokapālas, and their weapons. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase rudraprayoge pippalādakalpaḥ*.

16. P₂ ff. 51r4–51v4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Mantra of Agni (VAIŚVĀNARA JĀTAVEDA IHĀVAHA LOHITĀKṢA SARVAKARMĀṆI SĀDHAYA SVĀHĀ), its Ancillaries, and retinue. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase agnimantraḥ*.
17. P₂ ff. 51r4–52r3; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rite of the Mantra of Kāmadeva for the intensification of desire. The visualization-text is *Prapañcasāra* 18.6. Colophon: *iti kāmamantravidhānam*.
18. P₂ ff. 52r3–52v3; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rite of Viṣṇu and the four Vyūhas with the Praṇavamāntra (OM). The visualization-text is *Prapañcasāra* 19.4. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase praṇavamantṛavidhiḥ*.
19. P₂ ff. 52v3–54r3; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worship of Indra with the Mantra TRĀ-TĀRAM INDRAM . . . (*Paippalādasamhitā* 5.4.11) to be undertaken when the kingdom is in danger from an enemy, and for other purposes. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase indramantṛavidhiḥ*.
20. P₂ ff. 54r3–54v4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worship of Kāmadeva with the Mantra KĀMAS TAD AGRE . . . (*Paippalādasamhitā* 1.30.1). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kāmamantravidhiḥ*.
21. P₂ ff. 54v4–56r1; = Ed^P pp. 102–103. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase karmāsiddhipratikārah*.
22. P₂ ff. 56r1–56v1; = Ed^P pp. 103–104. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase karmaviḅhnapratikārah*.
23. P₂ ff. 56v1–60r3; = Ed^P pp. 105–110. The Bhadrakālī texts as in Ed^P and P₁ but lacking the *Bhadrakālīmahābījavidhiḥ* (Ed^P pp. 110–113). Colophons: *ity āṅgirase bhadrakālīmahābījavidhiḥ* (f. 59v4); *ity āṅgirase mahābījaprasamsā* (f. 60r2–3).
24. P₂ ff. 60r3–61v2; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rite of the Ciṭimantra of the goddess Caṇḍikā for subjection of enemies (OM CIṬI CIṬI CAṆḌĀLI MAHĀCAṆḌĀLI AMUKAṆ ME VAŚAM ĀNAYA SVĀHĀ). The Ciṭimantra is also taught in *Śāradātilaka* 22.98–101. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase ciṭikalpaḥ*.
25. P₂ ff. 61v2–62r4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rite of the Mantra of the goddess Dhūmāvātī to be used by the king to strike and destroy his enemies (DHŪM DHŪM DHŪMAVATI SVĀHĀ). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase dhūmāvātīmantravidhānam*.
26. P₂ ff. 62r4–63v2; not in Ed^P or P₁. A long Mantra invoking the intervention of the goddess Pratyāṅgirā and her Śaktis Vārāhī, Indrāṅī, Cāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍikā, Stambhanī, Mohanī, Kṣobhiṅī, Drāviṅī, Jṛmbhiṅī, Raudrī, and Saṁhārakāriṅī for various hostile purposes and for protection (Mantra: . . . STAMBHINI PHREṆ PHREṆ MAMA ŚATRŪN STAMBHAYA 2 MOHINI PHREṆ

PHREṀ MAMA ŚATRŪN MOHAYA 2 ...). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase mahāpratyāṅgirāmantraḥ*.

27. P₂ ff. 63v2–64r4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Details of the procedure in the use of the preceding Mantra of Pratyāṅgirā Mahākālī, e.g. the *nyāsaḥ* and the visualization. She is to be visualized as furious, spewing fire, dressed in black, and 20-armed. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase dvitīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ*.
28. P₂ ff. 64r4–68v4; not in Ed^P or P₁. The Paddhati of Bhūdhara on the rites of the Mantra of the goddess Tripurabhairavī (HSRAIṀ HSKLRĪṀ HSRAUḤIṀ) for the various hostile effects and other supernatural benefits. Colophons: *iti bhūdharakṛtāyāṃ paddhatau tripurabhairavīvidhānaṃ* (f. 66r1) and *iti bhūdharakṛtāyāṃ paddhatau tripurāvidhānaṃ samāptam* (f. 68v4).
29. P₂ ff. 68v4–72v4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rites of the Mantra of the goddess Tripurabhairavī, taken without attribution from the *Prapañcasāra*, being Paṭala 9 of that work. Colophon: *iti tripurāmantravidhiḥ*.
30. P₂ ff. 72v4–73v1; not in Ed^P or P₁. The Paddhati *Lakṣaṇasamuccaya* on the rite of the Mantras of four-faced, twelve-armed Svachchanda-bhairava/Caṇḍabhairava (OṀ KRĀṀ KRAṀ KRĀṀ NAMO <MA>HĀSAM-KARṢAṆĀYA UGRABHAYAMKARABHAIRAVĀYA OṀ KRĀṀ KRAṀ KRĀṀ OṀ NAMAḤ) and his consort (OṀ KRĀṀ KRĪṀ KRAḤ *MAHĀYOGĒŚVARI [tentative conj. : MAṀLAYOGĒŚVARE Cod.] PHAṬ OṀ KRĪṀ KRAṀ NAMAḤ) with unspecified purpose. Colophon: *lakṣaṇasamuccayoktacaṇḍabhairavaḥ*.
31. P₂ ff. 73v1–74r2; = Ed^P pp. 76–78. Rite of the Mantra of Vijñānabhairava for expiation of sins and the attainment of wisdom (KṢRAUṀ AIṀ HRĪṀ BHAIKAVĀYA HUṀ). Colophon: *iti bhairavakalpe vijñānabhairavavidhiḥ*.⁵³
32. P₂ ff. 74r2–74v1; cf. Ed^P p. 96. Rite of the one-syllable Mantra of Bhairava for the attainment of Yoga/Bhairavahood (BHAMḤ). Colophon: *ekākṣarabhairavamantravidhānam*.
33. P₂ ff. 74v1–74v4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rite of eight-syllable Mantra of Bhairava for the attainment of Yoga (OṀ HSAUḤ BHAIKAVĀYA NAMAḤ). Colophon: *ity aṣṭākṣarabhairavamantravidhānam*.
34. P₂ ff. 74v4–75v1; cf. Ed^P pp. 98–101. Rite of the Mantra of Parā (SAUḤ) for liberation. Colophon: *iti parāmantravidhiḥ*.
35. P₂ ff. 75v1–76v4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rite of the Mantra of Sarvamaṅgalā/Maṅgalacaṇḍī (OṀ KRĪṀ KLĪṀ ŚRĪṀ SARVAMAṅGALĀYAI SVĀHĀ) to

⁵³Cf. item 36, above on p. 213, where Vijñānabhairava has a Vedic rather than a Tantric Mantra.

be performed by/for the king for the attainment of the objects of all desires, victory in war, subjection of women, ministers, members of the royal family; to be worshipped on Tuesdays; to be propitiated with nightly sacrifices of buffaloes and other animals from *mūlāṣṭamī* to *mahāṣṭamī*, that is to say, from the eighth day of the dark half of Āśvina to the eighth day of its bright half. No colophon.⁵⁴

36. P₂ ff. 76v4–77r4; not in Ed^P or P₁. On the subject of vessels made of different substances. The beginning is lacking. No colophon.
37. P₂ ff. 77r4–78r3; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rules of procedure for the worship of any deity. Colophon: *iti sāmānyataḥ sarvadevapūjāvidhiḥ*.
38. P₂ ff. 78r3–91v3; = Ed^P pp. 113–127. Colophon: *iti karmasamuccaye ṣaṭkarmādhyāye bhūdharakṛtā āsurīdīpikā samāptā*.
39. P₂ ff. 91v3–93r2; = Ed^P pp. 130–132. Colophon: *iti karmasamucca⟨ye⟩ śatru-jayaḥ*.
40. P₂ ff. 93r2–93v4; = Ed^P pp. 132–133. The rite of the seven-syllable Mantra of Agni (OM BHŪR BHUVAḤ SVAḤ SVĀHĀ); and prescribed meditation on the deity installed and worshipped in the fire as consuming the offerings and rewarding the beneficiary of the ritual. Colophons: *ity agnipūjā*; *ity agnimadhye bhāvanā*.
41. P₂ ff. 93v4–97v1; = Ed^P pp. 133–136. The ritual of installing the vital energies in the effigy of the victim. Colophon: *iti prāṇapraṭiṣṭhā*.
42. P₂ ff. 97v1–98r3; = Ed^P pp. 127–128. Preparing the animal to be sacrificed: preliminaries of the *balidānavidhiḥ* up to the installation of the syllabary (*mātrkā*) on the limbs of the victim (*paśuḥ*). Colophon: *iti paśumātrkā*.
43. P₂ ff. 98r3–99r4; = Ed^P pp. 128–130. The sacrificial slaughtering of the victim, the offering of a simulacrum of the enemy, and a vigil with music and dancing on the night of the eighth [day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina]. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe balidānavidhiḥ* (f. 99r4 *ity āṅgirasakalpe paśubalidānavidhiḥ*, but P₂ lacks the prose paragraph before the colophon on p. 130).
44. P₂ ff. 99r4–101r1; = Ed^P pp. 136–138. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasoktapaśupūjā-mantraḥ*.
45. P₂ ff. 101r1–102v1; = Ed^P p. 139. Colophon: *iti nakṣatrakalpoktaṃ tantraṃ samāptam*.

⁵⁴The worship of Maṅgalacaṇḍī/Maṅgalā, particularly on Tuesdays, is characteristic of village religion in Bengal; see CHAKRABARTI 2001, pp. 209–213, 239–245.

46. P₂ ff. 102v1–102v5; not in Ed^P or P₁. The Mantras of the ten rites of passage from conception (*garbhādhānam*) to the termination of studentship (*samāvartanam*). Colophon: *iti daśasaṁsthāmantrāḥ samāptāḥ*.
47. P₂ ff. 102v5–106r2; = Ed^P pp. 140–144. Worship of the six-syllable Gaṇeśa (Vakratuṅḍa) [Mantra] (OM VAKRATUṅḌĀYA HŪM). Colophon: *iti mantra-muktāvalyāṁ ṣaḍakṣaravakratuṅḍapūjā*.
48. P₂ ff. 106r2–113v3; = Ed^P pp. 148–153. Colophon: *iti bhṛguproktāḥ ṣaḍakṣaramantravakratuṅḍakalpāḥ*.
49. P₂ ff. 113v3–114r1; = Ed^P p. 154. Colophon: *iti siddhaudanaparakāraḥ*.
50. P₂ f. 114r1–114v1; = Ed^P p. 154. Colophon: *iti sarvatobhadramaṅḍalam*.
51. P₂ ff. 114v1–162r2; = Ed^P pp. 154–207. Parts of the *Mantrarājānuṣṭubhakalpamālā* of Śeṣa, giving a detailed account of the worship of [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṁha as embodied in the 32-syllable Mantra.
52. P₂ ff. 162r2–163r1; not in Ed^P or P₁. The great power of this Mantra when Nṛsiṁha is worshipped with it at the three junctures of the day, at two, or at one: it is both a ladder leading to the Vaikuṅṭha paradise and the means of destroying any enemy (f. 162v1: *vaikuṅṭhadhāmasopānaṁ sarvaśatrūnirbarhaṇam*). Colophon: *iti mantrarājamāhātmyam*.
53. P₂ f. 163r1–163r3; not in Ed^P or P₁. Affusion with Vaiṣṇava Mantras. Colophon: *iti mahābhiṣekaḥ*.
54. P₂ f. 163r3–163v5; not in Ed^P or P₁. The rite to be performed at each juncture by worshippers of [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṁha. Colophon: *iti nṛsiṁhasaṁdhyā samāptā*.
55. P₂ ff. 163v5–178r2; not in Ed^P or P₁. The worship of the 32-syllable Mantra of [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṁha in its Sāman chant forms. Colophon: *iti sāmāgānamantrarājapūjā samāptā* (f. 178r2).
56. P₂ ff. 178r2–179v3; not in Ed^P or P₁. The rites of the juncture, bathing, and gratification of [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṁha with the recitation of his 32-syllable Mantra. Colophon: *iti śrīnṛsiṁhasaṁdhyāsnānatarpaṇam*.
57. P₂ ff. 179v3–181v2; not in Ed^P or P₁. Gratification of the pantheon beginning with [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṁha with water poured from the palm. Colophon: *iti tarpaṇavidhiḥ* (f. 181v2).
58. P₂ ff. 181v2–183r1; not in Ed^P or P₁. Bathing by rubbing the body with ashes. Colophon: *iti snānaparakāraḥ*.

59. P₂ f. 183r1–183v1; not in Ed^P or P₁. Gratification of Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha, Varāha, Aniruddha, the gods, and ancestors on a Yantra traced out by pouring water. Colophon: *iti snānatarpaṇam*.
60. P₂ f. 183v1–183v4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Fire sacrifice to Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha, Śrī, Mahālakṣmī, Paramātman, Sūrya, Yajurlakṣmī, and Nṛsiṃhagāyatrī. Colophon: *iti homaparakārah*.
61. P₂ ff. 183v4–184r4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worshipping, giving guest-water (*saṃdhyārghaḥ*), and reciting the Mantra for the veneration of the Sun (*upasthānam*). Colophon: *ity upasthānam*.
62. P₂ f. 184r4–184v2; not in Ed^P or P₁. How to affuse the deity (*abhiṣekaḥ*). Colophon: *iti devasnānaparakārah*.
63. P₂ ff. 184v2–185r3; not in Ed^P or P₁. How to perform a short bathing of the deity with ash. Colophon: *iti saṃkocavibhūtisnānaparakārah*.
64. P₂ ff. 185r3–186r1; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rite of the monosyllabic Mantra of Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha (KṢRAUṢ). No colophon.
65. P₂ ff. 186r1–188r1; = Ed^P pp. 9–11. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe anāgatārthavedanam*.
66. P₂ ff. 188r1–190r1; = Ed^P pp. 14–16. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe mantrarāja-vijñānam*.
67. P₂ f. 190r1–4; = Ed^P p. 17. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase parakarmaniṅvāraṇam*.
68. P₂ ff. 190r4–195r2; = Ed^P pp. 17–24. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe mantrarāja-vidhiḥ*.
69. P₂ ff. 195r2–196r2; = Ed^P pp. 24–25. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase durgarakṣāvīdhānam*.
70. P₂ f. 196r2–v2; = Ed^P pp. 25–26. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kiṃvadantīṃṣākaraṇam*.
71. P₂ ff. 196v3–197v3; = Ed^P pp. 26–27. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe nṛsiṃhabalividhiḥ*.
72. P₂ ff. 197v3–198r3; = Ed^P p. 28. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe nṛsiṃhabalika-rmaphalakathanam*.
73. P₂ ff. 198r3–199r4; = Ed^P pp. 28–30. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe abhayānṛsiṃhavidhiḥ*.
74. P₂ ff. 199r4–204r2; = Ed^P pp. 30–37. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe jayanṛsiṃhakalpaḥ*.

75. P₂ ff. 204r2–207v3; = Ed^P pp. 37–42. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe mahājaya-nṛsiṃhakalpah* (Ed^P: *ity āṅgirase jayanṛsiṃhakalpah*).
76. P₂ ff. 207v3–209r3; = Ed^P pp. 12–14. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe nṛsiṃhābhiṣekah*.
77. P₂ ff. 209r3–213v1; not in Ed^P or P₁. Colophon: *iti sanatkumārakalpe nṛsiṃhābhiṣekah*.
78. P₂ ff. 213v1–214r1; not in Ed^P or P₁. Colophon: *iti pātālanṛsiṃhamantraḥ*.
79. P₂ ff. 214r1–215r1; not in Ed^P or P₁. A hymn to Nṛsiṃha, expressing devotion to him as characterized in each of the eleven epithets of his 32-syllable verse Mantra (*ānuṣṭubhamantrarājah*). Colophon: *iti śrīmantrarājanārasimhapadastotraṃ samāptam*.
80. P₂ ff. 215r1–233v; not in Ed^P or P₁. Chapters 1–3 of the *Mantrarājakalpa* of the *Nāradasaṃhitā*. Colophons: *iti śrīnāradasaṃhitāyāṃ mantrarājakalpe prathamah paṭalaḥ* (f. 218r1); *iti ... dvitīyah paṭalaḥ* (f. 223v3); *iti mantrarājanāradasaṃhitāyāṃ trtīyah paṭalaḥ* (f. 233v3).
81. P₂ ff. 233v4–236r2; not in Ed^P or P₁. A detailed account of a *pūjā* and *homaḥ* of Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha. Colophon: *iti mantrarājavidhāne nigadabhañjanavidhānam samāptam*.
82. P₂ ff. ff. 236r2–259v4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Chapters 1–4 of the *Kapilapraṇīta*, comprising a Paddhati of the rituals of the worshippers of Nṛsiṃha, beginning with an initiation (*dīkṣā*) in which the 32-syllable Mantra is transmitted.
83. P₂ ff. 259v4–260v3; not in Ed^P or P₁. The rite of the eight-armed form assumed by Śiva as the Cintāmaṇimantra (KṢMRYAUM); the visualization-verse = *Prapañcasāra* 19.3 (f. 260r2, emending *ahiśāsikhara* to *ahiśāsadhara*). Colophon: *iti devaprakāśikāyāṃ cintāmaṇimantraḥ*.⁵⁵
84. P₂ ff. 260v3–283v3; not in Ed^P or P₁. The first two chapters of a section of uncertain title within the *Nārādīya* dealing with the worship of Nṛsiṃha. Colophons: *iti śrīnārādīye siṃha*prabhākare* (conj. : *prajācāre* Cod.) *bījarājaviddhānam prathamah paṭalaḥ* (f. 268r1); and *iti śrīsiṃha*prabhākare* (conj. : *prabhāgare* Cod.) *nārādīye saṃhitoddhāre viśeṣamantraividhānam dvitīyah paṭalaḥ* (f. 277v5). The remainder of the manuscript, which breaks off at f. 283v3 before the colophon, continues the same subject.

⁵⁵The deity of this Mantra is said here to be Umāmaheśvara (f. 260r1: *kaśyapa ṛṣir anuṣṭup chanda umāmaheśvaro devatā*), as in *Prapañcasāra* 19.2b (*devatomeśah*). In the *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* of the Keralan tradition it is said to be Mahārudra (23.22d: *mahārudro 'sya devatā*).

The Deities of the Corpus and the Style of their Worship

The principal deities encountered in the corpus examined are then Nṛsiṃha, who receives much the greatest attention, especially in association with his 32-syllable Mantrarāja, which has the form of a *namaskāraślokaḥ* in the Anuṣṭubh metre, Vakratuṅḍa (Gaṇeśa), Rudra (here a variant of the Siddhānta's Sadāśiva), the Śiva of the Cintāmaṇimantra, and the following goddesses and Bhairavas: Āsurī (worshipped as a form of Durgā), Kālī, Pratyāṅgirā, Kṛtyā, Bhadrakālī, Parā, Tripurabhairavī, Maṅgalacaṇḍī, Gharmaṭikā Durgā, the Caṇḍikā of the Ciṭimantra, Dhūmāvati, Svachandabhairava (/Caṇḍabhairava), Vijñānabhairava, Sarvakāmabhairava, Ekākṣarabhairava, and Aṣṭākṣarabhairava.

The procedure for the worship of the Śaiva deities among these, that is to say, the Rudras, goddesses, and Bhairavas, is fully in accordance with Tantric norms, and those for the worship of Nṛsiṃha and Gaṇeśa follow the same model. Within the broad category of the Tantric there is a particular affinity here with the deity-range and style of worship seen in the *Prapañcasāra* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya and the related *Śāradātilaka* of Lakṣmaṇadeśika. In the first regard we may note in both those texts and our *Āṅgīrasa* corpus the prominence of the Nṛsiṃha of the 32-syllable Mantrarāja, and the presence of the Śiva of the Cintāmaṇimantra, Tripurabhairavī, Gharmaṭikā, the Caṇḍikā of the Ciṭimantra, Dhūmāvati, and Kāmadeva (Manmatha). In the second regard we may note that all these materials share (1) the distinctive use of the *vyāpakanyāsaḥ*, (2) the device of using the same throne-Mantra for a number of different Mantra-deities and prescribing its use after the first enunciation under such expressions as *vaiṣṇavaḥ pīṭhaḥ*, *śaivaḥ pīṭhaḥ*, and *āsurīpīṭhaḥ*, (3) the specification in pseudo-Vedic form of the Ṛṣi, metre (*chandaḥ*), deity, and, sometimes, application (*vinīyogaḥ*) of every Mantra, though the *Āṅgīrasa* materials also usually specify the parts of a Mantra that are its *bījam*, *śaktiḥ*, and *kīlakam*, and (4) the very ordering of information: first the Mantra is given, then its Ṛṣi, metre, and the rest, then its Ancillaries (*aṅgāni*), followed by the *nyāsaḥ*, the visualization (*dhyānam*), and the order of worship. Also consonant with the style of the *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradātilaka* is the fact that the system of worship is not restricted to Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śākta, Saura, or Gāṇapatya Mantras but includes in its system materials from all these traditions. Finally, like those texts, its mode of worship is Veda-congruent in the sense that with the exception of animal-sacrifice (*paśubaliḥ*) it eschews the elements of nondualistic practice (*advaitācāraḥ*) such as the offering of alcoholic liquor and worship involving union with a female consort that characterize the independent Śaiva cults of Bhairava and the Śākta goddesses.⁵⁶ In the same spirit it shows virtually no trace of

⁵⁶This, however, is not true of all Atharvavedic Tantric materials. For the cult of the Kaula goddess Kubjikā taught in the explicitly and strongly Atharvavedic *Kubjikopaniṣad* mentions the five Ms (*pañca makārāḥ*) in the section from the eleventh chapter onwards that incorporates the East Indian Śākta tradition of the ten Mahāvīdyās; see GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN 1994,

distinctively Śaiva doctrinal positions and terminology, whether Saiddhāntika or Śākta Śaiva. Where a doctrinal framework becomes visible it is generally Vedāntic in type, and this is so even in Śākta contexts;⁵⁷ and when theistic devotion is advocated it is Vaiṣṇava.⁵⁸

The Orissan Character of the Corpus

The preservation of this compilation in none but Orissan manuscripts and the concentration of Paippalādins in this region do not suffice to prove conclusively that it is Orissan. But there can be no doubt of this origin when one considers its contents.

The Centrality of Nṛsimha

Notable is the preponderance in the collection of rites centred on Nṛsimha, both as the recipient of regular daily worship and in the ceremonies to be performed for clients. For this is the personal tutelary deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) of the Orissan Paippalādins⁵⁹ and enjoys an unusual pre-eminence in the religious culture of Orissa, where he has over one hundred temples with land endowments, concentrated in the southwestern and western areas of the State.⁶⁰ Prominent among them are the Nṛsimhanātha temple in Padampur, the Nṛsimha temple at Puri, the Lakṣmīnṛsimha temples at Amareswar near Konarak, Nua-patna near Bhubaneswar, and the compound of the Śaiva Liṅgarāja temple in Bhubaneswar, and the Varāhanṛsimha temple at Adasapur near Bhubaneswar. Moreover it has been shown that Nṛsimha was in all probability the original deity at the site of the famous temple of Jagannātha (Puruṣottama) in Puri, a conclusion supported by local Purānic tradition and confirmed by certain features of the ritual life of the temple. For it is the Mantra of Nṛsimha rather than

pp. 8–9, rightly pointing to these goddesses and the five Ms as characteristic of late Bengali Śāktism.

⁵⁷See below, pp. 245, 266, 271, and above, p. 212. There is perhaps a slight departure from this brahmanical doctrine in vv. 3–4 of the *Parājapavidhi* (see p. 239) when it refers to Parā as the power of consciousness (*cicchaktiḥ*) and as ‘the supreme power of Śiva whose nature is consciousness’ (*cidrūpasya śivasyeyaṃ parā śaktir nigadyate*).

⁵⁸See n. 26 on p. 204, and pp. 216 and 222.

⁵⁹Umākānta PAṆḌĀ in *Paippalādavaśādiṣṭakarmapaddhati, Pūrvābhāsa* (Preface), p. 1: *atharva-vedavidbrāhmaṇānām iṣṭadevaḥ śrīnṛsimhaḥ*. See also GRIFFITHS 2002, p. 38. BAHULKAR reports (1987, p. 578) that the Atharvavedins of Orissa begin their Veda recitation with obeisance to Nṛsimha, as follows: *natvā narahariṃ devaṃ sarvaviḡhnapraṇāśanam | pippalādaprasādāc ca paṭhāmy ātharvaṇāsrutim* ‘I [now] recite the Atharvaveda, after bowing to Lord Nṛsimha, the destroyer of all impediments, and by the favour of Pippalāda’.

⁶⁰According to ESCHMANN (2005, p. 103 and n. 11) a list prepared by G.C. TRIPATHI from materials collected by H. VON STIETENCROON shows 111 such temples of Nṛsimha in Orissa: 12 (+ 5 Lakṣmīnṛsimhas) in Ganjam, 21 in Puri, 51 (+ 5 Lakṣmīnṛsimhas) in Cuttack, 10 in Sambalpur, 2 each in Balasore, Dhenkanal, and Mayurbhanj, and 1 in Bolangir.

of Puruṣottama or Kṛṣṇa that is recited during the installation of the new Jagannātha at the time of the periodic replacing and consecration of his wooden image; and during the period of fifteen days after the annual *snānayātrā*, when the image of Jagannātha is withdrawn from public view, the Nṛsiṃha image in the front hall of the temple takes his place.⁶¹

The Ekapādabhairava Visualizations

Orissa is also indicated by the fact that the visualization verses of the Mantras of certain Bhairavas in the corpus identify them with Ekapādabhairava ‘One-footed Bhairava’. This is so in the cases of Sarvakāmabhairava:

jaṭī bhasmavilīptāṅgaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ śūlakapālabhṛt |
yoganidrāgatas tiṣṭhann ekapād bhairavo 'vatu |

Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati p. 93

1a *jaṭī* corr. : *jaṭā* Ed. **1c** *gatas* corr. : *gata* Ed.

With matted locks, his body smeared with ashes, black, holding a trident and a skull, standing in the sleep of meditation, may One-footed Bhairava protect [us].

Ekākṣarabhairava:

kṛṣṇo bhasmavilīptāṅgo vimuktordhvaजातवराजः |
diḡambaro mahīṃ paśyan pratyakpravaṇamānasah |
dakṣiṇe karparaṃ vāme śūlam udyamya cāntare |
पुराः सन्न एकपदं पातु भैरवो मक्षदायकः |

Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati p. 96

1a *kṛṣṇo* em. : *kṛṣṇa* Ed. **1c** *mahīṃ* corr. : *mahiṃ* Ed.

May One-footed Bhairava, the bestower of liberation, protect [us], black, his body smeared with ashes, his high mass of matted hair loosened, naked, gazing at the ground, his mind inwardly focused, [standing] before [us] in the middle [air] with a skull bowl in his right hand and brandishing a trident in the left.⁶²

⁶¹ESCHMANN 2005, pp. 112–117; VON STIETENCROON 2005a, pp. 12–13, 30; ESCHMANN, KULKE, AND TRIPATHI 2005, pp. 169–176, 178, 183; and PATTANAYAK 1988, p. 37. For the centrality of Nṛsiṃha in the rituals of the Navakalevara, the periodic replacing of the wooden images of the Jagannātha temple, see TRIPATHI 2005b, pp. 235, 239, 244–245, 247, 255–259.

Nṛsiṃha’s popularity is equally great in neighbouring Andhra, where, according to the Census of 1961, there are 169 shrines and temples of this deity (ESCHMANN 2005, p. 108). Major temples of Nṛsiṃha are found in Andhra at Ahobilam (9 Nṛsiṃhas: Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha and others), Simhachalam (Varāha-Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha), Akiripalli (Vyāghra-Nṛsiṃha), Yadagiri Gutta (Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha), Dharmapuri (Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha), and Mangalagiri (Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha).

⁶²See also the visualization of Ekākṣarabhairava in P₂ f. 74r3–4: *kṛṣṇo *vivasano* (corr. : *vivasana* Cod.) *bhasmalīptaḥ mukta*kapardah* (em. : *kardah* Cod.) **bahirdṛṣṭir* (corr. : *bahirdṛṣṭir* Cod.) *api pratyakdrṣṭiḥ dakṣe karparaṃ vāme śūlam dadhānaḥ khe puraḥ sann ekapād bhairavo dhyeyaḥ*.

and Aṣṭākṣarabhairava:

*kr̥ṣṇaṃ jaṭilaṃ bhasmaliptāṅgaṃ vāme śūlaṃ dakṣiṇe kapālaṃ dadhānaṃ yoga-
dharaṃ ākāṣe puraḥsthitam ekapādaṃ bhairavaṃ dhyāyet.*

P₁, f. 74v3

1 *kr̥ṣṇaṃ* corr. : *kr̥ṣṇa* Cod.

He should visualize [him] before him in the sky [as] One-footed Bhairava, black, with matted locks, his body smeared with ashes, holding a trident in his left hand and a skull-bowl in his right, deep in meditation.

For this was the Bhairava of Ekāmra, the pre-eminent Śaiva sacred site of Orissa, located in modern Bhubaneswar. Here we have the early testimony of the *Picumata* (/ *Brahmayāmala*), which was known to the Kashmirian scholar Abhinavagupta (*fl. c.* 975–1025)⁶³ and has come down to us in a Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript of AD 1052. For in the initiation Maṇḍala of that Tantra there are eight cremation grounds to be depicted in the eight directions with a Bhairava presiding in each surrounded by a retinue, and in that of Ekāmra the Bhairava is Ekapāda, as Mahādeva is in that of Vārāṇasī, Mahāghaṇṭa in that of Virajā (Jajpur), Mahāhāsa in that of Kollagiri (Kolhapur), Śāśibhūṣaṇa (Somanātha) in that of Prabhāsa (Somanāth-Pattan in Surat), Mahākāla in that of Ujjain, Gaṇādhyakṣa in that of Bhūteśvara, and Hetukeśvara in that of Koṭivarsa/Devīkottā:

*uttare kalpayed devi nāmnā ekāmraṃ śubham |
112 aralukaṃ tu samālikhya gadāṃ vai pṛṣṭhato nyaset |
tasyādhistā likhet padmam aṣṭapatraṃ sakarṇikam |
113 bhairavaṃ tatra cālikhya rudrāṣṭakasamanvitam |
ekapādaṃ mahāvīryaṃ bhairavākārasaṃjñakam |
114 bahi rudrāṣṭakāc caiva mātaro vinyased budhaḥ |
māheśvaryāditāḥ kṛtvā paramātā na saṃśayaḥ |
115 pretārūdhā mahāvīryā ālikhen mantravikramāḥ |
kapālai raktasaṃpūrṇair antrasragdāmalambibhiḥ |
116 varadodyatahastās tu antrasragdāmabhūṣitāḥ |
mātṛṇāṃ bāhyato devi yoginyaś ca likhed budhaḥ |
117 sumanā devakī caiva cakravegā mahāravā |
bhīmakī ratnagarbhā ca ṣaḍ yoginyo yathākramam |
118 dantikam lohajaṅgham ca ūrdhvakeśam mahāmukham |
catvāro rākṣasāṃ likhya śākinībhiḥ samāvṛtāṃ |
119 kabandhāni likhed aṣṭau dikṣu caiva vidikṣu ca |⁶⁴*

⁶³Abhinavagupta cites or paraphrases this text under the titles *Brahmayāmala* and *Picumata* in *Tantrāloka* 4.60–65; 5.97c–100b; 13.145; 15.43c–44; 18.9; 23.43c–44b; 27.21c–23b; 27.29; 28.383c–384b; 28.409c–411a; 28.418c–419b; 28.422c–423b; and 29.11–12b.

⁶⁴In these verses I have not removed by emendation such deviations from Paninian Sanskrit

Picumata f. 8r1–3 (3.111c–119b)

112b *gadāṃ* corr. : *gadā* Cod. **114c** *āditaḥ* corr. : *ādita* Cod. **115b** *mantravikramāḥ* conj. : *mantravikramāt* Cod. **117c** *yathākramam* corr. : *yathākramaḥ* Cod. **118a** *lohajaṅghaṃ* corr. : *lohajaṅghaś* Cod.

O Devī, in the North [of the Maṇḍala] he should make the splendid [cremation ground of] Ekāmra. [In it] he should draw an Aralu tree (*Colosanthus indica*) and behind that a club. Below it he should draw a lotus with eight petals and a pericarp. On this he should draw the Bhairava Ekapāda ('One-footed'), of terrible appearance and name, of vast power, accompanied by eight Rudras. Beyond the eight Rudras he should place the Mothers, beginning with Māheśvarī. He should depict the supreme Mothers standing on corpses, of vast power, mighty with [their] Mantras, with skull bowls full of blood draped with strings of entrails, with one hand in the gesture of bestowing boons, themselves adorned with strings of entrails. Let there be no doubt of this. Beyond the Mothers, O Goddess, the learned [officiant] should depict the Yoginīs. There are six. In their proper order they are Sumanā, Devakī, Cakravegā, Mahāravā, Bhīmakī and Ratnagarbhā. After depicting four Rākṣasas, namely Dantika, Lohajaṅgha, Ūrdhvakeśa and Mahāmukha, surrounded by Śākinīs, he should depict eight corpses[, one] in [each of] the cardinal and intermediate directions.

Moreover, the image of this one-footed Bhairava (Ekapādabhairava) was widely reproduced throughout the cultural zone. Images corresponding to the visualizations in the *Āṅgirasakalpa* texts in that the two hands, or the two front hands in the case of four-armed images, hold the trident and the skull-bowl, appear in Orissa in the ninth century in the Mallikeśvara temple at Padampur and became standard in the Śaiva and Śākta temples of Orissa and the northern parts of Andhra Pradesh from the tenth century to the fourteenth.⁶⁵

Utkala in the Saṃkalpa formula

Finally, there is the evidence of the location specified in the formulas of intention (*saṃkalpaḥ*) to be recited before commencing a ritual. For in these materials we have a formula that gives this location as Utkala, which comprises the coastal districts of Orissa.⁶⁶

as are commonly seen elsewhere in this text, namely *adhastā likhet* for *adhastāl likhet* in 112c, *bahī rudrāṣṭakāc* for *bahī rudrāṣṭakāc* in 114a, *mātarō* for *mātṛr* in 114b, *paramātā* (← *paramātāḥ*) for *paramātṛr* in 114d, and *rākṣasām* and *samāvṛtām* for acc. pl. m. in 118cd.

⁶⁵For his iconography in Orissan temples see WILLIAMS 1984, pp. 298–301 and plates 261–264; DONALDSON 1987, p. 1106; DONALDSON 2002, pp. 462–464. See also VON STIETENCRON 2005b, pp. 121–122 on the popularity of Ekapādabhairava in Orissa during the Bhaumakara and Somavaṃśin periods and its diminution during the period of the Gaṅgas from around the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

⁶⁶*Āsurīdīpikā* of Bhūdhara in *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*, p. 124: *iha pṛthivyaṃ jambudvīpe bhāratakhaṇḍe bhāratavarṣe utkalapradeśe iha viśiṣṭabhūpradeśe . . .*; P₂ f. 88v1: *. . . utkaladeśe . . .*

The Period of the Composition of the Corpus

As for the period of time during which these materials were composed, that cannot be determined in our present state of knowledge with any precision. Even the works ascribed to human authors that appear in the corpus are of uncertain date.

The Date and Provenance of the Prapañcasāra and Śāradātilaka

The earliest among them is perhaps the *Prapañcasāra* attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, the chapter on the propitiation of Tripurabhairavī and several visualization-verses from which are found in P₂. This text was the basis on which Lakṣmaṇadeśika composed his *Śāradātilaka*⁶⁷ and the latter is widely held to have been composed in Kashmir in the tenth century by Lakṣmaṇagupta, one of the Gurus of Abhinavagupta in the Śākta Śaiva tradition of the Trika, more particularly his teacher in the philosophical works composed by Lakṣmaṇagupta's teacher Utpaladeva.⁶⁸ But this attribution is patently false. It rests on the testimony of the Maharashtrian scholar Rāghavabhaṭṭa, who in his commentary on the *Śāradātilaka*, completed in Banaras in AD 1494,⁶⁹ cites a verse that he takes to be giving the preceptorial lineage down to and beyond its author as Śrīkaṅṭha, Vasugupta, Somānanda, Utpalācārya, Lakṣmaṇa, Abhinavagupta, and Kṣemarāja.⁷⁰ But he has certainly done so in error, since apart from the fact that its Lakṣmaṇa (= Lakṣmaṇagupta) is not identified in that verse as the author of the *Śāradātilaka*, so that the identification rests only on the tenuous evidence of the occurrence of an extremely common personal name, there is the evidence that the *Śāradātilaka* shares nothing with the Tantrism of that distinguished Kashmirian tradition either in the type and range of its deities and rituals or in its philosophical underpinnings. Indeed in the latter respect it is radically opposed to it, since though nondualistic in doctrine it adheres to the non-Śaiva model of reality in which the Tattvas are twenty-six (Śiva and the twenty-five of the Sāṃkhya system) rather than the thirty-six of the Mantramārgic Śaivism propagated by Utpaladeva and his successors. Moreover, it is almost certain that the undeclared source of the verse that Rāghavabhaṭṭa cites is not one that being within the tradition of the form of Tantrism taught in

⁶⁷GOUDRIAAN in GOUDRIAAN and GUPTA 1981, pp. 134–135.

⁶⁸This was first proposed by FARQUHAR (1920, p. 267) and then repeated by GONDA (1963, vol. 2, p. 28, note 9) and, among others, by GOUDRIAAN (in GOUDRIAAN and GUPTA 1981, p. 135), VON STIETENCROON (2005a, p. 16) and BÜHNEMANN (2000, p. 2).

⁶⁹*Śāradātilakapadārthādarśa* pp. 916–917.

⁷⁰*Śāradātilakapadārthādarśa* p. 12, ll. 18–20: *tathā ca granthakṛdgurupaṅktiḥ "śrīkaṅṭhaṃ *vasuguptaṃ (em.: vasumantaṃ Ed.) śrīsomānandam utpalācāryān" iti. "lakṣmaṇam abhinavaguptaṃ vande śrīkṣemarājaṃ ca" iti tacchīṣyāḥ* "The line of the author's teachers is [seen in the first half of the following verse:] "[I praise] Śrīkaṅṭha, Vasugupta, Somānanda and Utpalācārya" and [the line of] his pupils in [the second:] "Lakṣmaṇa, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja."

the *Śāradātilaka* is likely to have recorded information about its author. For it is a variant of a verse that appears in earlier South Indian sources that unlike the *Śāradātilaka* are within or closely allied to this famous Kashmirian tradition, namely the *Ānandakalpalatikā* of Maheśvaratejānandanātha, and, in another variant, the *Gurunāthaparāmarśa* and *Gurupaṅktistotra* of his predecessor Madhurāja of Madurai, an adept of the Ekavīra, also called the Anuttara or Parākrama, a form of the Trika that was transmitted to the South and flourished there,⁷¹ with the difference that Lakṣmaṇa is lacking in the second of these variants and both Śrīkaṅṭha and Lakṣmaṇa in the first. Evidently Rāghavabhaṭṭa is citing a further variant from one of these sources or a cognate that had written in Lakṣmaṇa[gupta] in order to create a text closer to an account of the actual *guruparamparā*. For the verse as given in these three sources was not intended for that purpose but simply venerates the key authors in the teaching tradition of the Kashmirian Śaiva nondualists, since Śrīkaṅṭha was not the Guru of Vasugupta, but rather the mythical Ādiguru, nor was Vasugupta the Guru of Somānanda, and Lakṣmaṇagupta is not known for any compositions but only as Abhinavagupta's teacher. It appears then that when Rāghavabhaṭṭa encountered this rewritten verse—it is unlikely that it was he that rewrote it—

⁷¹*Ānandakalpalatikā*, introductory verse 3: *śrīkaṅṭhaṃ vasuguptaṃ śrīsomānandam utpalācāryam | abhinavaguptaṃ nāthaṃ vande śrīkṣemarājaṃ ca; Gurunāthaparāmarśa* v. 2 and *Gurupaṅktistotra* v. 3: *śrīvasuguptamahāgurusomānandaprabhūtpalācāryān | abhinavaguptaṃ nāthaṃ vande śrīkṣemarājaṃ ca*. The verse following this in the Madras manuscripts of the *Ānandakalpalatikā* and *Gurupaṅktistotra* reads *śrīpādabhairavasvādunāyakoḍayadeśikāḥ | trayo yasya prasannā me suprasīdantu mādhurāḥ* in the former and *śrīvādijainavasvāmanāyakoḍayadeśikāḥ | trayo 'pi me suprasīdantu pratyabhijñāpravartakāḥ* in the latter. Both are evidently corrupt in the first line. Collating the two I propose tentatively that we should read *śrīvādibhairavasvāmināyakoḍayadeśikāḥ*. If this is correct the authors pray for the favour of three Ācāryas of Madurai, Vādibhairava, Svāmināyaka, and Udayadeśika, whom Madhurāja describes as propagators of the Pratyabhijñā, that is to say, of the nondualism expounded by Utpaladeva in his *Īsvara-pratyabhijñā-kārikā* and its auto-commentaries *-vṛtti* and *-vīṛti* and by Abhinavagupta in his commentaries on the *-kārikā* and *-vīṛti*. Maheśvaratejānandanātha ends his introductory verses with obeisance to the three Gurus Sukhatīrtha, Candraśekhara, and Saṅgabhaṭṭāraka: *śrīhr̥dayacandrikāsvaprakāśikā*vimarśodayācāryān* (conj.: *vimarśobhayācāryān* Cod.) | *sukhatīrthacandraśekharasaṅga*bhaṭṭārakān* (*bhaṭṭārakān* conj.: *bhaṭṭārakam* Cod.). The line identifies them as Ācāryas of/in what are probably (lost) works in this tradition. The compound is ambiguous in the absence of other references that might tell us how to divide it. But since he speaks of an Udayadeśika in these verses it is plausible that it should be analysed as yielding three elements, one for each Ācārya: *Hṛdayacandrikā*, *Svaprakāśikāvimarśa*, and *Udaya* or perhaps *Hṛdayacandrikā*, *Svaprakāśikā*, and *Vimarśodaya*, and that Vādibhairava, Svāmināyaka, and Udayācārya were birudas of Sukhatīrtha, Candraśekhara, and Saṅgabhaṭṭāraka. The verse of Maheśvaratejānandanātha's introduction that follows that which is parallel to Rāghavabhaṭṭa's seeks the favour of Kṛṣṇavāsa, which is surely a scribal error for Kṛṣṇadāsa, *vā* and *dā* being readily confused in the Grantha script of the Far South. We know a Kṛṣṇadāsa in this tradition, a scholar of Cidambaram who wrote the *Śivasūtravārtika* following Kṣemarāja's *Śivasūtravimarśinī*. Also known as Varadarāja he describes himself in vv. 213–215 of that work as a pupil of Madhurāja. Madhurāja's engagement with the Parākrama form of Trika worship, of which the *Parātrīśikā* is the scriptural basis, is recorded in *Gurunāthaparāmarśa* v. 40: *śaktitrayaikaśaraṇe parākramākṛānta-viśvādikcakre | madhurāje mayi . . .*

he rashly jumped to the convenient conclusion that it provides the evidence of Lakṣmaṇadeśika's teaching lineage that is lacking in the *Śāradātilaka* itself.⁷²

As for the true provenance of the *Śāradātilaka* and the *Prapañcasāra* that preceded it, I propose that they were composed, like our *Āṅgirasa* materials, in Orissa or if not there then on the basis of Orissan religious tradition. For their treatment of Vaiṣṇava worship agrees closely with that seen in that region, being dominated by the cults of Nṛsiṃha, Puruṣottama/Jagannātha, and Dadhivāmana. The importance of the first among the Oriyas has been shown above, and that of the second, which for many centuries has been the principal deity of Orissa, needs no demonstration.⁷³ As for Dadhivāmana, this too is a distinctively Oriya deity, representing in all probability the primitive form of Jagannātha before the elaborations developed under royal patronage in Puri, his name being that under which Jagannātha is worshipped when he is not accompanied, as he is in his main temple in Puri, by images of Balabhadra and Subhadra.⁷⁴ 344 temples dedicated to Dadhivāmana, most of them in the Puri, Cuttack, Ganjam, and Sambalpur districts, have been registered in Orissa.⁷⁵ There is less firm evidence in the case of the texts' treatments of Śaiva and Śākta worship. But we may note that the *Śaivacintāmaṇi* of Lakṣmīdharamiśra, an Oriya brahmin of the early eighteenth century, shows that the *Śāradātilaka* provides the model for the Śaiva worship followed in the Liṅgarāja of Bhubaneswar, Orissa's pre-eminent Śaiva temple;⁷⁶ and we have seen that in the Śākta sphere there is a

⁷²In the closing verses of the *Śāradātilaka* (25.83–86) Lakṣmaṇadeśika gives only his patrilineal ancestry, a fact that of itself militates against Rāghavabhaṭṭa's claim. It is very improbable that if he had been the pupil of Utpaladeva and the grand-pupil of Somānanda he would have failed to mention this.

⁷³In addition to the principal Jagannātha of Purī, there are 930 temples dedicated to him and registered as independent religious foundations in Orissa (VON STIETENCROON 2005c, p. 469).

⁷⁴See VON STIETENCROON 2005c, p. 470.

⁷⁵By VON STIETENCROON (2005c, pp. 472–473).

⁷⁶Lakṣmīdharamiśra was also the author of the unpublished *Śaivakalpadruma*. In its colophonic verses he identifies himself as a devotee of the Śiva of Bhubaneswar (in the Liṅgarāja temple), as the son of Rāmakṛṣṇa Agnihotrīn, and the grandson of Pradyumna, describing the last as 'the moon to the ocean of the Kautsa Gotra' (*kautsānvoayābdhīnduḥ*), 'a Śiva in human form' (*śaṅkaratanuḥ sākṣāt*) who had performed a [Vedic] sacrifice in Ekāmra (Bhubaneswar) and as a consequence been honoured by Gajapati Mukunda[deva I]. That king ruled from 1657 to 1689. See Dukhisyama PATTANAYAK's introduction to his edition of the *Śaivacintāmaṇi*, pp. 3–6. Paṭala 6 of the *Śaivacintāmaṇi*, on Japa to be performed after the Pūjā, requires the worshipper to visualize the Ekāmra (the site of the Liṅgarāja temple) with the Bindusarovara tank (*bindūdbhavaṃ sarah*) at its centre (6.11–18). The Śaivism of the text draws on the *Śāradātilaka* extensively for its procedure (compare, for example, *Śaivacintāmaṇi* 3.50c–54 with *Śāradātilaka* 18.15–18; and 3.72–81 with *Śāradātilaka* 18.7–13). Moreover, the *Śaivacintāmaṇi* incorporates some of the *Śāradātilaka*'s visualization-texts (2.83 = *Śāradātilaka* 23.85 [← *Prapañcasāra* 35.7]; 2.96 = *Śāradātilaka* 6.4; 3.78 = *Śāradātilaka* 18.13). Its icon of Śiva, five-faced and four-armed, with deer, axe, and the two gestures, belongs to the same tradition; see 6.25–42 (also 2.72 and 3.78) and compare *Śāradātilaka* 18.13. It also uses the lay Pañcākṣara Mantra (NAMAḤ ŚIVĀYA) and incorporates various Vedic Mantras. Thus it requires the Stava-recitation of the *Atharvaśiras*, *Śatarudriya*, *Rudrādhyāya*, or *Tanḍisahasranāmastotra* (5.60, 8.9). It also adheres in

striking congruence between its range of goddesses and those seen in our Orissan *Āṅgirasakalpa* texts. Moreover, manuscripts of the *Śāradātilaka* are reputedly found in almost every Orissan brahmin household and quotations from it are very frequent in Orissan Pūjāpaddhatis.⁷⁷ As for the date of the *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradātilaka*, a probable prior limit is established by the importance they attach to Puruṣottama. For the cult of this deity is evidenced in Orissa only from the late eleventh century and rose to pre-eminence only after the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva began the building of the great temple to this god in Puri in or shortly after 1135.⁷⁸ The earliest firm posterior limit is established by the fact that Rāghavabhaṭṭa tells us that he completed his commentary on the *Śāradātilaka* in Saṃvat 1551 (AD 1494).⁷⁹ He refers to another commentary on the text, the *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* of one Mādhavabhaṭṭa, but I am unable at present to determine how much earlier this author lived. However, it is not probable that the *Prapañcasāra* and the *Śāradātilaka* were composed much after the beginning of the thirteenth century, because their Vaiṣṇavism reflects the stage of the Puruṣottama cult before the development of the Balabhadra, Jagannātha, Subhadrā triad, for which the earliest known evidence is an inscription of AD 1237 at the Pātāleśvara temple in the inner compound of the Jagannātha temple, in which the three deities that formed the later triad are already praised as Halin, Cakrin and Subhadrā.⁸⁰

the style of the *Śāradātilaka* and the *Uttarabhāga* of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* to the de-Āgamicized doctrine of the 26 Tattvas; see 6.32 (*ṣaḍviṃśatattoḍaparāṃ ādyavasānahīnam*; cf. 2.60). The splendid Liṅgarāja temple was built c. 1060 under the patronage of the kings of the Śaiva Somavaṃśin dynasty, by whom the Śiva of this temple, Kṛttivāsa, was elevated to the status of the state deity (*rāṣṭradevatā*), before this honour was transferred to the Jagannātha of Puri; but the sanctity of the site is considerably older. Ekāmra is included but without the name of its Śiva among the Śaiva Kṣetras treated in the *śivāyatanavarṇanam* of the *Ur-Skandapurāṇa*, a work probably no later than the seventh century and in any case preserved in a manuscript of AD 810, and, with the name, in the list of the sixty-eight Śaiva sacred sites (see BISSCHOP 2006, p. 222), most significantly in the version of this list in the *Brahmayāmala* with the variant Kīrtivāsa (3.140; see the edition of 3.132–156 in SANDERSON 2003–04, p. 407, n. 208). Kṛttivāsa is also identified as the Śiva of Ekāmra in the early Śākta *Niśiṣaṃcāra*, f. 31r2 (9.15–16a), here too with the variant Kīrtivāsa: **ekāmre saṃsthitō devi kīrtivāseti kīrtitaḥ | cāmuṇḍayā samāyuktaḥ sthānapālasamanvitaḥ | atha mantram pravakṣyāmi kīrtivāsasya suvrate* (corr.: *ekātye saṃsthitā devi kīrtivāseti kīrtitā | cāmuṇḍayā samāyuktaḥ sthānabalisanamvitaḥ | atha mantram pravakṣyāmi kīrtisamyaksa suvrate* Cod.); see also the Pīṭha-hymn of the *Kubjikāmata*, verses in some manuscripts after 22.46, ll. 9–10: *kṛttivāsasamopetāṃ cāmuṇḍāṃ muṇḍadhāriṇīm | *ekāmrasaṃsthitāṃ (ekāmra corr.: ekaika Codd.) devīm namāmi śubhakāriṇīm*.

⁷⁷Here I follow the report of TRIPATHI (2005a, p. 42). Arlo Griffiths reports to me that he does not recall having seen any manuscripts of the text in Atharvavedic brahmin households.

⁷⁸See VON STIETENCROON 2005a, p. 28.

⁷⁹*Śāradātilakapadārthadarśa* p. 917.

⁸⁰ESCHMANN, KULKE and TRIPATHI 2005, p. 191.

The core of the Āṅgirasakalpa texts probably predates the Prapañcasāra

It is probable that most, if not all, of the anonymous materials in the Orissan *Āṅgīrasa* corpus listed above go back in their content if not in their current textual form to a period before the *Prapañcasāra*. For it is striking that these materials, for all their emphasis on Vaiṣṇava devotion, make no reference to Puruṣottama/Jagannātha but exhibit an intense concentration on Nṛsiṃha. It is likely, therefore, that they reflect a time before Puruṣottama had supplanted that god as the primary focus of Oriya Vaiṣṇavism.⁸¹ It might be suggested against this inference that the lack of Puruṣottama and the foregrounding of Nṛsiṃha may simply be the consequence of the fact that these materials are concerned with hostile ritual, for which Nṛsiṃha rather than Puruṣottama was the appropriate deity. But this objection would be unconvincing, if we may judge from the treatments of the propitiation of Puruṣottama in the *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradātilaka*. For the former includes among its applications victory in battle (*yuddhajayah*), killing one's enemies (*māraṇam*), immobilizing them (*stambhanam*), and causing panic (*uccātanam*) or dissension (*vidveṣaṇam*) among them,⁸² and the latter when prescribing the fire sacrifices to Puruṣottama includes one that will bring about the subjection of all kings.⁸³ It is, then, at least probable that the bulk of the *Āṅgīrasa* materials seen here goes back to a period before the dominance of the cult of Puruṣottama that flowed from the patronage of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva in the first half of the twelfth century. We do not know when the Paippalādins established themselves in Orissa, but if, as is probable, it was not long before the tenth century, the period of the earliest epigraphical evidence of their presence in the region, then the Paippalādins will have created the bulk of their *Āṅgīrasa* corpus shortly after their arrival.⁸⁴ It is certainly plau-

⁸¹Of course, any approximate dates that may be deduced from the presence or absence of particular deity cults in the corpus can refer only to the period during which these cults entered the Paippalādins' repertoire, not to the period of the composition of the texts that contain them in their surviving manuscripts, since it is possible that the texts we have received are at the end of a now invisible history of redaction in which old materials were carried forward and revised.

⁸²*Prapañcasāra* 23.2–5.

⁸³*Śāradātilaka* 17.52–53b. The Trailokyamohana Mantra of Puruṣottama is, moreover, of the type that lends itself to such applications: OṂ KRĪṂ ŚRĪṂ NAMAḤ PURUṢOTTAMA APRATIRŪPALAKṢMĪNIVĀSA SAKALAJAGATKṢOBHAṆA SARVASTRĪHRDAYAVIDĀRAṆA TRIBHUVANAMADONMĀDAKARA SURĀSURAMANUJASUNDARĪJANAMANĀMSI TĀPAYA 2 DĪPAYA 2 ŚOṢAYA 2 MĀRAYA 2 STAMBHAYA 2 MOHAYA 2 DRĀVAYA 2 ĀKARṢAYA 2 SAMASTAPARAMASUBHAGA SARVASAUBHĀGYAKARA SARVAKĀMAPRADA AMUKAṂ HANA 2 CAKREṆA GADAYĀ KHAḌGENA SARVABĀṆAIR BHINDA 2 PĀSENA KAṬṬA 2 AṆKUṢENA TĀḌAYA 2 KURU 2 KIṂ TIṢṬHASI TĀVAD YĀVAT SAMĪHITAṂ ME SIDDHAṂ BHAVATI HUṂ PHAṬ NAMAḤ (taught in *Prapañcasāra* 23.6–14 and *Śāradātilaka* 17.2–11). The *Prapañcasāravivaraṇa* attributed to Padmapāda states in his commentary on the passage that gives the Mantra that its twelve imperatives (*ājñāpadāni*) beginning with TĀPAYA are to be used, followed by HUṂ PHAṬ, in rites of subjection, attraction, and aggression: *tāny api tāpayādīni tāvanti dvādaśasaṃkhyāni vidyāt. vaśyākaraṇakrūrakarmādiṣu puṣpāñjalyartham jānīyād ity arthaḥ. ... ājñāpadānām upari huṃ phad itī prayoktavoyam ity arthaḥ.*

⁸⁴See above, n. 19 on p. 201.

sible that they should have lost no time in developing a repertoire of rituals that would appeal to their new patrons by integrating local religious traditions.

This rough chronology is consistent with the one positive element in the Paippalāda Tantric tradition that seems to me to be open to plausible approximate dating. This is the fact that the rites of Mantras of Bhairava seen in the Asimilā manuscript and the two from Pune are accompanied by the visualization of that deity as Ekapādabhairava.⁸⁵ For, as we have seen, images corresponding to this visualization became standard in the Śaiva and Śākta temples of Orissa and the adjoining region of Andhra Pradesh from the tenth century to the fourteenth, with a decline in popularity from around the end of the twelfth.⁸⁶

Later Influence of the Śākta Cults of Bengal

The corpus, however, was not closed to later accretion, as can be seen in *Āṅgīrasa* manuscripts other than those whose contents have been presented here, manuscripts that I have not yet been able to read but whose lists of contents have been transcribed and sent to me. Thus manuscript V/124 (*Āṅgīrasakalpa*) in the collection of the Orissa State Museum, whose contents while apparently Tantric-Atharvavedic overlap only to a small extent with those of the manuscripts I have seen, contains materials for the propitiation of the goddess Dakṣiṇakālī in the midst of sections on the cults of Nṛsiṃha and Gaṇeśa,⁸⁷ and manuscript T/48(e) (*Āṅgīrasakalpa*) in the same collection contains materials pertaining to the goddesses Dakṣiṇakālī, Tārā, and Bhuvaneśvarī,⁸⁸ who are among the Ten Mahāvidyās of the late medieval Śākta tradition of Bengal, the others being Śoḍaśī (Tripurasundarī), Bhairavī (Tripura-

⁸⁵See above, p. 227.

⁸⁶See above, p. 229.

⁸⁷I am grateful to Arlo Griffiths for his assistance in making a transcription *in situ* of the section at the end of this manuscript (ff. 175v–180v) in which its contents are listed and sending it to me as an e-text. The relevant part of his transcription is as follows: [f. 180–182r] 315 *karmasiddhipratīṣāra*vidhi 168; 316 *parakarmanirarthakā*vidhi 169; 317 *abhayanṛsiṃha*vidhi 170; 318 *aindrābhayamantra*vidhi 170; 319 *dakṣiṇakālī*mantra⁸⁷vidhi 171; 320 *punaś ca nṛsiṃhamantreṇa sāmagāyana*vidhi 172; 321 *āṅgīrasakalpe gaṇeśamantra*vidhi 181; 322 *saubhāgyakāṇḍe dakṣiṇakālī*mantra⁸⁷vidhi 182; 324 *punaś ca kālīyantra*vidhi 182; 325 *punar dakṣiṇakālīyantra*vidhi 180; *āṅgīrasakalpe mahācakrayantra*vidhi 182; 326 *ākramacakra*vidhi 182; 327 *dakṣiṇakālīyantra*vidhi 182; 328 *dakṣiṇakālīyantradevatā*vidhi 182; 329 *vakratuṇḍamantra*vidhi 182; 330 *paravidyānivāraṇayantra*vidhi 182; 331 *gopālāṣṭadaśākṣaramantra*vidhi 182; 332 *punar vṛṣṭikāma*vidhi 183; 333 *mantrarājajapa*vidhi 183; 334 *pātalanṛsiṃhamantra*vidhi 184; 335 *mūṣalanṛsiṃhamantra*vidhi 187; 336 *pātalanṛsiṃhasya mahātmya*vidhi; 338 *sahasrākṣanṛsiṃhamantra*vidhi 187. The numerals before the titles are the serial numbers of the items—they run from 1 to 350—and those after the titles are the folio numbers.

⁸⁸According to a list of contents prepared and sent to me by the same generous colleague the manuscript T/48(e) contains the following texts: (1) *Nīlasarasvatībhaktakulasarvasvasahasranāmasottra* (Tārā); (2) the *Ekajaṭṭotrarāja* said to have been proclaimed by Brahmā and assigned to the *Brahmayāmala* (Tārā); (3) the *Tārāstotra* of the *Nīlatantra* (Tārā); (4) the *Trailokyamohana* of the *Tārākalpa* of the *Bhairavatantra* (Tārā); (5) the *Karpūrastotra* of the *Pheṭkārīṇītantra*, said to have been composed by Mahākāla (I presume this to be the well-known hymn to Dakṣiṇa-

bhairavī), Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvātī, Bagalāmukhī, Mātāṅgī, and Kamalā,⁸⁹ of whom Dakṣiṇakālī and Tārā are pre-eminent. The oldest evidence of the worship of Tārā in Orissa appears to be the image of this goddess in the Ugratārā temple in Bhusandapur near the Chilka lake. This has been assigned by DONALDSON to the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.⁹⁰ The same scholar reports that the majority of Orissan images of Dakṣiṇakālī date from the eighteenth century and later,⁹¹ which is also the period from which the ten Mahāvidyā goddesses are found as a group in the temples of the region.⁹²

The Distinct Character of the Tantrism of the Corpus and its Connection with the Trika and Kālīkula

Before this assimilation of the Śāktism of Bengal, the Tantric repertoire of the Oriya Paippalādins had a distinct regional character, as can be seen from the repertoire of Mantra deities in the manuscripts whose contents have been listed above, and in the significant overlap between this pantheon and that seen in the *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradātilaka*, both works from the same region.

The Āgamic sources on which the Orissan Paippalādins drew for the creation of their *Āṅgīrasa* corpus before the advent of Bengali influence are invisible to me for the most part. But I recognize two that show that the Oriyas, unlike their Bengali Śākta neighbours in later times, participated in this domain in major traditions from the earliest phase of this variety of religion, traditions that are known to have been established before the end of the first millennium and which flourished in such widely separated regions as Kashmir, Nepal, Karnataka, and Tamilnadu. These, moreover, are traditions that, unlike the Śāktism

kālī known as the *Karpūrādistotra*, though that is not in the published *Pheṭkārīṇītantra*); (6) the *Mahogratārājanmaprakaṇṇastotra* of the *Kubjikātantra* said to be the second Kalpa of the *Rudrayāmalamahātantra* (Tārā); (7) the *Nityapūjānirṇaya* from the *Tārārahasya* of the Śaṅkarācārya of Gauḍa (*gauḍabhūminivāsīśrīsaṅkarācārya-*) (Tārā); (8) the first *Pariccheda* of the *Tārāpaddhati* of Dāmodara (Tārā); (9) the *Tārīṇīkalpa* (Tārā); (10) the *Vakratuṅḍamahāmanukalpa*; (11) the *Gaṇeśa-prakaṇṇopākhyāna* of the *Śāmbhavītantra*; (12) the *Gaṇeśastavarāja* of the *Brahmavaivarta*; and (13) the *Bhuvaneśvarīkalpa* of the *Samṃohanatantra* (Bhuvaneśvarī).

⁸⁹*Muṅḍamālātantra* B 1.7–8: *kālī tārā mahāvidyā ṣoḍaśī bhuvaneśvarī | bhairavī chinnamastā ca vidyā dhūmāvātī tathā | bagalāmukhī siddhavidyā mātāṅgī kamalātmikā | etā daśa mahāvidyāḥ siddhavidyāḥ prakāśitāḥ*. The earliest dateable evidence of the ten Mahāvidyās known to me is to be found in the Śākta *Sarvollāsatantra* compiled by Sarvānandanātha, born probably at the beginning of the fifteenth century in the Tripura district in Bangladesh; see Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya's introduction to Rāsamohana Cakravartin's edition of the text and BANERJI 1992, pp. 87–90. In *Sarvollāsatantra* 3.10–29 he cites a passage from the *Jñānadvīpa*, a text with the form of scripture, that teaches the creation of Mahākālī (= Dakṣiṇakālī), Tārīṇī (= Tārā), and Ṣoḍaśī (= Tripurā) and that the last is the first of a set of eight of whom the others are the remaining seven of the set of ten Mahāvidyās.

⁹⁰DONALDSON 1991, p. 137; fig. 32.

⁹¹DONALDSON 1991, pp. 135–136.

⁹²DONALDSON 2002, pp. 462–464, 514, 562.

of Bengal, share the theological and soteriological principles that distinguish the Śaivism of the Mantramārga from all other forms of Indian religion and serve to express its conviction of its superiority to the Vedic tradition. They differ markedly in this respect both from the later Śāktism of Bengal and from the Tantrism of the *Prapañcasāra* and *Śāradātilaka*, both of which lack or have expurgated these principles, grounding their practice, whether transgressive as in the case of Bengal's Śāktism or Veda-congruent as in the case of the Tantrism of those two texts, in a twenty-five/six Tattva model of reality that unlike the Mantramārga's doctrine of thirty-six Tattvas is sanctioned by texts within the brahmanical canon and so was less objectionable to brahmanical orthodoxy.⁹³

The two traditions to which I refer are the Śākta Śaiva systems of the Trika and the Kālīkula, both of which are generally associated with Kashmir because of the emergence in that region of an impressive body of literature on these cults during the tenth century but which are also attested in other regions of the subcontinent, to which Orissa may now be added. The Trika's texts teach the cult of the goddess Parā and those of the Kālīkula the cults of forms of the goddess Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī (Kālī).

The principal scriptures of the Trika are the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, the *Mālinīvijayottara*, the *Tantrasadbhāva*, the *Triśirobhairava*, the *Devyāyāmala*, the *Trikasāra*, and the *Parātrīśikā*, also known as the *Parātrīṣikā*, of which the *Devyāyāmala* alone provides grounds for concluding that it was composed in Kashmir;⁹⁴ and the principal works of learned exegesis are the monumental *Tantrāloka* in some 6,000 verses, strictly speaking an analytic verse commentary (*śloka-vārttikam*) on the *Mālinīvijayottara* but extending far beyond this text in its range, and an elaborate prose commentary (*-vivarāṇa*) on the *Parātrīśikā*, both works by Abhinavagupta, the distinguished Kashmirian scholar of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. From the Tamil South we have a few works in the tradition of the *Parātrīśikā*, notably the *Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti*, the *Parātrīśikātātparyadīpikā*, a verse commentary on the *-laghuvṛtti*, and the *Parākrama*, the section on the worship of Parā, the principal goddess of this system of Śākta worship, which forms the eighth Khaṇḍa of the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*. This text governs the Tantric Śākta (Kaula) worship of the goddess Lalitā (/Kāmākṣī) of Kāñcī and other deities

⁹³See, e.g., *Prapañcasāra* 1.21c–60; *Śāradātilaka* 1.6–22, 25.87 and Rāghavabhaṭṭa thereon. In the Śāktism of Bengal see, e.g., *Sarvollāsatāntra*, *Ullāsa* 62. The reduction of the Śaivas' thirty-six Tattvas to the twenty-five of the Sāṃkhyas (or twenty-six in the theistic variant) sanctioned in texts considered valid by the orthodox, such as the *Mokṣadharmā* of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*, is also a notable feature of the influential commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* composed by Lakṣmīdhara (AD 1497–1539); see, e.g., pp. 102 and 120 on *Saundaryalaharī* 9 and 11 respectively. For the same reduction in the presentation of Mantramārgic Śaiva materials in the *Uttarabhāga* of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* see SANDERSON 2005b, p. 235, n. 10 and *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Uttarabhāga* 9.15c–16, 26; 14.32–33 (33ab: *pañcaviṃśatitattvātmā pañcabrahmātmakāḥ śivāḥ*); 15.24c–26; 16.26c–29b.

⁹⁴On the probable Kashmirian origin of the Trika's *Devyāyāmala* see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 259–260, n. 83.

that have been integrated into the cycle of her cult, each with its own Paddhati, namely Mahāgaṇapati, her chief minister (*pradhānasacivā*) Mātāṅgī (/Śyāmā), her general (*daṇḍanāyikā*) Vārāhī (Vārtālī), and the Trika's Parā, the last venerated as her heart (*hr̥dayam*). We also have two learned works of exegesis on this text composed by Maharashtrian Deśastha brahmins, the *Nityotsava* of Umānandanātha (Jagannāthapaṇḍita) composed in AD 1745 and the *Saubhāgyodaya* of Aparājitānandanātha (Rāmeśvara) composed in 1831, both of which expound the procedure for the worship of Parā in detail.⁹⁵

In the Kālīkula the principal early scripture is the *Jayadrathayāmala*, also known as the *Tantrarāja*[*bhaṭṭāraka*], a massive compilation of some 24,000 verses in four sections of about 6,000 verses each, the last three of which were added in Kashmir.⁹⁶ A number of shorter works teach the essentialized form of the Kālīkula known as the Krama, notably the *Kālīkulakramasadbhāva* (/Kramasadbhāva), the *Kālīkulapañcaśataka* (/Devīpañcaśataka), and the *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*. The post-scriptural learned tradition of the Kālīkula consists for the most part of independent treatises on the Krama, the early works composed in Kashmir, but later works, notably the *Cidgaganacandrikā* of Śrīvatsa and the *Mahārthamañjarī* of Maheśvarānanda with its auto-commentary (*-parimāla*) composed in the South of India.⁹⁷

⁹⁵On the South Indian cult of the Trika's goddess Parā based on the *Parātrīśikā*, the variant of the Trika known as the Anuttara, Ekavīra, or Parākrama of the Trika, see SANDERSON 1990, pp. 32–34, 80–82. One important detail there must be revised, namely my acceptance of the hitherto unquestioned assumption that the attribution of the *Parātrīśikālaghuṛṭṭi* to Abhinavagupta, the author of the *Parātrīśikāvivarāṇa*, is correct. The redactions of the scriptural text in the two commentaries differ, the commentaries themselves diverge on many points, and the *Laghuṛṭṭi* reveals an intellectual and literary talent of lesser calibre, has a purely South Indian exegetical tradition, and was unknown in Kashmir until it was published from a single Devanāgarī transcript (ZADOO 1947a, pp. 1–2) belonging to the Kashmirian Śaiva Guru Swami Lakshman (1907–1991), which was doubtless prepared by him, like his transcript of the *Gurunāthaparāmarśa* of Madhurāja (PUSHP 1960, p. i), from a Devanāgarī transcript of a South Indian manuscript acquired by him in or from Madras. Its verse subcommentary, the evidently South Indian *Parātrīśikātātparyadīpikā*, was likewise published in Kashmir on the basis of a single transcript obtained from the same source (ZADOO 1947b, p. i).

The engagement of Maharashtrian Deśastha brahmins with the cult of the goddess Lalitā of Kāñcī, and thence with that of Parā, is no doubt the result of the fact that the kingdom of Tañjāvūr (Tanjore) centred in the city of that name with Kāñcī as a subsidiary capital was in Maratha hands from 1674, when it was conquered by Venkājī, the half-brother of Śivājī, to 1779, when it was ceded to the British East India Company by Serfojī II, who retained only the capital and its immediate environs, passing on this diminished realm to his son Śivājī, who held on to it until he died without an heir in 1855, when it came under direct British rule.

⁹⁶On the Kashmirian origin of the last three sections of the *Jayadrathayāmala* see SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 280–283.

⁹⁷For a detailed account of the exegetical literature of the Trika and Kālīkula and its scriptural sources see SANDERSON 2007.

The Parājapavidhi

The evidence of the Trika among the Oriya Paippalādins appears in the *Parājapavidhi* ‘The Procedure for the Japa of the [Mantra of the Goddess] Parā’, a composition of 37 verses assigned to the *Āṅgīrasa*, which is found in the text common to the Asimiḷā manuscript (As ff. 48v4–50v1 = Ed^P, pp. 98–101) and P₁ (ff. 130r3–132r2), and also in manuscripts T/121 (ff. 76r1–76v7) and T/187 (ff. 78v2–82r2) of the collection of the Orissa State Museum. What is remarkable about this text of the Trika is not so much that it appears in Orissa but that it stands apart from the mainstream of the *Āṅgīrasakalpa* corpus in that it is not part of the repertoire for the performance of hostile rituals for royal patrons but is taught exclusively for the personal spiritual benefit of the priests themselves, as the means by which in spite of being ritualists (*karmī*) they may attain meditative absorption (*yogaḥ*) and final liberation (*mokṣaḥ*).⁹⁸ At its beginning Pippalāda says to his teacher Aṅgīras that he has been taught no Mantra for this purpose and asks how he may achieve this ultimate goal while remaining committed to the path of rites, a role inescapable for the mythical prototype of the Atharvavedic priesthood. Aṅgīras then teaches him the rite of SAUḤ, the Trika’s core Mantra,⁹⁹ describing it as the great Mantra-syllable for liberation that denotes the Śakti Parā, the power of Śiva on which Śiva himself meditates with devotion:

pippalāda uvāca:

1 *bhagavan sarvamantrāṇāṃ vidhānaṃ kathitaṃ tvayā |*
 1 *muktitetur mahāmantra na kaścit pratipāditah |*
 2 *karmamārge praviṣṭo ’haṃ kathaṃ muktiṃ vrajāmy aham |*

aṅgīrā uvāca:

sādhu pṛcchasi mām śiṣya kṛpayā te vadāmy aham |
 3 *muktyartha ’sti mahāmantraḥ parāśaktyabhidhāyakaḥ |*
 3 *cicchaktir ekā jīvānāṃ mokṣadānakṛtavratā |*
 4 *tasmāt tāṃ samupāsyaiva muktiṃ yānti prasādhakāḥ |*
 4 *cidrūpasya śivasyeyaṃ parā śaktir nigadyate |*

⁹⁸The only other Vidhis in the corpus that are presented as means of attaining meditative absorption and liberation are the brief sections on the rites of the Bhairavas Vijñānabhairava, Ekākṣarabhairava, Aṣṭākṣarabhairava, and Sarvakāmabhairava, though the first is also said to be a means by which the king may expiate the sin incurred by engaging in the hostile sorcery that is the primary concern of the *Āṅgīrasakalpa* and the fourth is also, as the name implies, considered to be a means of attaining any desired goal. See above, pp. 213 (Vijñānabhairava), 215 (Sarvakāmabhairava), 215 (Ekākṣarabhairava), 220 (Vijñānabhairava), 220 (Ekākṣarabhairava), and 220 (Aṣṭākṣarabhairava). In P₂ these rites of the Bhairavas (but without Sarvakāmabhairava) are grouped together immediately before the *Parājapavidhi*, silently forming with that a section devoted to liberation. In P₁ (and Ed^P) this grouping is absent.

⁹⁹On SAUḤ, the Seed-syllable of the goddess Parā, see *Tantrāloka* 30.27–33.

5 *mantra 'syāḥ saur iti prokto yam upāste śivaḥ svayam |*
yaṃ mantram anupāsyāpi mriyante 'bjāsanādayaḥ |
 6 *taṃ mantram te pravakṣyāmi śṛṇu vatsa samāhitaḥ |*

1a *sarvamaṅṭrāṅṅāṃ* P₁ T/121 T/187: *sarvadharmāṅṅāṃ* As Ed^P **1d** *kaścit* As P₁ T/187: *kaści* T/121 **2b** *muktiṃ* As P₁ T/187: *mukti* T/121 **2c** *ṛcchasi* As T/121: *ṛcchati* P₁ T/187 **2d** *te vadāmy aham* As T/187: *te dadāmy aham* P₁ T/121 **3a** *muktyartha* As T/121: *muktārtha* P₁ **3d** *parāśaktiyabhidhāyakaḥ* Ed^P: *paraśaktiyabhidhāyakaḥ* As: *parāśaktividhānakaḥ* P₁^{ac}: *paraśaktividhāyakaḥ* P₁^{pc}: *parasatvābhidhāyakaḥ* T/121: *parāśaktividhāyakaḥ* T/187 **3c** *cicchaktir* As P₁ T/187: *bījaśaktir* T/121 • *ekā jīvānāṃ* As P₁ T/121 T/187: *eva mokṣāya* Ed^P **3d** *mokṣadānakṛtavrata* P₁ T/121 T/187: *mokṣādānakṛtavrataḥ* As Ed^P **4a** *tasmāt tāṃ* corr.: *tasmān tāṃ* T/121: *śiṃ* As: omitted in P₁ T/187: *cicchaktiṃ* conj. Ed^P **4d** *parā* As Ed^P T/121 T/187: *purā* P₁ **5ab** *prokto yam upāste* T/121: *proktaḥ samupāste* P₁ As Ed^P T/187 **5c** *yaṃ mantram anupāsyāpi* conj.: *yaṃ mantram anupāsyāmi* T/121: *yamantram anupaśyāmi* T/187: *yaṃ maṅṭram anupaśyā* P₁: *yaṃ mantram anupāśyāmā* As: *yaṃ mantram samupāśya mā* Ed^P **5d** *mriyante 'bjāsanādayaḥ* As Ed^P T/121: *mriyatejāsanādayaḥ* P₁: *mriyatejāsanādayaḥ* T/187 **6a** *taṃ mantram* corr.: *tanmantram* P₁ As Ed^P T/121 T/187

Pippalāda said: (1–2b) O venerable one, you have taught the procedures for every Mantra. [But] you have taught [me] no higher Mantra (*mahāmantraḥ*)[, one] that can bring about liberation. I am committed to the path of rites (*karmamārge*). How [in spite of that] shall I achieve liberation?

Āṅgiras said: (2c–3b) You ask well, my pupil. Out of compassion I shall tell you. There is [indeed] a higher Mantra for the purpose of liberation. It is that which denotes Parāśakti. (3c–4b) She is the single Power of Consciousness, dedicated to granting liberation to souls. It is by propitiating that Power that Sādhakas (*prasādhakāḥ*) achieve this goal. (4c–5b) [The scriptures] teach that this [Power], Parāśakti, constitutes Śiva [himself], since his nature is [none other than this] Consciousness, and they teach that her Mantra is SAUḤ, on which Śiva himself meditates with devotion. (5c–6b) I shall [now] teach you [the procedure of] that Mantra upon which Brahmā and the other [lesser gods] do not meditate and for that very reason are mortal.¹⁰⁰ Listen, dear [pupil], with full attention.

He then sets out in verses 6c–31 an order of essentialized worship of this Mantra based on that set out in the *Parātrīśikā*, except that it assimilates this to the model of the other *Āṅgirasakalpa* Mantra rites by incorporating such features as the *vyāpakanyāsaḥ* and the specification of a Ṛṣi and the rest. It ends, should there

¹⁰⁰Brahmā and the other lesser gods of the Śaivas are indeed considered mortal. For their life-spans, though vast and ever vaster the higher their rank, are finite. That of Brahmā (100 of his years) is one *mahākālpaḥ* (313,528,320,000,000 ordinary years), which is a day in the 100-year life-span of Viṣṇu, and so on. When they die the universe up to their level is withdrawn for a period equal to their life-spans and they themselves are dissolved. When the period of withdrawal of a segment of the universe comes to its end a new deity, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, or another, according to the level, is engendered by Śiva to govern it. See, e.g., *Svacchanda* 11.252c–319.

aukāreṇa As T/187: *aikāreṇa* P₁ T/121 **13b** *ataṃdritaḥ* P₁ T/187: *atantritaḥ* As T/121 **13cd** *dr̥ṣṭim* P₁ As T/187: *dr̥ṣṭam* T/121 **14a** *nabhasām* P₁ As T/187: *nirasām* T/121 **14c** *antastālā* P₁ As T/187: *antastālār* T/121 **14d** *dvidhāmī* As T/187: *dvidhāmi* T/121: *dvidhāḥ* P₁ **15a** *hr̥dy antaryajanaṃ* P₁ T/187: *hr̥dantaryajanaṃ* T/121: *hr̥dyam tu taryanaṃ* As: *hr̥dyam tu taryanaṃ* Ed^P: *hr̥di tu tarpanaṃ* conj. PANDĀ **15b** *devatāyās* P₁ As T/121: *devateyās* T/187 **15c** *bhūtasuddhiṃ* T/121 T/187: *bhūmisuddhiṃ* P₁ As • *prakurvīta* P₁ Ed^P T/121 T/187: *prakūvīta* As • *dahanātmanā* As Ed^P T/121 T/187: *hr̥*anātmanā* P₁ **16c** *pāśadāhārthaṃ* P₁ T/121 T/187: *pāśahatvārthaṃ* As: *pāśanāsārthaṃ* Ed^P **16d** *bhāvayad dahanam* As Ed^P T/187: *bhāvayad danaṃ* P₁: *bhāvadehananaṃ* T/121 **17b** *bhāvayet plāvanātmakam* conj.: *bhāvayet plavanātmakam* T/121: *bhāvayet pavanātmakam* P₁ As Ed^P T/187

Pippalāda said: (6c–8) He should restrain his breathing twenty-seven times while repeating this [Seed].¹⁰² In the lotus-posture the Mantrin should bow to his seat. He should first utter [the syllables] AIM HRĪM ŚRĪM and then express obeisance to (*namet*) the lotus throne of the Kula (*kulapadmāsanam*).¹⁰³ The best of Mantrins should bow to the Pīṭha *Oḍḍiyāna (*conj.*).¹⁰⁴ (8c–9b) Then after bowing to the supreme God Śiva, he should bow to his Guru,

¹⁰²Cf. the instruction for breath-restraint in *Nityotsava, Parāpaddhati*, p. 191: *ṣoḍaśavāram āvṛttena mūlena pūrakam catuḥṣaṣṭivāram āvṛttena kumbhakaṃ dvātriṃśadvāram āvṛttena recakam iti viṃśatidhā ṣoḍaśadhā saptadhā tridhā vā prānān āyamiya* ‘Having restrained his breathing twenty, sixteen, seven, or three times, doing each inhalation for the duration of sixteen repetitions of the root-Mantra, each holding of the inhalation for the duration of sixty-four repetitions, and each exhalation for the duration of thirty-two repetitions ...’. The number twenty-seven in our text is by extension of its prescription in the *Parātrīśikā* for the number of repetitions of the Mantra required for the empowerment of the hair-queue (*śikhā*) before it is tied (27a) and the water to be sprinkled for purification (28c–29b), and for the worship of Parā (31cd).

¹⁰³I surmise that this means that one should consecrate one’s seat with the Mantra AIM HRĪM ŚRĪM KULAPADMĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ or, considering parallels and the possibility that *padmāsanam* is for the metre, AIM HRĪM ŚRĪM KULAKAMALĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ. Cf. *Parāpaddhati*, p. 191: *svāstīrṇe ūrṇāmṛduni śucini mūlena dvādaśavāram abhimantrite sakṛt prokṣite cāsane SAUḤ ĀDHĀRAŚAKTIKAMALĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ iti prāṇmukha udāṇmukho vā padmasvastikādyananyatamenāsane nopaviśya; Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, Śyāmākrama*, p. 193: *yāgagrham pravīśyāsane ĀDHĀRAŚAKTIKAMALĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ ity upaviśya*. I have opted for reading of the seed-syllables given in P₁ and T/121 (AIM HRĪM ŚRĪM), because these are the *tritārī* ‘the set of three Praṇavas’ that is much used in the system of the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*. That requires (*Śrīkrama, Sūtra* 8) that this triad should open every Mantra used in the worship of Lalitā after the worshipper has entered the shrine (*yāgagrham*): *sarveṣāṃ mantrāṇām ādau tritārīsaṃyogaḥ. tritārī vāṇmāyākamalāḥ* ‘The *tritārī* should be added at the beginning of all the Mantras. It is the Vāk, Māyā, and Kamalā’. Rāmeśvara explains the Sūtra’s definition of the *tritārī* (*vāṇmāyākamalāḥ*) as follows (p. 92): *vāk sabindur dvādaśavarah. māyā turīyośmasahitadvitīyāntasthottara(h) sabindus turyasvarah. kamalā prathamōśmasahitadvitīyāntaḥsthopari sabindus turyasvarah* ‘Vāk is the twelfth vowel and the dot (AIM). Māyā is the fourth vowel with the dot after the second of the semivowels (*antaḥsthāḥ*) together with the fourth of the fricatives (*uṣmāṇaḥ*) (HRĪM). Kamalā is the the fourth vowel with the dot after the second of the semivowels together with the first of the fricatives (ŚRĪM)’.

¹⁰⁴This translates a tentative conjecture based on the readings of T/121 and As. It is tentative because although it seems to me to be the most economical interpretation of the source of the meaningless readings transmitted by these two manuscripts I know of no parallel that supports obeisance of a Śākta sacred site at this point of the ritual nor any passage that associates this Śākta site Oḍḍiyāna with the Trika rather than the Krama (for its association with

Gaṇeśa, the Kṣetrapāla, Durgā, and Sarasvatī.¹⁰⁵ (9c–10) After bowing to Brahmā [as the Lord of the shrine (*vāstvadhīpatiḥ*)] he should act to eliminate the Impeders. With SA he should clap thrice at [the level of his] Mūlādharma. The learned [worshipper] should make each subsequent clap of the three louder than that which it follows. (11ab) He should do [the same] with AU at [the level of his] heart and with [three] AḤs at [the level of] the aperture of Brahmā. (11cd) With these nine claps he will drive away the Impeders from the earth[, the region below it,] and [the air above it]. (12) After taking hold of his right foot with his left hand the learned [worshipper] should beat the ground [with it] while repeating the sound SA, in order to eliminate the Impeders [in the Pātāla worlds beneath the earth]. (13ab) Remaining alert he should make three more claps with AU. (13cd) [Clapping thrice] while repeating AḤ he should cast a furious gaze into the sky. (14ab) [By this means will] have been eliminated all Impeders in the Pātālas [below the site], on the earth [of the site], and in the sky [above it]. (14cd) We have been taught that these claps are of two kinds: internal and external.¹⁰⁶ (15–

the Krama see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 261–269). It is possible, however, that for the author or redactor of the *Parāṅgavidhi* Oḍḍiyāna was understood not as that Oḍḍiyāna, located in the Swat valley, but as a name of Orissa (Oḍra) itself. It is tempting to prefer the reading *tathoktvā yogapīṭham* ca of P₁ T/187. Though *tathoktvā* seems to be corrupt, since it yields no appropriate sense here, we can find support for obeisance to the Yogapīṭha, that is to say, for a Mantra ending -YOGAPĪṬHĀYA NAMAḤ, in the procedure taught in the *Parākrama* of the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra* (Sūtra 18, commentary, and *Parāpaddhati*, p. 193) for the creation of the throne of Parā comprising all the thirty-six Tattvas from earth to Śiva. The worshipper builds the throne (*āsanam*) by casting single flowers as he utters for each Tattva a Mantra consisting of SAUḤ followed by the stem-form of the name of the Tattva followed by YOGAPĪṬHĀYA NAMAḤ, thus beginning SAUḤ PṚTHIVĪYOGAPĪṬHĀYA NAMAḤ and ending SAUḤ ŚIVAYOGAPĪṬHĀYA NAMAḤ. Perhaps, then, *tathoktvā* is a corruption of *tattvoktyā* or similar. With *tattvoktyā* the meaning would be ‘The best of Mantrins should bow to the Yogapīṭha while naming the Tattvas’.

¹⁰⁵I am not aware of an exact parallel to this obeisance to Gaṇeśa, the Kṣetrapāla, Durgā, and Sarasvatī; but it is evident that these deities are to be understood as guarding the door to the shrine. These four minus Sarasvatī are prescribed in that role in the *Parāpaddhati*, p. 191. That requires the meditator to worship Bhadrakālī (= Durgā) at the base of the right doorpost, Bhairava (= Kṣetrapāla) at the base of the left, and Lambodara (= Gaṇeśa) above the door: *dvārasya dakṣavāmaśākhayor ūrdhvabhāge ca krameṇa SAUḤ BHADRAKĀLYAI NAMAḤ BHAIKAVĀYA LAMBODARĀYA NAMAḤ iti tisro dvāradevatāḥ saṃpūjyāntaḥ praviṣṭaḥ*; see also *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*, *Gaṇanāyakaḥpaddhati*, Sūtra 4. A similar cluster of door-deities is prescribed in *Śāradātīlaka* 4.6d–7. There one is instructed to worship Gaṇeśa, Mahālakṣmī, and Sarasvatī on the lintel, and Gaṇeśa and the Kṣetrapāla at the bases of the right and left doorposts. A closer parallel is seen in the practice of some, as reported by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on this passage, according to which one worships Durgā rather than Gaṇeśa at the base of the right doorpost. That passage also requires one to worship Gaṅgā and Yamunā flanking the two deities of the doorposts and Astra on the door-sill. The *Parāṅgavidhi*’s prescription could be interpreted as keeping only the core-deities from this more elaborate sequence, which is taught after all in the more elaborate context of the ceremony of initiation.

¹⁰⁶This distinction between the internal and external aspects of the rite of expelling the Impeders is seen in *Parātrīśikālaghvortti*, p. 20 on 28ab (*tālatrayaṃ purā dattvā saśabdāṃ vighnaśāntaye*): *purā pūroaṃ tālatrayaṃ hṛdbījakalātrayaḥśrāntitrayarūpaṃ vaikhariśabdaparyantaṃ svātma-*

17b) Next he should devotedly worship the deity internally in [his] heart. The learned [worshipper] should purify the elements [of his body], uttering the Mantra, with [the visualization of] the root-Mantra burning [as it ascends] from [his] Mūlādhāra to his aperture of Brahmā. He should visualize the Mantra burning to incinerate the bonds of [his] transmigratory existence. [Then] he should visualize it inundating [his body with nectar] from his aperture of Brahmā to his Mūlādhāra.¹⁰⁷

The Ṛṣi, metre, deity, Seed, Śakti, application, and installation (*nyāsaḥ*) of the Mantra:

ṛṣiḥ syād dakṣiṇāmūrtis triṣṭup chandaḥ prakīrtitam |
18 devatā syāt parāśaktiḥ sakāro bījam iṣyate |
auḥ śaktir yogasiddhyarthe viniyoga udāhṛtaḥ |
19 ṣaḍbhir dīrghaiś ca saṃyuktaiḥ sakārair ūrdhvabindukaiḥ |

no dadyāt. tatsvīkārakaṃ svātmānaṃ vighnānāṃ caturāṇḍagatabhedābhimānaśaṃkalpānāṃ śāntaye **bahir antaś ca** *vāmapārṣṇihastamukhaśābdakrameṇa (vāmapārṣṇi corr. [cf. Parākrama, 8: vāmapārṣṇighātaiḥ; Parāpaddhati, p. 191: vāmapārṣṇibhūtala-; Anuttarasamvidarcanārcā, p. 9: pārṣṇihastamukhaiḥ]: pādapāṇi Ed.) pātālabhūmyantarikṣagatabhedavighnaśamanāya kuryāt ‘First he should give three ‘claps’ to himself, these in the form of the three points of rest in the three constituents of the heart-seed [SAUḤ], descending [through Paśyantī, and Madhyamā] to audible utterance on the level of Vaikharī. He should make himself assimilate them in order to quell the Impeders in the form of false identification with and desire for the plurality of the four spheres [of the universe], both internally and externally, with sounds produced by his left heel, hands, and mouth in order to quell the Impeders that are the pluralities [manifest] in the subterranean worlds, on the earth, and in the air’. See also Parātrīśikātātparyā-dīpikā 377–381: vācaḥ parāyā vakyartharūpāyā hṛdayātmanaḥ | vivakṣādhyavasoktyātmapaśyantiyā-dikramātmanaḥ | parādīśaktirūpeṇa prasaratritvoasūcakam | mātrmānārthasadbhāvavācyāṃśatritayā-tmakam | hṛdayaṃ bhairavīyaṃ tad ātmatvenāvadhārayan | *tadaṃśāntarūpāṃśūccaiḥśabdanakramalakṣaṇam (tadaṃśā em.: tadaṃśo Ed.) | śaktyādicaturāṇḍodyatpātālakṣmāntarikṣagān | sarvān śamayitum vighnān bhedaataddhīmayān vibhūn | tālatrayaṃ pārṣṇihastamukhaśābdanam *ācaret (em.: ācaran Ed.) | svīkurvan mātrmā *meyatrayasadbhāvalakṣaṇam (meyā em.: pīya Ed.); and Anuttarasamvidarcanārcā, pp. 8–9: śaktyādyāṇḍacatuṣṭayārabdhapātālaprthivyantarikṣātmakatrailokyaviśayabhedābhimānaśaṃkalpātmakavighnanirāsāya *vivakṣādhyavasāyoyoktirūpapaśyantīmadhyamāvaikharyātmakavāgṛttitrayeṇa (vivakṣādhyavasāyoyoktirūpapaśyantīmadhyamāvaikharyātmaka- em.: vivakṣādhyavasāyoyoktirūpā paśyantīmadhyamā vaikharyātmaka- Cod.) pramāṇaprameyavimarśānāṃ saṃyojanatayā pārṣṇihastamukhaiḥ śābdanaṃ tālatrayasvīkaraṇam. The four spheres (caturāṇḍa-) mentioned in these passages are those beginning with the śaktyāṇḍam taught in Mālinīvijayottara 2.49.

¹⁰⁷For this incineration (*dahanam*) and inundation with nectar (*[ā]plāvanam*) cf. Paraśurāmaka-lpasūtra, Śrīkrama 11: vāyavagnisalilavarṇayukprāṇāyāmaiḥ śoṣaṇaṃ saṃdahanam āplāvanam ca vidhāya ‘having desiccated, incinerated, and inundated [his body] with breath-restraints accompanied with the syllables of wind, fire, and water respectively ...’. The term *bhūtaśuddhiḥ* for this process is also seen *ibid.* in *Vārāhīkrama*, Sūtra 6. For the purpose of the inundation see, e.g., *Mṛgendrapaddhativoyākyā*, p. 77: huṃphaḍantena mantreṇa ***dahanam** (em.: daharam Cod.) kṛtvā vauṣaḍantamūlena śāktatvasaṃpādanāya **āplāvanam** ca kṛtvā ‘Having burnt away [the body] with the Mantra followed by HUṃ PHAṬ, and having inundated it with the root-Mantra followed by VAUṢAṬ in order to transform it into one that is made of [Śiva’s] powers’. For the use of *plāvanam* rather than *āplāvanam* in this context see, e.g. *Svacchanda* 2.37d–38a: *plāvane vāruṇaḥ smṛtaḥ | bindumastakasambhinnaḥ*.

mantrī kuryāt ṣaḍ aṅgāni prakārāntaram ucyate |
 20 *tribhir varṇair dvīr uktair vā saccidānandalakṣaṇaiḥ |*
prakurvīta ṣaḍ aṅgāni tataḥ pratyakṣaram nyaset |
 21 *mastake caiva jihvāyāṃ hr̥daye guhyake tathā |*
sarvāṅge ca pañca pañca nyāsān kuryān mahāmanoḥ |
 22 *saptaviṃśativāram ca śikhāyāṃ vinyasen manum |*
mastakād hr̥dayam yāvāt sakāram vinyased dvijaḥ |
 23 *hr̥dayān nābhiparyantam aukāram ca pravinyaset |*
nābheś caraṇaparyantam visargam ca pravinyaset |
 24 *bhūyo 'dhaḥkramato 'py evaṃ mantrī pratyakṣaram nyaset |*
sarveṇa vyāpakam nyāsam mantrī pūroavad ācaret |

17c ṛṣiḥ syād T/187:ruṣiḥ syād P₁ As:ṛṣisyā T/121 • dakṣiṇā P₁:dakṣiṣā As 17d triṣṭup
 P₁ Ed^P T/121 T/187:triṣṭap As 18a syāt As Ed^P T/187:syāḥ P₁ T/121 18b sakāro
 As T/121 T/187:sākāro P₁ 18c auḥ Ed^P:au As T/187:ai P₁ T/121 • śaktir P₁ T/121
 T/187 Ed^P:śaktar As • siddhyarthe P₁ T/121 T/187 Ed^P:sadhvarthe As 19a ṣadbhir T/121
 T/187:ṣadbhir P₁:padbhir As Ed^P • ca saṃyuktaiḥ As T/121 T/187:ca yuktais ca P₁ 19b
 sakārair ūrdhvabindukaiḥ As T/187:sakārair urddhvabimḍukaiḥ P₁^{pc}:sakārairḍdhakindukaiḥ As
 T/121:sakārair ūrdhvabimḍubhiḥ P₁^{ac}:sakārairḍdhakindukaiḥ As T/121 20a tribhir conj.:ebhir
 Codd. • varṇair As P₁ T/187:varṇai T/121 20c prakurvīta P₁ T/121 T/187:prakurvīta As
 21a caiva jihvāyāṃ P₁ Ed^P T/121 T/187:vaiva jijñāyāṃ As 21c sarvāṅge ca conj.:sarvāṅgeṇa
 Codd. 21d nyāsān As P₁ T/187:nyāsam T/121 • mahāmanoḥ conj.:mahāmanuḥ Codd. 22c
 mastakād hr̥dayam yāvāt P₁ As T/187:mastakāt hr̥dayā jāvat T/121 22d vinyased dvijaḥ P₁
 As:vinyasedvijaḥ T/121:vinyased budhaḥ T/187 23b aukāram As T/121 T/187:aikāram P₁

(17c–18) The Ṛṣi [of the Mantra] is Dakṣiṇāmūrti,¹⁰⁸ [its] metre is said to be
 the Triṣṭubh; its deity is Parāśakti; [its] Seed (*bījam*) is held to be SA (*sakārah*);
 [its] Śakti is AUḤ; and [its] application (*viniyogaḥ*) has been declared [to
 be] “for the success of meditation” (*yogasiddhyarthe*). (19abc) Moreover, the
 Mantrin should form the six ancillary Mantras (*ṣaḍ aṅgāni*) with [six] S[A]-s
 combined with the six long vowels [Ā Ī Ū AI AU AḤ] and Ṁ above [all except
 the last].¹⁰⁹ (19d–20) I shall teach an alternative. He has the option of form-

¹⁰⁸This choice was probably motivated by the thought that the form of Śiva known as Dakṣiṇā-
 mūrti is, as it were, Parā’s male counterpart, Parā being a Tantric form of Sarasvatī (SANDERSON
 1990, pp. 43–45), the goddess that embodies speech and knowledge, and Dakṣiṇāmūrti being
 Śiva’s aspect as Guru in the South Indian iconographical tradition. Moreover, in his form as ex-
 positor of the scriptures (*vyākhyānamūrtiḥ*) his iconography is strikingly similar to Parā’s, since
 he too is white and in two of his four hands shows the gesture of knowledge (*jñānamudrā*)
 and a manuscript (*pustakam*); see the South Indian *Kāmika* 2.51.8d–9b quoted by BHATT in *Rau-
 ravāgama*, vol. 2, p. 120: *savyahastaś (corr.: savyahastam Ed.) ca mudrayā | saṃdamśasaṃjñāyopeto
 *vāmahastah sapustakah (conj.: vāmahastasthapustakah Ed.) ‘His right hand has the pincers ges-
 ture (*saṃdamśasamudrā*) and the left has a manuscript’. The pincers gesture is the same as the
jñānamudrā but with the palm towards the chest; cf. the prescription of his icon in *Rauravāgama*,
Kriyāpāda 35.288cd: hr̥daye jñānamudrā tu hy abhyantaramukham karam.

¹⁰⁹Thus the modifications of the root-Mantra that form its six Ancillaries are SĀṀ [HR̥DAYĀYA
 NAMAḤ], SĪṀ [ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ], SŪṀ [ŚIKHĀYAI VAṢAṬ], SAIM [KAVACĀYA HUṀ], SAUṀ [NE-

ing the six Ancillaries with the three sounds [of the Mantra] uttered twice, [these three] representing Being, Consciousness, and Bliss [respectively] (*sac-cidānanda*-). Then [after the installation to be prescribed] he should do the *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ*, the installation of each of the [three] sounds one by one. (21–22b) He should install the Great Mantra five times on each [of the following:] the [top of the] head, the tongue, the heart, the genitals, and [then as Pervasive in] the whole body¹¹⁰ and then twenty-seven times on his top-knot (*śikhā*).¹¹¹

(22c–24b) [The brahmin should then do the *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ*. He should] install SA from [the top of] his head to his heart, AU from his heart to his navel, and AḤ from his navel to his feet. The Mantrin should install [the Mantra] in the same way once again, sound by sound (*pratyakṣaram*), in the order of descent.¹¹² (24cd) The Mantrin should [then] do the Pervasive Installation as above, using the whole [Mantra].¹¹³

TRATRAYĀYA VAUṢAṬ], and SAḤ [ASTRĀYA PHAṬ]. Cf. the *Parāmantravidhi* edited below, ll. 2–3, and *Tantrāloka* 30.36cd: *sakāro dīrghaṣaṭkena yukto 'ṅgāni; Mālinīvijayottara* 3.60cd. For the closing elements from NAMAḤ to PHAṬ (the six *jātayaḥ*) I have followed the order followed in the nearly universal tradition seen, for example, in the *Mrgendra* (*Kriyāpāda* 1.9ab), the *Svacchanda* (1.72), the *Prapañcasāra* (6.6), the *Paraśurāmakaḥkalpasūtra* exegesis (e.g. Rāmeśvara on *Parākrama*, Sūtra 14 and *Parāpaddhati*, p. 192), the *Mahākālasaṃhitā* (e.g. 6.510c–513), the Bengali Śākta literature of the Ten Mahāvidyās (e.g. *Śaktapramoda*, p. 8), and our *Āṅgirasakalpa* texts (e.g., the *Āsurīdīpikā* of Bhūdhara, Ed^P p. 121; the *Vakratuṇḍakalpa* of Bhṛgu, Ed^P p. 148). This differs from the tradition seen in the *Tantrāloka*, in which VAUṢAṬ is the *jātiḥ* of the Śikhā rather than the Eyes and VAṢAṬ that of the three Eyes rather than the Hair-queue (30.43c–44a: *namaḥ svāhā tathā vauṣaṭ hum vauṣaṭ phaṭ ca jātayaḥ | aṅgeṣu kramaśaḥ ṣatsu*).

¹¹⁰This is derived from *Parātrīśikā* 26c–27a: *mūrdhni vaktre ca hṛdaye guhye mūrttau tathaiḥ ca | nyāsaṃ kṛtvā*. The *Parāpaddhati* prescribes this installation as follows (p. 192): *tejorūpadevīmayaṃ bhāvayann ātmānaṃ muhur āvṛttena SAUḤ NAMAḤ iti namontena mūlena śīromukhahṛṇmūlādhāreṣu nyāsaṃ vidhāya sarvāṅge ca vyāpakaṃ kṛtvā ...* ‘While meditating on himself as one with the Goddess in the form of light he should do the installation [of the Mantra] on his head, face, heart, and *mūlādhāraḥ* (genitals), and then install it as pervasive on his whole body, through multiple repetitions of the root-Mantra followed by NAMAḤ, i.e. SAUḤ NAMAḤ’. The *Parājapavidhi*’s rule that one should utter the Mantra five times at each of these five locations is seen in the *Parātrīśikātātparyadīpikā* 383–385: *drśyamānāḥ śarīre 'tra svaktīye satatoditāḥ | ātmano bhairavītyasya hṛdayāmṛtavāridheḥ | cidānandaīṣaṇājñānakriyākhyāḥ spandasampadaḥ | vimṛśya hṛdaye 'traiva sarvataṭtvamaye nīje | bhāti dehatayā *kāsyahṛdguhyāṅghridvayātmatā (kāsyā em. : kārya Ed.) | pañcakṛtvo nyased bījaṃ teṣu sthāneṣu pañcasu* ‘The splendours of the vibrancy of the self that is Bhairava, [the waves] of the ocean of the nectar of the Heart, namely consciousness, bliss, will, cognition, and action, are ever active, directly perceived in this one’s body. If one meditates upon them within this same [centre that] is one’s Heart, [this Heart] that comprises all the Tattvas, their identity with one’s head, face, heart, genitals, and two feet shines forth as one’s body. One should [therefore] install the Seed [SAUḤ] five times on each of these five locations’.

¹¹¹For this element see *Parātrīśikā* 27ab: *nyāsaṃ kṛtvā śikhāṃ baddhvā saptaviṃśatimantritām; and Parākrama*, Sūtra 10: *... saptaviṃśatiṣo japtvā aṅguṣṭhena śikhāṃ baddhvā ...*

¹¹²This *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ* is not found in the *Parātrīśikā* or in any of the South Indian texts of the *Parākrama* that I have seen. It has probably to be counted among elements added to bring the ritual into line with the standard procedure of the *Āṅgirasakalpa* corpus.

¹¹³The order of the installations intended here appears to be as follows: (1) *ṣaḍaṅganyāsaḥ*,

The visualization (*dhyānam*):

25 *tato dhyāyen mahādevīm sāksān muktīpradāyinīm |*
akalaṅkaśāsāṅkābhā tryakṣā candrakalāvātī |
 26 *mudrāpustalasadbhūḥ pātu mām īśvarī parā |*
dhyātō devīm dhenumudrām yonimudrām ca darśayet |
 27 *śuklām vā śuklavasanām pīnonnatapayodharām |*
varābhayakarām devīm trinetrām candrasekharām |
 28 *sarvālaṅkāradīptāṅgīm padmāsanagatām parām |*
śaktīsthāne 'thavākāśe mokṣārthī pravacintayet |

25a *mahādevīm* As T/121 T/187: *mahāmamtram devīm* P₁ **25b** *pradāyinīm* As P₁: *pradāyini* T/121 T/187 • *sāksān* P₁ T/121 T/187: *sāksyā* As **25d** *candrakalāvātī* P₁ T/121 T/187: *ca candrakāvātī* As **26a** *mudrāpustalasadbhūḥ* em.: *mudrāpustanasadbhūḥ* T/121: *mutāpustalasadbhūḥ* P₁: *sutāpustalasadbhūḥ* T/187: *sūtrāpustalasadbhūḥ* As: *sūtrapustakamadavāḥ* Ed^P **26b** *pātu mām īśvarī* em. Ed^P T/121 T/187: *pātu mām īśvarīm* As: *pātum īśvarīm* P₁ **26d** *ca darśayet* As T/121 T/187: *pradarśayet* P₁ **27a** *śuklām vā śuklavasanām* conj.: *śuklām ca śuklavasanām* As: *śuklām śuklavasanām* P₁ T/121 T/187 **27c** *varābhayakarām* P₁ T/121 T/187: *varātrayakarām* As: *vasutrayakarā* Ed^P **28a** *dīptāṅgīm* P₁ As T/121 T/187: *sarvāṅgīm* Ed^P **28b** *padmāsanagatām* P₁ As T/187: *padmāsanām gatām* T/121 **28c** *thavākāśe* P₁ As T/187: *gavākāśe* T/121

(2) *aṅganyāsaḥ*, (3) *śikhānyāsaḥ*, (4) *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ*, and (5) *vyāpakanyāsaḥ*. This interpretation assumes that 20d (*tataḥ pratyakṣaram nyaset*) does not prescribe a *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ* between the first and second but refers to the *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ* that will be detailed in 22c–24b after the prescription of the *aṅganyāsaḥ* and *śikhānyāsaḥ*.

The alternative procedure (*prakārantaram*) for the installation of the six Ancillaries given here is that prescribed by the *Parākrama* (Sūtra 14): *bhṛgucaturdaśaśoḍaśadvirāvṛtīyā varṇaśaḍaṅgam ...* ‘The six Ancillaries of the individual sounds are formed by repeating Bhṛgu, the fourteenth, and the sixteenth twice’. Rāmeśvara explains: *bhṛguḥ sakārah. caturdaśa aukārah. śoḍaśo visargah. eteṣāṃ pratyekam dvirāvṛtīyā hrdayādiśaḍaṅgam kuryāt. *iti* (em.: *atha* Ed.) *binduyogaś ca śiṣṭasampradāyāt. mantrasvarūpam: SAḤ HRDAYĀYA NAMAḤ AUḤ ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ AḤ ŚIKHĀYAI VAṢAṬ visargasya kevalasyānucāryatvāt. evam agre 'pi 'Bhṛgu is SA, the fourteenth is AU, and the sixteenth is AḤ. One should make the six Ancillaries beginning with the Heart by using each of these twice. This is how one installs the six Ancillaries in the form of the individual sounds [of the Mantra SAUḤ]. Moreover, one must add Ṣ [to SA and AU], because such is the tradition of the learned. The form of the Mantras is as follows: SAḤ HRDAYĀYA NAMAḤ, AUḤ ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ, AḤ ŚIKHĀYAI VAṢAṬ—[AḤ.] because Ḥ on its own is unpronounceable—and so on’. The immediately preceding Sūtra rules that all the Mantras of the *Parākrama* should begin with the sounds SAUḤ (13: *sarve 'pi parākramamanavaḥ sauhvarṇapūrvāḥ kāryāḥ*), and the *Parāpaddhati* applies this to the *varṇaśaḍaṅganyāsaḥ*. It also goes against the view seen in Rāmeśvara’s commentary by teaching that the constituent sounds should be S, AU, and Ḥ, stating that the last should be on its own and not preceded by A. Thus (p. 192): SAUḤ S HRDAYĀYA NAMAḤ SAUḤ AU ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ SAUḤ Ḥ ŚIKHĀYAI VAṢAṬ SAUḤ S KAVACĀYA HUḤ SAUḤ AU NETRATRAYĀYA VAUṢAṬ SAUḤ Ḥ ASTRĀYA PHAṬ *iti mūlamantrāvayavair dvirāvṛttair varṇaśaḍaṅgam*. The order of installations in the *Parāpaddhati* differs from that taught in the South Indian texts. The *Parākrama* teaches first the *aṅganyāsaḥ* on the five locations (Sūtra 9), then the *śikhānyāsaḥ* (Sūtra 10), then the *varṇaśaḍaṅganyāsaḥ* with the parts of the Mantra, and finally the *mantraśaḍaṅganyāsaḥ* with the whole Mantra (Sūtra 14). The *Parāpaddhati* (p. 192) teaches the same order, except that it omits the *śikhānyāsaḥ*.*

(25–26b) Then he should visualize the Great Goddess who directly bestows liberation [by reciting the following:] “May the goddess Parā protect me, with the colour of a moon with no mark, three-eyed, with the crescent of the moon [on her hair], her [two] arms beautiful with [her right hand in] the hand-posture [of knowledge] and [her left holding] a manuscript [of scripture]”.¹¹⁴

(26cd) After he has visualized the goddess he should display the hand-postures of the Cow and the Vulva.¹¹⁵ (27–28) Alternatively one who seeks liberation should visualize the goddess Parā in the site of Śakti [above the cranial aperture] (*śaktisthāne*)¹¹⁶ or in the sky, white, dressed in white, with

¹¹⁴No such visualization is found in the Kashmirian sources of the Trika, but it is standard in the South Indian sources of the Parākrama, and appears there in the form of this verse or a variant of it. We see it in the *Parātrīśikātātparyadīpikā* (v. 2), the *Anuttarasamvoidarcanācarcā* (v. 1) both with the variant *mudrāpustalasadbāhā pātu vah paramā kalā* as the second line, the *Gurupā-ramparyaprakāra*: *akalaṅkaśāsāṅkābhā (*śāsāṅkābhā* em. : *śivāṅkābhā* Cod.) *tryakṣā (em. : *akṣā* Cod.) *candrakalāvati* | *mudrāpustalasadbāhā pātu māṃ varakomalā* | *svaṛṇanirmalavarṇāṅgī* †*mūlamāyavarū-thinī* † | *brahmendumaṅḍalārūḍhā saccidānandamātṛkā*; *Parākrama* 20 and *Parāpaddhati*, p. 193, both with *mudrāpustalasadbāhūḥ pātu māṃ paramā kalā* as the second line; and *Prayogakramadīpikā* on *Prapañcasāra* 9.28 (which teaches the Japa of SAUḤ as the *śaktaṃ bījaṃ*, the last of the three Seeds of the Mantra of Bālā Tripurasundarī [AIṀ KLIM SAUḤ], *kevalaśaktajapaḥ*, for the attainment of eloquence), giving this as the visualization appropriate in the case of those who worship for liberation alone (*niṣkāmaṣaye*): *akalaṅkaśāsāṅkābhāṃ tryakṣāṃ candrakalāvatiṃ* | *mudrāpustalasadbāhāṃ muktāmaṇivibhūṣitāṃ*. The same iconography is given in vv. 4–6 of the *Parāstuti* of Sa-hajānandayogin incorporated in the *Parāpaddhati* (p. 196): *mauktikamaṇigaṇarucirāṃ śāsāṅkanir-mokanirmalamāṃ kṣaumamā* | *nivasānāṃ parameśiṃ namāmi sauvaṛṇapuṭāntahsthāṃ* | 5 *bhaktajanabhe-dabhañjanacinmudrākalitadakṣiṇapāṇitalāṃ* | *pūrṇāhaṃtākāraṇapustakavaryeṇa ruciravāmakarāṃ* | 6 *srṣṭisthitilayakṛdbhir nayanāmbhojaiḥ śāsīnadahanākhyaiḥ* | *mauktikatāṭāṅkābhyaṃ maṅḍitamukhama-ṅḍalāṃ parāṃ naumi* ‘I bow to the supreme goddess who shines with her array of pearls and jewels, wearing a silken garment white as the moon or the slough of a snake, seated between two SAUs. I praise Parā, her round face adorned by her pearl earrings and her three lotus-like eyes that as the moon, sun, and fire bring about the emission, maintenance, and resportion [of all things], her left hand showing the gesture of consciousness that shatters plurality for her devotees and her left hand holding a fine manuscript [that contains the knowledge] that brings about fully expanded awareness of the self’. The same visualization is seen in the *Rahasyapañcadaśikā* (v. 21), the *Lalitopākhyāna* of the *Brahmaṅḍapurāṇa* (39.10), and the *Ahirbudhnyasamhitā* (24.16), all South Indian texts; see SANDERSON 1990, p. 34, nn. 16–17 and 20.

The gesture of knowledge (*jñānamudrā*, *cinmudrā*) is formed by joining the tips of the index finger and thumb of the right hand to form a circle at the level of the heart with the other fingers extended and the palm facing to the left; see, e.g., *Jñānārṇava* 4.40c–41b and the unattributed quotation in *Śāradātilakapadārthādarśa*, p. 358 on 6.4. The manuscript is held with the back of the hand facing away from the body; see the definition of the *pustakamudrā* *ibid.*, l. 25 (*vāmamuṣṭiḥ svābhīmukhi*).

¹¹⁵The pairing of these two Mudrās is seen in the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*, which requires them to be shown in this order to perfect the preparation of the chalice (*arghyapātraṃ*). See *Gaṇanā-yakapaddhati*, Sūtra 5, concerning the setting up of the Arghyapātra: *astreṇa samrakṣya kavace-nāvakuṅṭhya dhenuyonimudrāṃ pradarśayet*; *Syāmākrama*, Sūtra 18: *astreṇa samrakṣya kavacenāvakuṅṭhya dhenuyonī pradarśya*; and 19: *astreṇa samrakṣya kavacenāvakuṅṭhya dhenuyonī pradarśayet*. For photographs of these Mudrās see *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*, Appendix 6, figs. A5 and B4.

¹¹⁶For the location of the *śaktisthānam* in the *dvādaśāntam* twelve finger-breadths above the cra-

full, high breasts, with her hands in [the gestures of granting] boons and protection, three-eyed, with the [crescent] moon on her head, her body glistening with every kind of jewelry, and seated on a lotus throne.¹¹⁷

The repetition of the Mantra (*japaḥ*):

29 *apānam ūrdhvam ākarṣan śāmbhavīm samyag ācaran |*
pratyahaṃ prajapen mantraṃ yathāśaktyā prasādhakah |
 30 *yo dvādaśasahasrāṇi pratyahaṃ prajaped imam |*
so 'vaśyaṃ jñānam āpnoti tato muktiṃ vrajaty api |
 31 *gūḍhād gūḍhatamo mantrō mayā te kṛpayoditaḥ |*
yogine 'yaṃ pradātavyo na deyo yasya kasyacit |

29a *apānam* P₁ As T/187: *āpānam* T/121 • *ūrdhvam* P₁ As: *ūrddham* T/121: *advīm* T/187
 29b *śāmbhavīm* P₁ T/187: *śāmbhavī* T/121: *śāmbhavīm* As 29c *mantraṃ* P₁ As T/187: *mantrīm*
 T/121 29d *yathāśaktyā* P₁ As T/121 T/187: *yathāśakti* Ed^P 31a *gūḍhād gūḍhatamo* P₁: *gūḍhād*
gūḍhatamo As Ed^P: *gūḍhāmghūḍatamo* T/121: *apadgūḍhatamo* T/187 31b *kṛpayoditaḥ* As P₁
 T/187: *kṛpayodvitaḥ* T/121

(29) Every day the Sādhaka should repeat the Mantras as [many times as] he is able, drawing upwards the descending breath,¹¹⁸ correctly practising the

nial aperture see *Tantrāloka* 31.126ab and commentary in the light of 15.361–2 and commentary.

¹¹⁷I know of no occurrence of this alternative visualization outside the two Trika-based *Āṅgīrasa* texts edited here.

¹¹⁸The expression *apānam ūrdhvam ākarṣan* echoes a verse quoted without attribution by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śāradātilaka* 2.111: *pārṣṇibhāgena sampīḍya yonim ākuñcayed gudam | apānam ūrdhvam ākarṣen mūlabandho nigadyate*, which also appears as *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* 3.61, *Gorakṣaśataka* 58, and *Yogamārtanḍa* 48, but with *ākṛṣya* instead of *ākarṣen*: ‘After compressing the Yoni with his heel he should contract his anus. The Mūlabandha is said [to be accomplished] by drawing the descending breath upwards [in this way]’. In Rāghavabhaṭṭa’s text this verse is followed by *gudamedhrāntaram yonis tām ākuñcya prabandhayet | yuvā bhavati vṛddho 'pi satatam mūlabandhanāt* ‘The Yoni is the area between the anus and the penis. He should bind [the Mūlabandha] by contracting it. By constant practice of the Mūlabandha even an aged man becomes youthful’. The *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* continues as follows (3.62–64): *adhogatim apānam vā ūrdhvagaṃ kurute balāt | ākuñcanena taṃ prāhur mūlabandhaṃ hi yoginaḥ | gudaṃ pārṣṇiyā tu sampīḍya vāyum ākuñcayed balāt | vāraṃ vāraṃ yathā cordhvaṃ samāyāti samīraṇaḥ | prāṇāpānau nādabindū mūlabandhena caikatām | gatvā yogasya saṃsiddhiṃ yacchato nātra saṃśayaḥ* ‘Or else he forces the descending breath upwards. The Yogins teach that the Mūlabandha is brought about by contracting. He should press the anus with his heel and then forcefully contract the [descending] breath again and again until the breath ascends. The outgoing and descending breaths, the Resonance and the Drop, are fused by the Mūlabandha and so bring about the success of one’s meditation. There is no doubt of this’. No connection with Japa is stated in these *Haṭhayogic* passages, but Rāghavabhaṭṭa gives his citation in just that context, for the verse of the *Śāradātilaka* (2.111) on which he is commenting is teaching a method for the reinvigoration (‘purification’) of defective Mantras: *ityādidoṣaduṣṭāms tām mantrān ātmani yojayet | śodhayed ūrdhvapavano baddhayā yonimudrayā* ‘He should take such Mantras as suffer from defects of this kind into himself and purify them by practising the Yonimudrā, [so] causing the [descending] breath to ascend’. It is to explain the nature of this Yonimudrā that he gives his citation. He cites another passage without attribution here that further clarifies the applicability of this practice

Śāmbhavī [Mudrā].¹¹⁹ (30) If a person repeats this [Mantra] twelve thousand [times] a day, he certainly attains enlightenment and thereby the state of liberation. (31) Out of compassion I have told you the Mantra that is more secret than secret. It may be passed on [only] to a meditator. It may not be given to all and sundry.

The benefits of the *japaḥ* (= *Parātrīśikā*¹²⁰):

32 *muhūrtam smarate yas tu cumbake nābhimudritam |*
sa badhnāti tadā dehe mantramudrāgaṇam mahat |
 33 *atītānāgatān arthān pṛṣṭo 'sau kathayaty api |*
praharād yad abhipretam devatārūpam uccaran |
 34 *sākṣāt paśyaty asaṁdigdham ākrṣtam rudraśaktibhiḥ |*
praharadvayamātreṇa vyomastho jāyate smaran |
 35 *trayeṇa mātaraḥ sarvā yogeśvāryo mahābalāḥ |*
vīrā vīreśvarāḥ siddhā balavān śākinīgaṇaḥ |
 36 *āgatya samayaṁ dattvā bhairaveṇa pracoditāḥ |*
yacchanti paramāṁ siddhiṁ phalaṁ yad vā samīhitam |
 37 *anena siddhāḥ setsyanti sādhayanti ca mantriṇaḥ |*
yat kiṁcit bhairave tantre sarvaṁ asmin prasiddhyati |

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32b *cumbake nābhimudritam* P₁ As T/121: *cumvakenābhimantritam* T/187 **33a** *atītānāgatān* P₁ As T/187: *atatānāgatān* T/121 **34ab** *asaṁdigdham ākrṣtam* P₁ As: *asaṁdiśyamākṣtam* T/121: *asandigdhammāmkrṣtam* T/187 **35b** *yogeśvāryo* As T/121: *yogeśvarāmyo* P₁ T/187 • *mahābalāḥ* P₁ As T/187: *mahābalā* T/121 **36a** *dattvā* As P₁ T/121 T/187^{pc}: *gatvā* T/187^{ac} **36d** *phalaṁ yad vā samīhitam* em.: *phalaṁ yad vā samīritam* P₁ T/121 T/187: *phala yadā samīritam*

to Japa: *yonim baddhvā bījaṁ bindvādipathena conmanīm prāpya tatra sahasraṁ mantraṁ japet. sa mantraḥ prabuddhaḥ syāt* 'By practising the Yoni[mudrā] he should raise the Seed [through the central channel] through the stages of the Bindu and the rest until it reaches Unmanī and there he should repeat the Mantra a thousand times. It will be awakened'.

¹¹⁹See *Hathayogapradīpikā* 4.36–37: **antarlakṣyaḥ* (conj.: *antarlakṣyam* Ed.) *bahirdṛṣṭir nimeṣonmeṣavarjitā | eṣā sā śāmbhavī mudrā vedaśāstreṣu gopitā | antarlakṣyavilīnacittapavano yogī yadā vartate dṛṣṭyā niścalatārayā bahir adhaḥ paśyann apaśyann api | mudreyaṁ khalu śāmbhavī bhavati sā labdhā prasādād guroḥ śūnyāśūnyavilakṣaṇam sphurati tat tattvaṁ padaṁ śāmbhavam; Lasakāka, *Āryāvīvaraṇa* (commenting on the Āryā verse *udyantrtābalena tu vikāsavṛtṭyā svarūpagas tiṣṭhet svayam upasṛtendriyārthān aśnann ānandabhūmigo yogī | eṣocchṛṅkhalarūpā vikāsvataraḥ prabuddhabuddhīnām siddhāḥ sthitāḥ sadāsyām hy ānandaratāḥ parā ca mudraīśā*): *eṣā daśā parātyutkrṣṭā mudrā śāmbhavīmudrākhyā. yad uktam antarlakṣyo bahirdṛṣṭir nimeṣonmeṣavarjitā | eṣā sā śāmbhavī mudrā sarvatantreṣu gopiteti*. The Kashmirians Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja refer to this state of wide-eyed introversion as the Bhairavamudrā; see *Mālinīvijayavārttika* 2.77c–28b: *parabhairavamudrāṁ tām antarlakṣabahirdṛṣam | yadāśrayati śaivī sā parā devī; Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* on Sūtra 18, p. 42: *śakter vikāsaḥ antarnigūdhāyā akramam eva sakalakaraṇacakravisphāraṇena "antarlakṣyo bahirdṛṣṭiḥ nimeṣonmeṣavarjitāḥ" iti bhairavīyamudrānupraveśayuktyā bahiḥ prasaraṇam; and Svacchandoddyota*, commenting on the description of Svacchandabhairava as 'large-eyed' (*viśālākṣam*) in 2.89c: *viśālākṣam iti "antarlakṣyo bahirdṛṣṭir nimeṣonmeṣavarjitāḥ" ityāmnātaparabhairavasphārāvasthitam*.

¹²⁰See above, n. 101 on p. 241.

As : *tām ānayat samūritam* Ed^P 37a *setsyaṃti* P₁ T/121 T/187 : *sevyanti* As : *sevyante* Ed^P 37c
tantra As T/121 : *maṅtre* P₁ T/187 37d *asmin* em. : *asmī* As : *asmāt* P₁ T/121 T/187 **Colophon**
parājapa As T/187 : *parājaya* T/121 : *parājina* P₁

(32–33b) If one meditates [on it] for forty-eight minutes, sealed at the navel in the “kiss”, he will then lock into his body the great array of Mantras and Mudrās;¹²¹ and if interrogated [as an oracle] he can also reveal facts past and future. (33c–34b) One who repeats [the Mantra] for three hours will then undoubtedly behold directly the form of any deity that he seeks [to behold], drawn [to him] by Rudra’s Powers. (34cd) If he meditates [on the Mantra] for a mere six hours he will enter the firmament. (35–36) After nine hours all the Mothers, the mighty Yogeśvarīs, the Vīras, Vīreśvaras, Siddhas, and the powerful horde of the Śākinīs, [all of] whom Bhairava has recruited and so compelled, arrive and bestow on him the ultimate Siddhi or any [lesser] reward he may desire.¹²² (37) It is [only] when they have mastered this

¹²¹The commentators differ on the reading of 32b. In his *-vivaraṇa* Abhinavagupta reads *cumbakenābhimudritam* (though the editions of the text and *-vivaraṇa* give *cumbakenābhimudritaḥ* in their text of the verse): *ata eva muhūrtam akālakalitave ’pi parakalanāpekṣayonmeṣamātram yaḥ smaraty anusamḍhatte sa eva vyākhyātam mantramudrāgaṇam *sarvaṃ badhnāti* (em. [see below, n. 125 on p. 254] : *saṃbadhnāti* Eds.) *svātmany ekīkaroty advayataḥ. katham. cumbakena viśvasparśakena śāktena rūpeṇābhitaḥ sarvato mudritaṃ mudraṇaṃ kṛtvā* (ed. GNOLI, p. 270; KSTS ed., p. 245) ‘For this very reason if he remembers [this Seed], maintains awareness of [it], for a *muhūrtam*, that is to say, for a mere instant—though he himself is out of reach of time [in this state] he realizes it for an instant from the temporalizing point of view of others—then he seals the entire array of Mantras and Mudrās that has been explained above, that is to say, fuses them with his own identity in non-duality. How? [This question is answered in the words *cumbakena abhimudritam*:] By completely (*sarvataḥ* ← *abhitaḥ* [← *abhi-*]) sealing (*mudritaṃ mudraṇaṃ kṛtvā*) [his awareness of Śiva] with the “kisser” (*cumbakena*), that is to say, with the [awareness of] the energetic nature [of Śiva] that touches all [things]’. The author of the *-laghuvṛtti* reads *cumbake nābhimudritam*, taking *cumbake* as an elliptical locative absolute (*cumbake sati*): *atha tathāveśo nirantaram yaḥ ghaṭikādvayam abhyasyati cumbake vaktre samastabhāyasadṛpabhāvarāśiniṣṭhacumbanātmani *nigiraṇapravrṛttakākacañcupuṭākāre* (*pravrṛtta* conj. : *pravrṛtte* Ed.) *sadvṛttisomabhāvoparamaśītalarasāsvādakāriṇi sati nābhimudritaṃ nābhishthānāvadhim kṛtvā pūrṇakumbhakasamāveśābhyaṣena tadā mantramudrāgaṇaḥ ...* (KSTS ed., p. 12) ‘Then if while in this state of immersion he practises [the Seed] without interruption for forty-eight minutes, provided there is (*sati*) the “kisser”, the mouth in the shape of a crow’s beak in the act of swallowing, the kissing that applies to the mass of all objective, external entities, the [mouth] that sips the supremely cool liquid that is the lunar [nectar] of the flow of the real, by sealing [them] in the navel, i.e. by bringing them down to the navel through the repeated practice of full breath retention, then the array of Mantras and Mudrās ...’. The latter interpretation is also implicit in the following instruction in the *Parākrama* (Sūtra 10): *kākacañcupuṭākṛtinā mukhena saṃcoṣyānilam saptaviṃśatisō mūlam japtvā vedyaṃ nābhau saṃmudrya ...* ‘Having sipped in the breath through his mouth [with its lips pursed] in the shape of a crow’s beak, having repeated the main [Mantra] twenty-seven times, having sealed the object of awareness in the navel ...’. Rāmeśvara explains ‘the object of awareness’ (*vedyam*) here as the thirty-six Tattvas: *vedyaṃ ṣaṭtriṃśat tattvāni vakṣyamāṇāni saṃmudrya ekīkṛtya*. The close affinity between our *Parājapavidhi* and the South Indian exegesis of the *Parātrīśikā* in other details has prompted me to follow it here.

¹²²I have translated *āgatya samayaṃ dattvā bhairaveṇa pracoditāḥ | yacchanti paramam siddhim* following the *Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti*, which takes *bhairaveṇa* as the agent of *dattvā*: *samayaṃ dattve-*

[Mantra] that Mantrins will achieve Siddhi and enable [others] to do so. All [that has been taught] in the Bhairavatantras depends for its success on this [Mantra]. Here ends the *Parājapavidhi* of the *Āṅgīrasa[kalpa]*.

The Parāmantravidhi

Covering the same ground as the *Parājapavidhi* but in an abbreviated form and in prose, is the *Parāmantravidhi* found in P₂ alone (ff. 74v4–75v1). Its principal difference from the longer text lies in the fact that at its end it assimilates this tradition to the Vedic corpus by identifying the goddess Parā with the ‘higher knowledge’ (*parā vidyā*) taught in the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* and the ‘supreme power’ (*parā śaktiḥ*) of Maheśvara taught in the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*:

atha parāvidhānam ucyate. asya parāmantrasya dakṣiṇāmūrti(r) ṛṣis triṣṭup chandah parāśaktir devatā. saṃ bījaṃ auḥ śaktir mama yogasiddhyarthe viniyogaḥ. sām sīm sūṃ saim̐ (saum̐) sah̐ iti śad aṅgāni. nābher adhaḥ hrdayād adhaḥ śiraso 'dhaḥ sakāraukāraavisargān nyaset. sarvāṅge vyāpakam nyaset. śaktisthāne ā(kā)śamaṇḍale vā śu(klām) śuklavasanām pīnonnatastanīm trinetrām varābhayakarām candrasekharām †niravakarām† padmāsanopaviṣṭām prasannavadanām sarvālamkārahūṣitām muktīpradām parām dhyāyet. athavā śuklām śuklavasanām trinetrām candrasekharām vāme pustakam anyasmin jñānamudrām ca bibhratīm parām padmāsanām devīm muktyarthī pravincintayet. sakāraukāraavisargaiḥ piṇḍita ekākṣarah parāmantraḥ. apānam ūrdhvam ākarṣan pratyahaṃ dvādaśasahasraṃ japet. jñānam prāpnoti. tathā ca śrutih: atha parā yayā tad akṣaram adhigamyata iti (na) tasya kārya(m) karaṇam ca vidyate na tatsamaś cābhyadhikaś ca dr̥śyate parāsyā śaktir vividhaiva śrūyate svābhāviki jñānabalakriyā ceti.

ITI PARĀMANTRAVIDHIḤ

1 *asya parāmantrasya* conj.: *atha parāmantrasya* Cod. 2 *saṃ bījaṃ*: *sīm bījaṃ* Cod. 3 *sām sīm* em.: *sīm sīm* Cod. 5 *śuklām* em.: *śurām* Cod. 5–6 *varābhayakarām* corr.: *varābhayakarām* Cod. 8 *pustakam anyasmin* conj.: *pustakasaparita* Cod. • *bibhratīm* corr.: *bibhratiṃ* Cod. 9 *muktyarthī* conj.: *muktyārtha* Cod. • *pravincintayet* conj.: *vā cintayet* Cod. 11 *parā yayā* em.: *parājayā* Cod.

Next I shall teach the rite of Parā. The Ṛṣi of this Mantra of Parā is Dakṣiṇāmūrti, its metre the Triṣṭubh, its deity Parāśakti, its Seed SAṂ, its

ti maryādāpūrvakaṃ bhairaveṇa bhagavatā ... prakarṣeṇa coditāḥ. However, it is more probable that the author of the *Parātrīśikā* meant the Mothers and the rest to be understood as the agents of the giving: ‘... all the Mothers etc. arrive, give the *samayaḥ* (*samayaṃ dattuā*), and then bestow the ultimate Siddhi’. Cf. *Picumata* f. 364v3 (101.28c–29a): *dadate yogisaṅghas tu kaulam samayam uttamam | carukam sampradāyam ca* ‘The assembly of Yoginis [comes and] bestows [on him] the supreme Kaula *samayaḥ*, the [initiatory] sacrament, and the tradition’. The word *yogī-* in *yogisaṅghaḥ* is to be understood to mean *yoginī-*. Cf., e.g., *Netratantra* 20.16c’s *yogiyogena* and Kṣemarāja’s gloss: *yoginīnām yogena*; and *Mālinīvijayottara* 19.25c–26: *tato 'sya vatsarārdhena *dehāntar* (em.: *dehāntam* Ed.) *yoginīkulam | āvirbhavaty asaṃdehāt svavijñānaprakāśakam | tenāvirbhūtamatreṇa yogī yogikule kulī.*

Śakti AUḤ, and its application [formula] ‘For the success of my meditation’. The six Ancillaries are SĀṂ, SĪṂ, SŪṂ, SAIM, SAUM, and SAḤ. He should install S below his navel, AU below his heart, and Ḥ below his head. He should install the Pervader [i.e. the Mantra as a whole] on his whole body. He should visualize Parā on the site of Power [in the cranial aperture] or in the circle of the sky as the bestower of liberation, white, clothed in white, with full, upturned breasts, three-eyed, showing the hand-postures of generosity and protection [with her two hands], with the moon on her hair, †... † seated in the lotus-posture,¹²³ with a tranquil expression, adorned with every form of jewelry. Alternatively the seeker of liberation may visualize the goddess Parā as white, clothed in white, three-eyed, with the moon on her hair, holding a manuscript in her left [hand] and showing the hand-posture of enlightenment in the other, seated in the lotus-posture. The Mantra of Parā is a single syllable combining S, AU, and Ḥ. He should repeat it 12,000 times a day, drawing up the ingoing breath. [Thus] he attains enlightenment. And this is confirmed by Vedic scripture, namely “The Supreme [Knowledge] (*parā [vidyā]*) is that by means of which one realizes that imperishable [reality]” (*Muṇḍakopaniṣad* 1.5b) and “He has no body or faculties [of cognition and action]. No being is perceived who is his equal or greater. His Supreme Power (*parā śaktiḥ*) is taught in the scriptures in many forms. It is one with his essence and its action is the energy of [his] consciousness” (*Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 6.8).¹²⁴ Here ends the *Parāmantravidhi*.

¹²³The reading *niravakarāṃ* in *niravakarāṃ padmāsanopaviṣṭāṃ* yields no meaning. The syllables *nirava-* are probably a corruption of *nīraja-* ‘lotus’, in which case one might conjecture the emendation *nīrajakarāṃ vā* ‘or holding a lotus in her hand’ or ‘or holding a lotus in each hand’. But this would be awkward. The emendation would give an alternative within an alternative, we would expect any such alternative to be expressed immediately after *varābhayakarāṃ*, and it is not seen in the *Parājapavidhi*. Since the crux with its probable reference to a lotus immediately precedes Parā’s description as seated on the lotus posture it is more probable that the text was stating that she is to be visualized on a lotus in that posture, a prescription seen elsewhere in our *Āṅgīrasa* corpus, for example, in the **Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa* edited below, v. 34ab: *padme padmāsanāṃ devīṃ bhadrakālīṃ smared raṇe* and in Ed^P, p. 141: *padme padmāsanāṃ raktam vakratuṇḍam vicintayet*. Moreover, this would be in harmony with the prescription of the alternative visualization in the *Parājapavidhi*, which says that she is *padmāsanagatā* (v. 28b) ‘on a lotus-throne’. Perhaps, then, *niravakarāṃ* is a corruption of *nīrajopari*, *nīrajāsanāṃ*, or similar.

¹²⁴I have translated *kāryam* here as ‘body’, and *karaṇam* as ‘faculties [of cognition and action]’ in accordance with the usage of the Pāñcārthika Pāśūpatas, taking both as singulars denoting classes (*jātāv ekavacanam*). There (1) *kāryam* denotes the five subtle elements (*tanmātrāṇi*) and the five gross elements (*mahābhūtāni*), that is to say in the case of souls, the body (*Pañcārthabhāṣya* p. 26: *kāryapiṇḍaḥ śarīrākhyah*), and *karaṇam* the three internal faculties (*buddhiḥ, manaḥ, and ahaṃkārah*), the five sense-faculties (*buddhīndriyāṇi*), and the five faculties of action (*karmendriyāṇi*), all these making up the twenty-three *kalāḥ* that are the transformations of primal matter (*pradhānam, prakṛtiḥ*) (*Pañcārthabhāṣya* p. 77: *atra kalā nāma kāryakaraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ. tatra kāryākhyāḥ pṛthivy āpas tejo vāyur ākāśaḥ śabdasparsarūparasagandhās ca ... tathā karaṇākhyāḥ śrotram tvak cakṣuḥ jihvā ghrāṇam pādah pāyur upastho hasto vāṇ mano ’hanikāro buddhir iti*), and (2) souls are classified as pure and impure according to whether or not they are bound by *kāryam* and *ka-*

As for the source or sources drawn upon by these two *Āṅgīrasa* texts on the propitiation of Parā, I have indicated in my annotations of my translations numerous points of agreement between the details of their account and those prescribed for the same in the corpus of South Indian texts based on the interpretation of the *Parātrīśikā* given in the *-laghuṛtti* and, more broadly, between the former and the South Indian Śākta tradition of the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*. These correspondences suggest strongly that the Oriya Paippalādins had access to some at least of these materials or to materials closely related to them. But they do not allow us to exclude entirely the possibility that the Paippalādins were drawing not on those materials but at least to some extent on earlier Kashmirian sources to which those who formed the South Indian tradition had independent access. For no Kashmirian work setting out the ritual procedure following the *Parātrīśikā* survives to enable us to determine what is distinctively non-Kashmirian in the non-Kashmirian literature other than in such peripheral details as the door-guardians and the pseudo-Vedic *anukramaṇī* with its specification of a Ṛṣi and the rest. However, the probability that the Paippalādins' sources for this form of the Trika were not Kashmirian is increased by the fact that at the one place where the verses of the *Parātrīśikā* incorporated in the *Parājapavidhi* diverge in the versions attested by the *Parātrīśikālaghuṛtti* on the one hand and Abhinavagupta's *-vivarāṇa* on the other the *Parājapavidhi* agrees with the former against the latter.¹²⁵

raṇam so defined (*ibid.*, p. 5: *kāryakaraṇāñjanā nirañjanās ca*). This interpretation I consider plausible for two reasons. Firstly there are other elements of Pāśupata terminology in the text; see 1.8c, 2.15d, 4.16d, 5.13d, 6.13d: *jñātvā devaṃ mucyate sarvopāśaiḥ* and 1.11a: *jñātvā devaṃ sarvopāśāpahāniḥ* (cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* p. 5: *pāśā nāma kāryakaraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ*); 4.21cd: *yat te dakṣiṇaṃ mukhaṃ tena māṃ pāhi nityam* (cf. *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.9: *mahādevasya dakṣiṇāmūrteḥ*); 5.14ab: *kalāsargakaraṇaṃ devaṃ ye vidus te jahus tanum* and 6.5b: *akalo 'pi dṛṣṭaḥ* (cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* p. 77: *atra kalā nāma kāryakaraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ. . . tāsāṃ vikaraṇo bhagavān īśvaraḥ. kasmāt. dṛṅkriyāśaktyor apratighātāt*; *ibid.*, p. 118: *niṣkalasya kāryakaraṇarahitasyety arthaḥ*); 6.9a: *sa kāraṇaṃ* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 55: *atrotpādakānuḡrāhakatirobhāva(ka)dharmi kāraṇam*; *ibid.*, p. 11: *kāraṇamūrtyāropitāvātāritaṃ niṣparigrahaṃ padmotpalādyam*); 6.20d–21a: *duḥkhasyānto bhaviṣyati | tapaḥprabhāvād devaprasādā ca* (cf. *Pāśupatasūtra* 5.39: *apramādī gacched duḥkhāntam īsaprasādāt*). Secondly I see no satisfactory alternative in previous attempts to make sense of the collocation of the two terms. OLIVELLE (1998, p. 431) translates *kāryam* as 'obligation to act' ("One cannot find in him either an obligation to act or an organ with which to act") and RADHAKRISHNAN (1969, p. 745) as 'action' ("There is no action and no organ of his to be found"). The first renders the literal meaning 'thing to be done' but produces a theologically odd assertion. The second is impossible, both grammatically and because it is contradicted by the statement that follows, viz. that he does have the power to act.

¹²⁵Thus in 32cd the *Parājapavidhi* has *dehe mantramudrāgaṇaṃ*. This agrees with the reading of the *-laghuṛtti* (12cd) against that of the text transmitted with Abhinavagupta's *-vivarāṇa*, which reads *sarvaṃ mantramudrāgaṇaṃ* here (13ab). The KSTS edition of the *-laghuṛtti* gives *dehaṃ* rather than *dehe* here in its text of the *Parātrīśikā*, but the *-laghuṛtti*'s comment indicates that it read *dehe* as in the *Āṅgīrasa* text (p. 12, l. 11–12: *tadā mantramudrāsamūhaḥ dehe vāgrūpe kālarūpe ca parameśvarasyaivābhioyayate*). The *-vivarāṇa* appears not to confirm the reading *sarvaṃ* by glossing it, the relevant passage in both of the critical editions reading simply *sa eva vyākhyātāṃ mantramudrāgaṇaṃ sambadhnāti svātmāny ekīkaroty advayataḥ*. However, I judge the reading *sambadhnāti* to be corrupt, on the grounds (1) that *saṃ-bandh-* never occurs to my

The *Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa

The case of the Kālīkula, the second of the two old Śākta traditions detectable in these *Āṅgīrasa* texts, differs from that of the Trika. For there is no complete Paddhati in the corpus that can be said to have been based on its rituals. Its contribution is rather in the form of Mantras that have been adopted for the propitiation of Bhadrakālī in procedures whose aim is to empower the king to achieve victory in battle. Our manuscripts contain a section of two hundred and twenty-two half-verses devoted to this topic (As ff. 52v2–57r1 = Ed^P, pp. 105–113; P₁ ff. 138r2–145v4; P₂ ff. 56v1–60r3; T/121 ff. 86v1–88r3; T/187 ff. 85r2–89r4). They give colophons only for its constituent parts, but I shall treat it as a whole with a single verse numeration, from 1 to 110, and for the sake of convenience I shall refer to it under a single title as the **Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa*, ‘the Section on the Rites of the Mantras of Bhadrakālī’. It begins by teaching the first of these Mantras as follows:

1 *atha devyā bhadrakālyā mantro yaḥ so 'bhidhīyate |*
yo rājño jayakāmasya dadāti jayam īpsitam |
 2 *pranavaṃ pūrvaṃ uccārya māyābījaṃ samuccaret |*
mahācaṇḍapadaṃ procyā yogeśvaripadaṃ vadet |
 3 *phaḍanto mantrarājo 'yaṃ bhaved ekādaśākṣarah |*
pūjākāle namontaḥ syād dhoma svāhānta iṣyate |
 4 *pippalāda ṛṣiḥ proktaś chando nāsti yajusṭvataḥ |*
devatā syād bhadrakālī jayadurgeti yāṃ viduḥ |
 5 *pranavo bījam etasya hr̥llekhā śaktir iṣyate |*
jaye ca viniyogaḥ syād atharvamunibhāṣitaḥ |
 6 *nīyamo nāsti mantre 'smin na puraścaraṇaṃ bhavet |*
kevalaṃ vihitaṃ kṛtvā yathāśāstraṃ phalaṃ labhet |

1d *īpsitam* As T/187: *ipsitam* P₂: *āpsitam* T/121: *āṣṭhitam* P₁ 2d *yogeśvari* As T/121 T/187: *yogīśvari* P₁: *yogeśvarī* P₂ • *vadet* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: *bhavet* As 3a *phaḍanto* P₂ T/121 T/187: *phaḍānto* As: *paḍanto* P₁ • *mantrarājo* As P₁ P₂ T/187: *mantrarāje* T/121 3c *namontaḥ* As P₂ T/121 T/187: *namontaṃ* P₁ 4c *syād* P₂ T/187: *syā* As P₁: *syāt* T/121 4d *yāṃ* P₁ P₂

knowledge in place of *bandh-* in the meaning ‘to tie, fix’ that is intended here, and (2) that even if it were used in this meaning I can see no reason why Abhinavagupta would have substituted it, since doing so would not serve any purpose that I can see. I propose, therefore, that *saṃ* is a corruption of the otherwise missing word *sarvaṃ*. This conjecture now finds support from MS no. 2312 of this text in the collection of the Research Department in Srinagar. That reads *sambadhñāti* (f. 64v11) in agreement with the two editions and MS no. 848 in the same collection (f. 151v2). But a marginal annotation in a recent Śāradā hand requires or proposes the insertion of *roa* after the *sa* of *sambadhñāti* to give *sarvaṃ badhñāti*. I am very grateful to Dr. Bettina BÄUMER for providing me with scans of these two manuscripts (and of another, no. 2138, which lacks this passage due to a lacuna that extends inclusively from *nāmasmaraṇam* in l. 4 of p. 260 of GNOLI’s edition to *mudrāmudritaḥ* in l. 23 of p. 281 of the same) from a crucial collection that has long been inaccessible to scholars.

T/121 T/187: *yāḥ* As **5b** *hr̥llekhā* As P₂ T/121 T/187: *hr̥khā* P₁ **6b** *puraścaraṇam* As P₁
T/187: *puraścaraṇam* P₂ T/121 **6d** *labhet* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: *bhavet* As

(1) Next I shall tell you the Mantra of Bhadrakālī, which bestows on a king desiring victory the victory he seeks. (2) After uttering the Praṇava [OM] he should utter the Seed of Māyā [HRĪM],¹²⁶ then MAHĀCANḌA and YOGĒSVARI. (3) This, with PHAṬ at its end, is the eleven-syllable King of Mantras. When it is used in the worship [of the deity in a substrate other than fire] it should end in NAMAḤ. In the fire sacrifice it should end in SVĀHĀ. (4) Pippalāda has been proclaimed to be its Ṛṣi. It has no metre because it is [treated as] a Yajus-formula. Its deity is Bhadrakālī, whom [the learned] know as Jayadurgā ‘The Durgā of Victory’. (5) Its Seed is the Praṇava [OM] and its Śakti is held to be Hr̥llekhā [HRĪM]. Its application, declared by the Atharvan sage, is [in rites] for the conquering [of enemies]. (6) There are no special restrictions [that apply] to [the practice of] this Mantra. Nor is there [any requirement that one should undertake] a preliminary practice [to master it] (*puraścaraṇam*).¹²⁷ One will obtain the desired result simply by doing what has been prescribed [here] according to the scriptures.

The Mantra’s Ancillaries (*aṅgāni*) are then stated:

7 *sānusvāro ya ākāro hr̥dayam sa nigadyate |*
tathekārah śirah prokta ūkāraś ca śikhā smṛtaḥ |
8 *aikārah kavacam jñeyaḥ au ca netratrayam viduḥ |*
astram aḥ syāt khakāro ’tra phra prayojyam ca pūrvataḥ |
9 *karāṅganyāsam etasya mantrasyettham vadanti vai |*

¹²⁶For the convention that *māyābījam* (also *māyārṇah*, or *māyā*) denotes HRĪM see, e.g., Śiva-svāmin Upādhyāya, *Śrīvidyāmantravivṛti* f. 16v6–7: *śuddhavimarśadārdhyam eva māyābījenāha hr̥m̐ iti*; *Tantrāloka* on 30.107 (*praṇavo māyā bindur varṇatrayam*): *māyā hr̥m̐*; on 30.116a (*māyārṇam*): *māyārṇam hr̥m̐*; Rāmeśvara on *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*, *Śrīkrama* 8: *māyā turīyośma-sahitadvitīyāntasthopari sabindus turyasvarah*; Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śāradātilaka* 6.39–40 (p. 370): *sāṃ-pradāyikās tu praṇavamāyālakṣmīpañcāksarī- ... prayogas tu om hr̥m̐ śrīm̐ namaḥ śivāya ...*

¹²⁷The term *puraścaraṇam* refers to a preliminary practice to be undertaken after receiving a Mantra comprising the worship of a Mantra-deity, the repetition of the Mantra a prescribed number of times or for a prescribed period such as a month, sometimes with its gratification by offering it a proportionate number of oblations into fire, with accompanying ascetic restraints, rules of apparel and so forth. See, e.g. *Svacchandatantrōddyota*, vol. 3 (Paṭala 7), p. 231, ll. 13–14: *puraścaryā prathamam eva mantragrahapūrvam *vrataniyatajapādikaraṇam (vrata em. : vrataṃ Ed.)*. The practice is also termed *pūrvasevā* ‘prior service’ or *sevā* ‘service’. See, e.g., *Niśvāsaguhya* f. 80v3: *japamānam eva māsenā pūrvasevā kṛtā bhavatīty evam ...*; f. 80r4: *pañcaviṃśasahasrāṇi japtvā vyomaśivasya tu | sarvapāpaviśuddhātmā kṛtasevo bhaviṣyati | sarvakarmasamarthaś ca*; *Svacchandatantrōddyota*, vol. 3 (Paṭala 7), p. 235, ll. 3–4: *pūrvasevārtham japapūjādhyānādi*; Bāṇa, *Harṣacarita* p. 184: *bhagavato mahākālahr̥dayanāmno mahāmantrasya kṛṣṇasragambarānulepanenākālpena kalpakathitena mahāśmaśāne japakoṭyā kṛtapūrvasevo ’smi*. In the norm, waived here, it is only after this preliminary practice that one may employ the Mantra for specific ends.

7a *ya ākāro* P₂ T/187: *ya ākāraḥ* As: *pa ākāraḥ* T/121: *ja ākāraḥ* P₁: *trir ākāraḥ* conj. Ed^P 7b *hṛdayaṃ* P₂ T/121: *hṛdayaḥ* P₁ As: *hṛdaya* T/187 • *sa nigadyate* P₁ As T/121 T/187: *saṃnigadyate* P₂ 7c *tathekāraḥ* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *ṅvekāraḥ* T/121 • *śiraḥ prokta* T/187: *śiraḥ proktaḥ* P₁ As T/121: *proktaḥ* P₂ 7d *ūkāraś* P₂ T/121: *ukāraś* P₁ As T/187 8a *aikāraḥ* P₁ P₂ As T/121: *aikāraṃ* T/187 • *kavacaṃ* P₂ T/121 T/187: *kavaca* P₁: *kavace* As • *jñeyaḥ* As P₁ T/121: *jñeyaṃ* P₂ T/187 8b *au ca* T/121: *oṃ ca* P₁ P₂: *aiṃ ca* As: *ai* T/187 8c *astram aḥ* Codd.: *astram maḥ* Ed^P 8d *phra* em.: *phraṃ* P₁: *phre* As P₂: *pre* T/187 Ed^P: *phreṃ* T/121 • *pūrvataḥ* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *pūrvavat* T/121 9b *vadanti* P₂ T/121 T/187: *vadanni* As: *vidanti* P₁

(7) It is taught that the Heart [of the Mantra] is *Ā* with *anusvāraḥ* (Ṁ), the Head *Ī*, and the Hair-queue *Ū*. (8) Know that the Armour is *AI*. The [wise] know that *AU* is the Three Eyes. The Weapon is *AḤ*. [The initial consonant] here is *KH*; and *PHR* should be placed [after it] before [the vowels]. (9) They teach that the installation on the hands and body should be done with these for this Mantra.

The norms for the formation of Ancillaries require us to understand (1) that the *anusvāraḥ* should be added not only after the *Ā* of the Heart but after all except the Weapon, which ending in *Ḥ* does not receive this closure, and (2) that the prescription of the opening consonant cluster *KPHR* should be applied throughout. Thus we have the following: *KPHRĀṀ* [*HR̥DAYĀYA NAMAḤ*], *KPHRĪṀ* [*ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ*], *KPHRŪṀ* [*ŚIKHĀYAI VAṢAṬ*], *KPHRAIṀ* [*KAVACĀYA HUṀ*], *KPHRAUṀ* [*NETRATRAYĀYA VAUṢAṬ*], and *KPHRAḤ* [*ASTRĀYA PHAṬ*]. This creates an implausible anomaly, since it is normal practice to form the Ancillaries from the Seed-syllable of the main Mantra by substituting the six sounds *ĀṀ*, *ĪṀ*, *ŪṀ*, *AIṀ*, *AUṀ*, and *AḤ* for the vowel of that syllable.¹²⁸ Since the main Mantra has been given as *OM HRĪṀ MAHĀCANḌAYOGĒŚVARI PHAṬ*, that is to say, with *HRĪṀ* as its Seed-syllable, those of the Ancillaries should have been *HRĀṀ*, *HRĪṀ*, *HRŪṀ*, *HRAIṀ*, *HRAUṀ*, and *HRAḤ*. From the fact that the section on the Ancillaries has them begin with *KPHR* rather than *HR* we may infer that it is highly probable that the author who composed this section had as his main Mantra not *OM HRĪṀ MAHĀCANḌAYOGĒŚVARI PHAṬ* but *OM KPHREṀ MAHĀCANḌAYOGĒŚVARI PHAṬ*, which, as we shall see, conforms to the practice of the *Kālīkula*, and therefore that the substitution of *HRĪṀ* may be the result either of a conscious modification that was not carried through to the form of the Ancillaries, or, perhaps, of a scribal error. In the latter case it is conceivable that the word *māyābījam* in 2b (*māyābījam samuccaret*), denoting *HRĪṀ*, is a corruption of *mātrbījam* ‘the Seed

¹²⁸The vowels *Ā*, *Ī*, *Ū*, *AI*, *AU*, and *AḤ* used in the Ancillaries are known as the six ‘long vowels’ as opposed to the five ‘short vowels’ (*A*, *I*, *U*, *E*, *O*) that are used in the same way to modify the main Mantra to create the five face-Mantras. See Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* 30.11 (*vaktrāṅgaṃ hrasvadīrghakaili*): *a i u e o iti pañca hrasvāḥ. ā ī ū ai au aḥ iti ṣaḍ dīrghāḥ. evam āpāta eva vacanād anyatrāpy aṅgavaktrāṅgāṃ iyam eva vārtety āveditam*; and BRUNNER 1986, p. 102.

of the Mothers', denoting KHPHREM.¹²⁹

We are now told how the goddess should be visualized:

śyāmām indudharām devīm ātāmranayanatrayām |
10 vāme raktakapālaṃ ca triśūlaṃ dakṣiṇe tathā |
kr̥śodarīm raktavastrām pīnastananitambinīm |
11 padmāsthām yuvatiṃ dhyāyet smerāsyām atisundarīm |
bhadrakālīm mahādevīm jayadātrīm suśitalām |

9c śyāmām P₁ P₂ As: śāmām T/121: ⟨śyā⟩mā T/187 • indudharām As P₂ T/121: bindudharām P₁: śadudharām T/187 9d ātāmra P₁ P₂ As T/187: ātāgra T/121 • trayām P₁ P₂ T/121: trayīm As T/187 11a yuvatiṃ T/187: yuvatiṃ P₁ P₂ As T/121 11d jayadātrīm P₁ P₂ As T/187: jagaddhātrīm T/121

(9c–11) He should visualize the goddess, Mahādevī Bhadrakālī, the tranquil bestower of victory, as an extremely beautiful young girl [seated] smiling on

¹²⁹I can cite no instance of the use of *mātr̥bījāṃ* in this sense, but the concept that the syllable KHPHREM embodies the essence of the Mothers is well-attested. Thus *Tantrāloka* 30.45c–51: *akṣiṣaṇmunivargebhyo dvitīyāḥ saha bindunā | 46 yonyarṇena ca mātr̥nām sadbhāvaḥ kālakaṣiṇī | ādyojjhito vāpy antena varjito vātha saṇmataḥ | 47 jīvaḥ prāṇapuṭāntaḥsthaḥ kālānalasamadyutiḥ | atidīptas tu *vāmānḥrī (em.: vāmānḥrī Ed.) bhūṣito mūrdhni bindunā | 48 dakṣajānugataś cāyaṃ sarvāmātr̥gaṇārcitaḥ | anena prāṇitāḥ sarve dadate vāñchitaṃ phalam | 49 sadbhāvo paramo hy eṣa mātr̥nām bhairavasya ca | tasmād enaṃ japeṇ mantrī ya icchet siddhim uttamām | 50 rudraśaktisamāveśo nityam atra pratiṣṭhitaḥ | yasmād eṣā parā śaktir bhedenānyena kīrtitā | 51 yāvatyāḥ siddhayaṃ tantrē tāḥ sarvāḥ kurute tv iyaṃ | aṅgavaktrāṇi cāpy asyāḥ prāḃvat svaraniyogataḥ* ‘The second [consonants] from the second, sixth, and seventh series [KH, PH, and R] with the Bindu [M] and the Yoni vowel [E] [form] Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī, the **Essence of the Mothers** (Mātr̥sadbhāva) [i.e. KHPHREM]. It is also approved without the first [of the three consonants, i.e. as PHREM] or also without the last [i.e. as PHEM]. [When] the same is [formed of] the vital principle [S] enclosed on either side by the breath [H] and radiant as the fire of the Aeon [+R], [followed by] the left foot [PH], burning brightly [+R], adorned upon its summit by Bindu [M] and conjoined with the right knee [E] [(= HSHRPHREM), then it] is **venerated by the assembly of all the Mothers**. Any Mantra will grant whatever result one desires if it is brought to life by [the addition of] this [syllable]. For this is the **ultimate essence of the Mothers** and of Bhairava. Therefore it is this whose Japa the Mantrin should undertake if he seeks the supreme Siddhi [of liberation]. In it the state of immersion in the power of Rudra is eternally established. For this is proclaimed to be the [Trika’s] Śakti Parā in another form. She accomplishes all the Siddhis that have been taught in the Tantras. As for her [six] Ancillaries and [five] face-Mantras they are [to be formed] by adjusting [her] vowel in the manner taught above [for other Mantras]’. See also the term *mātr̥jāṃ calam* that denotes the syllable PHEM in the Trika’s *Tantrasadbhāva*, f. 22v2–3: *calaṃ tu mātr̥jāṃ cādyam taṃ pravakṣyāmi vistarāt | vāmapādaṃ [PH] samuddhṛtya bhinnam dakṣiṇajānunā [E] | bindunā [M] samalamkr̥tya amṛtārthe prayojayet*. One of these variants of the Mātr̥sadbhāva syllable, PHREM, was adopted as that of the appropriately named Viśvamātr̥ ‘Mother of the Universe’, the female consort of the Buddhist Tantric deity Kālacakra; see the Mantra OM A Ā AṂ AḤ HA HĀ HAṂ HAḤ HOḤ PHREM DAŚAPĀRAMITĀPŪRAṆI SVĀHĀ used in the file consecration (*paṭṭābhiṣekaḥ*) of the Kālacakra initiation (*Vimalaprabhā*, vol. 2, p. 92, ll. 12–13, explaining *Kālacakra* 3.96c: *śaktibhiḥ paṭṭam eva*), in which the ten syllables beginning with A and ending with PHREM embody the ten Śaktis in ascending order from Kṛṣṇadīptā to Viśvamātr̥; also CHANDRA 1991, fig. 724, a Tibetan drawing of Sna tshogs yum dkar mo (White Viśvamātr̥) with her Mantra below: OM PHREM (corr.: PHRAIM Ed.) VIŚVAMĀTAḤ . . .

a lotus, black, wearing the [digit of the new] moon [on her hair], with her three eyes slightly copperish in colour, with a skull filled with blood in her left hand and a trident in her right, slim-waisted, dressed in red, with full breasts and hips.

The king will achieve victory by worshipping her as follows:

12 *pūjayed āsurīpīṭhe syus tadāvaramāni ca |*
tryayutaṃ vāyutaṃ vāpi ghr̥tahomāj jayo bhavet |
 13 *ājyenāktāḥ palāśasya samidho vā huned budhaḥ |*
athavā japanāt tāvaj jayaḥ syān nātra saṃśayaḥ |

12b *syus* As P₁ T/121 : *syās* P₂ T/187 **12c** *tryayutaṃ* P₁ P₂ As T/187 : *ayutaṃ* T/121 **12d** *homāj* As P₂ T/187 : *homāṃj* P₁ : *homāt* T/121 **13c** *japanāt* em. : *japanāṃj tāvaj* P₁ As : *japanāṃtāc ca* P₂ : *ja(pa + + +)* T/187 : *tapanāt. dvat* T/121

(12) He should worship her on the throne [prescribed for the worship] of Āsurī [Durgā]; and the circuits of [secondary deities] should also be those of that [goddess].¹³⁰ He will achieve victory by [then] offering her in the sacrificial fire 10,000 or 30,000 oblations of ghee. (13) Or the wise may offer kindling sticks of Palāśa wood (*Butea frondosa*) smeared with ghee. Alternatively he may conquer simply by repeating her Mantra the same number of times. Of this there is no doubt.

We are now taught the propitiation of a second Mantra of Bhadrakālī, which takes the form of two Anuṣṭubh verses:

¹³⁰For the throne taught for Āsurī (the *āsurīpīṭhaḥ*) see the passage on this subject in Bhūdhara's *Āsurīdīpikā* (Ed^P pp. 116, l. 8–117, l. 2, and p. 119, l. 22). It is to be built up by uttering Mantras of obeisance (...NAMAḤ) to the following in the order of ascent: Maṇḍūka, Kālāgnirudra, Kūrma, Ādhāraśakti, Vārāha, Pṛthivī, Hayagrīva, Kṣīrārṇava, Ratnadvīpa, *Maṇipāṇḍara (?), Maṇimaṇḍapa, Ratnavedikā, Kalpadruma, Sarvatobhadrakāla, Ratnasimha, the eight *buddhidharmāḥ* beginning with Dharma and ending with Anaiśvarya, Ananta, Ānandakandala, the lotus, its petals, its filaments, and its pericarp, and, on the pericarp, the discs of the sun, moon, and fire, the three Guṇas (*sattvam*, *rajaḥ*, and *tamaḥ*), the four Ātmans (*ātmā*, *antarātmā*, *parātmā*, and *jñānātmā*), and the four Tattvas (*kālatattvam*, *māyātattvam*, *vidyātattvam*, and *paratattvam*). Then one is to install the following eight Śaktis on the filaments: Prabhā, Māyā, Jayā, Sūkṣmā, Viśuddhā, Nanditā, Subhadrā, Vijayā; and the Śakti Siddhipradā at their centre. He completes the *āsurīpīṭhaḥ* by uttering the Siṃhamantra, invoking the 'great lion [of Durgā] whose weapons are his adamantine claws and fangs'. See also Ed^P p. 47–48, giving only the Śaktis (with Nandinī and Suprabhā rather than Nanditā and Subhadrā, and with Sarvasiddhidā rather than Siddhipradā). The circuits of Āsurī's secondary deities are as follows (Ed^P p. 47): (1) her six Ancillaries, which in the case of Bhadrakālī would be replaced by her own; (2) Āryā, Durgā, Bhadrā, Bhadrakālī, Ambikā, Kṣemā, Vedagarbhā, and Kṣemaṅkarī (see Bhūdhara, Ed^P p. 212, l. 19); (3) [the attributes of her hands (*āyudhāḥ*):] the gesture of protection (for *abhir* in Ed^P p. 48, l. 11 read *abhir*), the gesture of generosity, the sword, the shield, the arrow, the bow, the trident, and the skull-bowl (*kapālam*); (4) the eight Mothers from Brāhmī to Mahālakṣmī; (5) the ten Dikpālas (from Indra in the East to Ananta and Brahmā at the nadir and zenith); and (6) the Dikpālas' weapons.

14 *bhadrakāli bhavetyasya ṛgdvayasya vidhiṃ bruve* |
pūrovaat sarvam atra syād viniyogo 'sya māraṇe |
 15 *jaye vā viniyogaḥ syād dhomena japanena vā* |
 BHADRAKĀLI BHAVĀBHĪṢṬABHADRASIDDHIPRADĀYINĪ |
 16 SAPATNĀN ME HANA HANA DAHA ŚOṢAYA TĀPAYA |
 ŚŪLĀSĪAKTIVAJRĀDYAIR UTKṚTYOTKṚTYA MĀRAYA |
 17 MAHĀDEVI MAHĀKĀLI RAKṢĀSMĀN AKṢATĀTMIKE |
ṛṣir bhṛguḥ syād etasya chando 'nuṣṭup prakīrtitam |
 18 *devatā bhadrakālīti bījāni vyañjanāni ca* |
svarāḥ śaktaya ucyante ājyahomāj jayo bhavet |
 19 *māraṇaṃ kaṭutailena homena bhavati dhruvam* |
māyābījena kartavyo nyāsaś caiva karāṅgayoḥ |

14b *ṛgdvayasya* T/121: *rugdvayasya* As P₂: *ṛgbhayasya* T/187: *ruyasya* P₁ **14c** *sarvam atra* conj.: *sarvamantraḥ* P₁: *sarvamantra* As P₂ T/121 T/187 **15c** *bhadrakāli* P₁: *bhadrakālī* P₂ As T/121 T/187 **15d** *pradāyini* As P₂ T/121 T/187: *pradānī* P₁ **17b** *rakṣāsmān* P₂ T/121 T/187: *rakṣyāsmān* P₁: *rakṣyāsmī* As • *akṣatātmike* conj. (cf. here 23c: *akṣatām bhāvayann etām svayam akṣatātām iyāt*): *akṣatrātmike* T/121: *rakṣatātmike* As: *anta ambike* P₁: *aṣitātmike* P₂ T/187 **17c** *ṛṣir* corr.: *ruṣir* As P₁: *rupir* P₂: *ṛṣi* T/121 T/187 • *etasya* P₂ T/121 T/187: *evasya* As: *evāsya* P₁ **18d** *ājyahomāj* As P₂ T/187: *lājahomāj* P₁ T/121 **19cd** *kartavyo nyāsaś* conj.: *kartavyā nyāsaś* Codd.

(14) I shall now teach the rite of the two-verse Mantra that begins BHADRAKĀLI BHAVA. Everything in this case is as with the preceding [Mantra]. Its application should be in killing [the enemy] or conquering [him], through fire sacrifice or [merely] through its repetition: (15c) BHADRAKĀLĪ, GRANT THE EXCELLENT SIDDHI THAT I DESIRE. KILL, KILL, BURN, DESICCATE, AND SCORCH MY RIVALS. KILL THEM BY CUTTING THEM TO PIECES WITH THE TRIDENT, SWORD, THUNDERBOLT AND OTHER [WEAPONS IN YOUR HANDS]. PROTECT ME, GREAT GODDESS MAHĀKĀLĪ, YOU WHOSE NATURE IS [TO REMAIN EVER] UNSCATHED.¹³¹ (17c) The Ṛṣi is Bhṛgu. It is taught that the metre is the Anuṣṭubh. The deity is Bhadrakālī, the Seeds are the vowels, and the Śaktis are the consonants. (18d) Victory is [accomplished] by a fire sacrifice of ghee. (19) [Alternatively] he may offer white mustard-oil into the fire. By this means he will certainly bring about [his enemy's] death.¹³² He should use the Māyābija [HRĪM] to install [the power of the deity] in his hands and body.

When worshipped with it the goddess should be visualized as follows:

¹³¹These two verses are also taught for use in hostile ritual in *Prapañcasāra* 32.38–39 and *Śāradātīlaka* 22.145–146, with the difference that in the first line the editions have *bhavābhīṣṭe bhadrasiddhipradāyini*.

¹³²The variant of P₁ and T/121 specifies that the substance offered should be parched grain (*lājahomāj jayo bhavet*).

20 *śūlāsīśaktivojṛāṇi śaṅkhacakradhanuḥśarān |*
dhārayantī mahākālī ghorā vikaṭadamṣṭrikā |
 21 *calajjihvā mahātunḍī lambamānapayodharā |*
mukhād vahniṃ vamanṭī ca trāsayantī jagattrayīm |
 22 *dhāvanti nighnatī śatruṃ dhyeyā yuddhe jayaiṣiṇā |*

vajrāṇi P₁ As T/121 : *vajrāsri* T/187 : *vajrāṣi* P₂ **20c** *dhārayantī* Codd. : *mārayantī* Ed^P **21a** *calajjihvā* P₂ T/187 : *calajihvā* P₁ : *calajijijñā* As : *lalajihvā* T/121 • *mahātunḍī* T/121 : *mandatundī* T/187 : *maṇdatundī* P₂ : *manyatundī* As : *manyatulī* P₁ **21b** *lambamāna* P₂ T/121 T/187 : *lambina* As : *vilambita* P₁ **21c** *vahniṃ* P₁ : *varhni* T/121 : *vakniṃ* As^{ac} : *vagniṃ* As^{pc} : *va* + T/187 : *ya* P₂ • *vamanṭī* P₁ As : *vamanṭi* P₂ : *vamantrī* T/121 : *vamantri* T/187 **21d** *jagattrayīm* P₁ As T/187 : *jagatrayīm* T/121 : *jagatrayaṃ* P₂ **22a** *nighnatī* T/187 : *nīghnatī* T/121 : *jighnatī* P₂ As^{pc} : *vighnatī* P₁ As^{ac} • *śatruṃ* P₂ As T/187 : *śatrūn* P₁ : *śakuṃ* T/121 **22b** *dhyeyā* P₁ P₂ As T/187 : *dhyayā* T/121 • *yuddhe* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187 : *śuddhe* As • *jayaiṣiṇā* P₂ As T/121 T/187 : *jayīṣiṇā* P₁

(20–22b) One who desires victory in battle should visualize Mahākālī holding a trident, a sword, a Vajra, a conch, a discus, a bow, and arrows, terrible, with huge fangs, darting tongue, large nose, and pendulous breasts, spewing fire from her mouth, terrifying the three worlds, running towards and slaughtering his enemy.

The result:

gajaṃ vā vājinaṃ vāpi samārūḍho mahāraṇe |
 23 *dhyāyann etāṃ bhadrakālīṃ japan mantram ripuṃ jayet |*
akṣatāṃ bhāvayann etāṃ svayam akṣatatām iyāt |
 24 *trṇakūṭaṃ yathā vātyā preritaṃ śīghratāṃ vrajet |*
japato dhyāyataś cāgre parasainyaṃ palāyate |
 25 *na cāsti japasaṃkhyātra niyamaś ca na vidyate |*
dhyāyann etāṃ japan mantram parasenāṃ jayaty aho |
 26 *tasmād yatnena bhūpālo vidyām etāṃ samabhyaset |*
durbalo 'pi balīyāṃsaṃ yatprasādād ripuṃ jayet |

22c *mahāraṇe* P₂ As T/121 T/187 : *mahāruṇe* P₁ **23a** *bhadrakālīṃ* P₂ As T/121 T/187 : *mahākālīṃ* P₁ Ed^P **23b** *japan* P₁ As T/121 T/187 : *japanan* P₂ **23d** *akṣatatām iyāt* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187 : *akṣatasamiyāt* As **24b** *śīghratāṃ vrajet* P₂ T/187 : *śīghraśaṃbhavet* P₁ T/121 : *śīghratāṃ bhavet* As **24c** *dhyāyataś cāgre* P₁ T/121 : *dhyāyatasyāgre* P₂ T/187 : *dhyāyatayāgre* As **25b** *japasaṃkhyātra* P₂ T/121 T/187 : *japaraṃkhyātra* As : *japasaṃkhyāni* P₁ **25c** *japan mantram* P₂ T/121 T/187 : *jayet sarvaṃ* P₁ : *bhadrakālīṃ* As **26a** *yatnena* P₂ As T/121 T/187 : *yatavoṃ* P₁ **26b** *vidyām* As P₂? T/121 T/187 : *vijñam* P₁ • *samabhyaset* : P₁ P₂ As T/187 : *samabhūset* T/121

(22c) If he visualizes this Bhadrakālī and repeats her Mantra when he is in the midst of a great battle mounted on his elephant or horse he will conquer the enemy. (23c) If he meditates on her as the Unscathed (*akṣatā*) he will himself be unscathed. (24) Just as a pile of grass moves at speed when blown by the wind so the army of the enemy flees in the presence of one who repeats [this

Mantra] while visualizing [her thus]. (25) There is no [prescribed] number of repetitions; nor are there any restrictions [to be observed]. Behold, [simply] by repeating the Mantra while visualizing this [goddess] he will defeat the enemy's army. (26) Therefore a king should make efforts to practise this Vidyā repeatedly. For by its favour even if his own forces are weak he will overcome the mightiest of foes.

Now a third Mantra is taught:

27 *atha mantrāntaram tasyā bhadrakālyā nigadyate |*
yasya prasādān nr̥patir ekacchatrī bhaved bhuvi |
 28 *bhadrakālīpadasyānte jayamdehipadam vadet |*
phaḍanto 'yaṃ mahāmantra ghorayuddhe jayapradah |
 29 *asyāṅgirā ṛṣiḥ proktaś chando 'nuṣṭup prakīrtitam |*
devatā bhadrakālī yā jayadurgeti gīyate |
 30 *hrīṃ bījaṃ phaṭ ca śaktiḥ syād viniyogo jaye mataḥ |*
śaktyā kuryāt ṣaḍ aṅgāni pratyakṣaram athocyate |
 31 *mastake ca lalāṭe ca mukhe kaṅṭha urasy api |*
udare ca tathā liṅge ūrudvandve padadvaye |
 32 *itthaṃ pratyakṣaram nyasya bhadrakālī svayaṃ bhavet |*
tataḥ samastamantreṇa vyāpakam vighrahe nyaset |

28a *bhadrakālī* P₁ P₂: *bhadrakālī* T/121 T/187: *bhadrakālī* As **28b** *jayam* P₁ P₂ As T/121: *jaya* T/187 • *padam* P₁ P₂ T/121: *pade* T/187: *prade* As **28d** *jayapradah* P₁ P₂: *'bhayapradah* As Ed^P **29a** *asyāṅgirā* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *aṅgirāsyā* T/121 • *ṛṣiḥ* T/121 T/187: *ruṣiḥ* P₁ P₂ As • *proktaś* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *proktaś* T/121 **29d** *chando 'nuṣṭup* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *chando 'nuṣṭut* T/121 • *prakīrtitam* P₁ P₂ As T/121: *prakīrtitam* T/187 **30a** *hrīṃ* conj.: *krīṃ* P₂ As T/121 T/187: *hūṃ* P₁ • *phaṭ ca* P₂?: *phaṭ* P₁ T/121 T/187: *phaṭa* As • *syād* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *syāt* T/121 **30b** *mataḥ* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: *namaḥ* As **30d** *pratyakṣaram athocyate* P₁ P₂ As T/121: *pratyakṣarayathocyate* T/187 **31b** *mukhe* P₂ T/121 T/187 As: *mukha* P₁ • *urasy* P₁ As: *ūras* T/121: *tarasy* P₂: *(tara)sy* T/187 **31d** *ūru* P₂ T/187: *uru* P₁ As: *ur* T/121 • *dvandve* P₁ P₂? T/121 T/187: *dvande* As **32a** *itthaṃ* P₁ P₂? T/121 T/187: *itham* As **32d** *vighrahe*: P₁ P₂ As T/187: *vighraṃ* T/121

(27) Now I shall teach [you] another Mantra of this [goddess] Bhadrakālī, by whose favour a king enjoys unchallenged sovereignty on earth. (28) He should utter JAYAM DEHI after BHADRAKĀLĪ ('O BHADRAKĀLĪ, GRANT VICTORY'). This great Mantra, when PHAṬ is placed at its end, bestows victory [even] in [the most] terrible battle. (29) It is taught that its Ṛṣi is Aṅgiras and its metre the Anuṣṭubh. Its deity is the Bhadrakālī called Jayadurgā. (30) Its Seed is HRĪM, its Śakti is PHAṬ, and its application is held to be [in rites] for victory. He should install the six Ancillaries using the Śakti[-syllable]. Now I shall teach [the *pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ*, that is to say,] how the syllables [of the Mantra] should be installed one by one. (31) [They are to be placed] on the head, the forehead, the mouth, the throat, the chest, the belly, the genital organ, the two thighs, and the two feet [respectively]. (32) By installing

[the Mantra] syllable by syllable in this way he will become Bhadrakālī herself. He should follow this with the Pervasive [Installation] (*vyāpakanyāsaḥ*), which he should do with the whole Mantra upon his body [as a whole].

She should be visualized in the same form as for the first Mantra:

33 *bālāṃ kālīm raktavastrāṃ kupitāṃ candrasēkharām |*
dakṣiṇe dadhatīm sūlam vāme rudhirakarparam |
 34 *padme padmāsanām devīm bhadrakālīm smared raṇe |*

33a *kālīm* P₁ As T/121 : *bālīm* T/187 : *balīm* P₂ 33b *śekharām* P₁ P₂ As T/187 : *sekharām* T/121
 33c *dakṣiṇe dadhatīm* P₁ As T/121 : *dadhatīm dakṣiṇe* P₂ : *dadhatī dakṣiṇe* T/187 33d *karparam* P₂
 T/121 T/187 As : *kharparam* P₁

In the battle he should visualize Bhadrakālī as a young girl, black, dressed in red, furious, with the moon on her hair, holding a trident in her right hand and a skull-bowl full of blood in her left, seated on a lotus in the lotus-posture.

The text now gives instruction in the context and form of her propitiation. The context is the period of two weeks leading up to the commencement of the annual season of military campaigns after the passing of the monsoon, from the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina (*mūlāṣṭamī*) to the 'Great Eighth' (*mahāṣṭamī*), the eighth of the light fortnight of the same month; and the form is a daily programme in which the king is to worship the goddess (*pūjā*), repeat her Mantra (*japaḥ*), and make 10,000 oblations of parched grain into the fire (*homaḥ*), with 30,000 oblations of ghee at the end of the period, presumably on the 'Great Ninth', the day on which the Navarātra, the annual nine-day Durgā festival, reaches its climax.¹³³ This is a demanding course of worship; but in a manner characteristic of the *Āṅgirasakalpa* texts, the Paippalādins did not insist that their royal patrons should enact it in full, allowing that if a ruler is unable to do all this, he may omit the fire-sacrifices and do only the *pūjā* [, *dhyānam*, and *japaḥ*], or only [the *dhyānam* and] the *japaḥ*, or even only the *dhyānam*, and then only as he goes into battle. The last is an extreme concession from the Tantric point of view, since that envisages as the limit of the condensation of worship the repetition of a Mantra without an accompanying visualization, but never, to my knowledge, visualization without Mantra:

evam vicintayen mantrī yāgam antar vidhāya ca |
 35 *japed arcet prajuhuyāl lājānām ayutaṃ sudhīḥ |*
mūlāṣṭamīm samārabhya bhaved yāvan mahāṣṭamī |
 36 *tāvad etāṃ prapūjyājyaṃ tryayutaṃ juhuyān nr̥paḥ |*
sarvān ripūn vijityāyaṃ bhūṅkte rājyam akaṅṭakam |
 37 *etat kṛtvā purā śakro 'py asurāñ jitavān svayam |*

¹³³On the Navarātra festival, a pan-Indian royal tradition, see, e.g., EINO 1999 and LEVY 1990, pp. 523–576.

homāśaktau caret pūjāṃ tadaśaktau japed budhah |
 38 *kevalaṃ cintayed enāṃ japāśaktau raṇe vrajan |*
niyataṃ jayam āpnoti na vicāryam idaṃ vacah |

34c *vicintayan* P₁ P₂ As: *vicintayan* T/187 : *vicintyayan* T/121 **34d** *yāgam antar vidhāya ca* em.: *yāgamantra vidhāya ca* T/121: *yāgamantaravāyā* T/187: *yāgamantraṃ vidhyāya ca* P₂ As: *yā?dha?mantraṃ vidhyāya ca* P₁ **35a** *prajuhuyāl* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *prajūhuyāt* T/121 **35b** *ayutaṃ* As P₂? T/121 T/187: *ayutām* P₁ **35c** *mūlāṣṭamīṃ* P₂ As T/187: *mūlāṣṭamī* P₁ T/121 **35d** *bhaved* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *bhavedd* T/121 **36a** *prapūjyājyaṃ* P₂ As T/121: *prapūjyājyaṃ* T/187: *prapūjyāṃti* P₁ **36b** *juhuyān* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *juhuyā* T/121 **36c** *sarvān ripūn* P₁ P₂ T/187: *sarvātripūn* As: *sarvatripūn* T/121 • *vijityāyaṃ* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *vijityāya* T/121 **36d** *bhukte* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *bhukte* T/121 • *akaṣṭakam* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: *akaṣṭakam* As **37a** *śakro* P₁ P₂ As: *śatro* T/187: *śukro* T/121 • *etat kṛtvā* P₂ As T/121 T/187: *etatkṛtye* P₁ **37b** *asurān* P₁ P₂? T/121 T/187: *asurāṃ* As **37c** *caret* P₁ T/121: *japet* P₂ As T/187 **37d** *tadaśaktau* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *daśaktau* T/121 **38b** *japāśaktau* P₂ As T/121 T/187: *japāśakto* P₁ • *vrajan* P₂ As T/121 T/187: *vrajat* P₁

(34c) The Mantrin should meditate [on her] in this form. Then, when the wise one has worshipped her internally he should repeat her Mantra, worship her [externally], and offer 10,000 oblations of parched grain into the fire. This should be [repeated every day] from the eighth day of the dark half of Āśvina (*mūlāṣṭamī*) to the eighth of the bright half of the same (*mahāṣṭamī*). (36) After worshipping her during this period the king should offer 30,000 oblations of ghee. He will [then] defeat all his enemies and enjoy untroubled sovereignty. (37) Indra too did this in former times and so defeated the Asuras. If he is unable to do the fire sacrifice he may do [only] the act of worship (*pūjā*) [and the repetition of her Mantra]. If the wise one is unable to do [even] that then he may do [only] the repetition of her Mantra (*japah*). (38) If he is unable to do [even] that he may simply visualize her as he goes into battle. He will certainly attain victory. This statement should not be questioned.

Alternatively he can ensure victory by going to war wearing a Yantra of this Mantra-goddess as an amulet on his arm:¹³⁴

¹³⁴The Sanskrit term *yantram* refers to a Mantra-inscribed diagram that may be engraved or written in various colours and with various inks on a strip of metal, cloth, birchbark, the hides of various animals and the like, wrapped up, and then employed in various ways, by being worn as an amulet, by being buried in a cremation ground, and so on, for purposes such as warding off ills, harming an enemy, or forcing a person to submit to the user's will. Cf. the definition in NANJUNDAYYA and IYER 1928–1936, vol. 2, p. 425: "Charms are written, engraved, on a small metal plate which is either rolled or enclosed in a small case which is fastened to a thread to be made fit for wearing. It is called a yantram (that which holds, restrains, or fastens). Yantrams are usually drawn on thin plates of gold, silver, copper led [*sic*] and sometimes on a piece of cadjan leaf, and the efficacy of the figures when drawn on a gold leaf will last for 100 years, while those on the less precious metals will last for a year or six months. Leaden plates are used when the yantrams are to be buried underground. The figures should possess the symbols of

39 *athavā yantram etasyā haste baddhvā ripum jayet |*
haimapaṭṭagate padme madhye māyāṃ phaṭ ity api |
 40 *daleṣu vilikhed aṣṭau mantravarṇān pṛthak pṛthak |*
dalānte varmabījāni mātrkābhiś ca veṣṭayet |
 41 *yantram etat kare baddhvā sūlinam jetum īśvaraḥ |*
pūjayed vidhinā yantram sahasram juhuyād ghr̥taiḥ |
 42 *tāvad eva japam kṛtvā yantram baddhvā raṇe viśet |*
durgāpīṭhe 'rcayed durgām vidhinā vidhivittamaḥ |

39a *yantram* P₁ As T/121 T/187: *mantram* P₁ • *etasyā* conj.: *etasya* Codd. Ed^P 39cd *madhye* As P₂? T/121 T/187: *madhya* P₁ • *māyāṃ* As P₂? T/121 T/187: *māyā* P₁ 40a *daleṣu* P₁ P₂? As T/121: *daleṣṭa* T/187 40b *varṇān* P₁ P₂? T/187: *varṇā* T/121: *mantram* As: *mantrān* Ed^P • *pṛthak pṛthak* P₁ P₂? T/121 T/187: *pṛthak* As 40d *mātrkābhiś* P₁ As T/187: *mā + kābhis* T/187: *mākābhiś* P₂ 41a *yantram* P₁ As T/121: *mantram* P₂ T/187 • *etat*: P₁ P₂ As T/187: *eta* T/121 • *baddhvā*: P₁ P₂? As T/121: *baddhvāt* T/187 41b *jetum* P₂ As T/121 T/187: *petum* P₁ 41d *ghr̥taiḥ* P₁ As T/121: *ataiḥ* P₂ T/187 42c *pīṭhe* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *pāṭhe* T/121 42d *vidhinā* P₁ As T/121 T/187: *vidhi* P₂ • *vidhivittamaḥ* P₁ P₂ T/187: *vidhivattamaḥ* As T/121

(39) Or he may defeat the enemy by attaching a Yantra of this [goddess] to his arm. He should draw Māyā [HRĪM] PHAṬ in the centre of an eight-petal lotus [painted] on a strip of gold. (40) On each of the petals he should write one of the [eight] syllables of the Mantra [BHA, DRA, KĀ, LI, JA, YAṀ, DE, HI], and the armour-Seed (*varmabījam = kavacam*) [HUM] on the tip of each of the petals. He should set around it the [eight] Mother goddesses [Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Aindrī, Cāmuṇḍā, and Mahālakṣmī]. (41) If he attaches this Yantra to his arm he will be able to conquer the Trident-wielder himself. He should worship the Yantra following the prescribed procedure, make a thousand oblations of ghee in the fire, (42) repeat the Mantra the same number of times, tie it on, and enter the battle. Most learned in rites he should worship [this] Durgā according to rule on the throne [prescribed] for Durgā.

The text then teaches the propitiation of a fourth and final Mantra, Bhadrakālī's monosyllabic Great Seed (*mahābījamaṅtraḥ*) HSKHPHREM:

43 *ataḥ param mahābījam bhadrakālyā nigadyate |*
yatprasādān mahīpālo mahāntam jayam aśnute |
 44 *hakāraś ca sakāraś ca khakāraś ca tataḥ param |*
phakāraś ca tathā rephas tathaikāraḥ sabindukah |
 45 *saptavarṇam mahābījam bhadrakālyāḥ prakīrtyate |*
jayadāyimahāmantraṅṅesv eṣa mahāmanuḥ |
 46 *bhadrakālīmahābījam avāśyam vijayapradam |*

life: the eyes, tongue, eight cardinal points of the compass and the five cardinal points. When properly made and subjected to a routine of *pūjās* by a magician (*mantravādi*), it is supposed to possess occult powers. Each yantram is in honour of some particular deity, and when that deity is worshipped and the yantram is worn, the wearer's object is satisfied".

44d *tathaikārah sabimdukaḥ* As P₁ T/121 T/187 : *tathaikārasya bimdukaḥ* P₂ 45a *saptavarṇam* P₂ T/121 T/187 : *satvavarṇam* P₁ : *samastavarṇa* As (45ab is lacking in Ed^P) • *mahābījam* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187 : *hābījam* As 45c *jayadāyi* P₂ As T/187 : *jayadāpi* P₁ P₂ T/187 : *jayadākṣi* T/121 46a *bhadrakālī* P₁ P₂ As T/187 : *bhadrakālīḥ* T/121

(43) Next I shall teach you the Great Seed (*mahābījam*) of Bhadrakālī, by whose favour the king will achieve the greatest of victories. (44) Her Great Seed is taught as having seven sounds: H and S, then KH, PH, R and E with M. This is the greatest of all the great Mantras that bestow victory. (46) The Great Seed of Bhadrakālī inevitably grants this result.

Here too the king is spared the inconvenience of elaborate ceremonies. He is promised that he will emerge from battle unscathed and victorious simply by repeating this syllable while meditating on and thereby assimilating its transcendental essence and infinite power, with or without the accompanying visualization of Bhadrakālī's form:

bhadram sukham iti proktaṃ tat paraṃ brahma kīrtitam |
 47 *kālī tamomayī śaktiḥ sā ca saṃhāriṇī smṛtā |*
saṃhāraśaktisaṃyuktaṃ paraṃ brahma yad ucyate |
 48 *bhadrakālīpadenaitan munibhiḥ pariḡyate |*
bhadrakālīmahābījam api tasyābhidhāyakam |
 49 *hakāro jīva ity uktaḥ sakāro brahma kathyate |*
tayor aikyaṃ paraṃ brahma khakāreṇābhidhīyate |
 50 *phreṃ syāt saṃhāriṇī śaktis tatpradhānam hi cetanam |*
bhadrakālīpadenāpi mahābījena cocyate |
 51 *saṃhāraśaktimad brahma mahābījārtha iṣyate |*
saṃhartā ca vidhātā ca sthīkartā ca saṃsmṛtaḥ |
 52 *haṃsaḥ so 'haṃ mahābījapadārthaṃ paribhāvayan |*
mahābījam japeṇ mantrī svayaṃ saṃhāraśaktimān |
 53 *paramātmā bhavan rājā jayam prāpnoti cākṣayam |*
athavā bhadrakāly eva ghorarūpā svayaṃ bhavet |
 54 *mahābījam japeṇ rājā jayam eti na saṃśayaḥ |*
na homo na balir nārcā na ca tarpaṇam iṣyate |
 55 *dhyānāj japāc ca so 'vaśyaṃ nṛpatir jayam aśnute |*
bhadrakālīmahābījadhyānam saṃyag vadāmy aham |
 56 *yatprasādān mahādevo 'py ātmārim ajayad bhr̥ṣam |*
kālī raktāmbarātyuccā pīnaśroṇipayodharā |
 57 *kṛṣodarī mahāvīryā trijagadgrasanakṣamā |*
samarābhīmukhī devī caṇḍikā caṇḍavikramā |
 58 *bhīṣanā śavapṛṣṭhasthapadme dattapadā sthitā |*
pañcavaktrānuvaktraṃ ca tāmrasthūlatrinetrakā |
 59 *ūrdhvabāhūtaladvandve dhṛtaṃ śatrum adhomukham |*
pañcavaktramahādamaṣṭrāvīmśatyā pīḍitaṃ ripum |
 60 *bhūyo bhūyaḥ pīḍayantī mahākopabhareṇa ca |*

dakṣe 'dhaḥkramataḥ śūlam anikuśaṃ śaram eva ca |
 61 *khadgaṃ ca dadhatī dorbhir vāme 'dhaḥkramatas tathā |*
raktapātraṃ ca pāśaṃ ca dhanuḥ khetakam eva ca |
 62 *evaṃ daśabhujā bhīmā bhadrakālī jayapradā |*
dhyātavyā bhūmipālena saṃgrāme jayam icchatā |
 63 *bhadrakālīmahābījaṃ japatā prāpyate jayaḥ |*
dhyānāśakto 'vanīpālaḥ kevalaṃ bījam abhyaset |
tathāpi jayam āpnoti nātra kāryā vicāraṇā |

ITY ĀṄGIRASE BHADRAKĀLĪMANTRAVIDHIḤ

46c *bhadraṃ sukham* P₂ T/121 T/187: *bhadrasukham* P₁ As **47a** *tamomayī* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *tamomayā* T/121 **47b** *smṛtā* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: *smṛtāḥ* As **47c** *saṃhāra* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *saṃhā* T/121 • *saṃyuktaṃ* P₂ As T/121 T/187: *saṃyuktāṃ* P₁ **47d** *brahma* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *brahmā* T/121 **48b** *munibhiḥ* P₂ T/121 T/187: *mūnibhiḥ* As: *mahāmunibhi* P₁ **48c** *bhadrakālī* P₂ As T/121 T/187: *mahākālī* P₁ **49a** *hakāro* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *haṃkāra* T/121 • *jīva* P₁ P₂ As: *bīja* T/121 T/187 **50a** *phreṃ* P₁ As T/121: *phre* P₂: *pre* T/187 **50b** *hi* P₁ T/121 T/187 As: *ca* P₂ • *cetanaṃ* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *tetanaṃ* T/121 **50c** *padenāpi* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *panenāpi* T/121 **50d** *cocyate* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *nocyate* T/121 **51a** *saṃhāra* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: *sahāra* As • *śaktimad* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *śaktiyad* T/121 **51b** *mahābījārtha* P₁ P₂ T/187: *mahāvīryārtha* As: *mahābījārtham* T/121 **51c** *vidhātā* P₂ As T/121 T/187: *vidhartā* P₁ **51d** *saṃsmṛtaḥ* P₂ As T/121 T/187: *sa smṛte* P₁ **52a** *mahābīja* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: *mahāvīta* As **52b** *padārthaṃ* P₁ P₂ As T/121: *padārtha* T/187 **53b** *jayaṃ prāpnoti* P₂? As T/121 T/187: *jayam āpnoti* P₁ • *cākṣayaṃ* P₁ As T/121: *cākṣataṃ* P₂ T/187 **53c** *eva* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: *e* As **53b** *bhavet* P₂ As T/187: *bhavan* P₁ T/121 **54b** *jayam eti* P₁ P₂? T/187: *jayam iti* As: *jayanet(i)* T/121 **54c** *balir* P₁ As T/121 T/187: *balī* P₂ **54d** *iṣyate* P₁ P₂? As T/187: *āpsite* T/121 **55a** *ca so 'vaśyaṃ conj.*: *cāvaśyaṃ* T/121 T/187: *ca nāvaśyaṃ* As: *cāvaranyaṃ* P₁: *cāvaśaṃ* P₂ **55c** *samyag vadāmy ahaṃ* As T/121 T/187: *samāpyadāmy aham* P₁: illegible in P₂ **56b** *ātmārim ajayad* T/187: *ātmārāmaṃjayad* P₁ P₂: *ātmārāmojayad* T/121: *ātmābhimajjayad* As • *bhṛṣaṃ* P₂ T/121 T/187: *bhruśaṃ* As: *bhuśaṃ* P₁ **56c** *kālī* P₁ As T/121: omitted in P₂ T/187 • *uccā* P₁ P₂ As T/121: *ucca* T/187 **57c** *samarābhimukhī* P₁ P₂ As T/121: *samarābhimukhā* T/187 **58a** *śavapṛṣṭhastha* P₂ T/121 T/187: *śavapṛṣṭhasya* P₁: *śavapṛṣṭhasthā* As **58b** *dattapadā* P₁ T/121 T/187: *dantapadā* P₂ As **58d** *tāmra* T/187: *tāmbra* P₂ T/121: *tāma* P₁: *trāsa* As **59a** *taladvandve* T/187: *taladvandva* As T/121: *talakanva* P₁: unclear in P₂ **59b** *śatrum* P₂ As T/187: *mṛtam* P₁: *ripum* T/121 **59d** *viṃśatyā* P₁ P₂? T/187: *viṃśatyo* T/121: *viśatyā* As **60c** *dakṣe* P₂? As T/121 T/187: *dīkṣe* P₁ **61a** *dadhatī* As P₂? T/121 T/187: *dadhati* P₁ **62a** *daśabhujā* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: *daśabhūjā* As **63b** *japatā* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: *japatāṃ* As **63c** *dhyānāśakto* P₁ As T/121 T/187: *dhyānāśaktau* P₂ **63d** *bījam* P₂? As T/187: *bija* T/121: *rvam* P₁ **63f** *kāryyā* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: *karyyā* As **Colophon** *bhadrakālīmantravidhiḥ* As P₁ T/187: *bhadrakālīmahābījavidhiḥ* P₂ T/121

We are taught that the word *bhadra*- [in *Bhadrakālī*] means 'bliss'; and bliss is declared [in the scriptures] to be the [nature of the] highest Brahma. (47) [The word] *-kālī* [in her name, meaning 'black', denotes] the power that embodies the [Guṇa] darkness (*tamaḥ*); and that, we are taught, is [the power]

that destroys. (48) [So] the sages have used the word Bhadrakālī to denote this highest Brahma conjoined with the power to destroy. The Great Seed of Bhadrakālī has the same meaning. (49) [For of its constituents] H means the individual soul, S means Brahma, and KH expresses the highest Brahma that is the unity of these two, (50) while PHREṀ [denotes its] destructive power. For in the conscious it is this [urge to resorb] that is predominant. [Thus] both the name Bhadrakālī and [her] Great Seed denote Brahma endowed with the power of destruction. (51b–52a) We hold [further] that the meaning of the Great Seed is [not only Brahma in destructive mode but also that of the Mantra] HAṀSAḤ SO 'HAM which is held to be [the embodiment of] the destroyer [Rudra] [but] also [of] the creator [Brahmā], and the preserver [Viṣṇu].¹³⁵ (52b) The Mantrin should repeat the Great Seed while meditating on its meaning. [Thereby] the king will himself become one with the Supreme Soul endowed with the power of destruction, or one with Bhadrakālī of terrible nature, and so he will obtain undying victory. (54) There is no doubt that the king will be victorious [simply] by repeating the Great Seed. No offerings into fire (*homaḥ*) are required, nor animal-sacrifices (*balih*), nor worship (*arcā*), nor gratification with libations (*tarpaṇam*). (55) Visualization [of the goddess's form] and repetition [of her Mantra] are sufficient to bring about the victory of the king without fail. I shall [now] teach in full the visualization of the Great Seed of Bhadrakālī, (56) by whose favour even Mahādeva completely crushed his enemy. This goddess is black, dressed in red, very tall, with full breasts and hips, (57) slender-waisted, of huge strength, able to devour the three worlds, eager for battle, ferocious, of fierce might, (58) horrifying, standing with her feet on a lotus that rests on the back of a corpse, with three large, copper-coloured eyes in each of her five faces. (59–60) With the force of her great anger she crushes [the king's] enemy again and again, holding him face-down in her two uppermost arms, tortured by the twenty fangs of her five faces. On the right [in her other hands] she holds in descending order a trident, an elephant-goad, an arrow, (61) and a sword, and in her [other] left hands in the same order a vessel filled with blood, a noose, a bow, and a shield. (62) A king who wishes to conquer in battle should visualize fearsome Bhadrakālī thus with ten arms as the granter of victory. (63) One achieves victory by repeating the Great Seed of Bhadrakālī. If the king is unable to perform her visualization and repeats the Seed without it, he will still be victorious. Do

¹³⁵The connection of the passage from 51b to 52a with what precedes and follows is not explicit and the passage itself is unclear because of the puzzling collocation of *iṣyate* and *saṃsmṛtaḥ*. My translation with its expansions in parentheses seeks to convey only what I find to be its probable gist. I take the relevance of the Mantra HAṀSAḤ SO 'HAM to be that HAṀSAḤ expresses meditation on the ascent of Kuṇḍalinī through the Cakras from the Mūlādhāra to the Sahasrāra, that is to say, in the order of progressive withdrawal or destruction (*saṃhāarakramaḥ*, *ārohakramaḥ*), while SO 'HAM expresses her descent through the same from the Sahasrāra to the Mūlādhāra, that is to say, in the order of emission or creation (*sṛṣṭīkramaḥ*, *avarohakramaḥ*).

not doubt this. Here ends the *Bhadrakālīmantravidhi* of the *Āṅgīrasa[kalpa]*.

There follows a short section of five verses with its own colophon, proclaiming the greatness of this Seed-syllable:

64 *ṛṣir atra na kaścīt syān na ca cchando 'sya vidyate |*
devatā bhadrakālī syān na bīje bījam iṣyate |
 65 *jaye ca viniyogaḥ syāt karāṅganyāsavarjanam |*
na caiva vyāpakanyāso na ca pratyakṣaram bhavet |
 66 *mahābījajapāt sadyo nṛpatir jayam aśnute |*
na puraścaraṇam kiṃcin na kaścīn niyamo bhavet |
 67 *bhadrakālī svayam bhūtvā japan jayam avāpsyati |*
maheśo 'pi sadā sarvaṃ jagat saṃharate yayā |
 68 *tatprasādān mahārājo jayaty atra kim adbhutam |*
na bhūto na bhavan bhāvī mahābījasamo manuḥ |

ITY ĀṅGIRASE BHADRAKĀLĪMAHĀBĪJAPRAŚAṂSĀ

64a *ṛṣir atra* T/121 T/187: *ruṣir atra* As P₁: *ruṣir atri* P₂ **64b** *cchando* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *chando* T/121 **64c** *syān* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *syāt* T/121 **65b** *karāṅganyāsavarjanam* P₁ As T/121 T/187: *katanyāsaniavarjanam* P₂ **65c** *vyāpakanyāso* P₂ As T/187: *vyāpakanyāsa* T/121: *vyāpakanyāsa* P₁ **65d** *na ca* P₂ As T/121 T/187: *ca* P₁ **66a** *mahābījajapāt* P₂ T/121: *mahābījajayāt* T/187: *mahābījapāt* P₁: *mahāvidyājapāt* As **66b** *jayam* P₂ As T/121 T/187: *jāyam* P₁ **66c** *kiṃcin* P₂ As T/187: *kiṃci* P₁ T/121 **66d** *na* P₁ P₂ As T/187: lacking in T/121 **67b** *japan* P₁ As T/121 T/187: *japanam* P₂ **67c** *sadā* P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: *sa ca* As **68a** *tatprasādān* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *yatprasādān* T/121 • *mahārājo* P₁ P₂ As: *mahorājo* T/121: *mahābījo* T/187 **68b** *adbhutam* P₁ T/187: *adbhūtam* P₂ As T/121 **68c** *bhūto na* P₁ P₂ As: *bhūto pi* T/187: *bhūto* T/121 • *bhavan* P₁ P₂ As T/187: *bhava* T/121 • *bhāvī* As T/121 T/187: *bhāvi* P₁ P₂ **68d** *samo* P₁ P₂ As T/121: *samā* T/187 **Colophon** *ity āṅgirase bhadrakālīmahābījaprasāṃsā* conj.: *ity āṅgirase mahābījaprasāṃsā* P₂ T/121: *iti bhadrakālīmahābījaprasāṃsā* P₁ T/187: *iti bhadrakālīmahāprasāṃsā* As

(64–65a) This [Mantra's] deity is Bhadrakālī and its application is for victory. It has no Ṛṣi, no metre, and, since it is itself a Seed (*bījam*), no Bīja. (65a–d) There is no procedure of installation on the hands and body, no Pervasive Installation, and no installation [on separate parts of the body] of its [seven] constituent sounds (*pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ*). (66) The king attains victory immediately [simply] by repeating [this] Great Seed. There is no preliminary practice [to master it] (*puraścaraṇam*), nor are there any [associated] restrictions [of conduct] (*niyamah*). (67) He will gain victory [simply] by repeating [her Mantra] after achieving identity with Bhadrakālī. It is always she that enables Śiva himself to act [when at the end of every Aeon] he dissolves the whole universe. (68) What wonder, then, that a Mahārāja should conquer by her favour? There has never been, nor is, nor will be any Mantra equal to this Great Seed [of Bhadrakālī]. Here ends the *Bhadrakālīmahābījaprasāṃsā* ('Praise of the Great Seed of Bhadrakālī') in the *Āṅgīrasa[kalpa]*.

The **Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa* continues and ends in P₁ and the Asimiḷā manuscript (As ff. 55r4–57r1 = Ed^P, pp. 110–113) with a section of some forty verses on the worship of this same Mantra. The materials at my disposal do not reveal whether this passage is present in T/121 and T/187. However, it is lacking in P₂; and this suggests that it may well be a later addition. This suspicion is strengthened by its relationship with the section on this Mantra that it follows (vv. 43–68). For the passage lacking in P₂ begins with Pippalāda asking Aṅgiras why he has not taught a ritualistic procedure for the Great Seed’s worship even though he has done so in the case of every other Mantra. Aṅgiras replies that, as we have seen in the preceding material, it is precisely the special virtue of this Mantra that it is not necessary to do anything more than repeat it, but he agrees nonetheless to teach such a procedure ‘out of compassion’ for Pippalāda. This suggests a consciousness that the last section of our **Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa* is a somewhat awkward addition, one that seems to undermine the point of the preceding exposition, whose emphasis is on an ascent from more to less ritualistic procedures.¹³⁶

69 *athātaḥ pippalādena pṛṣṭo maharṣir aṅgirāḥ |*
bhagavan vedatattoajña sarvabhūtahite rata |
 70 *sarveṣāṃ api mantrāṇāṃ vidhānaṃ kathitaṃ mama |*
bhadrakālīmahābījavidhir na kathitaḥ katham |

aṅgirā uvāca:

71 *bhadrakālīmahābījaṃ jayaikaphaladaṃ mune |*
mantroccāraṇamātreṇa jayaḥ syād adhikena kim |
 72 *tathāpi tvayi kāruṇyād vidhānam abhidhīyate |*

69d *rata* P₁ : *rataḥ* Ed^P 71a *mahābījaṃ* P₁ : *mahemantraḥ* Ed^P 71b *phaladaṃ* P₁ : *phaladaḥ* Ed^P 71c *mātreṇa* P₁ : *mantreṇa* Ed^P

(69) Then Pippalāda addressed a question to the great Ṛṣi Aṅgiras, saying: “Venerable one, who know the essence of the Vedas and are devoted to the welfare of all beings, (70) you have told me rituals of all the [other] Mantras. Why [then], have you not done so in the case of Bhadrakālī’s Great Seed?” Aṅgiras replied and said: (71) “O sage, the Great Seed of Bhadrakālī cannot but grant the reward of victory; and that goal is achieved simply by uttering the Mantra. [So] what more is needed? (72) Nonetheless out of compassion for you I shall now teach you [a set of] rituals [for this too].”

It begins with an account of the worship of the goddess embodied in the Great Seed HSKHPHREM on a Yantra with this at its centre surrounded by the letters of the nine-syllable and eleven-syllable Vidyās taught in the

¹³⁶Constraints of time did not permit me to collate directly with the Asimiḷā manuscript (As) the following final part of the **Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa*, that I decided to include in my contribution only at a relatively late stage. I have thus edited it only from P₁ and Ed^P, which is based on As.

Bhadrakālīmantravidhi (BHADRAKĀLI JAYAM DEHI PHAṬ and OM KHPHREM/HRĪM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒSVARI PHAṬ):

brahmaṇoktena vidhinā yantram kuryāt prayatnataḥ |
 73 *suvarṇaśatamānena nirmitam yantram iṣyate |*
vilikhyāntar mahābījaṃ tasyādho vilikhet phalam |
 74 *tataś ca vilikhen mantrī navapatre navākṣaram |*
tata ekādaśadale mantram ekādaśākṣaram |
 75 *tataḥ ṣoḍaśapatre ca vilikhet ṣoḍaśa svarān |*
vyañjanāni likhen mantrī pṛthivīmaṇḍale kramāt |
 76 *evaṃ yantram vinirmāya saṃpūjya ripujid bhavet |*
bahubhir gandhapuṣpaiś ca dhūpadīpair niveditaiḥ |
 77 *bhūyobhir mahiṣājāvīpaśubhiḥ saṃskṛtaiḥ smitām |*
bhadrakālīm yajet tatra pañcāsyām ripucarvaṇām |
 78 *upāsakaḥ prayatnena sukruddhām śāntarūpiṇīm |*
saccidānandarūpasya māyāśaktiṃ vadanti yām |

74a *mānena* Ed^P: *māṣeṇa* P₁ 74b *navapatre navākṣaram* em.: *navapatreṇavākṣaram* P₁: *navapatre navākṣarīm* Ed^P 74d *mantram* Ed^P: *ayam* P₁ • *ekādaśākṣaram* P₁: *ekādaśākṣarīm* Ed^P 75b *ṣoḍaśa svarān* Ed^P: *ṣoḍaśākṣarān* P₁ 77a *mahiṣājāvi* P₁: *mahiṣājādi* Ed^P 77d *pañcāsyām ripucarvaṇām* Ed^P: *pañcāsyaripucarvaṇām* P₁ 78a *upāsakaḥ prayatnena* P₁: *upāsakaprayatneṣu* Ed^P 78b *sukruddhām* Ed^P: *sakṛdyām* P₁

He should carefully prepare a Yantra following the procedure taught by Brahmā. (73) It is required that it should be one made from one hundred measures of gold. After tracing the Great Seed [HSKHPHREM] at its centre he should write the result [he seeks] beneath it. (74) Then the Mantrin should trace the nine-syllable [Mantra] (BHADRAKĀLI JAYAM DEHI PHAṬ) on [the petals] of a nine-petal [lotus drawn around that centre], then the eleven-syllable [Mantra] (OM KHPHREM/HRĪM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒSVARI PHAṬ) on [the petals of] an eleven-petal [lotus extending beyond the first], (75) and the sixteen vowels on a sixteen-petal [lotus beyond that]. The Mantrin should then draw the [thirty-four] consonants one by one on an earth-disc [that extends beyond the petals]. (76) When he has made the Yantra in this way and worshipped it he will defeat his enemies. (76c–78) On it the propitiator should scrupulously worship Bhadrakālī, whom the [wise] declare to be the power of illusion (*māyāśaktiḥ*) of [Brahma, that being] whose nature is existence, consciousness, and bliss, doing so with many scented powders, flowers, fumigants, lamps, and foods, and with many ritually prepared buffaloes, goats, and sheep as animal sacrifices, [visualizing her as] five-faced, smiling, wrathful [yet] tranquil, devouring [his] enemies.

Then it teaches the procedure of the fire sacrifice, presumably to be understood as following this worship on the Yantra:

79 *atha homaṃ pravakṣye 'haṃ pravarārinivāraṇam |*

vṛtte kuṇḍe 'gnim ādhāya gandhādyair abhipūjayet |
 80 aṣṭottarasahasraṃ tu juhuyād gavyasarpīṣā |
 tāvad eva japed rātrau baliṃ dadyād vidhānataḥ |
 81 saptāham evaṃ vidhinā kṛtvā jayam avāpnuyāt |
 dvādaśāhaṃ tathā pakṣam ekavimśativāsaram |
 82 māsam kāryaṃ vidhānaṃ vā homakālo 'sya ṣaḍvidhaḥ |
 tāvad vā sarpiṣāktās ca aśvatthasamidho hunet |
 83 sarpir aśvatthasamidhaḥ pratyekaṃ vā hunet budhaḥ |

82a kāryaṃ vidhānaṃ Ed^P : kāryāvāsānaṃ P₁ 83a samidhaḥ P₁ : samidbhiḥ Ed^P

(79–80) I shall now tell [you] the fire sacrifice, as the means of warding off [even] the most powerful of enemies. In a circular fire-pit he should install the fire and worship it with scented powders and other [offerings]. He should [then] offer [her] 1008 oblations of cow's ghee, repeat [the Great Seed] the same number of times during the night, and offer an animal sacrifice according to the [prescribed] procedure. (81–82b) He will obtain victory if he does the fire sacrifice in this way for seven days. Or the ritual may be maintained for twelve, fifteen, twenty-one days, or a month. [Thus] the duration of the fire sacrifice is sixfold. (82c–83b) Or he may offer kindling sticks of Aśvattha wood (*Ficus religiosa*) smeared with butter for the same period. Alternatively the wise one may offer butter and such sticks separately.

Next come procedures to be adopted at the time of battle:

athavā yuddhasamaye sahasraṃ sarpiṣā hunet |
 84 juhuyāt tāvad evāsau yuddhaṃ yāvad dinaṃ bhavet |
 paṭṭe mantraṃ vilikhyāgre vaṃśadaṇḍe ca dhārayan |
 85 jayakāmo nr̥po yāyād avāśyaṃ jayam āpnuyāt |
 athavā bhadrakālīṃ tāṃ samlikhya vidhivat paṭe |
 86 senāgre dhārayan rājā gacchan jayam avāpnuyāt |
 yantram etad yaḥ svahaste baddhvā vā jayam āpnuyāt |
 87 athavā yuddhasamaye yantram etat svasaṃnidhau |
 kenacid dhārayan rājā labhate vijayaśriyam |
 88 yantraṃ kṛtvā bhadrakālyāḥ pratyahaṃ yadi pūjayet |
 parājayaṃ na labhate jayaṃ ca labhate sadā |
 89 athavā brāhmaṇadvārā yantram etat prapūjayan |
 na parājayaṃ āpnoti jayaṃ cāvāśyaṃ aśnute |

84b yāvad yuddhadinaṃ conj.: yuddhaṃ yāvad dinaṃ P₁ Ed^P 84d dhārayan P₁ : dhārayet Ed^P

85c–86b Lacking in Ed^P, probably as the result of an eyeskip from *jayam āpnuyāt* in 85b to *jayam āpnuyāt* in 86b 86a senāgre corr.: senāgra P₁ 86d baddhvā vā P₁ : badhnyāt Ed^P 87c kenacid P₁ : kenacad Ed^P • dhārayan P₁ : dhārayed Ed^P 87d vijayaśriyam P₁ : vijayaṃ śriyam Ed^P 88a bhadrakālyāḥ P₁ : bhadrakālī Ed^P

(83c–84b) Alternatively he may offer 1000 oblations of ghee when it is time to go to war. He should make the same number of oblations [every day] un-

til the day of the battle. (84cd) He should trace the [Great Seed] Mantra on a banner and carry it in front [of his army] on a bamboo pole. (85) A king seeking victory who marches forth [with this banner] will certainly be victorious. Or he may paint [the icon of] this [form of] Bhadrakālī on [gessoed] cloth, following the rules [of her iconography]. (86) A king who goes into battle carrying [this painting] in front of his forces will be victorious. He will [also] conquer if he attaches this [goddess's] Yantra to his arm. (87) Alternatively the king will achieve a glorious victory if he has another carry the Yantra at his side when the battle commences. (88) If he makes a Yantra of Bhadrakālī and worships it every day he will not be worsted, but will always conquer. (89) Alternatively he may have this Yantra worshipped by a brahmin on his behalf. He will not be defeated but will inevitably be victorious.

There follows instruction on the *bhadrakālīvratam* 'the Bhadrakālī observance' to be performed on the ninth day of the bright fortnight:

90 *prabalārijayaṃ kāṅkṣan mahīpālo vidhānataḥ |*
śuklāyāṃ ca navamyāṃ vā bhadrakālīvratam caret |
 91 *svaputraṃ vā svapatnīm vā vidvāṃsam vāpi kārayet |*
saṃvatsarena rājāyam ajayyaṃ jayam aśnute |
 92 *pippalāda śṛṇu mama vratam etaj jayapradam |*
śatamānena yantram vai kṛtvā devīm prapūjayet |
 93 *pūpān aṣṭau prakurvīta śālitaṇḍulanirmitān |*
devyai nivedya vidhivat ekaṃ viprāya yacchati |
 94 *tato bhūñjīta vidhivat sapta pūpān svayaṃ vratī |*
suvarṇaṃ dakṣiṇāṃ dadyād gurave yena tuṣyati |

90a *kāṅkṣan* Ed^P: *kāṅkṣī* P₁ 90c *śuklāyāṃ ca navamyāṃ vā* P₁: *śuklāyāṃ navamyāṃ vāpi* Ed^P 91a *svapatnīm vā* Ed^P: *sapatnīm ca* P₁ 91b *vidvāṃsam* P₁: *bāndhavān* Ed^P 91d *ajayyaṃ* P₁: *ajeyam* Ed^P • *aśnute* Ed^P: *aśate* P₁ 92a *pippalāda* Ed^P: *pippada* P₁ 92c *vai* P₁: *tu* Ed^P 93d *ekaṃ* P₁: *evam* Ed^P 94b *vratī* Ed^P: *kutī* P₁

(90) Or, if a king desires to conquer a powerful foe, he should undertake the observance of Bhadrakālī on the ninth lunar day of [each] bright fortnight. (91) Alternatively he may have it undertaken [on his behalf] by his son, his wife, or a learned [brahmin]. After one year this king attains a victory [otherwise] unattainable. (92) Pippalāda, hear me [as I explain] this observance that leads to victory. Having prepared the Yantra with one hundred measures [of gold] he should worship the goddess. (93–94) He should prepare eight cakes made from rice grains. After duly offering them to the goddess the holder of the observance should give one to a brahmin, eat the other seven himself, and give gold to the Guru as his fee (*dakṣiṇā*) so that he should be content.

There follow fire sacrifices to be offered on the eve of battle:

95 śatrum jetum nr̥po gacchan tatpūrvadvase ghr̥taiḥ |
 sahasratritayam hutvā dhruvam vijayate ripum |
 96 svasainyālokamātreṇa parasainyam palāyate |
 yatamāno nr̥po 'śvatthasamidbhir ayutam hunet |
 97 rājā mahājayam vāñchan candanair ghr̥tasamyutaiḥ |
 ayutam juhuyād eṣa mahājayam avāpnuyāt |
 athavāgurukāṣṭhasya samidbhir ayutam hunet |
 98 ripum jetum nr̥paḥ sainyam prasthāpayati cet tadā |
 etat sarvam prakurvīta tatsainyam arijid bhavet |
 99 sahasram sarpiṣā hutvā sampātyāśvatthakīlake |
 parasenāsthitisthāne khātvā jayam avāpnuyāt |

95a gacchan Ed^P: yacchan P₁ 96c yatamāno P₁: yajamāno Ed^P 98c etat sarvam P₁: tat sarvam tu Ed^P 99c sthitisthāne P₁: sthitasthāne Ed^P

(95) When the king is marching forth to conquer an enemy he will certainly be victorious if on the day before he offers 3000 oblations of ghee. (96) The enemy forces will flee at the mere sight of his troops. The king should scrupulously offer 10,000 kindling sticks of Aśvattha (*Ficus religiosa*) into the fire. (97) If the king seeks a great victory he will achieve it by making 10,000 oblations of sticks of sandal-wood together with ghee. Or he may make the 10,000 oblations with sticks of aloe wood. (98) If he sends forth his troops to conquer the enemy at that time he will achieve all this. His army will prevail over the enemy's. (99) He will be victorious if he offers 1000 oblations of ghee pouring the remnant of each on to a spike fashioned from Aśvattha wood and buries it at the place where the enemy's forces are encamped.¹³⁷

Then we are taught fire sacrifices to empower the king's sword and arrows in preparation for battle:

¹³⁷The text refers to what is termed a *sampātahomaḥ* 'a sacrifice of the remnant' or by abbreviation a *sampātaḥ*. In Tantric practice the officiant pours the first part of each oblation of melted butter from the ladle (*sruvaḥ*) into the fire as he utters the SVĀ of the SVĀHĀ that closes the Mantra in the case of oblations and then as he utters the HĀ pours the rest (*ājyaśeṣaḥ*) on to whatever is to be empowered (*samskārya*-). This is done first with the root-Mantra and then with its ancillaries. See, e.g., *Svacchanda* 3.153: *pūrvamantraṃ samuccārya SVĀ ity agnau pradāpayat HETi śiṣyasya śirasi sampātaḥ śivacoditaḥ*; *Tantrāloka* 15.440c–441b: *SVĀ ity amṛtavārṇeṇa vahnau hutvājyaśeṣakam | carau HETyagnirūpeṇa juhuyāt tat punaḥ punaḥ*; *Kalādikṣāpaddhati* f. 60v–61r4: *niṣkalena tadanḡavaktrais ca ekaikayāhutyā sampātaṃ kuryāt, yathā: OM HŪM SAMPĀTAM KAROMI SVĀ ity agnau HĀ iti carau. evaṃ hr̥dayādīmantraih. OM HĀM SAMPĀTAM KAROMI SVĀ ity agnau HĀ iti carau. evaṃ anyat. punaḥ niṣkalenāṣṭottaraśataṃ japtvā parāmṛtam anusmaran carāv ājyāhutim kṣiped ity agniṣomasomasomatāvōyāptaś carur bhavet. iti carusādhanam. tataḥ karaṇīkhaṭīkārājaḥ-kartaryājyatilādīnām yajñāṅgānām mūlena ṣaḍaṅgena prāgvat SVĀ ity agnau HĀ karaṇīkhaṭīkādiṣu iti sampātaṃ kuryāt; ibid. f. 76v6–11: *tataḥ śiṣyaśirasi samhitayā SVĀ ity agnau HĀ iti śiṣyaśirasi pratyekam āhutitrayeṇa trayeṇa kāryam yathā OM HŪM SAMPĀTAM KAROMI SVĀ ity agnau HĀ iti śiṣyaśirasi ghr̥tāhutityāgah. evaṃ hr̥dayādibhiḥ.**

100 *sarpiṣāyutahomena khadgaṃ sampātya yo nr̥paḥ |*
tam ādāya paraṃ jetuṃ prayāti paramaṃ jayet |
 101 *ghṛtasyāyutahomena sampātya śarapañcakam |*
tat kṣīpan parasenāyāṃ tāṃ senāṃ bhañjayen nr̥paḥ |

101c *tat kṣīpan* Ed^P : *tāṃ kṣīpan* P₁

(100) A king who makes 10,000 such split oblations of ghee on his sword and then marches forth with it against his enemy will achieve total victory. (101) If a king does the same with five arrows and then shoots them into the army of the enemy he will shatter it.

and the preparation of a Yantra [with HSKHPHREM at its centre] to be worn by the king to empower him as he fights:

102 *yantram nirmāya vidhinā mantreṇānena mantravit |*
snāpayec chuddhatoyena sahasraṃ tu dine dine |
 103 *evaṃ phalāntakaṃ karma kālasamkhyā na vidyate |*
yantram etad gale baddhvā yudhyamāno jayaṃ vrajet |

102c *snāpayec chuddhatoyena* P₁ : *snāpayed ghṛtatoyena* Ed^P 103c *yantram etad gale baddhvā* P₁ : *mantram etaṃ hṛdi dhyātvā* Ed^P

(102) The Mantrin should make a Yantra with the prescribed procedure and then bathe it with pure water 1000 times every day using this Mantra. (103) He should continue the ritual until he achieves success. There is no time limit. He will be victorious if he fights after tying this Yantra around his neck.

Finally we are told the procedure for the annual propitiation of Bhadrakālī that culminates on Mahānavamī, at the end of the Navarātra festival that initiates the season of military campaigns:

104 *āśvīnasya ca māsasya kṛṣṇapakṣasya yāṣṭamī |*
tām ārabhya yajed devīm bhaved yāvan mahāṣṭamī |
 105 *prātarmadhyāhnayoḥ sāyamaṃ trikālaṃ tāṃ prapūjayet |*
viśeṣeṇa niśāyāṃ tu pūjayet pṛthivīpatiḥ |
 106 *tryayutaṃ juhuyād rājā sapatnavijayecchayā |*
niśāyāṃ homasaṃprāptau balim dadyād dine dine |
 107 *mahiṣājāvīpaśubhir māṃsabhojyair yathā jayet |*
tato mahānavamyāṃ tu gandhādyair bahubhir yajet |
 108 *niśāyāṃ pūjayed devīm śraddhābhaktisamanvitāḥ |*
gandhādyair upacāraiś ca balibhir nr̥tyagītakaiḥ |
 109 *toṣayet tāṃ mahādevīm jayakāmo mahīpatiḥ |*
evaṃ devīm samārādhyā sukhaṃ saṃvatsaram vaset |
 110 *nāriḥ saṃmukham āyāti āgato 'pi palāyate |*
tasmād vijayakāmo yaḥ sa etat kurute sadā |

ITY ĀṄGIRASAKALPE BHADRAKĀLĪMAHĀBĪJAVIDHIḤ

104c *tām ārabhya* P₁: *tadārabhya* Ed^P • *yajed* P₁: *pūjed* Ed^P **105c** *viśeṣeṇa* conj.: *viśeṣaṃ tu* P₁ Ed^P • *niśāyāṃ tu* P₁: *niśāyāṃ hi* Ed^P **106b** *sapatna* Ed^P: *sapatnī* P₁ **107ab** *paśubhir ?māṃsa?-bhojyair yathā yajet* P₁: *paśubhi bhojyaiḥ pratoṣayet* Ed^P **Colophon**: *bhadrakālīmahābījavidhiḥ* As [reported by Arlo Griffiths; P₁ broken off]: *bhadrakālībalimahāvidhiḥ* conj. Ed^P

(104) Three times a day, at dawn, midday, and sunset, he should worship the goddess beginning on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvina and continuing until the Great Eighth[, the eighth day of the bright fortnight that follows]. (105) The king should worship her three times, at dawn, midday, and sunset, but [once again] in more elaborate form during the course of each night. (106–107) Every day he should make 30,000 oblations into the fire during the night, in order to secure victory over his rivals, and when the fire sacrifice has been completed, he should gratify [the goddess] by sacrificing buffaloes, goats, and sheep to her, offering her meals of *[raw] meat (?), in order that he may be victorious. Then on the Great Ninth (*mahānavamī*) he should worship her with many scented powders and the other [prescribed offerings]. (108–109) He should worship her at night with faith and devotion. A king who wishes to conquer in war should gratify the Great Goddess [during the night] with the offerings beginning with scented powder, with animal sacrifices, and with music and dancing. If he has propitiated the goddess in this way he will remain at ease throughout the year. (110) No enemy will march against him and if he does he will turn and flee. Therefore if a king desires to be victorious he always performs these rites. Here ends the *Bhadrakālīmahābījavidhi* of the *Āṅgirasakalpa*.

The *Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa and the Kālīkula

The form of the rituals of Bhadrakālī prescribed here is not derived from the Kālīkula, nor is the annual worship of the goddess culminating on Mahānavamī. That has no place in the texts of such properly Tantric traditions, which generally eschew the regulation of such calendrical festivals as belonging to the more mundane domain of religion governed by Purāṇic prescription,¹³⁸ even though, as our **Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa* illustrates, the worship of the goddess during this festival is often highly tantricized.¹³⁹ Nor is Bhadrakālī herself among the primary forms of Kālī taught in the texts of the Kālīkula. Her role as the recipient of worship during this festival is a feature of Purāṇic religion, seen, for example, in the prescriptions of the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* (793–803), the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (2.152.5ab; 2.158.1–8), the *Agnipurāṇa* (268.13c–30),

¹³⁸For a detailed analysis of the Purāṇic prescriptions of this festival see EINO 1999.

¹³⁹For another example of this see the information given in SANDERSON 2003 (p. 371, n. 64) on the Tantric rituals of Mahāṣṭamī in the Kathmandu valley.

and the *Nāradapurāṇa* (*Pūrvārdha* 118.17c–22). In the early medieval period it is, to my knowledge, only in the Māṛtantra tradition of the unpublished and hitherto unstudied *Brahmayāmala* texts of southern India that Bhadrakālī comes to the fore as the principal focus of a properly Tantric Śākta cult.¹⁴⁰ And while that cult, in which she is worshipped either on her own or, as Cāmuṇḍā, as one of the seven Mothers, accompanied by Vīrabhadra, and Gaṇeśa, is indeed fully Tantric, it is much more integrated into the civic dimension of religion than are the early North Indian Śākta traditions exemplified by the Trika and Kālīkula. For unlike these and the northern *Brahmayāmala*, with which it has only a tenuous connection,¹⁴¹ the subject of these texts is not worship conducted by individual initiates for their own benefit or that of individual clients but a calendrically fixed programme of regular worship conducted by professional priests before permanent idols in temples;¹⁴² and the principal purpose of this worship

¹⁴⁰I base the following remarks concerning the South Indian Māṛtantra tradition on the two manuscripts to which I have had access: *Brahmayāmala* IFP and *Brahmayāmala* Triv. The South Indian provenance of these texts is supported by a strong correlation (1) between the iconography of the goddess in these manuscripts (here she is the destroyer of the demon Dārūka) and surviving South Indian images of Bhadrakālī and (2) by a strong correlation between the prescription of her temple cult in the same texts and the provisions for the rituals to be performed in the temple of the goddess Kolāramma at Kolār in Noḷambavāḍi detailed in two Tamil inscriptions from that temple (*Epigraphia Carnatica* 10, K1 108; pp. 35–42; translation on pp. 35–40; and 106d, pp. 33–35; translation on pp. 33–34), dated in the second regnal year of Kō-Rājakesarivarman alias Rājendracoladeva (= the Cola king Kulottuṅga I) or AD 1071/2. Only the first, which details the allowances for the deities and the various ceremonies is dated; but the second, which gives the allowances of the staff of the temple, records the same witnesses, and is probably its continuation.

¹⁴¹We see this connection in the fact that Bhadrakālī is attended by the same four goddesses as Caṇḍā Kāpālīnī, the supreme goddess in the *Picumata*/*Brahmayāmala*, though Mahocchuṣmā, the fourth, appears under the variant name Mahocchiṣṭā (cf. the substitution of *ucchiṣṭarudra* for *ucchuṣmarudra* in the citation of the *Varāhapurāṇa* in the South Indian *Bhāvaprakāśikā* noted above on p. 198); see *Brahmayāmala* IFP, p. 7 (3.28): **evaṇvidhā* (em.: *evaṇvidhi* Cod.) **prakartavyā* (em.: *prakartavyaṃ* Cod.) *ekavīrī manoharā* | **raktākhyāṃ* (conj.: *raktākṣīṃ* Cod.) *vinyaset prācyāṃ karālīṃ dakṣiṇe nyaset* | *caṇḍākṣīṃ paścime nyasya mahocchiṣṭottare nyaset*; p. 89 (19.59ab): *raktā karālī caṇḍākṣī mahocchiṣṭā pṛthak pṛthak*; p. 143 (36.14ab): *raktā⟨ṃ⟩ karālī⟨ṃ⟩ caṇḍākṣī⟨ṃ⟩ mahocchiṣṭā⟨ṃ⟩ pṛthak nyaset*.

¹⁴²These priests are required to be non-brahmins, termed *pāraśavaḥ* in Sanskrit (defined in the Dharmasāstra as the offspring of a brahmin man and Śūdra mother [*Manusmṛti* 9.178]). See, e.g., *Brahmayāmala* IFP, p. 146 (37.18c–19b): *śūdrāyāṃ vidhinā viprāj jātaḥ *pāraśavo* (corr.: *pāraśivo* Cod.) *mataḥ* | *bhadrakālīṃ samāśritya jīveyuḥ pūjakāḥ smṛtāḥ*. Their Śaiva character is expressed by transforming *pāraśavaḥ* into *pāraśaivaḥ* as the title of those who have been initiated and consecrated as the officiants of this cult; see *ibid.*, p. 88 (19.54): *ādau pāraśavāś caiva *nityaṃ* (em.: *nityāṃ* Cod.) *devyās tu pūjakāḥ* | *dīkṣitā⟨ḥ⟩ *karmayogyās te* (conj.: *yogyānāṃ* Cod.) **pāraśaivā* (em.: *pāraśaiva* Cod.) *viśeṣataḥ*. The tradition that the priests of Bhadrakālī are persons born into this mixed caste is also recognized outside the Yāmala texts, in the medieval South Indian Vaiṣṇava *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra*, 143.1–2: *viprāc chūdrāyāṃ pāraśavo bhadrakālīpūjanacitrakarmāṅgavidyātūryaḥṣaṇamardanavṛttih* ‘The Pāraśava, born of a brahmin man and a Śūdra woman, lives [by one or other of the following professions:] by performing the worship of Bhadrakālī, by painting, by divination from physiognomy, by playing musical instruments, or by massage’. The

is said to be to foster the victory of the monarch over his enemies, as in the Orissan cult of Bhadrakālī, and, more generally, to protect the kingdom from danger (*deśasāntiḥ, rāṣṭrasāntiḥ*),¹⁴³ such temples being, at least in the main, royal foundations and recipients of royal patronage.

What has been imported from the Kālīkula, then, is neither the goddess Bhadrakālī nor the forms of her worship. Rather it is her Tantric Mantras, these having been embedded in an already tantricized Purāṇic matrix, elevating it from within with their associations of awesome power. The Mantras in question are the first and the fourth of the four taught in the **Bhadrakālīmantravidhi-prakaraṇa*:

1. OM KHPHREM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒSVARI PHAṬ
OR OM HRĪM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒSVARI PHAṬ.
2. HSKHPHREM.

The first is given in all the manuscripts accessed here in the form OM HRĪM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒSVARI PHAṬ but, as we have seen, the fact that the seeds

members of this caste are known in Tamil as *uvaccaṇ*, defined in the *Tamil Lexicon*, s.v., as ‘Member of a caste of temple drummers and Pūjāris of Kālī’. See PILLAY 1953, pp. 220–248 on the *uvaccaṇ* priests of the sanguinary cult of Kālī associated with the Śiva temple of Śucīndram and SHULMAN 1980, pp. 219–220 on the cult of Tillaikālī at Cidambaram.

¹⁴³*Brahmayāmala* IFP, p. 2 (1.17–19): *bhadrakālī tu cāmuṇḍī sadā vijayavardhinī* | 1.17 **śatrunāśe śivodbhūtā* (conj.: *nāśaimastu śivodbhūtā* Cod.) *kaliyuge prakīrtitā* | **catasro* (conj.: *etair* Cod.) *mūrtayo jñeyā sadā *sāntikarī* (*karī* em.: *karo* Cod.) *bhavet* | 1.18 *tasyās sarvaprāyatnena *caturmūrtiṃ* (em.: *caturmūrtiḥ* Cod.) *prapūjayet* | **deśasāntikarās* (em.: *daśasāntikarās* Cod.) *caiva nṛpānām vijayam bhavet* | 1.19 *sarvopāpaharam śāntam sadā vijayasambhavam* | *caturmūrti-vidhānena *mātrpūjām* (em.: *mātrpūjās* Cod.) *ca kārayet*; *ibid.*, p. 30 (7.104ab): **pratiṣṭhāvidhinā* (conj.: *pratiṣṭhāvidhāyām* Cod.) *proktaṃ rāṣṭrasāntiyarthakāraṇam*; p. 50 (12.65cd): **svāhāntam* (corr.: *svāhānte* Cod.) *devikāhomam *nagarasāntivardhanam* (*nagara* em.: *nagaram* Cod.); p. 50 (12.70ab): *devihomam tu sāntiyartham nagarasya tu vardhanam*. When Bhadrakālī is isolated (*kūṭasthā, ekaberam*), the cult is for victory and the destruction of enemies. When she is worshipped together with the Mothers (*bahuberam*) the cult’s purpose is the quelling of dangers and the restoration of well-being. See *Brahmayāmala* Triv., p. 3 (2.7–8): **kevalā* (conj.: *kevalam* Cod.) *caikabere tu bhadrakālīti viśrutā* | *saptadhā bahubere vā mātaraś ceti sarvataḥ* | *jayārtham śatrunāśārtham ekaberam praśamsitam* | *sāntipuṣṭikārtham tu bahuberam udāhṛtam*; pp. 15–16 (3.102c–103), on the purpose of the king’s establishing Śākta sites, ritually identified with one or other of the Śākta sites of pan-Indian fame: *nagare pattane vāpi *khetake* (corr.: *ketake* Cod.) *rājadhānīke* | *tantroktena vidhānena vijayārtham nṛpeṇa tu* | **sthāpyeta* (conj.: *sthāpayet* Cod.) *ṣeṭram ekam vā *prayāgādipracoditam* (conj.: *prayāgādipracodite* Cod.) | *kāsmīram oddiyāṇam vā pīṭhasthānam ca kalpayet* | *rakṣārtham vijayārtham ca pīṭhahīne tu maṇḍale*; p. 20 (3.147–50b), on the solitary Bhadrakālī (Ekaberi): **asyā* (em.: *asya* Cod.) *eva parā mūrtiḥ kālarātrīti viśrutā* | *sarvasaṃhāriṇī *sākṣāt* (conj.: *sābhāk* Cod.) **kālagñisadr̥śopamā* (em. [= *Mahābhārata* 12.273.7b; *ibid.*, supplementary passage after 12.274, l. 105]: *kālagñiyatrasopamā* Cod.) | 48 **ekaberīti* (corr.: *ekavīriti* Cod.) *nāmnā *sā* (em.: *syā* Cod.) *dā(ru)kāsuranāśinī* | **vāstuśaktir iti proktā* (conj.: *vāstuśakteritīkrāntā* Cod.) **śatrupakṣavināśinī* (*pakṣa* em.: *paṅka* Cod.) | 49 **eṣā* (corr.: *eṣa* Cod.) *vai *devatāmūrtī* (corr.: *devatāmūrtiṃ* Cod.) *rājñām vijayasādhanī* | *caturbhedoditā* (conj.: *caturthāheditā* Cod.) *devī jayadā rājapadminī* | 50 *ṣatriyasya viśeṣeṇa rājadhānau pratiṣṭhayā*; p. 22 (3.172): *yāś cainām sampratiṣṭhāpya *kārayen* (em.: *kārayan* Cod.) *nityam arcanam* | *sa nṛpaḥ sārvaabhaumatvam prāpnuyād iti *niścayaḥ* (corr.: *niścayam* Cod.).

of its Ancillaries are said to be KHPRĀṂ, KHPHRĪṂ, KHPHRŪṂ, KHPHRAIM, KHPHRAUṂ, and KHPHRAḤ, with KHPHR- rather than HR- before the vowels, suggests that the original form of the root-Mantra in this text had KHPREM as its seed-syllable rather than HRĪM.¹⁴⁴ This is the core Mantra of the Kālīkula insignificantly modified by being enclosed by the universal Mantra-syllables OṂ and PHAṬ, the first used everywhere in this position as the opening ‘illuminator’ (*dīpakah*) of Mantras,¹⁴⁵ and the second marking it as one endowed with the character of aggression, since PHAṬ is the closing expostulation that distinguishes the ancillary known as the Weapon (*astram*).

The *locus classicus* for this Mantra in the literature of the Kālīkula is a passage giving its constituent letters in encoded form that appears in the *Devīdyardhaśatikā*, in a recension of parts of that text that forms the *Kālīkākrāma* chapter of the *Manthānabhairava*, in the anonymous *Jayadrathayāmālaprastāra-mantrasaṅgraha*, and in an unattributed quotation in Jayaratha’s commentary on the *Tantrāloka*:

88 *varāṅgaṃ vihagaṃ krūraṃ puñjaṃ puruṣam eva ca |*
kālaṃ sarvagataṃ caiva dāraṇākrānta sundari |
 89 *ṛṭṭyādyam turaṅgaṃ ca dākinīmarmasamyutam |*
pavanam navame yuktaṃ tejas tejagr̥he yutam |
 90 *lakṣmīveśmaṃ tu udadhim ekatra samayojitam |*
somāt saptamakoddhṛtya navavarṇā kuleśvarī |

Devīdyardhaśatikā f. 8v3–4 (D); *Manthānabhairava*, *Siddhakhanda*, *Kālīkākrāma* (ff. 179r5–186v3), ff. 183r2–4 (K); *Jayadrathayāmālaprastāra-mantrasaṅgraha* A, f. 3v1–2 (J¹); *Jayadrathayāmālaprastāra-mantrasaṅgraha* B, ff. 3v7–4r1 (J²); *Tantrāloka* *viveka* on 30.54 (vol. 12, p. 202) (lacking the first line) (T). The numeration of the above verses is that of their place in D.

88a *varāṅgaṃ* K J²:*varāṅga* D J¹ • *vihagaṃ* D K J¹:*vihaga* J² • *krūraṃ* K J¹ J²:*sūraṃ* D
 88b *puñjaṃ* D K:*pūjāṃ* J¹:*pūjjāṃ* J² 88d *dāraṇā* K J¹ J² T:*dāruṇā* D • *sundari* J¹:*sundarī*
 D:*sūmdarīm* J²:*sundara* K (because in this version the pupil is Bhairava and the Goddess the teacher):*mastakam* T (to avoid the Aīśa stem-form of *dāraṇākrānta*) 89a *ṛṭṭyādyam*
 K T J²:*ṛṭṭyādyā* D J¹ • *turaṅgaṃ* J¹:*turaṅga* J²:*turagaṅ* D:*taraṅgaṃ* K T 89c *navame* D
 K T:*nacame* J¹ J² 89d *tejas tejagr̥he yutam* J²:*tejas tejagr̥hamyutam* J¹:*jagat tejogr̥he yutam*
 K:*tejas tejaḥsamanvitam* D:*tasmāt saptamam eyutam* T 90ab *lakṣmīveśmaṃ tu udadhim eka-*
tra samayojitam J¹ J²:*lakṣmīveśan tu udadhi ekatra sama yojayet* D:*ūṣmāṇam uddharet pūroam*

¹⁴⁴See above, pp. 257–258.

¹⁴⁵*Nīśvāsaguhya* f. 108v5 (15.202ab): *omkāraś cādhiś cātra mantrādaṃ dīpakah sthitaḥ* ‘and the syllable OṂ is present here in addition as the illuminator at the beginning of the Mantra’. The term *dīpakah* is used both for the opening OṂ and for the closing NAMAḤ; see *Svacchandanatantrōddyota*, vol. 3 (Paṭala 6) p. 145: *sarvamantrāṇāṃ pūjājapaviśaye praṇavanamaskārābhyaṃ ādyantasambandho dīpakah kārya iti śāstrasamayah* ‘The convention of the Śāstra is that when worshipping or repeating any Mantra one should provide an illuminator at its beginning and end with OṂ and NAMAḤ’; and *Parātrīśikāvivarāna*, p. 281 (ed. GNOLI): *etad eva hṛdayabījāṃ dīpakābhāvād gamāgamaśūnyatvāt satatoditatvāc cānādyantam* ‘This same heart-syllable is said [in *Parātrīśikā* 33a] to be without beginning or end because it lacks the [two] illuminators, because it is free of ebb and flow, and because it is permanently active’.

vāridhyuparisamsthitam K : *lakṣmībījaṃ tatoddhṛtya udadhīśasamanvitam* T 90c *somāt saptamakoddhṛtya* K J¹ J² : *somāsaptamakoddhṛtya* D : *somāt saptamam uddhṛtya* T 90d *navavarṇā kuleśvarī* K T : *navavarṇā kuleśvari* J¹ : *navavarṇāḥ kuleśvari* J² : *navarṇāḥ kuleśvari* D

The nine-syllable [Vidyā] Kuleśvarī comes about by raising [from the matrix the following sounds:] the best part of the body [the Yoni: E], the bird [KH(A)], the fierce [PH(A)],¹⁴⁶ the mass [of rays] [R(A)], and the individual soul [M(A) (= M)], O beautiful one; then time [MA],¹⁴⁷ the all-pervading [H(A)] mounted by the [mouth]-opener [Ā],¹⁴⁸ the first of the third [consonant class] [CA], the horse [N(A)]¹⁴⁹ united with the vulnerable point of the *Ḍākinīs* [ḌA],¹⁵⁰ wind [Y(A)] united with the ninth [of the solar vowels] [O], fire [G(A)]¹⁵¹ with the house of fire [E],¹⁵² the residence of Lakṣmī [Ś(A)]¹⁵³

¹⁴⁶The term *krūram* is listed among names for PHA in the fourth Ṣaṭka of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Varṇanāmapāṭala*, vv. 37c–38b: *kundalaṃ bhairavaṃ rāvaṃ rāviṇī yoginīpriyam* | 38 *kundalīnātham atulaṃ krūram vai bhīmaśankukam*. I see nothing to support the variant *sūram* as a letter-name.

¹⁴⁷*Varṇanāmapāṭala*, v. 40: *pañcamāntaṃ lāñchanaṃ ca kālaṃ puruṣam eva ca* | *paśuṃ marmāntaraṅgaṃ ca makāraṃ samudāhṛtam*.

¹⁴⁸*Varṇanāmapāṭala*, vv. 4c–5a: *nārāyaṇam anākāram aṅkuśaṃ *mukhadāraṇā* (corr. : *mukhadārunam* Cod.) | 5 *dīrghādyaṃ nāmabhi(r) jñeyam*.

¹⁴⁹The *Kālikākrama* (K) and the unattributed quotation by Jayaratha (T) read not *turaṅgaṃ* ‘horse’ but *taraṅgaṃ* ‘wave’. The written shape of the syllable *ṆA* is indeed wavelike in the Gupta script, a feature that has been preserved in the Śāradā script of Kashmir. However, *ṆA* is referred to as the ‘horse sound’ (*aśvavarṇāḥ*) elsewhere in the literature of the Kālikula; see, e.g., *Varṇanāmapāṭala*, v. 33ab: *aśvaṃ megham adhovaktraṃ ṅakāraṃ parikīrtitam*; *Kālikulapañcaśataka*, N², f. 31v6–32r1 (2.88b): *aśvārṇaṃ vāmakarṇake*.

¹⁵⁰For *ḍākinīmarma* as a term for ḌA cf. *Varṇanāmapāṭala*, v. 32: *musalaṃ caiva marmaṃ ca yoginīnāṃ ca vallabham* | *ḍakāraṃ ḍamarādhāraṃ nāmabhi(r) jñeyam eva hi*; and *Tantrasadbhāva* f. 114v1 16.233c: *ḍakāra(h) śākinīmarma*.

¹⁵¹The use of *tejaḥ* ‘fire’ for G[A] is based on the equation of the twenty-four consonants from KA to BHA with the twenty-four elements from earth (*ṛṥhivī*) to primal matter (*prakṛtiḥ*). The same parallel is implied by the use seen above of *puruṣaḥ* ‘the individual soul’, the twenty-fifth Tattva in the Sāṃkhya and Śaiva universe, for M[A], the twenty-fifth consonant. For this equation see *Picumata* f. 55v4–5 (11.178–179): *ṛṥhivyādīni tattvāni kakārādīni vinyaset* | *trikaṃ trikaṃ yathānyāyaṃ patre patre yathākramaṃ* | *bhakārāntaṃ na saṃdehaś caturviṃśatibhiḥ kramāt* | *pūrvādidalam ārabhya keśareṣu na saṃśayaḥ*; and an unattributed quotation of scripture in *Tantrāloka* *viveka* vol. 2, p. 154: *ṛṥhivyādīni tattvāni puruṣāntāni pañcasu* | *kramāt kādiṣu vargeṣu makārānteṣu suvrate ityādyuktyā kādayo māvasānāḥ pañcaviṃśatir varṇāḥ ṛṥhvitattvād ārabhya puruṣatattvāntaṃ yāvāt sthitāḥ*.

¹⁵²For *tejaḥ* (Aiśa for *tejoḥ*) ‘the abode of fire’, probably meaning a (triangular) fire-receptacle, denoting the vowel E, which had the written form of a triangle, see the synonym *vahnigeham* in the *Varṇanāmapāṭala* v. 13: *trikoṇam ekādaśamaṃ vahnigehaṃ ca yonigam* | *śṛṅgāṭam caiva ekāraṃ nāmabhiḥ parikīrtitam*.

¹⁵³T has *lakṣmībījam* ‘the seed of Lakṣmī’ rather than *lakṣmīveśmam* (Aiśa for *lakṣmīveśma*) ‘the abode of Lakṣmī’. That these should mean ŚA may be understood as a reference to the first sound of the syllable ŚRĪM, often called Lakṣmī/Kamalā, since that goddess is also known as Śrī.

united with the ocean [VA],¹⁵⁴ and the seventh [sound] from *somaḥ* [Ṛ].¹⁵⁵

It is also given in the *Kālikulapañcaśataka* 3.35–40:

35 *dakṣabāhusthitam varṇam mahānādena saṃyutam |*
tasyādhaḥ śirasontastham mahāyonisamāyutam |
 36 *vāmajānu(ṃ) śiraḥkrāntam proddharet piṇḍanāyakam |*
anena jñātamātrena yogayuktyā maheśvara |
 37 *vaśīkaroti vīrendro brahmādīn yoginīs tathā |*
athānyac chr̥ṇu deveśa bījam bījavarottamam |
 38 *saoyaśravaṇapālistham hṛdayam nābhisamāyutam |*
kevalam vāmapārsvastham vāmakarṇam samuddharet |
 39 *adhaḥstād yojayed deva kapālārṇatṛṭyakam |*
nārāntram vāmapādādhoharimuṇḍena saṃyutam |
 40 *jīvārṇam yonibījena saṃyuktam saptamam hara |*
guhyaṃ śiroruhādyastham dakṣīnoru(ṃ) samuddharet |
 41 *randhrasaṃkhyā mahāvidyā śuṣkāvigrahakodhṛtā |*
durlabhā tridaśeśānām siddhānām khecarīṣu ca |
 42 *asyāḥ saṃsmaraṇād eva merutulyo gurur bhavet |*
bhasmasād yāti sadyaiva pāpam yat pūrovasaṃcitam |
 43 *anayā jñātayā deva kālikākulajātayā |*
saptasaptatikotīs tu vidyānām paramārthataḥ |
 44 *adhītā tena deveśa kim anyair vistareṇa vā |*

N¹, f. 13r3–v3; N², ff. 43r3–44r2; N³, ff. 36r5–37r3

35c *śirasontastham* N² N³: *śirastontastham* N¹ **35d** *saṃyutam* conj.: *mahāyutam* N² N³: *mahā-*
putam N¹ **37c** *deveśa* N¹ N²: *deveśī* N³ **38a** *pālistham* em.: *pānistham* Codd. **38b** *saṃyutam*
 N² N³: *saṃyu* + N¹ **39a** *adhaḥstād* em.: *adhaḥstād* Codd. **40a** *hara* N¹ N³: *haram* N²
40b *saṃyuktam* N² N³: *saṃ* + + N¹ **41a** *randhrasaṃkhyā* em.: *randhrasaṃjñā* Codd. **42a**
saṃsmaraṇād N¹ N²: *sasmarāṇād* N³ **42c** *sadyaiva* N¹ N²: *saṃdyaiva* N³ **43c** *koṭīs tu*
 conj.: *koṭīnām* Codd. **43d** *paramārthataḥ* N¹ N²: *pāramarthataḥ* N³

(35–36b) He should extract the foremost of conglomerate [Seeds as follows]: the letter in the right arm [KH(A)]¹⁵⁶ combined with the Great Resonance [PH(A)], with that in the head [R(A)] below it, joined with the Great Womb

¹⁵⁴The use of the word *udadhīḥ* ‘ocean’ for VA is through reference to its watery nature, VAṂ being the seed-syllable of water and of its deity Varuṇa. See *Varṇanāmapāṭala* 43cd: *vakāraṃ vārunam candraṃ sudhā saudham prakīrtitam*.

¹⁵⁵See *Tantrāloka* v. 12, p. 202, glossing this: *somāt saptama ṛ*. There is no doubt that the syllable intended is Ṛ, but it cannot be ‘seventh from *somaḥ*’, since *somaḥ* ‘the moon’ denotes SA or ṬA in the Mantra-code and Ṛ is not seventh from either of these. However, Ṛ is the seventh sound of the syllabary and ‘seventh’ is among its synonyms in the Mantra-code (*Varṇanāmapāṭala*, v. 9: *ṛkta(ṃ) devakalādyam ca saptamam bhānur uttamam | napuṃsakādyam vikhyātam ṛkāraṃ nāmabhiḥ sadā*). The vowels are ‘lunar’ when they are sixteen (A to AḤ) and ‘solar’ when they are reduced to twelve by the omission of the neuter or sterile vowels (Ṛ, Ṝ, Ḍ, and Ḍ̄). So the intended meaning must have been ‘seventh of the lunar series’.

¹⁵⁶The syllable-code used here has been explained in the second Paṭala (2.85–97). The fifty

[E], with the [letter in] the left knee [(A)M] above its head. (36c–37b) Merely by realizing this through meditation, O Maheśvara, the excellent Vīra subjects to his will Brahmā, the other [gods], and the Yoginīs. (37cd) Hear, O god of the gods, another Seed, the best among the best of them. (38) He should extract the heart [H(A)] combined with the navel [Ā] resting on the lobe of the right ear [MA], that in the left side on its own [CA], and the left ear [N(A)]. (39) Below that he should add, O god, the third of the letters of the skull[-chaplet] [ḌA]. Then he should extract the human entrails [Y(A)] combined with the severed head of Viṣṇu beneath her left foot [O], (40) the letter of her vital principle [G(A)] combined with the womb-seed [E] as seventh, O Hara, then the sex organ [Ś(A)] on the first of the hair [letters] [VA] and the right thigh [Ṛ]. (41) [Thus] has been extracted from the body of [the goddess] Śuṣkā, the Great Vidyā numbering nine [syllables] that is hard to obtain even for the gods, Siddhas, and Khecarīs. (42) If one merely meditates on it one's sins accumulated in former time are instantly burned to ash, be they as vast in mass as mount Meru itself.¹⁵⁷ (43–44b) O divine [Bhairava], O Lord of the gods, by knowing this [Vidyā] born of the Kālīkula one has in reality mastered [all] seven hundred and seventy million Vidyās. So what need is there for other [Mantras] or [further] elaboration?

In both these 'extractions' (*mantrōddhāraḥ*) the Mantra is as in the *Bhadrakālī-mantravidhiprakaraṇa* except that the final syllable is given as Ṛ where there we had RI. This is a deviant orthography that was widely accepted, since it is also prescribed in the Kālīkula scripture *Yonigahvara*,¹⁵⁸ in the Kālīkula-incorporating form of the Trika taught in the *Devyāyāmala* as reported by

syllables of the syllabary (*mātrkā*) are assigned for the purpose of the extraction of the Mantras to the parts and adornments of a drawing of the goddess to be depicted on the ground with chalk as two-armed, emaciated, hollow-cheeked, enthroned on the severed head of Rudra, with her feet on the severed heads of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, wearing a chaplet of skulls, holding a human skull-bowl filled with human entrails (2.76–84).

¹⁵⁷In spite of the grammatical irregularity that this entails I take the masculine adjectives *merutulyo gurur* of 42b to qualify the neuter *pāpaṃ* of 42d, the comparison of the accumulated mass of sins to the vast mountain Meru being a rhetorical commonplace; see, e.g., *Yonigahvara*, f. 5r6 (62ab): *sūdayed duṣkṛtān ghorān merutulya-m-ayopamān* (em. : *ayopamāni* Cod.), with masculine *duṣkṛtān* for neuter *duṣkṛtāni*. The deviation appears to have been prompted by the metre, the correct *merutulyaṃ guru* being unmetrical.

¹⁵⁸*Yonigahvara* f. 19v–20r4 (vv. 271–279): *ebhyo mantrān pravakṣyāmi yathāmnāye prakāśitam | tridaśe dvitīyaṃ gṛhya navamadhyaṃ tu āsane | 272 laṭhamadhyam adhe yojya tridaśe navamaṃ śire | asyaiva pañcamam gṛhya śire deyaṃ vicakṣaṇāt | 273 kūṭarājam mahāghoraṃ sarvasiddhikaram param | jhahamadhyaṃ gṛhya sayamadhyaṃ tu uddharet | 274 triyonī-aṅkuṣam deyam etad varṇatṛṭīyakam | saptame prathamam gṛhya kevalam tu samuddharet | 275 tadhamadhyaṃ gṛhya dha-ūmadhyam tu āsane | dvau varṇāv ekataḥ kuryād aśvadhāram prakīrtitam | 276 navame antimoddhṛtya ṅalamadhyam adhe dadet | uddhṛtam ṣaṣṭhamam varṇam mahāsiddhikaram param | 277 tridaśe prathamam gṛhya tasyaiva navamaṃ śire | saptamaṃ tu mahāvāṇam vāgvilāsam prakīrtitam | 278 dasamadhyaṃ gṛhya śalamadhyam tu āsane | aṣṭamaṃ tu mahāvōira navamam adhunā śṛṇu | 279 tridaśe antimam gṛhya kevalam tu samuddharet | ante pāda samākhyātam madhye nāmaṃ prakalpayet.* This gives the Mantra as KHPHREṀ MAHĀCAṆḌAYUGEŚVAR, with a surprising substitution of

Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*,¹⁵⁹ and in the *Kālīkulakramārcana* of Vimalaprabodha, the Rājaguru of King Arimalla of Nepal (r. 1200–1216).¹⁶⁰ However, the form with RI, which provides the correct orthography for what is evidently the vocative singular of *mahācaṇḍayogeśvarī*, is also widely attested. We see it, for example, in the *Guhyakālīkhaṇḍa* of the *Mahākālasaṃhitā*,¹⁶¹ the *Guhyakālīpūjā*,¹⁶² the *Uttarāmnāyayajñākrama*,¹⁶³ and the scripture *Jñānārṇavatāntra*. The last is a work of the Śākta Śrīvidyā rather than the *Kālīkula*, but its system of worship includes Vidyās for goddesses as the deities presiding over each of four Śākta traditions, these being attributed to the cardinal directions: the Eastern (Pūrvāmnāya), the Southern (Dakṣiṇāmnāya), the Western (Paścimāmnāya), and the Northern (Uttarāmnāya). The first two, the Vidyās of Unmanī and Bhoginī, are in the territory of the Śrīvidyā itself, the third is the Vidyā of Kubjikā, and the fourth is that of Kālī in the Uttarāmnāya, which is to say, in the *Kālīkula*, and is our nine-syllable Mantra.¹⁶⁴ We also see it in the *Yonigahvara*. That, as we have seen, teaches the form in Ṛ. But it prescribes that in RI in its Mantras for the worship of the two highest of the five goddess circles of the Krama, namely those of the Nameless (*anākhyacakram*) and

U (276a: *navame antimoddhṛtya*) for O. The code used here is that of the position of the 49 letters in the triangular grid of 49 triangles in descending rows of 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, and 13, known as the *yonigahvaram*, with the 50th, KṢA, added below. It is illustrated in SCHOTERMAN 1982, p. 203, fig. 25.

¹⁵⁹*Tantrāloka* 30.45c–46b (KHPHREM) + 30.54–55b: *mahācaṇḍeti tu yogeśvar ity aṣṭavarṇakam | navārṇeyam guptatarā sadbhāvaḥ kālakarṣiṇī | śrīḍāmare mahāyāge parātparataroditā* ‘[When] the set of eight syllables MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGESVAR [is preceded by KHPHREM or one of its variants], this is the most secret [Vidyā] of nine syllables [known as Mātr]sadbhāva or Kāla[sam]karṣiṇī which has been taught [in the chapter of the *Devayāmala* on] the Great Ḍāmara Maṇḍala as that which transcends even the highest [embodied in the goddess Parā]’. In his comment on this passage Jayaratha notes that the use of Ṛ here is sanctioned by scripture (*aṣṭamaś cātra varṇaḥ *saṅṭhādyā* [corr.: *saṅṭhādyā* Ed.] *iti saṃhitayā āveditam*). He then demonstrates this by citing the passage edited above that also appears in the *Devīdvayardhaśatikā* and the *Kālīkārama* for these eight syllables that follow KHPHREM.

¹⁶⁰*Kālīkulakramārcana*, f. 16r1–2: *varāṅga-vihaga-sūra-puñja-puruṣa-kāla-sarvagata-dāraṇa-trṭṭyādyaturaga-ḍākiṇīmarmā-pavanānavama-tejas-tejo* (gr̥ha)-*lakṣmīveśma-udadhi-somasaptamayogāt pañcākrasāmānyā* (ṇ) *navākṣaravidyāṃ samuccārya*. Here Vimalaprabodha is following the passage seen in the *Devīdvayardhaśatikā* with the erroneous variant *sūra-* (see above, p. 279).

¹⁶¹*Mahākālasaṃhitā*, *Guhyakālīkhaṇḍa* 3.34: *etasyaiva dvitīyārṇam mahātaś caṇḍato ‘py anu | sambodhanapadaṃ yogeśvaryā mantro navākṣaraḥ* ‘The second syllable of the same, MAHĀ, and then, after CAṆḌA, the vocative of *yogeśvarī* are [her] nine-syllable Mantra’. ‘The second syllable of the same’ refers to the second syllable of the Mantra of Guhyakālī taught immediately before this, namely PHREM KHPHREM SIDDHIKARĀLI SVĀHĀ.

¹⁶²*Guhyakālīpūjā*, f. 10v1–2: KHPREM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGESVARI AMBĀPĀDA.

¹⁶³*Uttarāmnāyayajñākrama*, f. 2r: KHPHREM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGESVARI BALIṀ GR̥HṆNA 2 HŪM PHAT; 5r: HRĪM ŚRĪM KHPHREM MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGESVARI ŚRĪPĀDUKĀM NAVASOPĀNAŚRĪPĀDUKĀM PŪJAYĀMI NAMAḤ.

¹⁶⁴*Jñānārṇavatāntra* 9.67–68b: *khphremātmaṃ samuccārya mahācaṇḍapadaṃ likhet | *yogeśvari-padaṃ* (corr.: *yogeśvarī-padaṃ* Ed.) *paścād vidyeyaṃ kālīkā priye | uttarāmnāyavidyeyaṃ nāmnā kālīti viśrutā*. On the Uttarāmnāya and the *Kālīkula* see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 342–343, n. 363.

Radiance (*bhāsācakram*), respectively KHMLYPHREM CAṄḌAYOGEŚVARI RJHRIM ANĀKHYE GPHREM YOGĒŚVARI PHAṬ and KHPHREM MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGEŚVARI RKHPHREM PHAṬ RAUDRARAUDRE JHKHPHEM PHAṬ.¹⁶⁵

As for the presence of HRĪM rather than KHPHREM in the Mantra as it is given in the accessed manuscripts of the **Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa*, it is conceivable that it is genuine in spite of the consequent anomaly of its having Ancillaries whose seeds begin with KHPHR-, since we find the component HRĪM followed by the same vocative at the beginning the seventeen-syllable Vidyā prescribed for the worship of Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī in the *Jayadrathayāmala*, where it is the basic Mantra of the goddess (HRĪM MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGEŚVARI ṬHRĪM DHRĪM THRĪM PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ)¹⁶⁶ and, in a variant, in the Trika's Kālīkula-based *Devyāyāmala*, where it is prescribed for use in addition to the nine-syllable form (HRĪM MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGEŚVARI ṬHR̥⟨M⟩ DHṚ̥⟨M⟩ THṚ̥⟨M⟩ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ).¹⁶⁷

The second of the two Mantras adopted from the Kālīkula in the **Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa* is Bhadrakālī's Great Seed HSKHPHREM, which is evidently intended as a more esoteric and powerful substitute for the longer Mantra, one that holds its power in condensed form, as it were, and by the same measure permits an even greater transcendence of ritualistic requirements. This is prescribed in the Kālīkula's *Jayadrathayāmala* as the Mantra of a form of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī called both Kuṇḍaleśvarī and Kūṭeśvarī.¹⁶⁸

8 gatvā vīrendranilayaṃ candanāgurucaritaḥ |
 madirānandacaitanyo pañcaratnasamācitaḥ |
 9 prastaren mātṛkām tatra sarvavāṇmayamātaram |

¹⁶⁵These are extracted letter by letter in *Yonigahvara*, f. 23r3–v4 (vv. 322c–331) and f. 34r4–v5 (vv. 338c–347).

¹⁶⁶This Vidyā is taught in encrypted form in *Jayadrathayāmala*, Ṣaṭka 1, f. 71r3–9 (11.43c–51) (given in decoded form in *Jayadrathayāmalaḥprastāramantrasaṃgraha*, f. 29v1) and Ṣaṭka 4, ff. 124v6–125r1 (*Mādhavakula* 3.37–41), quoted, but only in its first and last lines, in *Tantrāloka-viveka*, vol. 11 (*Āhnika* 29), p. 49, ll. 14–18.

¹⁶⁷This is the form of the Mantra that is prescribed in the Mālinī code (on which see VASUDEVA 2007) in a passage of the *Devyāyāmala* cited by Jayaratha on *Tantrāloka* 29.69c. In the first line emend *nāsārṇaṇi* to *nāsārṇaṇi* to yield the Ī of HRĪM, and in the sixth *jihvayoḥ* to *jihvayā* to yield the RĪ of MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGEŚVARI (*śūladanḍaṃ tu jihvayā* 'the staff of the trident [R(A)] with the tongue [I]'). The *anusvāraḥ* after each of the syllables ṬHR̥, DHṚ̥, and THṚ̥ is not taught in these verses, but this is such a surprising irregularity that I have assumed that the absence was not intended and that either their presence was to be understood or that a line has been lost in which it was prescribed. The use of Ṛ̥ for RĪ in these syllables parallels the alternation of Ṛ and RĪ in the nine-syllable Vidyā.

¹⁶⁸Paṭala 15 of Ṣaṭka 3 (ff. 107v1–118r4; 264 verses) is devoted to this form of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī. She is named at f. 107v2–3 (15.3ab): *kiṃ tu kautūhalaṃ deva katham sā kuṇḍaleśvarī*; f. 108v3–4: *evaṃ kuṇḍalacakreṣī piṇḍeṣī kālīkā smṛtā*; f. 108v5–6: *etat tatpiṇḍavijñānaṃ kuṇḍaleśmatam śubham*; f. 118r3–4 (colophon): ... *kuṇḍaleśvarīvidhiḥ pañcadaśamaḥ paṭalaḥ*. She is called Kūṭeśvarī at f. 110r1 (15.61c): *kūṭeśvarī devadevī*; f. 110r4 (15.67ab): *deyam argham devadevī kūṭeśvaryābhi-mantritam*; and Ṣaṭka 4, f. 59r7: **yat tat* (as cited in *Jayadrathayāmalaḥprastāramantrasaṃgraha*, f. 61r1: *yan na A) kūṭeśvarīcakre piṇḍam uktam mayā tava* (see n. 176 on p. 286).

vīradravoyopalīptāyāṃ bhuvī vīrendravanditaḥ |
 10 *saṃpūjya vīvidhair bhogais tato mantram samuddharet |*
mahāsūnyam tatpravāham trīśaktiparimaṇḍitam |
 11 *tato bindum tataś candram tato yonyaṣṭamaṃ punaḥ |*
tadadho yojayed vidvān yonikuṇḍān maheśvari |
 12 *aṣṭāvīṃśatimaṃ bhadre nādāt saptamasamsthitam |*
tadveśmaśirasā bhinnam natipraṇavavarjitam |
 13 *piṇḍam etan mahābhāge sarvamantrāraṇiṃ param |*
sarvamantreśvaram saram sarvamantrapradīpakam |
 14 *sarvasāmnidhyakaraṇam sarvasiddhibharāvaham |*
bhogamokṣapradam saram devyāpiṇḍam anuttamam |

Jayadrathayāmala, Ṣaṭka 3, f. 108r4–6

10a *vīvidhair* em. : *vīvidhā* Cod. 10c *trīśaktiparimaṇḍitam* em. : *trīśaktiṃ parimaṇḍitam* Cod. 11a *bindum* em. : *biṇḍu* Cod. 11c *tadadho* corr. : *tadadhā* Cod. • *vidvān* em. : *vidyām* Cod.

Perfumed with sandal-wood and aloe, his mind blissful with wine, and smeared with the five jewels,¹⁶⁹ the [Sādhaka] venerated by the best of Vīras should go to a cremation ground and there lay out the syllabary, the mother of all speech, on ground annointed with the substances of Vīras,¹⁷⁰ and after worshipping it with various offerings he should extract the Mantra from it [as follows]. O Maheśvarī, the learned [Sādhaka] should take the Great Void [H(A)], adorn it with the three Śaktis of its flow [S(A)], then the drop [(A)M], the moon [that marks the syllable's higher resonance], the eighth [letter] from the Yoni [KH(A)],¹⁷¹ and, O excellent [wife], below it the twenty-eighth [letter] from the same [PH(A)] resting on the seventh from Resonance [R(A)],¹⁷² with the fire-pit [E] above it.¹⁷³ This, most fortunate, which is without a [closing] NAMAḤ or [opening] OM, is the supreme conjunct [seed syllable], the churning rod that produces [the fire of] all Mantras, the Lord of

¹⁶⁹For the identity of the products of the body known as the five jewels see SANDERSON 2005a, pp. 111–114, n. 63.

¹⁷⁰Wine, blood, and the like. See *Tantrāloka* 15.559: *na jugupseta madyādi vīradravoyam kadācana; Tantrālokaivēka*, vol. 9 (Āhnika 15), p. 223 on 15.437c (*carau ca vīradravoyāṇi*): *vīradravoyāṇi sārādirūpāṇi*; *Tantrāloka* 16.49a: *raktādisāraughacālanākaraṣaṇādiṣu*; *Svacchandatantrōddyota*, vol. 3 (Paṭala 5), p. 41 on 5.48ab (*madyam māṃsaṃ tathā matsyam anyāni ca*): *anyānīti vīradravoyāṇi* 'By "[and] others" he means "[and] other substances of Vīras"'.
¹⁷¹The Yoni is the sound E and so the eighth from it in the order of the Mātrkā syllabary is KHA.

¹⁷²Resonance (*nādah*) is HA. RA is the seventh back from that.

¹⁷³The Sanskrit *tadveśmaśirasā bhinnam* is irregular. The sense in prose is *tadveśmabhinnāśirasam* 'its head modified by the receptacle of that' where 'that' (*tad-*) denotes RA, the seventh letter back from HA, which is equated with fire. The 'fire-receptacle' (*tejoveśma*) is E. For the decoding of this passage see *Jayadrathayāmala*prastāramantrasaṃgraha, f. 44v4–5: *mahāsūnyam HA. tatpravāhatrīśakti SA. bindu o. candra ∪. yonyaṣṭamaṃ ekārād aṣṭamaṃ KHA. yonikuṇḍād aṣṭāvīṃśatimaṃ PHA. nādāt saptamasamsthitam hakārāt saptamaṃ RA. tadveśmabhinnam ekārayuktam ity arthaḥ. militvā HSKHPHREM kuṇḍaleśvaryaḥ.*

all Mantras, the Essence that illumines all Mantras, that makes all [Mantra-deities] present, that brings the richness of all Siddhis, the unsurpassed conjunct of the Goddess that bestows both liberation and lesser rewards.

Moreover, her propitiation is of the essentialized kind, as in the **Bhadrakālī-mantravidhiprakaraṇa*, the Mantra being without Ancillaries and an accompanying visualization of the goddess's form.¹⁷⁴

As we might expect, the Mantra does not appear only in this monosyllabic isolation. As in the additional passage at the end of the **Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa*, it is also reinscribed into the less essentialized level it transcends, adding its lustre to polysyllabic Mantras that are thought to articulate the same transcendental essence. In the Kālīkula of the *Jayadrathayāmala* this occurs to my knowledge only once, and it is no doubt significant that it does so in the context of the *kālīkramavidhiḥ*, which for the redactors is evidently the high-point of the esoteric Śāktism contained in this huge work, teaching the cult of Mahākālī as manifest in the thirteen Kālīs from Sṛṣṭikālī to Mahābhairavakālī, that is to say, as the cycle of the Nameless (*anākhyacakram*) in which the Krama's course of worship culminates.¹⁷⁵ There we are told that the Mantra should consist of the conjunct syllable taught in the [chapter on the] cycle of Kūṭeśvarī followed by the name of the deity and the honorific ending -PĀDA. The *Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha* explains when commenting on the passage that contains this instruction that the Mantra required is either HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀKĀLĪPĀDA or HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀCAṆḌAYOGĒŚVARĪPĀDA with the Mantras of the individual Kālīs consisting of PHĀṀ PHĀṀ PHEṀ followed in the same way by the name of the Kālī ending in -PĀDA.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴*Jayadrathayāmala*, Ṣaṭka 3, f. 108r6–7: *asya devi yadā samyag uccārah kriyate sakṛt | tadā prakampate dehaḥ *samantāt tu (conj.: samanāttam Cod.) na saṃśayaḥ | 16 hr̥cchiraś-ca-śikhāvarmalocanāstravivarjitām | dhyānadhyyeyavinirmuktām cidacitpadamadhyagām | 17 spandamānām pare vyomni sarvaśaktikalālayām | ā kālacakrakuharāc †chadanāt† parakuṇḍalīm | 18 prabodhya guru-vakrāntam yuktyā mīnavivartavat* 'When the [internal] utterance of this [Mantra] is accomplished correctly only once, the body trembles violently. Of this there is no doubt. [This goddess] Parakuṇḍalī does not have the Heart, Head, Hair-queue, Armour, Eyes, and Weapon [that are the Ancillaries of ordinary Mantras]; and she is free of visualization or anything to visualize, resting in the point between consciousness and unconsciousness, vibrant in the supreme void, the ground of all her constituent powers. After awakening her and causing her to ascend from the pit of the fire of the Aeon †...† to the Aperture of the Guru [above the cranium] by the technique that resembles the writhing of a fish ...'.

¹⁷⁵On the place of this chapter in the *Jayadrathayāmala* see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 256–257, n. 77 (pp. 257–258), p. 260, n. 84.

¹⁷⁶*Jayadrathayāmala*, Ṣaṭka 4, f. 59r7–v2 (4.4–47b) (A), collated with the citation of this passage in *Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha*, f. 61r1–2 (B): **yat tat (B: yan na A) kūṭeśvarīcakre piṇḍam uktaṃ mayā tava | *tad (A: tam B) uddhṛtya prayatnena punar *nāmam athoddharet (B: nāma hy athoddharet A) | 45 pādāntam parameśāni punar *anyaṃ (A: mantram B) śṛṇu priye | *mahātmānam (A: mahānādam B) nādayutam mahābindusamanvitam | 46 kuṇḍalam *dāraṇākṛāntam (em.: dārunākṛāntam A: dārakṛāntam ca B) bindunādasamanvitam | punar *bindum (B: bindu A) trikoṇam ca kuṇḍalam dhāmasaṃsthitam | 47 nāmapādasamāyuktam mantram sarvāsu kīrtitam. The *Jayadrathayā-**

This upgraded form of the nine-syllable Mantra (HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀ-CAṄḌAYOGĒŚVARI) is also prescribed in the ‘worship of the [four Śākta] Āmnāyas’ (*āmnāyapūjā*) included in the tradition of the Śrīvidyā, where it is the Mantra of Kālī in her role as the Samayavidyā, the Vidyā that rectifies all errors, proper to the Northern Āmnāya (*uttarāmnāyah*).¹⁷⁷ Similarly, the syllable is incorporated in the Mantra of Kālasaṃkarsaṇī included in the *Rāsmimālā*, a long and wide-ranging series of Mantras to be recited mentally immediately after waking each morning by those following the Śrīvidyā-centred system of the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*: SAṀ SRṢṬINITYE SVĀHĀ | HAṀ STHITIPŪRṆE NAMAḤ | RAṀ MAHĀSAMḤĀRIṆĪ KṚṢĒ CAṄḌAKĀLĪ PHAṬ | HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀNĀKHYE ANANTABHĀSKARI MAHĀCAṄḌAKĀLĪ PHAṬ | RAṀ MAHĀSAMḤĀRIṆĪ KṚṢĒ CAṄḌAKĀLĪ PHAṬ | HAṀ STHITIPŪRṆE NAMAḤ | SAṀ SRṢṬINITYE SVĀHĀ | HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGĒŚVARI.¹⁷⁸ This Mantra comprises five Vidyās in one: four invoking Kālī as embodied in each of the four phases of Krama worship, those of emission (*srṣṭih*), stasis (*sthitih*), retraction (*saṃhārah*), and the Nameless (*anākhyam*), the first three repeated in reverse order after the fourth, and a fifth invoking Kālī in her uninflected essence through a variant of her nine-syllable Mantra. Awareness of the higher nature of the syllable is suggested by the fact that it is introduced only in the two highest of these Vidyās, those of the Nameless (HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀNĀKHYE ANANTABHĀSKARI MAHĀCAṄḌAKĀLĪ PHAṬ) and the transcendent or universal fifth (HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGĒŚVARI).

A Category Mistake?

That the cult of Bhadrakālī seen in this Orissan evidence should have drawn on the Kālīkula for its Mantras may surprise. For it is concerned exclusively with

malapraṣṭāramantrasaṃgraha leaves it to the reader to understand for himself that the conjunct syllable ‘taught above in the cycle of Kūṭeśvarī’ is that of Kuṅḍaleśvarī taught in the third Ṣaṭka, Kuṅḍaleśvarī also being called Kūṭeśvarī in that chapter, as shown above (see p. 284). He explains only what should follow that syllable in the primary Mantra and then decodes the instructions for the Mantras for the individual Kālīs. Without the interspersed citations from the text he is explaining his commentary is as follows (f. 61r–6): MAHĀKĀLIPĀDA. ATHAVĀ MAHĀCAṄḌAYOGĒŚVARĪPĀDA. ... PHĀṀ PHĀṀ PHEṀ SRṢṬIKĀLIPĀDA. ... 3 STHITIKĀLIPĀDA. 3 SAṀHĀRAKĀLIPĀDA. 3 *RAKTAKĀLIPĀDA (corr. RAKTAKĀLIKĀLIPĀDA Cod.). 3 SUKĀLIPĀDA. 3 YAMAKĀLIPĀDA. 3 MṚTYUKĀLIPĀDA. 3 BHADRAKĀLIPĀDA. 3 PARAMĀRKAKĀLIPĀDA. 3 MĀRTAṄḌAKĀLIPĀDA. 3 KĀLĀGNIRUDRAKĀLIPĀDA. 3 *MAHĀKĀLAKĀLIPĀDA (corr. : MAHĀKĀLĀKĀLĪKĀPĀDA Cod.). 3 MAHĀBHĀIRAVAKĀLIPĀDA. **evam* (em. : 3 *evam* Cod.) *devī* 13. The numeral 3 here denotes the three syllables PHĀṀ PHĀṀ PHEṀ.

¹⁷⁷ *Mahātripurasundarīvarivasyā* (KARAPĀTRASVĀMIN 1962), p. 255: [OM HRĪṀ ĪṀ OM] HSKHPHREṀ MAHĀCAṄḌA*YOGĒŚVARI (corr. : YOGĪŚVARI Ed.) KĀLIKE PHAṬ UTTARĀMNĀYASAMAYAVIDYĒŚVARĪKĀLIKĀDEVYAMBĀ[ŚRĪPĀDUKĀṀ PŪJAYĀMI NAMAḤ]. The additions in parenthesis are mine, replacing the author’s indications to carry standing elements forward.

¹⁷⁸ *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*, *Sarvasādhāraṇākrama*, Sūtra 25. On the context of recitation see *ibid.*, Sūtras 8–9: *atha rāsmimālā*. 9 *suptothitenaiṣā manasaikavāram āvartyā* ‘Next the *Rāsmimālā*. He should recite this once mentally as soon as he has risen from sleep’.

empowering the king and his weapons to conquer his enemies and has been inserted accordingly into the pan-Indic annual festival of Navarātra that initiated the season of military campaigns, while the Kālikula appears in learned Kashmirian sources in a mystical and soteriological context.

However, the contrast diminishes when we look beyond this exegesis to the primary sources of the tradition. The short Krama scriptures *Kālikulakrama-sadbhāva*, *Kālikulapañcaśataka*, and *Devīdivyārdhaśatikā* confirm the exegetes' approach; but the much larger *Jayadrathayāmala* embeds this path to liberation in a much more diverse religious context, one in which the propitiation of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī and her many ancillary forms is taught not merely for salvation but also, indeed predominantly, for the attainment of worldly benefits, among which those of concern to kings are far from inconspicuous. Thus in the first Śaṭka, when Devī asks Bhairava to teach Jayadratha, the king of Sindhu, the root Mantra of this Tantra, namely the seventeen-syllable Vidyā of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī, she describes it as bestowing sovereignty over the three worlds, which I take to be a hyperbolic statement of a claim that its propitiation will enhance royal power;¹⁷⁹ the same Śaṭka tells us that by seeing her Maṇḍala, that is to say, by receiving initiation before it, soldiers will easily defeat the enemy when they go into battle;¹⁸⁰ and in its account of the canon of which it is part it describes itself as 'this Tantra of war'.¹⁸¹ Nor is this royal context forgotten in the three Śaṭkas that were subsequently added to the first. Indeed the whole work ends with several chapters setting out the means of propitiating a form of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī called Mahālakṣmī¹⁸² with a variant of the seventeen-syllable Vidyā¹⁸³ as the means of attaining sovereignty over the earth (*pr̥thivyaiśvaryam*) and obtaining from the goddess a sword that embodies her power and so renders its bearer invincible in battle (*khadgasiddhiḥ*).¹⁸⁴

The belief that the king derives his sovereignty from the goddess and that

¹⁷⁹*Jayadrathayāmala*, Śaṭka 1, ff. 69v6–70r1 (11.6–11b): 6 *pihanāt gopitā yā ca gūdhā *sarvārthasiddhidā* (conj. [cf. *Yonigahvara*, f. 15v5 (212b): *kūṭaṃ sarvārthasiddhidam*]: *sarvajñasiddhidā* Cod.) | *prabodhakaraṇī vidyā kr̥tyāvetālasādhānī* | 7 *trailokyarājyapradayā *yayā* (conj.: *yasyā* Cod.) *tulyā na vidyate* | *āścaryāṇi mahīyāṃsi pratyayāś ca tathaiṃ ca* | 8 *yayā jāyanti vīrānāṃ vidhānārpitacetāsām* | *yayā sarvāṇi kāryāṇi ekayā sādhyet sadā* | 9 *yā na kilayitum śakyā yasyānyogrā na vidyate* | *mantra mudrāthavā vidyā yā tvayādhyāsitāsakṛt* | 10 *kālarūpā mahāvīdyā jagat karṣayate yataḥ* | *kālasaṃkarṣaṇī tena proktā yā prak̥ tvayā mama* | 11 *sā muhuḥ kṛpayā nātha saindhavōya prakāśyatām*.

¹⁸⁰*Jayadrathayāmala*, Śaṭka 1, f. 125r1–2 (19.66ab): *dṛṣṭvaitan maṇḍalaṃ yodhā jayanti yudhi līlayā*.

¹⁸¹*Jayadrathayāmala*, Śaṭka 1, f. 177r9–v1 (40.87): *sāṃsthitā dhārakā *hy asya* (em.: *dyasya* Cod.) *śīracchedasya suvrate* | *sāṃgrāmikam idaṃ tantram rājānasyātidurlabham*.

¹⁸²*Jayadrathayāmala*, Śaṭka 4, ff. 222v5–237v3. Colophons: *mahālakṣmīmatācakre devyutpattiman-troddhārapāṭalaḥ* (f. 224v2–3); *mahālakṣmyā yāgapāṭalaḥ* (f. 229r7–v1); *mahālakṣmyādisiddhipāṭalaḥ* (f. 232v4–5); *mahālakṣmīvidhipāṭalaḥ* (f. 234v1); *mahālakṣmīvidhau rasadvayasiddhipāṭalaḥ* (f. 237v3).

¹⁸³The Vidyā is extracted on f. 223v2–7. It is decoded in the *Jayadrathayāmalapraśāntamantra-saṃgraha*, f. 28r6 as follows: HRĪṂ MAHĀLAKṢMYAI KALEŚVAR ŚRĪṂ ŚRYĀṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ.

¹⁸⁴*Jayadrathayāmala*, Śaṭka 4, f. 223r1–2 (vv. 6–9b): *adhunā śrotum icchāmi mahālakṣmīmatam subham* | *utpattioratavijñānacaryāmantrasamāyutam* | 7 *sādhakānām yathā karma mudrāmaṇḍala-*

she transmits her power to a dynasty by bestowing a sword on its conquering founder is widely attested in India from the early medieval period onwards. We see it, for example, in a Nepalese inscription of AD 1387/8 recording a gift by king Jayasthitimalla, the renowned restorer of the Malla dynasty, in which he is described as having brought his enemies under his sway with a sword that he had received as a boon from the goddess Māneśvarī.¹⁸⁵ The medieval Bengali narrative poem *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* portrays the first king of Kaliṅga as having received his sword from the goddess Caṇḍī,¹⁸⁶ Tulajā Bhavānī, the lineage goddess of Chatrapati Śivājī (1627–1680), the founder of the Maratha kingdom, is believed to have presented him with a sword with which to fight against the Muslim occupation,¹⁸⁷ and in a variant of this theme, drawing on the notion that the king's sword is an embodiment of the goddess herself, Dantesvarī, the lineage goddess of the Bastar dynasty, is said to have appeared to its founder Annamdeo in his sword and led him to Bastar from his capital in Warangal whence he fled after its capture by the Bahmani sultanate in around 1435.¹⁸⁸

*pūjanam | vahnikāryaṃ yathāvasthaṃ japaṃ sarvārthasiddhidam | 8 tad brūhi devadeveśa yathā rājyādisādhanam | evaṃ nīsamya deveśaḥ priyāvaktroditaṃ vacaḥ | 9 *prāha (corr.: prāhi Cod.) tantravarasyānte mahālakṣmīmataṃ śubham; f. 224r7: dadāti pṛthivīśvaryaṃ acirān nātra saṃśayaḥ; f. 226r1: yad icched *rājyasampattim (corr.: rājyasampattis Cod.); f. 228r6–7, speaking of the Yoginīs worshipped in the Maṇḍala: etat sādharmaṇam devi khadgasiddhipradāyikā(h) | acirāt pāṛthivendratvam sādha(ka)sya dadanti tāḥ; f. 230v1: carukaṃ juhuyād devi bhāgaṃ tāsāṃ prakalpayet | dadanti pṛthivīśvaryaṃ; f. 231v7: siddhikṣetrāṇy atah śrīnu | yeṣu saṃsiddhyate mantrī yena rājyaṃ labhed dhruvam; f. 232r3: saṃvatsare narendratvam; and f. 232r4: siddhyate caiva samrājyaṃ.*

¹⁸⁵REGMI 1965–1966, Part 3, p. 27 (No. 31), ll. 25–26: *śrīmanmāneśvarīvaralabdhakṛpāṇasāsītānyamahipālaśrīśrījayasthitimallarājamalladevena śrībhāṭṭārakebhya iyaṃ pranālikā pradatteti*. This is a variant of a common epigraphical formula in which a king is described as having obtained his sovereignty as the boon of this or that goddess. Thus the Malla kings of Nepal from the time of Jayasthitimalla are described as *-śrīmanmāneśvarīṣṭadevatāvaralabdhaprasāda-* (VAJRĀCARYA 1976, *passim*), Ratnajyotideva of Noakoṭ in Nepal as *-śrīgaṇḍaktāvaralabdhaprasāda-* (REGMI 1965–66, Part 1, pp. 365–366), Rāṇaka Puñja, a vassal of Mahābhavagupta II of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, as *-kāleśvarīvaralabdhaprasāda-* (SHASTRI 1995, Part 2, p. 264, l. 8), two other vassals of the same as *-khambeśvarīvaralabdhaprasāda-* (SHASTRI 1995, Part 2, p. 343, l. 6; p. 363, l. 10), Raṇabhañja I of Kṣiṇjālimāṇḍala as *-stambheśvarīlabdhavaraprasāda-* (SINGH 1994, p. 101), and the Hoysala kings as *-vāsantikādevīlabdhavaraprasāda-* (e.g., *Epigraphia Carnatica* 4, Ng, no. 38 of c. AD 1125; Ng, no. 30 of AD 1164; and 12, Tp, no. 58 of c. AD 1120). On Māneśvarī see TOFFIN 1996, pp. 59–62.

¹⁸⁶BHATTACHARYA 1981, p. 22.

¹⁸⁷MALLEBREIN 1999, p. 152. According to the account of Śivājī's life in the Mārāṭhī *Śivādigvijaya* the sword was an embodiment of the famous Tulajā Bhavānī of Tuljāpur, one of the principal lineage-goddesses of the Deccan and that of Śivājī himself, spoke to him in a dream, promising him victory, and when acquired was given her name (transl. SEN 1920, pp. 181–182). GRIEVE (1909, p. 75) reports that this sword was kept in a small temple in the Rāñī's palace in Sātāra and paraded there in a palanquin during Navarātra.

¹⁸⁸MALLEBREIN 1999, p. 146. In a further variant of this tradition swords conferring invincibility on the founders of dynasties are sometimes said to have been received not directly from the deity but from a Siddha, Nātha, or Yogin whose supernatural intervention enables the king to conquer his territory. This is so, for example, in the legends of the kingdom of Gorkha, in which it is said that a Siddha gave such a sword to Pṛthivīnārayaṇ Śāh, the founder of the

There are also three tales of such swords given to heroes by the goddess in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the vast collection of narratives redacted from earlier materials by the Kashmirian poet Somadeva at a date between 1063 and 1081/2.

Now in two of these tales the goddess is Vindhyavāsini,¹⁸⁹ but in the third it is none other than our Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī, thus providing further evidence that this goddess for all the soteriological emphasis of her cult in the learned liter-

Shah dynasty of Nepal, before he began his conquests. On this and on the role of Siddhas in the ideology of kingship in the numerous small kingdoms established in the Himalayan region between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries see BOUILLIER 1989 *passim* and p. 201. In yet other cases we encounter no such myths but only the idea that the royal sword is a sacred object empowering rule and securing victory. Indeed this idea appears to be universal in the Indic world and to be independent of any Śākta reading. It appears not only in India but also in the kingdoms of South East Asia. We see this in the case of the royal sword of the Khmer kings. This was named Jayaśrī (K. 736, v. 5; K. 806, v. 6; K. 905, l. 12) and the temple-complex Jayaśrīnagara built by Jayavarman VII on the site of his bloody victory over the Chams (K. 908, v. 32) is known in Khmer as Preah Khan (Old Khmer *vrah khān*), ‘The Sacred Sword’. The Chinese memoir on the customs of Cambodia written in 1296–97 by Zhou Daguan, who had spent eleven months in Angkor with the embassy sent by the Yuan emperor Chengzong (Temür Öljeitü), reports that the king, Śrīndravarman, held “the precious sword”, no doubt this Jayaśrī, when he gave his twice-daily audience and when he went forth in court parades riding an elephant, and also that the daughter of the preceding king (Jayavarman VIII), the father-in-law of Śrīndravarman, had secured her husband’s position as his successor by stealing “the golden sword” from her father and giving it to him, thus depriving Jayavarman’s son of the succession (PELLIOT 1951, pp. 34–35). This sword, or rather a copy of it with the same name, was in the care of the brahmins of the royal palace in Phnom Penh until recent times (CÆDÈS 1941, p. 257). In the thirteenth century, during the period when the Thai of Sukhothai were asserting their independence, the Khmer sovereign gave it, together with the royal title Kamrateñ añ śrī Indrapatīndrāditya, and his daughter Sikharamahādevī to the Thai prince Pha Muang of Muang Rat (CÆDÈS 1941, p. 256). In the triumphal procession depicted in relief in the “historical gallery” of Angkor Wat Sūryavarman II is shown standing on his elephant and holding a sword with the blade resting on his shoulder (GITEAU 1976, p. 195a). Belief in the supernatural power of the royal weapons is also an important part of the Śaiva palace culture of Bali, where crises, lances and other martial heirlooms were brought out for annual worship; see GEERTZ 1980, pp. 115 and 229. It was evidently general in the kingdoms of Java; see HEADLEY (2004, pp. 209 and 214) on the sacred kris and spear of Surakarta and the Black Stork kris given to the Javanese national hero Dipanagara by Paku Buwana VI of Surakarta (r. 1823–30) at the beginning of the Java War against the Dutch (1825–30). The kings of this principality, though converts to Islam, preserved the annual practice of sacrificing wild buffaloes to the goddess Durgā (*sang hyang bhaṭāri Durgā*) in the Krendhawahana grove near Kalioso village, in order to ensure their well-being and the protection of the realm against all dangers, remembering this as part of the customary law (*adat*) of the pre-Islamic court of Majapahit (HEADLEY 2004, pp. 59, and 282–329; and BRAKEL 1997, pp. 257–263). BRAKEL reports (1997, p. 260) that it was said to have been common practice for people to bring their weapons to this place in order to make them more powerful and that in the performance of the ceremony that she witnessed in 1983 a sacred heirloom (*pusaka*), the weapon Muliadipura belonging to the heroine R.A. Sumirah, had been present, wrapped in a yellow cloth, looking like a sword and resting against the tree near the offerings. The antiquities of Java photographed by Isidore VAN KINSBERGEN (1821–1905) include an 18th-century kris ornamented with a veiled Durgā and inscribed in Arabic (reproduced in THEUNS-DE BOER and ASSER 2005, p. 230 [37A-B]).

¹⁸⁹ *Kathāsaritsāgara* 42.117–18 and 52.168–84.

ature of the Kashmirian Śāktas, was indeed associated with royal power and rites of war. A certain Vāmadatta of Kānyakubja receives with his wife the initiation (*dīkṣā*) and Vidyā of this goddess from his wife's mother, a great Yoginī (*siddhayoginī*, *yogeśvarī*). He then goes to Śrīparvata to perform the postinitia-tory observances that are the means of achieving mastery over this Vidyā-deity (*vidyāsādhanam*). Once mastered (*siddhā*) she appears before him and grants him a magnificent sword (*khadgottamaṃ dadau*). With this in his possession he becomes king of the Vidyādharas, builds a city in the Malaya mountains, and fathers on his co-initiated wife a daughter who is predicted to become the wife of the future emperor of all the Vidyādharas.¹⁹⁰ The same story is included in the *Br̥hatkathāmañjarī*, a briefer redaction of the same materials composed by the Kashmirian Kṣemendra between 1028 and 1063.¹⁹¹

The evidence of the association of the Kālīkula's Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī with swords seen in the *Jayadrathayāmala* and this mythical narrative is confirmed at the end of an account of the worship of a form of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī in the *Ekāntavāsinīdevatāyāga* found in a birch-bark manuscript of the *Kāśmīrikakarma-kāṇḍapaddhati*, a compendium that sets out the rituals of the brahmins of Kash-mir:

1 śṛṇu deveśi tattvena rahasyam paramadurlabham |
ekāntī devatā ⟨yā sā⟩ kālasaṃkarṣaṇī parā |
2 sutānāṃ jīvitārthe ca pūjayet parameśvarīm |
purā tu devadeveśi gauryāḥ putro na jīvitaḥ |
3 divyaṃ varśasahasra ⟨ṃ⟩ ca tapas taptam mayā priye |
jīvitārthena putrāṇāṃ kṛtam vratam abhīpsitam |
4 aśarīrā tadā vāṇī hy abravīn madhurā girā |
saṃkarṣaṇī nāma devī ekāntī hy atha yocyate |
5 pūjayet parayā bhaktyā sutānāṃ jīvitārthataḥ |
sā śaktiḥ paramā devī dīrghajīvoas suto bhavet |

śrīdevy uvāca:

6 sarvasaṃśayacchettāra sarvajña parameśvara |
vidhānaṃ brūhi me tasyā yadi tuṣṭo 'si me prabho |

īśvara uvāca:

¹⁹⁰Kathāsaritsāgara 68.64–71b: athākasamād gṛhāyātāṃ śvasrūṃ tām siddhayoginīm | anugrahārthī so 'bhyarcya prārthayām āsa yatnataḥ | 65 sātha yogeśvarī tasmai sabhāryāya yathāvidhi | kālasaṃkarṣiṇīm vidyāṃ dīkṣāpūrvam upādiśat | 66 tataḥ śrīparvataṃ gatvā sa vidyāṃ tām asādhyat | sā ca siddhā satī sāksāt tasmai khadgottamaṃ dadau | 67 prāptakhadgāś ca saṃpannaḥ sa tayā bhāryayā saha | kāntimatyā kṛtī vāmadatto vidyādharaṭṭamaḥ | 68 tato rajatakūṭākhye śṛṅge malayabhūbhṛtaḥ | kṛtam puravaram tena nijasiddhiprabhāvataḥ | 69 tato vidyādharendrasya tatra kālena kanyakā | tasyāṃ patyāṃ samutpannā nāmnā lalitalocanā | 70 jātamātraiva sā vidyādharaṭṭakravartinaḥ | bhāryā bhavitrī nirdiṣṭā gaganodbhāvayā girā.

¹⁹¹Br̥hatkathāmañjarī 9.52–54, reading in 53 tacchikṣayā vāmadattaḥ *kālasaṃkarṣiṇīm śritaḥ (em. : kāle saṃkarṣiṇīm śritaḥ Ed.'s MS KHA : kālasaṃkarṣaṇo 'sinaḥ Ed.) | vidyāṃ śrīparvate dhyātva khadgavidyādhara 'bhavat.

7 śṛṇu devi pravakṣyāmi tantraṃ trailokyadurlabham |
 vedādyam pūrvam uddhṛtya mahāpāpāntam uddharet |
 8 pānujaṃ repham ārūḍham agnidhāmnaiva bhūṣitam |
 ardhendubindusahitaṃ mantraṃ tridaśaḍāmaram |
 9 svanāmasahitā devī namaskārāntayojitā |
 karādiddehyāsaṃ ca ekoccareṇa kārayet |
 10 svagrhe pūjayet devīm bhogair nānāvidhaiś śubhaiḥ |
 padmaṃ cātra surekhaṃ tu caturasraṃ tu pṛṣṭhataḥ |
 11 dvāraiś caturbhis saṃyuktaṃ nānāraṅgais tu rañjitam |
 ādau snātvā suvastrā ca bhaktyā pūjyā maheśvari |
 12 pūjitā varadā devī śuklapakṣe dine tithau |
 trayodaśyām arkadine caturthyām ca varānane |
 13 mārgaśīrṣe tathā jyaiṣṭhe pratisaṃvatsaram punaḥ |
 grhe bhartuś ca putrārthe śāntyarthe pūjayet sadā |
 14 devaveśmapratiṣṭhādau sutakanyāvivāhayoḥ |
 ṣaṣṭhyā yāge tathā **khadge** jantau jāte prapūjayet |
 15 rājakāryeṣu sarveṣu yajñe devīm prapūjayet |

Kāśmīrikakarmakāṇḍapaddhati, f. 35v (*Ekāntavāsīnīdevatāyāgaḥ*)

4d *yocyate* conj.: *śocyate* Cod. **6c** *tasyā* em.: *tasya* Cod. **6d** *prabho* conj.: *śṛṇu* Cod. **7d** *mahāpāpāntam uddharet* conj.: *mahāpāpānta coddharet* Cod. **8a** *pānujaṃ* em. (cf. *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 4, f. 230r2: *pānujaṃ proccaret*): *sānujaṃ* Cod. **8b** *agnidhāmnaiva* em.: *agnidhāstraiva* Cod. **8d** *tridaśaḍāmaram* em. [cf. *Nityākāula*, f. 4v3–4: + *ntraṃ tridaśaḍāmaram*): *didaśaḍāmaram* Cod. **9c** *nyāsaṃ ca* conj.: *nyāsenā* Cod. **10d** *pṛṣṭhataḥ* conj.: *pṛṣṭatām* Cod. **14a** *devaveśmapratiṣṭhādau* conj.: *pratiṣṭhādevaveśmādau* Cod. **15b** *devīm* conj.: *dīkṣām* Cod.

Hear, Deveśī, in truth the secret supremely difficult to acquire. The goddess Ekāntī is the supreme Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī.¹⁹² One should worship [this goddess] Parameśvarī for the [long] life of one’s sons. In the past, Devadeveśī, a son of Gaurī did not survive and I, beloved, [therefore] practised celestial penance for a thousand years. I performed the desired ascetic observance to secure the longevity of my sons. Then a disembodied, sweet-toned voice addressed me and said: “For the long life of one’s sons one should worship with total devotion the goddess [Kāla]saṃkarṣaṇī known as Ekāntī. This goddess is the supreme Śakti. [By her favour] one’s son will be long-lived”. The goddess said: “Omniscient Parameśvara, resolver of all doubts, if you are pleased with me, my master, tell me her rite”. Īśvara replied and said: “Hear, Devī. I shall teach you the most precious ritual in all the three worlds. One should extract the first [sound] of the Veda [OM], then the [letter] after the Great Sin [KH(A)]¹⁹³ and the younger sibling of P[A] on R[A] adorned

¹⁹²On the iconographic evidence of the identity of Ekāntavāsīnī / Ekāntī with Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī in this text see SANDERSON 1990, pp. 61–63.

¹⁹³That ‘the great sin’ (*mahāpāpam*) is K[A] so that the letter which follows it (*mahāpāpāntam*) is KH[A] may be inferred from the *Varṇanāmapaṭala*. For that lists ‘the cutting’, ‘Brahmā’ and ‘the

with the fire-pit [E] and accompanied by the half-moon and the dot[, namely] the Tridaśaḍāmara Mantra [KHPHREM]. The goddess [that is this Vidyā] should be accompanied by her name [in the dative case] and have NAMAḤ added at the end.¹⁹⁴ One may accomplish the installation [of the Mantra] on the hands and body [simply] by reciting it once. One should worship the goddess in one's home with fine foods of many kinds and there should be a lotus for her with well-drawn lines and a square behind it, provided with four gateways, and coloured with powders of various hues. First one should bathe, Maheśvarī, and then after putting on a fine garment worship her with devotion. The goddess grants boons when worshipped every year on the thirteenth lunar day, if it is a Sunday, and the fourth, of the bright halves of the months Mārgaśīrṣa and Jyaiṣṭha, in the home of [one's] husband, in order to obtain male offspring, and to quell [all dangers]. One should [also] worship her in such [ceremonies] as the consecration of [an image of] a god or a [new] house, or on the occasion of the marriage of a son or daughter, when one performs worship of [the goddess] Ṣaṣṭhī, **on the sword**, and whenever a person is born. [Moreover,] one should worship the goddess in a fire sacrifice (*yajñe*) on the occasion of any undertaking on behalf of the king.¹⁹⁵

Since this reference to the sword occurs as an item in a list of irregular or special occasions requiring worship, we may infer that the text has in mind a special

head' among the code-names of KA (vv. 20c–21b): *yonyādyam kartanam caiva kalaśam parikīrtitam | brahmānam śīrśakam caiva kakāram paripaṭhyate*. The expression *mahāpāpam* evidently conveys the same sense, referring to the great sin (*mahāpātakah*) of brahminicide committed by Śiva when he cut off the fifth head arrogantly sprouted by four-headed Brahmā and then performed penance by carrying the skull, the embodiment of that sin, in his left hand as his begging bowl. The myth is already told in chapters 5 to 7 of the original *Skandapurāna*, which holds that the decapitation took place in Kashmir (7.33), and in 78.210–217 of the *Picumata* (f. 311r2–4), which locates the events by the bank of the Gandhavatī (f. 311r2 [210c]: *gandhavatyā taṭe ramye*), that is to say, in the cremation ground of Ujjain (*Kathāsaritsāgara* 102.6–7 and *Picumata* 3.97c–99b [f. 7v1–2]: *paścime kalpayed devi ujjenīksetram uttamaṃ | pāśam tatra samālikhya aśvattham vṛkṣam uttamaṃ | tasyādhaṣṭālikhen mantrī nāmnā gandhavatīnadī(m) | tasya dakṣiṇatīre tu śmaśānām cālikhed budhaḥ*). There are striking affinities between these two early versions, notably in the detail that Viṣṇu offers his own blood when Śiva holds out the skull to him for alms, with the difference that in the Ur-*Skandapurāna* Viṣṇu opens a vein in his forehead for this purpose (6.4–6b), whereas in the *Picumata* he holds out his arm, from which Śiva then extracts the blood by piercing it with his trident (78.214c–216 [f. 311r3–4]: *kapālamālinam drṣṭvā jñātvā ca puruṣottamaḥ | svabhujam darśayām āsa mahāsattvo mahābalaḥ | tato mayā trīśūlena hatas tu śubhalocane | śronītasyātivegena tato dhārā vinirgatā | mahāghoṣeṇa patitā kapāle cātibhāsvare*).

¹⁹⁴Thus KHPHREM KĀLASAMKARṢANYAI NAMAḤ or KHPHREM EKĀNTAVĀSINYAI NAMAḤ.

¹⁹⁵I have emended the manuscript's reading *dīkṣām* to *devīm* here. The reading is not impossible. For there is a Dīkṣādevī in the Kashmirian Śākta pantheon, this name being an alias of the goddess Bhuvanamālinī taught in the *Jayadrathayāmala*. However, that goddess has a very specific application both there and in the Kashmirian rituals, namely, as her alias indicates, initiation (*dīkṣā*); see SANDERSON 2007, p. 253–255. It is in any case implausible that the identity of the goddess would change at this point.

ritual (*naimittikaṃ karma*) for the empowerment of the sword, either before battle or in the context of the calendrical worship of the royal sword during the annual Navarātra festival.¹⁹⁶

Finally, Abhinavagupta reports in his *Tantrāloka* that the *Kālimukha*, evidently a text of the Kālīkula, specifies a sword, a dagger, or a knife as suitable substrates for the worship of this goddess;¹⁹⁷ and we find the same in the Krama's *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*. That says that Saṃhārabhairavī, the eleven-syllable Vidyā for the worship of Kālī in the phase of withdrawal (HŪṢ PHAṬ KHPHREM MAHĀCANḌAYOGĒSVAṚ), may be worshipped internally as a brilliant light ascending from the point between the brows or externally on the surface of a large mirror in front of a dagger or "most fearsome knife" set up for this purpose.¹⁹⁸ The same source prescribes that the thirteen Kālīs may be worshipped in the fourth and final phase of Krama worship, here called the *kālikākramaḥ* and elsewhere the *anākhyakramaḥ*, either within consciousness in the lotus of Brahmā above the head or, in the option of external worship, on a Maṇḍala of twelve circles surrounding a circle at the centre, or on the central tip of a sharp trident, a red cloth, a lamp, or the tip of 'a king among swords' (*khaḍgeśaḥ*),¹⁹⁹ which may well be the royal sword itself.

¹⁹⁶Procedures for worshipping and parading the royal sword during the Navarātra festival are taught in Purāṇic accounts of this festival (EINOO 1999). On the worship of the royal weapons in this context see also SANDERSON 2005b, pp. 255–256 and n. 66, citing the Kashmirian *Ne-tratantra*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, and *Nīlamata*, and the recorded traditions of the courts of Mysore and Jaipur. See also TOFFIN 1996 and LEVY 1990, pp. 523–563 on Navarātra in the Newar royal cities of Patan and Bhaktapur; TANABE 1999 on Navarātra in the village Garh Manitri, the site of one of the forts of the Khurda kingdom (1572–1804) in Orissa.

¹⁹⁷*Tantrāloka* 27.44: *khaḍgaṃ kṛpāṇikāṃ yad vā kartarīm makuraṃ ca vā | vimalaṃ tat tathā kuryāc chrīmatkālimukhoditam.*

¹⁹⁸*Kālīkulapañcaśataka* N¹ f. 18r3–5, N³ f. 43v6–44r3 (N² lacks the folio that contained this portion): 4.71 *pūjayed bindumārgordhvaṃ mahātejaḥsoarūpiṇīm | bhāvābhāveṣu sarveṣu saṃhāra-cakranāyikām | 72 mahātejavatīm dīptām bindūrdhvapathagāminīm | tatra pūjyā prayatnena svasaṃvedanatatparaiḥ | 73 athavā cchurikāṃ *sthāpya (N¹ : sthāpyā N²) kartarīm vā sudārunām | *mahāmukuraprṣṭhe (mukura conj. : mukuta Codd.) tu pūjyā saṃhārabhairavī. The Vidyā is extracted in 4.64–69. I have emended the reading of the manuscripts *mahāmukutaḥprṣṭhe* 'on a large crown' to *mahāmukuraprṣṭhe* 'on a large mirror' because I know no instance of worship on crowns, because the related passage cited above from the *Kālimukha* also mentions mirrors as an optional substrate, and because the use of a mirror as a substitute for an image of the goddess is independently attested. Thus in the survey of temples in the Kannur district of Kerala carried out by the Census Organization of India (JAYASHANKER 1999) 10 of the idols of the presiding deities in the 38 major temples of the goddess for which data were collected were reported to be in the form of mirrors (mostly made of the five metals [*pañcaloha*]-], namely copper alloyed with small quantities of tin, silver, gold, and iron, or of bell-metal), and in 8 out of 16 others in which it was said that the main image is anthropomorphic with a secondary goddess on site, commonly Bhadrakālī, the same was reported of the latter. Nearly half, then, have a mirror in place of a conventional idol, either of the main or of the secondary goddess.*

¹⁹⁹*Kālīkulapañcaśataka* N¹, ff. 21v5–22r4 and 23v2–3; N², f. 58r1–4 (5.48c–50c lacking through loss of folios) and 60v2; N³, f. 49r4–v4 and 51v4–5; 5.52 quoted without attribution in *Tantrāloka*viveka on 29.25–27b (J): *pūjyam etad brahmapadme nirākhyam ca nirāmaye | 5.49 ṣoḍaśānte navānte vā cidantaḥ parameśvara | svasaṃvittikrameṇaiva *bāhye (N¹ : bāhya N³) vātha trilocana | 5.50*

Nor is the evidence of this association of the goddess of the Kālīkula with swords restricted to Kashmir. For in the Paddhatis of the Newar Śākta brahmins the closely related Siddhilakṣmī/Pratyāṅgirā, whose cult is taught in the second Śaṭka of the *Jayadrathayāmala*,²⁰⁰ is summoned into her Maṇḍala for worship as ‘the goddess of the king’s Mantra’²⁰¹ present in and as the sword’ (*khadḡasthā khadḡgarūpiṇī*).²⁰² This is in all probability the sword of the Malla kings of Bhaktapur, which is still kept alongside the statue of the royal tutelary goddess Taleju in the palace temple.²⁰³

Mystics and Sorcerers

There are, then, good reasons to think that the Paippalādins of Orissa did not commit a category mistake when they adopted the Kālīkula’s Mantras as the basis for these rituals but merely adapted an existing association between Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī and martial might to the more exoteric identity of the goddess Bhadrakālī with her established position in royal and civic religion. Indeed the evidence that they looked for the Mantras of these rituals to the Kālīkula, a system whose exegetical literature has adopted such a high soteriological tone, is a

*rājāvartena (N¹: rājāvattena N³) rajasā vyomabimban tu kārayet | bimbadvādaśakam bahye tadrūpam avatārayet | 5.51 *lohitam (em. [= J]: lohitam Codd.) vyomarekhām tu (rekhām tu em. [= J]: rekhānta Codd.) dadyāt sindūrakena *ca (Codd.: tu J) | viparyayaṇa vā kāryā śuklā vā vyomarekhikā | 5.52 niṣite sūlacakre vā pūjayet tat *svadehajaiḥ (em.: svadehaje Codd.) | pañcāsītis tu devīnām koṭayas tatra nityasaḥ | 5.53 vyomarūpās ca tiṣṭhanti mahāsiddhipradā yataḥ | madhye pūjyā mahākālī bahye ‘nyā dvādaśa kramāt | 5.54 pūrvād ārabhya sarvās tāḥ pūjayed yoginandana; and 5.78: pūjayed raktavastre vā dīpe *khadḡgeśamūrdhani* | *madhye (N² N³: + dhye N¹) pūjyā punar devī vidyeśāni navākṣarā.

²⁰⁰On the place of this goddess in the *Jayadrathayāmala*, called there Siddhalakṣmī rather than Siddhilakṣmī as in Nepalese sources, see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 256–257 and n. 77, citing the view of the *Tantrarājatantrāvatārasotra* of Viśvāvarta, according to which Siddhalakṣmī is the principal deity of the second Śaṭka. Her Vidyā and its worship are taught at its end (ff. 129r1–132v3).

²⁰¹*Navarātrapūjā*, f. 5r6: śrī 3 rājamantrabhaṭṭārikāśrīsiddhilakṣmīdevārcanaṃ kārayet ‘[Next,] the worship of the deity Siddhilakṣmī, the thrice venerable goddess of the king’s Mantra’; and *Navarātrapūjāvīdhi*, f. 15v11: śrīrājakulabhaṭṭārakapāraṃparāyakraṃeṇa śrīsiddhilakṣmīdevīthaṇḍīlyarcanam ‘[Next,] the worship of Siddhilakṣmīdevī in the vase (Newari *thaṇḍīli*) in accordance with the tradition of the venerable royal palace’. On the role of Siddhilakṣmī in the royal ritual of the Kathmandu valley see SANDERSON 2003–04, pp. 366–372.

²⁰²E.g. *Navarātrapūjāvīdhi*, f. 17r1–2 (in the worship of Siddhilakṣmī): yā sā parāparā sūkṣmā khadḡasthā khadḡgarūpiṇī | suralokagatā devī *sāyātu (em.: sāyāntu Cod.) iha maṇḍale; *Pratyāṅgirā-paddhati*, f. 15v–16r: yā sā parāparā devī khadḡasthā kha(d)garūpiṇī | suralokagatā *yāsti (conj.: yānti Cod.) *āyātu (conj.: āyāntu Cod.) iha maṇḍale; *Uttarāmnāyapavitārōhaṇavidhi*, f. 4v6 (in which the Yajamāna is identified as the Malla king Jayasthiti [r. 1382–1395]): yā sā parāparā devī khadḡasthā *khadḡgarūpiṇī (em.: khasvarūpiṇī Cod.) | suralokagatā saumyā *āyātu (em.: āyāntu Cod.) iha maṇḍale.

²⁰³VERGATI 1995, p. 94. See also LEVY 1990, pp. 469–492. On the Tantric identity of the goddess Taleju see SANDERSON 2003–04, pp. 372–373, n. 74.

salutory reminder of the danger of being seduced by elevated Tantric exegesis into forgetting that it glosses traditions of practice that will generally have been much more diverse in their repertoire, offering services vital to the continuing royal patronage that could create the infrastructure that could in time give rise to and support the high theory that turned its attention away from these more mundane and professional aspects of the tradition.

Nor should we assume that those who produced the high-level theory with its soteriological emphasis, as exemplified in the learned works of the Kashmirian authorities of the Krama, were necessarily disengaged in their own practice from involvement in the more instrumental aspects of the ritual systems into which they had been initiated. For, as I have shown elsewhere, the Kashmirian Krama was not as exclusively otherworldly as one might expect from its emphasis on its system as a means of contemplative self-realization. The Kashmirian historian Kalhaṇa reports the boast of the followers of the Kālīkula that their Guru Vīranātha successfully performed a seven-day ritual of chastisement (*nigrahakarma*) to bring about the death of king Yaśaskara (r. 939–948) while he held office as his minister of war and peace; and the anonymous Kashmirian *Mahānayaṅprakāśa*, perhaps the most elevated of the Krama's texts on its form of worship as the means of liberation, reports that the same Guru had employed this system to accomplish hostile rituals for such purposes as immobilizing (*stambhanam*) and causing dissension (*vidveṣaṇam*). The text does not specify the targets of his rituals but this very silence suggests that they were rituals aimed against the enemies of Kashmir, immobilization, that is, of the army of an invader (*parasainyastambhanam*), and the protection of the country by bringing about dissension between an enemy and his allies, these being the usual meanings of the terms *stambhanam* and *vidveṣaṇam*.²⁰⁴ Finally, just as a strong emphasis on the salvific style of Tantric worship did not preclude involvement in hostile rites, so a strong emphasis on hostile rites did not necessarily entail disengagement from the more esoteric domain of Tantric ritual for liberation. For we have in the *Āṅgīrasakalpa* corpus the literature of a group of ritualists to whose identity as holders or seekers of office as the Atharvavedic priests of royal patrons expertise in rites for hostile purposes was fundamental. Yet, as we have seen, this professional specialization did not preclude their including in their corpus a form of esoteric Trika ritual that aims at liberation alone, serving the needs of the ritualists themselves rather than their patrons.

²⁰⁴The textual evidence for the identity of Kalhaṇa's Vīranātha with the Krama Guru Hrasva-nātha and his performing hostile rituals of chastisement, immobilization, and dissension is presented in SANDERSON 2007, pp. 280–291.

Sigla and Abbreviations

- As = Asimilā manuscript of the *Āṅgirasakalpa*
 ASB = Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
 BEFEO = Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient
 BORI = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune
 Cod. = The reading of the manuscript
 Codd. = The reading of all the manuscripts
 conj. = My conjectural emendation
 corr. = My correction
 Ed. = The reading of the edition
 Ed^P = *Paippalādavaśādiṣatkarmapaddhati*
 EFEO = École française d'Extrême-Orient
 em. = My emendation
 GOML = Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras
 IFI = Institut français d'Indologie
 IFP = Institut français de Pondichéry
 K = Khmer inscription, numbered as in CÉDÈS 1937–1966
 KBC = The Korean Buddhist Canon
 KSTS = Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies
 NAK = National Archives, Kathmandu
 NGMPP = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
 OSM = Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar
 P₁ = BORI MS 960 of 1887–91 (*Āṅgirasa*)
 P₂ = BORI MS 959 of 1887–91 (*Āṅgirasa*)
 SRPD = Srinagar, Manuscript Collection of the Research and Publication Department of the Jammu and Kashmir Government
 T/121 = OSM MS T/121 (*Āṅgirasakalpa*)
 T/187 = OSM MS T/187 (*Āṅgirasakalpa*)
 Taishō = *Taishō shinshū daizokyo* (The Tripitaka in Chinese)

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