Atharvavedins in Tantric Territory

The Angirasakalpa Texts of the Oriya Paippaladins and their Connection with the Trika and the Kalīkula

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

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Introduction: The Rise of Agamic 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 Saiva 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 *Kalādīksāpaddhati*, 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 Saiva literature in the performance of rituals of propitiation to bring about results (siddhih), hostile and other, for the benefit of kings and the state, the emergence among the Vaisnavas 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 Atharvavedapariśistas

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: *Pāśupatavrata*), 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.

 $^{^4}$ The futility of the Vaidikas' hope for a renaissance of their tradition that would enable them to prevail over the Śaivas and Pāñcarātrika 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 $\bar{A}gamadambara$ ('Much Ado About Religion').

⁵Compare the incorporation of prescriptions of Saiddhāntika, Dakṣiṇa, and Śākta rituals in the *Uttarabhāga* of the *Lingapurāṇa* 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 *pāśupatavratam*. 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* (*Pariśiṣṭa* 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 Ucchusma 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; LINROTHE 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 Vajrapāni teaches Bhūtādhipati the Mandala of Ucchuşmakrodha with its secret. The latter is the Mantra that follows: om vajrakrodha mahābala hana daha paca . . . lambodara ucchusmakrodha HŪM PHAT A AM MA HAN SVĀHĀ. He then teaches that anyone who enters this Mandala will attain success in all he does. He will not suffer untimely death. His body will be immune to assaults and sickness. He will never be tormented by demons. In §13 the Mantrapadas OM VAJRAKRODHA MAHĀBALA DAHA HANA PACA ... LAMBODARA UCCHUŞMAKRODHA HŪM PHAT 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. Ucchusma appears and terrifies them. Three texts of the exorcistic Ucchusma 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]). LINROTHE (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 Vajrapāni, 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; Saṃvarodaya 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 Ucchusma with the elimination of impure substances is seen in the Niśvāsaguhya, which makes Ucchusmarudra 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 Candeśa (/Candeśvara), the ferocious Gana of Śiva to whom such remnants are to be offered in Saiddhāntika worship, in order to remove the danger they pose.⁹ Moreover, the Vaisnava Varāhapurāna declares that those who follow the impure forms of Rudra worship (raudram śaucavarjitam), which it defines as those other than that laid down in the Veda-congruent [Saiddhāntika] Niśvāsasamhitā, are to be seen as Ucchusmarudras (ucchusmarudrās te jñeyāh). 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 Rangarāmānuja in his commentary Bhāvaprakāśikā on Sudarśana's Śrutaprakāśikā on Rāmānuja's Śrībhāsya on Brahmasūtra 2.2.42, where these beings are termed Ucchistarudras 'Rudras of [pollutant] remnants' (ucchistarudrās te jñeyāh). 11 Further, the *Picumata/Brahmayāmala* is also known as the Tantra of Ucchusma (ucchusmatantram, tantram ucchusmasambhavam), 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.

⁹Niśvāsaguhya ff. 54v6–55r1: āyasī prathamā bhūmi purī bhasma ... | ... yasya nāgasya tathā ucchuṣmarudrayoḥ | ucchuṣmeti purī khyātā āyasī harmamālinī | caṇḍīśaṃ pūjayantīha nirmālyapatane gatāḥ. The form caṇḍīśaḥ here is evidently a MIA-influenced Aiśa variant of caṇḍeśaḥ.

¹⁰ Varāhapurāna 71.50–56b (Ed. and Raṅgarāmānuja, Bhāvaprakāśikā on Śrutaprakāśikā on Śrībhāsya 2.2.42 [R]; verse numbers of Ed.): 50 evam abhyarthitas tais tu purāham dvijasattamāh | vedakriyāsamāyuktām kṛtavān asmi samhitām | 51 nihśvāsākhyām tatas tasyām līnā bābhravyaśāndilāh | alpāparādhā ity eva śesā baidālikābhavan (R:alpārādhāc chrutvaiva gatā baidālikā bhavan Ed.) 52 mayaiva mohitās te hi bhavisyam jānatā dvijāḥ | (Here Ed. has an extra line, lacking in R: laulyārthinas tu śāstrāṇi kariṣyanti kalau narāḥ) 53 niḥśvāsasaṃhitāyāṃ hi *lakṣamātrapramāṇataḥ (R:laksamātram pramānatah Ed.) | saiva pāśupatī dīksā yogah pāśupatas *ca sah (R:tv iha Ed.) | 54 etasmād vedamārgād dhi yad anyad iha jāyate | tat ksudrakarma vijñeyam raudram śaucavivarjitam | 55 ye rudram upajīvanti kalau baidālikā narāh | (Extra line in Ed. here, repeating Ed.'s 52cd) *ucchusmarudrās (Ed.: ucchistarudrās R) te jñeyā nāham tesu vyavasthitah 'O best of brahmins, in the past when they requested me [to give them some scripture for the Kali Age] I created the Nihśvāsasamhitā, which includes the rituals of the Veda. Then the Bābhravyas and Śāndilas 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 Nihśvāsasamhitā, whose extent is but 100,000 [verses], that this Pāśupata 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 Ucchusmarudras. Among them I do not dwell'.

¹¹Cf. the substitution of Mahocchistā for Mahocchusmā reported below in n. 141 on p. 277.

¹²Picumata f. 21r2–3 (4.255): raktā karālī caṇḍākhyā mahocchuṣmā tathaiva ca | ucchuṣmatantre nāmāni guhyakānām na saṃśayaḥ; f. 185r5 (colophon of Paṭala 36): ity ucchuṣmatantre picumate; f. 1v2 (1.3cd): yat param sūcitam deva tantram ucchuṣmasambhavam; f. 5r2 (2.14cd): athāto mātarāṃ vaksye tantre ucchuṣmasambhave.

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 Ucchusmarudras seen in Atharvavedapariśista 36. Moreover, the Atharvavedic Ucchusmakalpa does not conform closely to the Mantramārgic model. The Mantras taught in the Kalpa comprise one for self-protection (ātmaraksā) 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 Ucchusmahrdaya, an Ucchusmaśikhā, a Kavaca, and an Astramantra, and a long Mantra for japah. The Hrdaya, Śikhā, Kavaca, and Astra bring to mind the Mantramārgic model in which these are the names of the Ancillaries of any main Mantra (mūlamantrah); 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 (nyāsah) 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 *Mahāgaṇapatividyā*, 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 Ucchusmarudras.¹⁶ However, this too,

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

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).

¹⁶Mahāganapatividyā, pp. 57–58: OM BHAGAVATE UCCHUSMARUDRĀYA 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 $\bar{A}\dot{n}girasakalpa$ manuscripts now

YA HĀRAKAṬAŚARĪRĀYA ŚARAṇAKŖTAŚARĪRĀYA MANUṢYAŚARĪRAM ĀVEŚAYA 2 PRAVEŚAYA KHAṬVĀNĠAM DRĀVAYA 2 SVARŪPAM DARŚAYA 2 MĀHEŚVARĪM MUDRĀM GŖHŅA 2 KĀPĀLĪM MUDRĀM BHAÑJAYA 2 VAIṢŅAVĪM MUDRĀM *DĀRAYA (conj.: DHĀRAYA Ed.) 2 ŚIVADŪTIRŪPAM DARŚAYA 2 JAYA 2 JVALA 2 PRAJVALA 2 KADDA 2 SPHOṬA 2 *PRAHARA (conj.: PRAHARAŅA Ed.) 2 YAKṢO VĀ RĀKṢASO VĀ BHŪTO VĀ PRETO VĀ PIŚĀCO VĀ KŪṢMĀŅO VĀ APASMĀRO VĀ PRETAYĀMINĪ VĀ MATHA 2 MOCAYA 2 KAMPAYA 2 VIDHVAMSAYA 2 PRAMĀŅARŪPIKĀM DARŚAYA 2 BRĀHMAŅĪ VĀ KṢATRIYĪ VĀ VAIŚYĪ VĀ ŚŪDRĪ VĀ CAŅDĀLĪ VĀ CARMAKĀRĪ VĀ MĀLĀKĀRĪ VĀ MĀTANGĪ VĀ PUKKASĪ VĀ CĀMUŅDĪ VĀ YOGINĪ VĀ MAHĀYOGINĪ VĀ ĀKĀŚAGĀMINĪ VĀ BHUVANAVĀSINĪ VĀ PĀTĀLAVĀSINĪ VĀ VAUṢAṬ PHAṬ 2 SVĀHĀ. OM NAMAḤ ŚĪGHRAGAMANĀYA AKṢARĀYA TRINETRĀYA TRIŚŪLAHASTĀYA HŖDGATĀYA MANTRĀYA MANTRAVRATĀYA *SVAHŖDAYĀYA (conj.: SUHŖDAYĀYA Ed.) *SVAHŖDGATĀYA (conj.: SUHRDGATĀYA Ed.) ĀGACCHA 2 UCCHUSMARUDREBHYAH SVĀHĀ. *trtīyah khandah*.

¹⁷Compare, for example, the Vidyārāja of the Rudra Khadgarāvaṇa in the Khadgarāvaṇakalpa of the Kriyākālagunottara, f. 45v4-46r1 (the same Mantra is found with minor differences in the tradition of the Keralan Mantravādins; see the anonymous Tantrasārasamgrahavyākhyāna, pp. 186–187 and the *Tantrasārasamgrahamantravimarśinī* of Svarnagrāma Vāsudeva, vol. 1, p. 179): om namo paśupataye namo bhūtādhipataye namo rudrāya la la la la khapgarāvaņa balam vihara 2 sara 2 nrtya 2 valga 2 sphoṭaya 2 śmaśānabhasma-CARCITAŚARĪRĀYA GHAŅŢĀKAPĀLAMĀ (LĀ) DHARĀYA VYĀGHRACARMAPARĪDHĀNĀYA ŚAśānkakrtaśekharāya krṣṇasarpayajñopavītine *hana 2 cala (conj.:nacala Cod.) 2 vala 2 valga 2 anivartakapāline *hana 2 (conj.:hana Cod.) bhūtān trāsaya 2 mandalamadhye kadda 2 rudrānkuśena samayam praveśaya 2 āvāhaya 2 candāsi-DHĀRĀDHIPATIRUDRO JÑĀPAYATI SVĀHĀ; and that of the Rudra Lohaka in the Lohakakalpa of the same work, f. 59r3–60r1: OM NAMO BHAGAVATE RUDRĀYA OM NAMO LOHAKĀYA CIPIṬA-NĀSĀYA ASTABHUJAMAHĀLOHAKĀYA APARIMITABALA*PARĀKRAMĀYA (corr.: PARĀKRAMAya Cod.) eşakişayāya mahā*damṣṭrotkaṭāya (corr.:damṣṭrotkaṭaya Cod.) ehi 2 lohaka idam dustagraham āveśaya samayam praviśaya 2 āviśaya 2 samkrāma \langle ya 2 \rangle MAHĀBHAIRAVARŪPA BHO BHO LOHAKA IMAM CAŅŪĀLAGRAHASYA ŚIRAS TROŢAYA TROŢAya grīvām moṭaya 2 hrdayam *moṭaya (conj.:momoṭaya Cod.) 2 bhinda 2 mudrā $\langle {
m M}
angle$ CHINDA 2 DAHA 2 PACA 2 KUDDA 2 GARJA 2 HURU VURU 2 MAHĀGAŅAPATIRŪPAM DARŚA-YA 2 HASTĀN PĀDĀN GRHNA 2 SAMAYAM *ANUSMARA (corr: ANUSMARAM Cod.) CANDĀlam anupraves $\langle y \rangle$ otthāpaya 2 bhrāmaya 2 dustagraham trā $\langle sa \rangle$ ya 2 vidrā $\langle va \rangle$ ya ĀVEŚAYA 2 SVASTHĀNAM ĀVEŚAYA PUNYENA SARVASATTVĀ⟨N⟩ ĀVEŚAYA 2 DEVĀN ĀVEŚA-YA 2 TATHĀ KATHAYA 2 *TRAILOKYAVĀRTĀM (corr.: TRAILOKYĀVĀRTTAM Cod.) KATHAYA 2 mahābhairava*dāmara (conj.: dāmv Cod.) apratihatagate amoghasarvakarma-KARA SIDDHALOHAKA SARVAKARMAKARA SATTVĀ $\langle N \rangle$ ĀVEŚAYA SIDDH $\langle Y
angle$ A AMOGHAMAHĀ-BALAPARĀKRAMA AJITASARVASATTVASĀDHANA MAHĀBHAIRAVA LOHAKA SIDDHISĀDHANA (conj.:SIDDHASĀDHANA Cod.) AVIKALPA MAMA †BHŪBHRTYAMĀNASYA† KRODHOTPANNAḤ †ASĀSĀDHANA† MAHĀGANARUDRO JÑĀPAYATI 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, Kendujharghar, 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 Paippaladin Damodara Miśra of Asimila village in the Baleshwar District of Orissa, was transcribed and published in 2003 by the Oriya scholar Umākānta PANDĀ as the *Paippalādavaśādisatkarmapaddhati* '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 (atharvavedāntargatapippalādaśākhādhyāyī) in the formula of intention (saṃkalpaḥ) that is to be recited before the ritual commences.²¹

 $^{^{18}}$ The only work on this corpus known to me is a pioneering but very short article by Bahulkar (1987) in which he briefly outlines the contents and character of two $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$ manuscripts, both used by me here (P_1 and P_2), gathers the few existing references to the $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$ in Dārila's and Keśava's commentaries on the Atharvavedic Kauśikasūtra, and in Sāyaṇa's introduction to his commentary on the Śaunaka $Atharvavedasaṇhit\bar{a}$, 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-khiñjalimaṇḍala 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.

²¹Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati p. 124: amukasagotram **atharvavedāntargatapippalādaśā-khādhyāyinam** amukaśarmānam brāhmanam amukasagotrah amukadevaśarmā rājā mama amukapha-

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

 $l\bar{a}rtham$... amukakalpoktam mama karma kartum ... $\bar{a}c\bar{a}ryatvena$ $tv\bar{a}m$ aham vrne 'I, the king, N-devasarman, being of such and such a Gotra, choose you, N-sarman, a brahmin of such and such a Gotra, a student of the Pippalāda branch of the Atharvaveda, to be the officiant to perform for me such and such a ritual taught in such and such a Kalpa for such and such a benefit ...'. The same specification is seen in P_1 , f. 46v3: amukadevasarmane $br\bar{a}hman\bar{a}ya$ $atharvaved\bar{a}mtargatapippal\bar{a}das\bar{a}kh\bar{a}dhy\bar{a}yine$.

²²See Upavarṣa's lost commentary on the Mīmāṃsāsūtra as quoted in the 11th century by Keśava of Malwa in his Kauśikapaddhati on 1.8: upavarsācāryenoktam mīmāmsāyām smrtipāde kalpasūtrādhikarane "naksatrakalpo vaitānas trtīyah samhitāvidhih | caturtho 'ngirasām kalpah śāntikalpas tu pañcamah" iti. ete kalpā vedatulyā hi iti bhagavatopavarsācāryena pratipāditam. anye kalpāh smrtitulyāh 'Upavarsācārya has said the following [in his commentary] on the Mīmāmsā[sūtra], in the section on the Kalpasūtras in the Smṛtipāda: "[The five Kalpas are] the Nakṣatrakalpa, the Vaitāna, third the Saṃhitāvidhi, fourth the angirasām kalpah, 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 Smrti'. The verse quoted here is also attributed to Upavarsa by Sāyana in the Atharvedasamhitābhāsya, vol. 1, p. 25 (with the variant turya āngirasah kalpah); 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 Viṣṇupurāna (3.6.13c–14b: naksatrakalpo vedānām samhitānām tathaiva ca | caturthah syād āngirasah śāntikalpaś ca pañcamah) and, with badly defective metre, in the Caraṇavyūha ([Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 49] 4.7: pañca kalpā bhavanti. naksatrakalpo vaitānakalpas trtīyah samhitāvidhih | caturtha āṅgirasah kalpah śāntikalpas tu pañcamah; cf. also the version of this same defective verse in the corresponding section of the Caranavyūhopanisad, in Arlo Griffiths' contribution to this volume). The Nāradapurāṇa (Pūrvārdha, 51.2-8b) both lists them and defines their subject matter: (1) the Nakṣatrakalpa as dealing with the asterisms and their presiding deities (see Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 1, which deals with these and their various effects, particularly on the fates of the rulers of various nations); (2) the vedānām kalpaḥ (= Vaitānakalpa) as comprising the Vidhāna texts of the four Vedas (Rgvidhāna etc.), setting out the special fire-rites using Vedic mantras for supernatural effects (see Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, Khaṇḍa 2, chapters 124-127, which gives Vidhāṇa texts for all four Vedas; cf. p. 188 in Arlo Griffiths' contribution to this volume); (3) the Samhitāvidhi as specifying the sage (rsih), metre (chandah), 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., Visnudharmottarapurāna, Khanda 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 $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$ corpus comprises rituals in which the king is the sponsor and beneficiary ($ya-jam\bar{a}nah$), 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 Atharvavedasaṃhitā, and the Saṃhitāvidhi to be the Kauśikasūtra, the Atharvavedic Gṛḥyasūtra. Saṃhitāvidhi in this sense is regularly employed in the Kauśikapaddhati, Keśava's commentary on that text, as in its opening words: atharvavedasya saṃhitāvidher vivaraṇaṃ kriyate. It is also supported by Sāyaṇācārya, Atharvedasaṃhitābhāṣya, 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 Gṛḥyasūtras by setting out the ritual applications (vidhiḥ) of the Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda.

²³Mahābhāṣya on 4.2.60: sarvasāder dvigoś ca lo vaktavyaḥ. sarvavedaḥ sarvatantraḥ. savārttikaḥ sasaṃgrahaḥ. pañcakalpaḥ dvitantraḥ; Mahābhārata 12.330.34 (Viṣṇu speaking): pañcakalpam atharvāṇaṃ kṛtyābhiḥ paribṛṃhitam | kalpayanti hi māṃ viprā atharvāṇavidas 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 $\bar{A}ngirasa$ 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 $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$ 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 Āngirasakalpa to fulfil the needs of the Paippalādins of Orissa for the fifth Kalpa.

 25 Āngirasa, P_2 f. 3v1–2: iti putreṇa saṃtuṣṭaḥ provāca munir angirāḥ | kalpam āngirasaṃ nāma pañcakalpeṣu cottamaṃ 'Thus, being pleased with his son [Bṛhaspati], the sage Aṅgiras taught [him] the Kalpa called Āṅgirasa, the foremost of the five Kalpas'.

²⁶See, e.g., Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati p. 3: vaśabhedam pravakṣyāmi śatruhīno nṛpo yataḥ | rājño yasya *vaśe (em.: vaśet Ed.) sarvaṃ tasyeṣṭaṃ kiṃ na siddhyati; p. 4: tato vicakṣaṇo rājā vaśa-karmaṇi tatparaḥ | sapatnān vaśam ānīya bhunkte rājyam akaṇṭakam; p. 5: tasmāj jigamiṣuṃ bhūpaṃ

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 ($r\bar{a}japurohitah$). For all sources that speak of the qualifications required of that official rule 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: ripūṇāṃ mohanam caitad rājñāṃ bahumataṃ bhavet | mohito hi na śaknoti pratikartuṃ parakriyām; p. 18: rājā rājyajayākānkṣī śrīnṛsiṃhaṃ prapūjya ca; p. 26: nṛpasya bhavanāc chālām aiśānyāṃ diśi kārayet; p. 27: tasmād rājā viśeṣeṇa śrīnṛsiṃhaparo bhavet | yato nirupasargaḥ san sarvābhīṣṭam avāpnuyāt; p. 35: dakṣiṇāṃ bhūpatir dadyāt kartṛtṛptikarīṃ punaḥ | nṛpo digvijayaṃ kuryād idaṃ yantraṃ vidhārayan; p. 36: tasmād rājā yadā śatruṃ balinaṃ jetum icchati | tadātharvavidaṃ prājñam etaṃ homaṃ ca kārayet; p. 36: śrīnṛsiṃhaś ca devaḥ syāt kartā cātharvaṇaḥ sudhīḥ | rājā ced viṣṇubhaktaḥ syāj jayas tasya kare sthitaḥ; p. 41: tato nṛpeśvaro vīro mahājayaparāyaṇaḥ | brahmavedārthatattvajñaṃ kārayeta mahājayam; p. 56: rājā sarvavaśaṃ kānkṣann āsurīṃ sarvadā japet; p. 59: māraṇaṃ karma kurvīta rājā rāṣṭrasukhāvaham; p. 63: āsurīti tato devī rājakarmasu gīyate; p. 70: etan mantraṃ sadā japtvā niścinto rājyabhug bhavet; p. 81: ātmotsādakaraṃ śatruṃ yuddhe jetum apārayan | deśarakṣākaro rājā mārayed balinaṃ ripum; p. 109: mahābījaṃ japan rājā jayam eti na śaṃsayaḥ; p. 111: athavā yuddhasamaye yantram etat svasaṃnidhau | kenacid dhārayed rājā labhate *vijayaśriyam (corr.: vijayam śriyam Ed.). See also n. 21 on p. 202.

²⁷Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati p. 4: atharvavedatattvajñaṃ tasmād rājā prapūjayet | sadātmī-yaṃ prakurvīta yasya haste vaśādikam; p. 7: *bahubhir (corr.: bahubhi Ed.) draviņair vastrair nānāratnair vibhūṣaṇaiḥ | pūjayitvā tataḥ paścād vidhinā vṛṇuyād dvijam; p. 13: tatkumbhavāriṇācāryo 'bhiṣiñcet taṃ narādhipam | tato 'smai dakṣiṇāṃ dadyād yathāsau parituṣyati; p. 23: tasmān narapatir vidvān dānamānādibhir dvijam | turyavedārthatattvajñam ātmīyaṃ kurute sadā; p. 61: nṛpo 'smai dakṣiṇāṃ dadyād dhanaśāṭhyaṃ vivarjayet | ratnaṃ grāmavaraṃ dhānyaṃ yānāni kanakāni ca; p. 65: tato 'bhiṣiktaḥ nṛpatir dadyād viprāya dakṣiṇām | ratnaṃ suvarṇaṃ dhānyāni yānāni ca vasundharām; p. 131: tasmād rājā viśeṣeṇa atharvāṇaṃ budhaṃ dvijam | dānasaṃmānasatkārair nityaṃ samabhipūjayet (echoing Atharvavedapariśiṣta 4.6.3: tasmād rājā viśeṣeṇa atharvāṇaṃ jitendriyam | dānasaṃmānasatkārair nityaṃ samabhipūjayet); p. 146: evaṃ vijayam āsādya rājā mantravide tataḥ | pradadyād *dakṣiṇāṃ (em.:dakṣiṇā Ed.) śreṣṭhaṃ grāmaṃ tattṛptikāraṇam; p. 147: ācāryāya nivedayet | svarṇaṃ ratnaṃ ca dhānyaṃ ca yānaṃ grāmaṃ gavāṃ śatam; P₂ f. 31v2: dadyāc ca dakṣiṇāṃ tasmai sahasraṃ śatam eva vā | gavāṃ suvarṇaniṣkāṇāṃ bhūmiṃ *ca sasyaśālinīm (conj.:cātyaśaśālinīṃ Cod.).

²⁸ Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa 2.5.3: dvivedaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ rājā purohitam atharvaṇam | pañcakalpa-vidhānajñaṃ 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 | rājñaś 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'.

²⁹ See, for example, *Arthaśāstra* 1.9.9: *purohitam uditoditakulaśīlaṃ sānge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanītyāṃ cābhivinītam āpadāṃ daivamānuṣīṇām atharvabhir upāyaiś 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* | *daṇḍanītyāṃ ca kuśalam atharvāngirase 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 Rgvedins, 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 Atharvavedasaṃhitābhāṣya, pp. 5–6): trayyāṃ ca daṇḍanītyāṃ ca kuśalaḥ syāt purohitaḥ | atharvavedavihitaṃ kuryāc chāntikapauṣṭikaṃ '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.: purohitaṃ tathātharvamantrabrāhmaṇapāragam 'and a personal priest who has mastered the Mantras and informative passages of the Atharva[veda]'; Sāyaṇācārya, loc. cit.: paurohityaṃ ca atharvavidaiva kāryaṃ tatkartṛkāṇāṃ karmaṇāṃ rājābhiṣekādīnāṃ tatraiva vistareṇa pratipāditatvāt '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., Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 2.2.3–4: divyāntarikṣabhaumānām utpātānām anekadhā | śamayitā brahmavedajñas tasmād rakṣitā bhṛguḥ | brahmā śamayen nādhvaryur na chandogo na bahvṛcaḥ | rakṣāmṣi rakṣati brahmā brahmā tasmād atharvavit; 2.3.4: atharvavid guruḥ; 3.3.7: brahmavedavit; Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati p. 23: turyavedārthatattvajñaṃ; p. 36: brahmavedavidāṃ varaḥ; p. 147: brahmavedavit.

³¹Southern recension of the *Mahābhārata* after 12.72.2 (Appendix I, No. 8), ll. 32–34: *bahvrcam* sāmagam caiva vājinam ca vivarjayet | bahvrco rāstranāśāya rājanāśāya sāmagah | adhvaryur balanāśāya prokto vājasaneyakah 'He should avoid [appointing] a Rgvedin, a Sāmavedin, or a Vājasaneyin Yajurvedin. A Rgvedin [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. Atharvavedapariśista 2.4.1–5: paippalādam gurum kuryāc chrīrāstrārogyavardhanam tathā śaunakinam vāpi vedamantravipaścitam | rāstrasya vrddhikartāram dhanadhānyādibhih sadā | ātharvaṇād ṛte nānyo niyojyo 'tharvavid guruḥ | nṛpeṇa jayakāmena nirmito 'gnir ivādhvare | bahvṛco hanti vai rāstram adhvaryur nāśayet sutān | chandogo dhananāśāya tasmād ātharvano guruh | ajñānād vā pramādād vā yasya syād bahvṛco guruḥ | deśarāṣṭrapurāmātyanāśas tasya na saṃśayaḥ | yadi vādhvaryavam rājā niyunakti purohitam | śastrena vadhyate ksipram pariksīnārthavāhanah | yathaiva pangur adhvānam apakṣī cāṇḍajo nabhah | evaṃ chandogaguruṇā rājā vṛddhim 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] Rgvedin 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 Rgvedin [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 Saivas, 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 Saivas themselves have presented the Atharvaveda in just these terms. After defining the Rgveda, Yajurveda, and Sāmaveda together with the Smrtis as the common revelation the Jayadrathayāmala's first Satka 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 $\bar{A}\dot{n}girasakalpa$ 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: *vājinaṃ tadabhāve ca carakādhvaryavān atha* | *bahvrcaṃ sāmagaṃ caiva nītiśāstrakṛtaśramān* | *kṛtino 'tharvaṇe vede sthāpayet tu purohitān* 'If there is no [Atharvavedin available] he may appoint a Vājasaneyin or Caraka (Kāṭhaka) Yajurvedic officiant, a Rgvedin, 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 upaneyaḥ '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): sauraṃ śaivaṃ pañcarātraṃ pramāṇaṃ vaimalaṃ matam | atharvaṃ sāṃkhyayogaṃ ca bauddham ārahatādikam | viśeṣākhyaṃ yatas *tatra (em.:tantraṃ 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 (*agryamahiṣī*), the crown-prince (*yuvarājaḥ*), the chief minister (*mantrī*), the general of the army (*senāpatiḥ*), 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 (*cāmaraḥ*) 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 Patala an atharvanī śikhāvidyā described as the very essence of the Atharvaveda (f. 2v: turyam ātharvanam vedam nānāmantrasamanvitam | tanmadhye kevalam turyam atharvanaśiras tathā | *turyāt turyataram [em.:turyāturyetaram Cod.] caiva *tacchikhety [em.:tatsakhyety Cod.] abhidhīyate | atharvanī $\langle m \rangle$ śikhāvidyā $\langle m \rangle$ yo jānāti sa buddhimān). The principal deities of these Vidyās, mostly described as Atharvanic (atharvaṇāstravidyā, atharvaņikam astram, atharvaṇamahāvidyā), are the goddesses Dhūmāvatī (Kākadhūmāvatī, Mohinīdhūmikā, Uccāṭanadhūmikā, Trailokyamohanī Dhūmāvatī), Ārdrapaṭī Kālī, Mṛtyukālī, Kālarātri, Gharmaţikā (also called here Gharmaţī and Gharmuţikā), Kālī, and Candacāmuṇdī. 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 Pratyangirās (Siddhilakṣmī etc.) and Guhyakālī (*Pratyangirādivisayakasamgraha) 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 Atharvanasamhitā that is the Hāhārāvatantra (f. 36v10: iti hāhārāvatantre atharvanasamhitāyām guhyakālīpūjāpatalah). Similarly, the 23-syllable Pratyangirā OM HRĪM 2 KSEM BHAKSA JVĀLĀ-JIHVE KARĀLADAMSTRE PRATYANGIRE KSEM HRĪM HŪM PHAT attributed in that same digest (f. 26r10-11) to the Devīyāmala is a variant of the Atharvanabhadrakālīmahāvidyā OM KSAM BHAKŞA JVĀLĀJIHVE KARĀLADAMSTRE PRATYANGIRE KŞAM HRĪM HUM PHAT 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 *Pratyangirābhadrakālīmantra* and the *Pratyangirāmantra*. 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 (Daksinakālikā, Ugratārā, Sodasī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Caitanyabhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī, Bagalāmukhī, Mātaṅginī, and Siddhalaksmī) (11.1-21.12) that are distinctive of that tradition. It also contains a variant of the Pratyangirāmantra, cited here from the Devīyāmala and the Atharvaṇabhadrakālīmahāvidyā manuscript: KSAM BHAKṢA JVĀLĀJIHVE KARĀLADAMSTRE PRATYANGIRE KŞAM HRĪM NAMAH (24.4), and of that beginning OM KHAT PHAT given in the Āṅgirasakalpa materials as one of two Mantras of Mahākrtyā; 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 $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$ 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', which is strikingly similar to statements in the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* that certainly do refer to the king's appointing an Atharvavedin as the $r\bar{a}japurohitah$. However, suggestive though this parallel is it does not amount to decisive evidence. It is possible, therefore, that the Atharvavedins of the $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$ 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.

 $^{^{36}}$ Similarly, we are told that the king's fly-whisk should be uncoloured, those of the astrologer, chief minister, and priest yellowish, and those of the chief queen, the crown-prince, and the general black; see $Visnudharmottarapur\bar{a}na$ 2.12.5–6, emending $r\bar{a}j\bar{n}a$ to $r\bar{a}j\bar{n}o$ in 5b.

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

³⁸Thus Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 2.1.4: daivakarmavidau tasmāt sāṃvatsarapurohitau | gṛḥṇīyāt 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 viśeṣeṇa atharvāṇaṃ jitendriyam | dānasaṃmānasatkārair nityaṃ samabhipūjayet 'Therefore the king should always show special veneration to an Atharvavedin of controlled senses with gifts, honours, and favours'.

³⁹Thus Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati, p. 18: parasainyam jetum icchann etat karma samācaret | atyantatvarito rājā dvijair homam 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: vidrāvaṇasya siddhyarthaṃ kārayed brahmaviddvijaiḥ '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: atharvavedatattvajñam tasmān nṛpatir arcayet; ibid:: brahmavedavidām varah; and ibid:: tadātharvavidam prājñam etaṃ homam ca kārayet. For the use of the term brahmavedaḥ in the meaning atharvavedaḥ, see BLOOMFIELD 1899, p. 10, and, e.g, Atharvavedaparisiṣta 1.15.1 and 49.1.2: ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo brahmavedaḥ; 49.4.1: tatra brahmavedasya nava bhedā bhavanti. tad yathā paippalādāḥ ...; P₂ f. 1v4: brahmano vedanād dhetor brahmavedo 'yam ucyate; Jayantabhaṭṭa, Nyāyamañjarī vol. 1, p. 623, l. 16: ata eva brahmavedaḥ athar-

The Manuscripts

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

The Contents of MS P_1 and the materials it shares with MS As $(\rightarrow Ed^P)$

The manuscript BORI 960 of 1887–91 (\mathbf{P}_1) opens with a long text on the ceremony of affusion with water empowered with the Mantra of Nṛsiṃha (nṛsiṃhā-bhiṣekaḥ [ff. 1v–55v]), ending with a colophon that specifies that this is the end of the second Paṭala of the $V\bar{a}manabhavad\bar{a}s\bar{\imath}ya.^{41}$ The contents of the rest of the manuscript (ff. 55v3–) are, barring minor variants, identical with those of approximately the first half of the Asimiḷā manuscript ($\mathbf{A}\mathbf{s}$). The common text runs continuously from the beginning of the latter to a point three verses from the end of the $Bhadrak\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}mah\bar{a}b\bar{\imath}javidhi$. Here P_1 breaks off. The contents of the portion of the manuscript that it shares with PANDĀ's edition ($\mathbf{E}\mathbf{d}^{\mathbf{P}}$) 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 ācāryah, and his assistant, termed the brahmā (Paippalādavaśādisatkarmapaddhati, p. 63): vrnuyād dhomakāriņau | ācāryam vṛṇuyāt pūrvam brahmāṇam tadanantaram. In his Āsurīdīpikā Bhūdhara tells us that there are three possibilities in this tradition. The yajamānah may appoint five, namely an ācāryah, a brahmā, a prṣṭaprativaktā, a mantraniścāyakaḥ, and a dravyopakalpakaḥ—this, he says, is the view of Paithīnasi—, or two, namely an ācāryah and a brahmā—for this he cites the passage of the Asurīkalpa given above—, or just an ācāryaḥ, in which case the brahmā is represented by a water-vessel (udapātram)—for this he cites the Vaitānakalpa (Paippalādavaśādisatkarmapaddhati, pp. 123–124): tatra pañca brāhmanāh karmanirvāhakāh. tesv apy eka ācāryah aparo brahmā anyah prstaprativaktā itaro mantraniścāyakah aparo dravyopakalpakah. tathā ca paithīnasih: "ekah karmani yuktah syād eko dravyopakalpakah | ekah prstah san pratibrūyād eko mantrasya niścaye". BRHASPATE YAJÑAM PĀHI iti brahmajapavidhānād brahmā siddham. tad *evam (em.:eva me Ed.) tanmate pañcaiva brāhmanāh. athavācāryabrahmānau dvāv eva *vṛtau (corr.:vṛttau Ed.). uktam cāsurīkalpe "samkalpya prathamāvrttim vrnuyād dhomakārinau | ācāryam vrnuyāt pūrvam brahmānam 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 Atharvavedapariśista 37.16.1.

 $^{^{40}}$ The contents of the two Pune manuscripts have been briefly described by Bahulkar (1987). See Arlo Griffiths' contribution to this volume, §2D, for a list of all \bar{A} n girasa 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.

 $^{^{41}}$ Āngirasakalpa, P_1 f. 56v2–3: iti vāmanabhavadāsīye abhiseko nāma dvitīyah 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 (*vidveṣaṇam*), causing panic (*uccāṭanam*), and killing (*māraṇam*). Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe vaśādiṣaṭkarmāṇi samāptāni*.
- 2. P_1 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 ВНĪМАЙ МАНĀVIṢŅUЙ JVALANTAM SARVATOMUKHAM | NŖSIӍНАЙ ВНĪṢAŅAЙ ВНАDRAЙ МŖТYUMŖTYUЙ NAMĀMY АНАМ. Colophon: ity āṅgirase anāgatārthavedanam.
- 4. P_1 ff. 64v1-66v1; = Ed^P pp. 11-14. Affusion of the king with water empowered by Nṛsiṃha's 32-syllable Mantrarāja. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe nṛsimhābhisekah*.
- 5. P_1 ff. 66v1-68v4; = Ed^P pp. 14-16. The benefits of the 32-syllable Mantrarāja. Colophon *ity āṅgirasakalpe mantrarājavijñānaṃ samāptaṃ*. Ed^P has here an additional section (pp. 16-17): *ity āṅgirase kalpe parakarmanivāranam*.
- 6. P_1 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 mantrarājavidhih*.
- 7. P_1 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 durgarakṣāvidhānam*.
- 8. P_1 ff. 76r4–77v1; = Ed^P pp. 25–26. Worship of Nṛṣiṃha's Mantrarāja to falsify a rumour. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kiṃvadantīmṛṣākaraṇam*.

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 Pandā'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 *Bhadrakālīmahā-bījapraśaṃsā* 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 Paṇṇā's edition of the Asimilā manuscript and BOLLING and VON NEGELEIN's edition of the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa*, and for sending me a copy of Pattanayak's edition of Lakṣmīdharamiśra's Śaivacintāmaṇi, on which see p. 232 and n. 76.

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

- 9. P_1 ff. 77v1–78r4; = Ed^P pp. 26–27. Bali offered to Nṛsiṃha and other deities to put an end to unforeseen calamities in the palace, region, or capital. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe nṛsiṃhabalividhiḥ*.
- 10. P_1 ff. 78r4–79r1; = Ed^P pp. 27–28. Other benefits of the same. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe nṛṣiṃhabalikarmaphalakathanaṃ*.
- 11. P_1 ff. 79r1–80r4; = Ed^P pp. 28–30. Worship of 16-armed Abhayanrsimha to end a major danger. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase abhayanrsimhavidhiḥ*.
- 12. P₁ ff. 80r4–85v3; = Ed^P pp. 30–37. Worship of 20-armed Jayanrsimha for victory in war (Mantra: OM ŚRĪNRSIMHA JAYA JAYA ŚRĪNRSIMHA). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase jayanrsimhakalpaḥ*.
- 13. P_1 ff. 85v3–89r4; = Ed^P pp. 37–42. Worship of 20-armed Mahājayanrsimha for victory in war (Bīja: KṣRAUM; Mantra: ŚRĪNRSIMHA JAYANRSIMHA AMUKAM JAYA 2 NRSIMHA HRĪM). Colophon: ity āṅgirase mahānrsimha . . . (P_1) , ity āṅgirase mahājayakalpaḥ (Ed^P).
- 14. P₁ ff. 89r4–92r3; = Ed^P pp. 42–46. The Mantra of the four-armed goddess Āsurī Durgā (Oṃ Namaḥ kaṭuke kaṭukapatre subhage Āsurī raktavāsase atharvaṇasya duhitre ghore ghorakarmaṇi kārike amukasya prasthitasya gatiṃ daha upaviṣṭasya bhagaṃ daha śayitasya mano daha prabuddhasya hṛdayaṃ 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. P_1 ff. 92r3–93r1; = Ed^P pp. 46–47. How to obtain the outcome of one's choice with the Mantras of Āsurī and Nṛṣiṃha. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase aniṣṭaśakune iṣṭasiddhiḥ* (P_1), *ity āṅgirase iṣṭāniṣṭaśakune iṣṭasiddhiḥ* (Ed^P).
- 16. P_1 ff. 93r1–94r4; = Ed^P pp. 47–48. The worship of \bar{A} sur \bar{i} and the deities of her retinue. Colophon: $iti \ p\bar{u}j\bar{a}vidhi\dot{p}$.

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

- 17. P_1 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* $\bar{a}ngirase\ homas\bar{a}m\bar{a}nyavidhih$.
- 18. P_1 ff. 95r1–95r3; = Ed^P pp. 49. Assuming the mental states of \bar{A} surī appropriate to the six hostile rites. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase bhāvanāṣaṭkam*.
- 19. P_1 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 añjanaṣaṭkam*.
- 20. P_1 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-kālanirnayah*.
- 21. P_1 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. P_1 ff. 97r4–98r1; = Ed^P p. 53. The shape of the fire-pit in the various hostile fire sacrifices. Colophon: $\langle ity \bar{a}ngirase \rangle$ kunḍavidhiḥ.
- 23. P_1 ff. 98r1-98v3; = Ed^P pp. 53-54. The metaphysical nature of \bar{A} sur $\bar{\imath}$ as the root-power ($m\bar{\imath}la\acute{s}akti\dot{h}$) that operates through her proximity to Brahma. Colophon: $ity\ \bar{a}\dot{n}girase\ \bar{a}sur\bar{\imath}svar\bar{\imath}pakathanam$.
- 24. P₁ ff. 98v3–99v4; = pp. 54–55. Rites of a Yantra of Āsurī Durgā. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase ṣaṭkarmasiddhināmāsurīmahāyantram*.
- 25. P_1 ff. 99v4–101r4; = Ed^P pp. 55–57. Rites of Āsurī Durgā for the subjection of an enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śatruvasaḥ*.
- 26. P_1 ff. 101r4-101v3; = Ed^P p. 57. Rites of Āsurī Durgā for the immobilization of an enemy. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase stambhanam*.
- 27. P_1 ff. 101v3-104v3; = Ed^P pp. 57-61. On the nature of immobilizing, deluding, causing dissension, causing panic, and killing the enemy. Colophon: $ity \ \bar{a}\dot{n}girase \ \bar{a}sur\bar{\imath}kalpah \ sam\bar{a}ptah$.
- 28. P_1 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 \bar{A} sur \bar{I} fruit and other substances. Colophon: ity \bar{a} sur \bar{I} vidh \bar{a} nakalpah sam \bar{a} ptah.
- 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 Pratyangirā to ward of the Krtyā of the enemy (Vidyā: Oṃ Hrīṃ Namaḥ krṣṇavāsase śatasahasrasiṃhavāhini sahasravadane mahāprabale aparājite *pratyangire [P₁: priyangire Ed^P] parasainyavidhvaṃsini parakarmavidhvaṃsini paramantrotsādini sarvabhūtavimardini sarvadevān vidhvaṃsaya 2 sarvavidyāṃ krntaya 2 paramantrān sphoṭaya 2 sarvaśrnkhalās troṭaya 2 Jvalajjvālājihve karālavadane pratyangire klīṃ namaḥ oṃ). Colophon: ity āṅgirase kalpe paravidyānivāranam.⁴⁶
- 31. P_1 ff. 111v3–113r1; = Ed^P pp. 70–71. Mantra rites of two-armed and tenarmed Kālī for victory (KĀLIKĀYAI NAMAḤ). Colophon: $\langle ity \bar{a}ngirase \, sadaksarakālī \rangle kalpamantravidhih$.
- 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 NAMAH KĀLIKĀYAI). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kalpe kālikāmantravidhiḥ*.
- 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 ŚATROR APAKĀMAM KŖŅOTU DHANVANĀ SARVĀḤ PRADIŚO JAYEMA (*Paippalādasaṃhitā* 15.10.2).⁴⁷ Colophon: *ity āṅgirase dhanurmantravidhih*.
- 34. P₁ ff. 115r1–115v1; = Ed^P p. 74. An Atharvavedic Mantra (*Paippalādasaṃhitā* 1.3.1) to empower the king's arrows for victory: OM VIDMĀ ŚARASYA PITARAM PARJANYAM BHŪRIDHĀYASAM | VIDMO HY ASYA MĀTARAM PŖTHIVĪM VIŚVADHĀYA⟨SA⟩M. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śaramantraḥ*.
- 35. P_1 ff. 115v1–116r3; = Ed^P pp. 74–76. Rite to be commissioned by the king for the pacification of inimical planets. Colophon: *ity* $\bar{a}\dot{n}girasakalpe$ *graha-* $s\bar{a}ntividhih$.
- 36. P₁ ff. 116r3–118r1; = Ed^P pp. 76–78. Rite of the formless Vijñānabhairava Rudra with the Atharvavedic Mantra Ом внūн вничан svaн svāнā Janad ом (e.g. *Vaitānasūtra* 1.3.18), which both frees from the sin incurred

⁴⁶Pratyangirā is a Tantric personification of Atharvavedic counter-sorcery (*pratyangirasam*).

 $^{^{47}}$ The final words of the Mantra are ... $p_r^r tan\bar{a}$ 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 \bar{A} ngirasa tradition, and by the nearly identical parallel that is \bar{R} gvedasaṃhitā 6.75.2.

- by commissioning hostile rites and bestows self-realization. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase vijñānabhairavamantrah*. 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 Mahākṛtyē Vidhūmāgnisamaprabhe | hana śatrūn triśūlena krudhyasva piba śonitam (cf. the Atharvanic *Kubjikopaniṣad* 22.5: Khaṭ Phaṭ Jahi Mahākṛtyē Vidhūmāgnisamaprabhe | Devīdevi Mahākubje Mama śatrūn vināśaya Mama śatrūn vināśayoṃ) and oṃ hrīṃ Mahāyogini gauri tribhuvanaṃkari⁴⁹ hūṃ Phaṭ. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase mahākṛtyāvidhānam*.⁵⁰
- 38. P_1 ff. 120r2–120v4; = Ed^P pp. 81–83. Rite of another Krtyāmantra: Krṣṇa-Varṇi Brhadrūpi Brhatkarṇi Mahadbhayi | Devi Devi Mahādevi Mama Śatrūn Vināśaya. Colophon: ity āṅgirase kṛtyāmantravidhānam.
- 39. P₁ ff. 120v4–123r3; = Ed^P pp. 83–87. A Krtyāmantra rite to be commissioned by a king to cause the effect of any Krtyā rite to be directed back to the enemy who has performed it against him with the Atharvavedic Mantra OM SABANDHUŚ CĀSABANDHUŚ CA YO ASMĀM ABHIDĀSATI | SABANDHŪN SARVĀMS TĪRTVĀHAM BHŪYĀSAM UTTAMAH . . . (*Paippalādasaṃhitā* 19.5.14). Colophon: *ity āngirase krtyāpratisāraḥ*.
- 40. P_1 ff. 123r3–123v3; = Ed^P p. 87. A metaphysical explanation of the efficacity of such counter-rites. Colophon: *ity ārigirase kṛtyāpratisāre yuktih*.
- 41. P_1 ff. 123v3–124v2; = Ed^P pp. 87–89. How a king may recognize that a hostile rite has been directed against him ($k_r t y \bar{a} c i h n \bar{a} n i$). No colophon.
- 42. P_1 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* $\bar{a}ngirase\ pratis\bar{a}rayantram$.
- 43. P₁ ff. 125r1–125v4; = Ed^P pp. 89–91. A tantricized rite of the Atharvavedic Abhayamantra of Rudra (OM ABHAYAM SOMAS SAVITĀ ..., *Paippalādasaṃhitā* 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 P_1 the Mantra of Vijñānabhairava is Vedic. But in P_2 it is Tantric; see below, p. 220.

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

 $^{^{50}}$ The term $krty\bar{a}$ 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., $Atharvavedasamhit\bar{a}$ 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 . . . , *Paippalādasaṃhitā* 3.35.1). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase aindrābhayamantraḥ*.
- 45. P₁ ff. 126v1–127v4; = Ed^P pp. 92–93. Rite of the Mantra of Sarvakāmabhairava (OM BHAIRAVĀYA 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 sarvakāmabhairavaḥ*.
- 46. P_1 ff. 127v4–128v2; = Ed^P pp. 94–95. A tantricized rite of a Rgvedic Mantra (8.64.1, OM AVA BRAHMADVIȘO JAHI) 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 Pratyangirā 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 ekākṣara-bhairavamantrah*.
- 49. P₁ ff. 130r3–132r2; = Ed^P pp. 96–98. Rite of the trisyllabic Mantra of the goddess Tripurabhairavī (HSRAIM HSKLRĪM HSRAUḤM) for the attainment of various effects, hostile and other. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase tripurabhairavī-vidhānam*.
- 50. P_1 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 VIDVEṢIŅI 2 VIDVEṢAKĀRIŅI 2 AMUKĀMUKAYOḤ PARASPARADVEṢAM 2 KURU 2 SVĀHĀ VAṢAṬ) to bring about hostility between one's enemies (*vidveṣaṇam*). Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe gharmaṭikāvidhiḥ*.⁵¹
- 52. P_1 ff. 135v1–136v4; = Ed^P pp. 102–103. Factors that prevent the success of Mantra rites and procedures for counteracting them. Colophon: *ity* $\bar{a}ngirase\ kalpe\ 'siddhiprat\bar{i}k\bar{a}rah$.

 $^{^{51}}$ The 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 *makkada* m., Panjābī *makkarī* f., Kumāunī *makuri* f., Hindī *makrī* f.)

- 53. P_1 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 ($kart\bar{a}$), and the secondary officiants ($sadasy\bar{a}h$) should all be Vaiṣṇavas, and of counteracting them, namely thousands of special oblations in the sacrificial fire. Colophon: $ity \bar{a}ngirase karmavighnaprat\bar{t}k\bar{a}rah$.
- 54. P_1 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 MAHĀCAŅDAYOGEŚVARI PHAŢ; [2] BHADRAKĀLI BHAVĀBHĪṢṬABHADRASIDDHIPRADĀYINI | SAPATNĀN ME HANA HANA DAHA ŚOṢAYA TĀPAYA | ŚŪLĀSIŚAKTIVAJRĀDYAIR UTKŖTYOTKŖTYA MĀRAYA | MAHĀDEVI MAHĀDEVI RAKṢĀSMĀN AKṢATĀTMIKE; [3] OM BHADRAKĀLI JAYAM DEHI PHAŢ; [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 bhadrakālīmahābījapraśaṃsā*.
- 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 Paṇṇā's text, that is to say, in the Asimiļā 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 Vakratuṇḍa (Gaṇeśa) from the *Mantramuktāvalī* of Pūrṇaprakāśa (pp. 140–148) and the *Ṣaḍakṣaravakratuṇḍakalpa* 'taught by Bhṛgu' (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 PAŅṇĀ's edition contain a number of Vaiṣṇava Atharvavedic Upaniṣads: *Anucūlikopaniṣad, Viśvarūpākhyopaniṣad, Kṛṣṇaśāntopaniṣad, Tripuraprakaraṇopaniṣad, Brhannrsimhopaniṣad, Purusasubodhinī, Rāmacandropaniṣad,* and *Pāvamānīṣūkta*.

The discontinuity between the shared portion and that which follows it in the Asimilā manuscript underlines the possibility that the missing last part of P_1 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 $PAND\bar{A}'s$ edition.

The Contents of MS P₂

The second Pune manuscript, BORI 959 of 1887–1891 (\mathbf{P}_2), 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 atharvavedapraśaṃsā*.
- 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, vyāhṛtayaḥ, 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. P_2 ff. 23r1–24v2; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Worship of Lakṣmī with the Śrīsūkta. Colophon: ity āṅgirase śrīsūktavidhānam.
- 4. P_2 ff. 24v2–25r3; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Worship of Lakṣmī with the *Lakṣmīsūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śrīlakṣmīsūktavidhānam*.
- 5. P_2 ff. 25r3–27r1; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Worship of Viṣṇu with the *Viṣṇusūkta*. Colophon: *ity āngirase viṣṇusūktavidhānam*.
- 6. P₂ ff. 27r1–31r1; not in Ed^P or P₁. Worship of Nārāyaṇa with his eight-syllable Mantra (OḤ NAMO NĀRĀYAṇĀYA) following Paṭala 20 of the *Prapañcasāra* and employing its visualization verse (f. 27v3–4; = *Prapañcasāra* 20.7). Colophon: ity āṅgirase nārāyaṇāṣṭākṣaravidhiḥ.

- 7. P_2 ff. 31r1–31v2; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Worship of Durgā with the *Devīsūkta*. Colophon: *ity āngirase devīsūktavidhih*.
- 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. P_2 ff. 32r2–32v3; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Worship of Sarasvatī with the *Sārasvata-sūkta*. 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 Krtyā (Krtyāmantra: Oṃ KRĪṃ MAHĀYOGINI GAURI BHUVANABHAYAṃ-KARI HŪṃ PHAṬ). 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 Krtyā is surrounded by the eight Bhairavas Asitāṅgabhairava, Rurubhairava, Caṇḍabhairava, Krodhabhairava, Unmattabhairava, Kapālibhairava, Bhīṣaṇabhairava, and Saṃhārabhairava, and by the Kṣetrapālas. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase *pratisaramantravidhānam* (em.: *parisaramantravidhānam* Cod.).
- 11. P_2 ff. 35r1–39v2; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Krtyā fire sacrifices for various hostile purposes using the Āṅgirasa Mantras. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase āṅgirasa-mantrakalpaḥ*.
- 12. P_2 ff. 39v2–42v3; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Worship of Mahālakṣmī with her Mantra ŚATRUM PĀHI . . . for various purposes, principally protective and hostile. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase śatruṃpāhimantravidhānam*.
- 13. P_2 ff. 42v3–46r1; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Worship of Gaṇapati for various purposes, optionally using the *Gaṇapatisūkta*. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase gaṇapatisūktavidhānam*.
- 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 Aṅgiras 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 pippalādakalpah*.

- 16. P₂ ff. 51r4–51v4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Mantra of Agni (VAIŚVĀNARA JĀTAVEDA IHĀVAHA LOHITĀKṢA SARVAKARMĀŅI SĀDHAYA SVĀHĀ), its Ancillaries, and retinue. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase agnimantraḥ*.
- 17. P_2 ff. 51r4–52r3; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Rite of the Mantra of Kāmadeva for the intensification of desire. The visualization-text is *Prapañcasāra* 18.6. Colophon: $iti k\bar{a}mamantravidh\bar{a}nam$.
- 18. P₂ ff. 52r3–52v3; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rite of Viṣṇu and the four Vyūhas with the Praṇavamantra (OM). The visualization-text is *Prapañcasāra* 19.4. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase praṇavamantravidhiḥ*.
- 19. P_2 ff. 52v3-54r3; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Worship of Indra with the Mantra TRĀ-TĀRAM INDRAM . . . (*Paippalādasaṃhitā* 5.4.11) to be undertaken when the kingdom is in danger from an enemy, and for other purposes. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase indramantravidhiḥ*.
- 20. P_2 ff. 54r3–54v4; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Worship of Kāmadeva with the Mantra Kāmas Tad Agre . . . (*Paippalādasaṃhitā* 1.30.1). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase kāmamantravidhih*.
- 21. P_2 ff. 54v4-56r1; = Ed^P pp. 102-103. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase karmāsiddhipratīkārah*.
- 22. P_2 ff. 56r1-56v1; = Ed^P pp. 103-104. Colophon: ity āṅgirase karmavighna-pratīkāraḥ.
- 23. P_2 ff. 56v1–60r3; = Ed^P pp. 105–110. The Bhadrakālī texts as in Ed^P and P_1 but lacking the *Bhadrakālīmahābījavidhiḥ* (Ed^P pp. 110–113). Colophons: ity āṅgirase bhadrakālīmahābījavidhiḥ (f. 59v4); ity āṅgirase mahābījapraśaṃsā (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 CAṇṇĀLI MAHĀCAṇṇĀLI AMUKAM 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 Dhūmāvatī to be used by the king to strike and destroy his enemies (DHŪM DHŪM DHŪMAVATI SVĀHĀ). Colophon: *ity āṅgirase dhūmāvatī-mantravidhānam*.
- 26. P₂ ff. 62r4–63v2; not in Ed^P or P₁. A long Mantra invoking the intervention of the goddess Pratyangirā and her Śaktis Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Cāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍikā, Stambhanī, Mohanī, Kṣobhiṇī, Drāviṇī, Jṛmbhiṇī, Raudrī, and Saṃhārakāriṇī for various hostile purposes and for protection (Mantra: ... STAMBHINI PHREM PHREM MAMA ŚATRŪN STAMBHAYA 2 MOHINI PHREM

- PHREM MAMA ŚATRŪN MOHAYA 2 ...). Colophon: ity āṅgirase mahāpratyaṅgirāmantraḥ.
- 27. P₂ ff. 63v2–64r4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Details of the procedure in the use of the preceding Mantra of Pratyangirā 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 (HSRAIM HSKLRĪM HSRAUḤM) for the various hostile effects and other supernatural benefits. Colophons: *iti bhūdharakṛtāyāṃ paddhatau tripurabhairavīvidhānaṃ* (f. 66r1) and *iti bhūdharakṛtāyāṃ paddhatau tripurāvidhānaṃ samāptam* (f. 68v4).
- 29. P_2 ff. 68v4–72v4; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Rites of the Mantra of the goddess Tripurabhairavī, taken without attribution from the *Prapañcasāra*, being Paṭala 9 of that work. Colophon: *iti tripurāmantravidhih*.
- 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 Svacchandabhairava/Caṇḍabhairava (Oṃ KRĀṃ KRAṃ KRĀṃ NAMO ⟨MA⟩HĀSAṃ-KARṢAṇĀYA UGRABHAYAṃKARABHAIRAVĀYA Oṃ KRĀṃ KRAṃ KRĀṃ Oṃ NAMAḤ) and his consort (Oṃ KRĀṃ KRĀṃ KRAḤ *MAHĀYOGEŚVARI [tentative conj.: Maṃlayogeśvare Cod.] Phaṭ Oṃ Krīṃ Kraṃ 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 (KṢRAUM AIM HRĪM BHAIRAVĀYA HUM). Colophon: *iti bhairavakalpe vijñānabhairavavidhih*. 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 (BHAM). Colophon: *ekākṣara-bhairavamantravidhānam*.
- 33. P₂ ff. 74v1–74v4; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rite of eight-syllable Mantra of Bhairava for the attainment of Yoga (ОМ НЅАUḤ ВНАІRAVĀYA NАМАḤ). 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. P_2 ff. 75v1–76v4; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Rite of the Mantra of Sarvamanga-lā/Mangalacandī (OM KRĪM KLĪM ŚRĪM SARVAMANGALĀYAI 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 $m\bar{u}l\bar{a}s\dot{t}am\bar{t}$ to $mah\bar{a}s\dot{t}am\bar{t}$, that is to say, from the eighth day of the dark half of \bar{A} svina 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. P_2 ff. 77r4–78r3; not in Ed^P or P_1 . 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 ṣaṭkar-mādhyāye bhūdharakṛtā āsurīdīpikā samāptā*.
- 39. P_2 ff. 91v3–93r2; = Ed^P pp. 130–132. Colophon: *iti karmasamucca* $\langle ye \rangle$ *śatrujaya* \dot{p} .
- 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. P_2 ff. 93v4-97v1; = Ed^P pp. 133-136. The ritual of installing the vital energies in the effigy of the victim. Colophon: *iti prānapratisthā*.
- 42. P_2 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 ($m\bar{a}tr\bar{k}\bar{a}$) on the limbs of the victim (paśuh). Colophon: $iti\ paśum\bar{a}tr\bar{k}\bar{a}$.
- 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. P_2 ff. 99r4–101r1; = Ed^P pp. 136–138. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasoktapaśupūjā-mantrah*.
- 45. P_2 ff. 101r1-102v1; = Ed^P p. 139. Colophon: *iti nakṣatrakalpoktaṃ tantraṃ samāptam*.

⁵⁴The worship of Mangalacandī/Mangalā, 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 daśasaṃsthāmantrāḥ samāptāḥ*.
- 47. P₂ ff. 102v5–106r2; = Ed^P pp. 140–144. Worship of the six-syllable Gaņeśa (Vakratuṇḍa) [Mantra] (ОМ VAKRATUŅDĀYA HŪM). Colophon: *iti mantra-muktāvalyāṃ ṣaḍakṣaravakratuṇḍapūjā*.
- 48. P₂ ff. 106r2–113v3; = Ed^P pp. 148–153. Colophon: iti bhṛguproktaḥ ṣaḍakṣa-ramantravakratuṇḍakalpaḥ.
- 49. P_2 ff. 113v3–114r1; = Ed^P p. 154. Colophon: *iti siddhaudanaprakārah*.
- 50. P_2 f. 114r1-114v1; = Ed^P p. 154. Colophon: *iti sarvatobhadramandalam*.
- 51. P_2 ff. 114v1–162r2; = Ed^P pp. 154–207. Parts of the *Mantrarājānuṣṭubhakalpamālā* of Śeṣa, giving a detailed account of he worship of [Lakṣmī]nṛṣiṃha 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 Nṛsiṃha is worshipped with it at the three junctures of the day, at two, or at one: it is both a ladder leading to the Vaikuṇṭha paradise and the means of destroying any enemy (f. 162v1: vaikuṇṭhadhāmasopānaṃ sarvaśatrunirbarhanam). Colophon: iti mantrarājamāhātmyam.
- 53. P₂ f. 163r1–163r3; not in Ed^P or P₁. Affusion with Vaiṣṇava Mantras. Colophon: *iti mahābhisekah*.
- 54. P_2 f. 163r3–163v5; not in Ed^P or P_1 . The rite to be performed at each juncture by worshippers of [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṃha. Colophon: *iti nṛsiṃhasaṃdhyā samāptā*.
- 55. P₂ ff. 163v5–178r2; not in Ed^P or P₁. The worship of the 32-syllable Mantra of [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṃha in its Sāman chant forms. Colophon: *iti sāmagāna-mantrarājapūjā samāptā* (f. 178r2).
- 56. P₂ ff. 178r2–179v3; not in Ed^P or P₁. The rites of the juncture, bathing, and gratification of [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṃha with the recitation of his 32-syllable Mantra. Colophon: *iti śrīnṛsiṃhasaṃdhyāsnānatarpaṇam*.
- 57. P₂ ff. 179v3–181v2; not in Ed^P or P₁. Gratification of the pantheon beginning with [Lakṣmī]nṛsiṃha 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 snānaprakārah*.

- 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 homaprakāraḥ*.
- 61. P_2 ff. 183v4–184r4; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Worshipping, giving guest-water (saṃdhyārghaḥ), and reciting the Mantra for the veneration of the Sun (upa-sthānam). Colophon: $ity\ upasthānam$.
- 62. P₂ f. 184r4–184v2; not in Ed^P or P₁. How to affuse the deity (*abhiṣekaḥ*). Colophon: *iti devasnānaprakāraḥ*.
- 63. P_2 ff. 184v2–185r3; not in Ed^P or P_1 . How to perform a short bathing of the deity with ash. Colophon: *iti saṃkocavibhūtisnānaprakāraḥ*.
- 64. P₂ ff. 185r3–186r1; not in Ed^P or P₁. Rite of the monosyllabic Mantra of Laksmīnṛsimha (KSRAUM). No colophon.
- 65. P₂ ff. 186r1–188r1; = Ed^P pp. 9–11. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe anāgatārtha-vedanam*.
- 66. P₂ ff. 188r1–190r1; = Ed^P pp. 14–16. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe mantrarāja-vijñānam*.
- 67. P_2 f. 190r1–4; = Ed^P p. 17. Colophon: ity āngirase parakarmanivāranam.
- 68. P₂ ff. 190r4–195r2; = Ed^P pp. 17–24. Colophon: *ity āṅgirasakalpe mantrarāja-vidhih*.
- 69. P₂ ff. 195r2–196r2; = Ed^P pp. 24–25. Colophon: *ity āṅgirase durgarakṣāvidhā-nam*.
- 70. P_2 f. 196r2–v2; = Ed^P pp. 25–26. Colophon: ity āṅgirase kiṃvadantīmṛṣākaranam.
- 71. P_2 ff. 196v3–197v3; = Ed^P pp. 26–27. Colophon: ity āṅgirasakalpe nṛsiṃhabalividhiḥ.
- 72. P_2 ff. 197v3–198r3; = Ed^P p. 28. Colophon: ity āṅgirasakalpe nṛsiṃhabalikarmaphalakathanam.
- 73. P_2 ff. 198r3–199r4; = Ed^P pp. 28–30. Colophon: ity āṅgirasakalpe abhayanṛ-siṃhavidhiḥ.
- 74. P_2 ff. 199r4–204r2; = Ed^P pp. 30–37. Colophon: ity āṅgirasakalpe jayanṛsiṃ-hakalpah.

- 75. P_2 ff. 204r2-207v3; = Ed^P pp. 37-42. Colophon: ity āṅgirasakalpe mahājaya-nṛsiṃhakalpaḥ (Ed^P : ity āṅgirase jayanṛsiṃhakalpaḥ).
- 76. P_2 ff. 207v3–209r3; = Ed^P pp. 12–14. Colophon: ity āṅgirasakalpe nṛsiṇhā-bhisekah.
- 77. P_2 ff. 209r3–213v1; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Colophon: *iti sanatkumārakalpe nṛsiṃ-hābhiṣekaḥ*.
- 78. P_2 ff. 213v1–214r1; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Colophon: *iti pātālanṛṣiṃhamantraḥ*.
- 79. P_2 ff. 214r1–215r1; not in Ed^P or P_1 . A hymn to Nṛṣiṃha, expressing devotion to him as characterized in each of the eleven epithets of his 32-syllable verse Mantra ($\bar{a}nustubhamantrar\bar{a}jah$). Colophon: $iti \, \acute{s}r\bar{t}mantrar\bar{a}jan\bar{a}rasimhapadastotram samāptam$.
- 80. P₂ ff. 215r1–233v; not in Ed^P or P₁. Chapters 1–3 of the *Mantrarājakalpa* of the *Nāradasaṃhitā*. Colophons: *iti śrīnāradasaṃhitāyāṃ mantrarājakalpe* prathamaḥ paṭalaḥ (f. 218r1); *iti ... dvitīyaḥ paṭalaḥ* (f. 223v3); *iti mantrarājanāradasaṃhitāyāṃ trtīyaḥ 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 nigaḍabhañjanavidhā-naṃ samāptam*.
- 82. P_2 ff. ff. 236r2–259v4; not in Ed^P or P_1 . Chapters 1–4 of the *Kapilapraṇīta*, comprising a Paddhati of the rituals of the worshippers of Nṛsiṃha, beginning with an initiation ($d\bar{\imath}k\bar{\imath}a$) 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 *ahiśaśikhara* to *ahiśaśadhara*). Colophon: *iti devaprakāśikāyām cintāmanimantrah*.⁵⁵
- 84. P₂ ff. 260v3–283v3; not in Ed^P or P₁. The first two chapters of a section of uncertain title within the *Nāradīya* dealing with the worship of Nṛṣiṃha. Colophons: *iti śrīnāradīye siṃha*prabhākare* (conj.:*prajācāre* Cod.) *bījarājavidhānaṃ prathamaḥ paṭalaḥ* (f. 268r1); and *iti śrīsiṃha*prabhākare* (conj.:*prabhāgare* Cod.) *nāradīye saṃhitoddhāre viśeṣamantravidhānaṃ dvitīyaḥ 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 (devatomeśaḥ). 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 assocation with his 32-syllable Mantrarāja, which has the form of a namaskāraślokaḥ in the Anuṣṭubh metre, Vakratuṇḍa (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, Pratyangirā, Kṛtyā, Bhadrakālī, Parā, Tripurabhairavī, Mangalacaṇḍī, Gharmaṭikā Durgā, the Caṇḍikā of the Ciṭimantra, Dhūmāvatī, Svacchandabhairava (/Caṇḍabhairava), Vijñānabhairava, Sarvakāmabhairava, Ekākṣarabhairava, and Aṣṭākṣarabhairava.

The procedure for the worship of the Saiva 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 Nrsimha and Ganeśa 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 Śankarācārya and the related Śāradātilaka of Laksmanadeśika. In the first regard we may note in both those texts and our Angirasa corpus the prominence of the Nṛsiṃha of the 32-syllable Mantrarāja, and the presence of the Siva of the Cintāmanimantra, Tripurabhairavī, Gharmatikā, the Candikā of the Citimantra, Dhūmāvatī, and Kāmadeva (Manmatha). In the second regard we may note that all these materials share (1) the distinctive use of the vyāpakanyāsah, (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 vaisnavah pīthah, śaivah pīthah, and āsurīpīthah, (3) the specification in pseudo-Vedic form of the Rsi, metre (chandah), deity, and, sometimes, application (viniyogali) of every Mantra, though the Āngirasa materials also usually specify the parts of a Mantra that are its bījam, śaktih, and kīlakam, and (4) the very ordering of information: first the Mantra is given, then its Rsi, metre, and the rest, then its Ancillaries (angāni), followed by the nyāsah, 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 Vaisnava, Śaiva, Śākta, Saura, or Gānapatya 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 (paśubalih) it eschews the elements of nondualistic practice (advaitācārah) such as the offering of alcoholic liquor and worship involving union with a female consort that characterize the independent Saiva 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 Mahāvidyās; see GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN 1994,

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

Notable is the preponderance in the collection of rites centred on Nṛṣiṃha, 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 Nṛṣiṃhanātha temple in Padampur, the Nṛṣiṃha temple at Puri, the Lakṣmīnṛṣiṃha temples at Amareswar near Konarak, Nuapatna near Bhubaneswar, and the compound of the Śaiva Liṅgarāja temple in Bhubaneswar, and the Varāhanṛṣiṃha temple at Adasapur near Bhubaneswar. Moreover it has been shown that Nṛṣimḥa was in all probability the original deity at the site of the famous temple of Jagannātha (Puruṣottama) in Puri, a conclusion supported by local Purāṇic tradition and confirmed by certain features of the ritual life of the temple. For it is the Mantra of Nṛṣimha 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 śivasyeyam parā śaktir nigadyate*).

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

⁵⁹Umākānta Paṇṇā in *Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati*, *Pūrvābhāsa* (Preface), p. 1: *atharva-vedavidbrāhmaṇānām iṣṭadevaḥ śrīnṛsiṃhaḥ*. See also Griffiths 2002, p. 38. Bahulkar reports (1987, p. 578) that the Atharvavedins of Orissa begin their Veda recitation with obeisance to Nṛ-siṃha, as follows: *natvā narahariṃ devaṃ sarvavighnapraṇāśanam* | *pippalādaprasādāc ca paṭhāmy ātharvaṇaśrutim* 'I [now] recite the Atharvaveda, after bowing to Lord Nṛsiṃha, 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 STIETENCRON shows 111 such temples of Nṛṣiṃha in Orissa: 12 (+ 5 Lakṣmīnṛṣiṃhas) in Ganjam, 21 in Puri, 51 (+ 5 Lakṣmīnṛṣiṃhas) 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 <code>snānayātrā</code>, when the image of Jagannātha is withdrawn from public view, the Nṛṣiṃha 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 'Onefooted Bhairava'. This is so in the cases of Sarvakāmabhairava:

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jaṭī bhasmaviliptāṅgaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ śūlakapālabhṛt | yoganidrāgatas tiṣṭhann ekapād bhairavo 'vatu |
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Paippalādavaśādisatkarmapaddhati 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].

Ekāksarabhairava:

kṛṣṇo bhasmaviliptāṅgo vimuktordhvajaṭāvrajaḥ | digambaro mahīṃ paśyan pratyakpravaṇamānasaḥ | dakṣiṇe karparaṃ vāme śūlam udyamya cāntare | puraḥ sann ekapāt pātu bhairavo mokṣadāyakaḥ |

Paippalādavaśādiṣaṭkarmapaddhati p. 96

1a kṛṣṇo em.: kṛṣṇa Ed. 1c mahīm corr.: mahim 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 STIETENCRON 2005a, pp. 12–13, 30; ESCHMANN, KULKE, AND TRIPATHI 2005, pp. 169–176, 178, 183; and PATTANAYAK 1988, p. 37. For the centrality of Nṛṣiṃha 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.) bhasmaliptaḥ mukta*kapardaḥ (em.: kardaḥ Cod.) *bahirdṛṣṭir (corr.: bahidṛṣṭir Cod.) api pratyakdrstih dakse karparam vāme śūlam dadhānah khe purah sann ekapād bhairavo dhyeyah.

and Astāksarabhairava:

kṛṣṇaṃ jaṭilaṃ bhasmaliptāṅgaṃ vāme śūlaṃ dakṣiṇe kapālaṃ dadhānaṃ yoga-dharaṃ ākāśe puraḥsthitam ekapādaṃ bhairavaṃ dhyāyet.

P₁, f. 74v3

1 kṛṣṇam corr.: kṛṣṇa 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), Śaśibhūṣaṇa (Somanātha) in that of Prabhāsa (Somanāth-Pattan in Surat), Mahākāla in that of Ujjain, Gaṇādhyakṣa in that of Bhūteśvara, and Hetukeśvara in that of Kotivarsa/Devīkotta:

uttare kalpayed devi nāmnā ekāmrakam śubham 112 aralukam tu samālikhya gadām vai prsthato nyaset tasyādhastā likhet padmam astapatram sakarnikam 113 bhairavam tatra cālikhya rudrāstakasamanvitam ekapādam mahāvīryam bhairavākārasamjñakam 114 bahi rudrāstakāc caiva mātaro vinyased budhah māheśvaryāditah krtvā paramātā na samśayah 115 pretārūdhā mahāvīryā ālikhen mantravikramāh kapālai raktasampūrnair antrasragdāmalambibhih 116 varadodyatahastās tu antrasragdāmabhūṣitāh mātrnām bāhyato devi yoginyaś ca likhed budhah 117 sumanā devakī caiva cakravegā mahāravā bhīmakī ratnagarbhā ca sad yoginyo yathākramam 118 dantikam lohajangham ca ūrdhvakeśam mahāmukham catvāro rākṣasām likhya śākinībhih samāvṛtām 119 kabandhāni likhed astau diksu caiva vidiksu 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 Mandala] he should make the splendid [cremation ground of] Ekāmra. [In it] he should draw an Aralu tree (Colosanthes 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 ('Onefooted'), 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 Rāksasas, namely Dantika, Lohajangha, 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 $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$ 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 Samkalpa 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, bahi rudrāṣṭakāc for bahī rudrāṣṭakāc in 114a, mātaro for mātr̄r in 114b, paramātā (\leftarrow paramātāḥ) for paramātr̄r in 114d, and rākṣasāṃ and samāvṛtāṃ 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 pṛthivyāṃ jambudvīpe bharatakhande bhāratavarse utkalapradeśe iha viśistabhūpradeśe ...; P_2 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 visualizationverses from which are found in P2. This text was the basis on which Lakṣmaṇadeśika composed his Śāradātilaka⁶⁷ and the latter is widely held to have been composed in Kashmir in the tenth century by Laksmanagupta, one of the Gurus of Abhinavagupta in the Śākta Śaiva tradition of the Trika, more particularly his teacher in the philosophical works composed by Laksmanagupta's teacher Utpaladeva.⁶⁸ But this attribution is patently false. It rests on the testimony of the Maharashtrian scholar Rāghavabhatta, 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 Śrīkantha, Vasugupta, Somānanda, Utpalācārya, Laksmana, Abhinavagupta, and Ksemarāja. But he has certainly done so in error, since apart from the fact that its Laksmana (= Laksmanagupta) 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 twentyfive of the Sāmkhya system) rather than the thirty-six of the Mantramārgic Saivism propagated by Utpaladeva and his successors. Moreover, it is almost certain that the undeclared source of the verse that Rāghavabhatta 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 Stietencron (2005a, p. 16) and Bühnemann (2000, p. 2).

⁶⁹ Śāradātilakapadārthādarśa pp. 916–917.

⁷⁰ Śāradātilakapadārthādarśa p. 12, ll. 18–20: tathā ca granthakrdgurupanktiḥ "śrīkanṭham *vasuguptam (em.: vasumantam Ed.) śrīsomānandam utpalācāryān" iti. "lakṣmaṇam abhinavaguptam vande śrīkṣemarājam ca" iti tacchiṣyāḥ 'The line of the author's teachers is [seen in the first half of the following verse:] "[I praise] Śrīkaṇṭha, 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 Anandakalpalatikā of Maheśvaratejānandanātha, and, in another variant, the Gurunāthaparāmarśa and Gurupanktistotra 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 Laksmana is lacking in the second of these variants and both Śrīkantha and Laksmana in the first. Evidently Rāghavabhatta is citing a further variant from one of these sources or a cognate that had written in Laksmana[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 Saiva nondualists, since Śrīkantha was not the Guru of Vasugupta, but rather the mythical Ādiguru, nor was Vasugupta the Guru of Somānanda, and Laksmanagupta is not known for any compositions but only as Abhinavagupta's teacher. It appears then that when Rāghavabhatta encountered this rewritten verse—it is unlikely that it was he that rewrote it—

 $^{^{71}}$ Ānandakalpalatikā, introductory verse 3: śrīkaṇṭhaṃ vasuguptaṃ śrīsomānandam utpalācāryam \mid abhinavaguptam nātham vande śrīksemarājam ca; Gurunāthaparāmarśa v. 2 and Gurupanktistotra v. 3: śrīvasuguptamahāgurusomānandaprabhūtpalācāryān | abhinavaguptaṃ nāthaṃ vande śrīkṣemarājaṃ ca. The verse following this in the Madras manuscripts of the Anandakalpalatikā and Gurupanktistotra reads śrīpādabhairavasvādunāyakodayadeśikāh | trayo yasya prasannā me suprasīdantu mādhurāh in the former and śrīvādijainavasvāmanāyakobhayadeśikāh | trayo 'pi me suprasīdantu pratyabhijñāpravartakāh in the latter. Both are evidently corrupt in the first line. Collating the two I propose tentatively that we should read śrīvādibhairavasvāmināyakodayadeśikāh. 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 *Īśvarapra*tyabhijñākārikā and its auto-commentaries -vṛtti and -vivṛti and by Abhinavagupta in his commentaries on the -kārikā and -vivṛti. Maheśvaratejānandanātha ends his introductory verses with obeisance to the three Gurus Sukhatīrtha, Candraśekhara, and Sangabhattāraka: śrīhṛdayacandrikāsvaprakāśikā*vimarśodayācāryān (conj.:vimarśobhayācāryān Cod.) | sukhatīrthacandraśekharasanga*bhattārakān (bhattārakān conj.: bhattārakam 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: Hrdayacandrikā, Svaprakāśikāvimarśa, and Udaya or perhaps Hrdayacandrikā, Svaprakāśikā, and Vimarśodaya, and that Vādibhairava, Svāmināyaka, and Udayācārya were birudas of Sukhatīrtha, Candraśekhara, and Sangabhattāraka. The verse of Maheśvaratejānandanātha's introduction that follows that which is parallel to Rāghavabhatta's seeks the favour of Krsnavāsa, which is surely a scribal error for Krsnadāsa, $v\bar{a}$ and $d\bar{a}$ being readily confused in the Grantha script of the Far South. We know a Krsnadāsa in this tradition, a scholar of Cidambaram who wrote the Śivasūtravārtika following Ksemarāja'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: śaktitrayaikaśarane parākramākrāntaviśvadikcakre | madhurāje mayi

he rashly jumped to the convenient conclusion that it provides the evidence of Laksmanadeśika's teaching lineage that is lacking in the Śaradatilaka 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 Vaisnava worship agrees closely with that seen in that region, being dominated by the cults of Nrsimha, Purusottama/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 Subhadrā. 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 Śaivacintāmani of Laksmīdharamiśra, an Oriya brahmin of the early eighteenth century, shows that the *Śāradātilaka* provides the model for the Śaiva worship followed in the Lingarāja of Bhubaneswar, Orissa's pre-eminent Śaiva temple; ⁷⁶ and we have seen that in the Śākta sphere there is a

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

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

⁷⁴See von Stietencron 2005c, p. 470.

 $^{^{75}}$ By von Stietencron (2005c, pp. 472–473).

⁷⁶Laksmīdharamiśra 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 Lingarāja temple), as the son of Rāmakṛṣṇa Agnihotrin, and the grandson of Pradyumna, describing the last as 'the moon to the ocean of the Kautsa Gotra' (kautsānvayābdhīnduh), 'a Śiva in human form' (śankaratanuḥ 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 *Śaivacintāmani*, pp. 3–6. Paṭala 6 of the Śaivacintāmaṇi, on Japa to be performed after the Pūjā, requires the worshipper to visualize the Ekāmravana (the site of the Lingarāja temple) with the Bindusarovara tank (bindūdbhavam saraḥ) at its centre (6.11–18). The Śaivism of the text draws on the Śāradātilaka extensively for its procedure (compare, for example, Śaivacintāmani 3.50c–54 with Śāradātilaka 18.15–18; and 3.72–81 with Śāradātilaka 18.7–13). Moreover, the Śaivacintāmani incorporates some of the Śāradātilaka's visualization-texts (2.83 = Śarādātilaka 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 Śaradātilaka 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 Tandisahasranāmastotra (5.60, 8.9). It also adheres in

striking congruence between its range of goddesses and those seen in our Orissan $\bar{A}\dot{n}girasakalpa$ texts. Moreover, manuscripts of the $\hat{S}\bar{a}rad\bar{a}tilaka$ 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 Purusottama. For the cult of this deity is evidenced in Orissa only from the late eleventh century and rose to pre-eminence only after the Ganga king Anantavarman Codagangadeva 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 Rāghavabhatta tells us that he completed his commentary on the Śāradātilaka in Samvat 1551 (AD 1494).⁷⁹ He refers to another commentary on the text, the Gūdhārthadīpikā of one Mādhavabhatta, 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 Vaisnavism reflects the stage of the Purusottama 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 Lingapurāna to the de-Āgamicized doctrine of the 26 Tattvas; see 6.32 (sadvimśatattvaparam ādyavasānahīnam; cf. 2.60). The splendid Lingarāja temple was built c. 1060 under the patronage of the kings of the Śaiva Somavamśin dynasty, by whom the Śiva of this temple, Kṛttivāsa, was elevated to the status of the state deity (rāstradevatā), 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 Ksetras treated in the śivāyatanavarnanam of the Ur-Skandapurāna, 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). Krttivāsa is also identified as the Śiva of Ekāmra in the early Śākta Niśisamcāra, f. 31r2 (9.15–16a), here too with the variant Kīrtivāsa: *ekāmre samsthito devi kīrtivāseti kīrtitaḥ | cāmuṇḍayā samāyuktaḥ sthānapālasamanvitaḥ | atha mantram pravaksyāmi kīrtivāsasya suvrate (corr.:ekātye samsthitā devi kīrttivāteti kīrttitā cāmundāyā samāyuktam sthānabalisamanvitam | atha mantram pravaksyāmi kīrttisamyaksa suvrate Cod.); see also the Pītha-hymn of the Kubjikāmata, verses in some manuscripts after 22.46, ll. 9-10: krttivāsasamopetām cāmundām mundadhārinīm | *ekāmrasamsthitām (ekāmra corr. : ekaika Codd.) devīm namāmi śubhakārinīm.

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.

 $^{^{78}}$ See von Stietencron 2005a, p. 28.

⁷⁹Śāradātilakapadārthādarśa 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 Āṅgirasa corpus listed above go back in their content if not in their current textual form to a period before the *Prapañcasāra*. For it is striking that these materials, for all their emphasis on Vaisnava devotion, make no reference to Purusottama/Jagannātha but exhibit an intense concentration on Nṛṣimha. It is likely, therefore, that they reflect a time before Purusottama had supplanted that god as the primary focus of Oriya Vaisnavism.⁸¹ It might be suggested against this inference that the lack of Purusottama and the foregrounding of Nrsimha may simply be the consequence of the fact that these materials are concerned with hostile ritual, for which Nrsimha rather than Purusottama was the appropriate deity. But this objection would be unconvincing, if we may judge from the treatments of the propitiation of Purusottama 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 (uccāṭanam) or dissension (vidveṣanam) among them;82 and the latter when prescribing the fire sacrifices to Purusottama includes one that will bring about the subjection of all kings.⁸³ It is, then, at least probable that the bulk of the $\bar{A}\dot{n}girasa$ materials seen here goes back to a period before the dominance of the cult of Purusottama that flowed from the patronage of Anantavarman Codagangadeva 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 Paippaladins will have created the bulk of their $\bar{A}\dot{n}girasa$ 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.

^{**8\$}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 sarvastrīhradayavidāraṇa tribhuvanamadonmādakara surāsuramanujasundarījanamanāṃsi tāpaya 2 dīpaya 2 śoṣaya 2 māraya 2 stambhaya 2 mohaya 2 drāvaya 2 ākarṣaya 2 samastaparamasubhaga sarvasaubhāgyakara sarvakāmaprada amukaṃ hana 2 cakreṇa gadayā khapgena sarvabāṇair bhinda 2 pāśena kaṭṭa 2 ankuśena tāṇaya 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. vaśyākarṣaṇakrūrakarmādiṣu puṣpāñjalyarthaṃ jānīyād ity arthaḥ. ... ājñāpadānām upari huṃ phaḍ iti prayoktavyam 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 been seen in \$\bar{A}\tilde{n}girasa\$ 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 (\$\bar{A}\tilde{n}girasakalpa\$) 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 Nṛṣiṃha and Gaṇeśa;\(^{87}\) and manuscript T/48(e) (\$\bar{A}\tilde{n}girasakalpa\$) 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 Ṣoḍaśī (Tripurasundarī), Bhairavī (Tripurasundarī),

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 *karmasiddhipratisāravidhi* 168; 316 *parakarmanirarthakavidhi* 169; 317 *abhayanrsimhavidhi* 170; 318 *aindrābhayamantravidhi* 170; 319 *dakṣiṇakālīmantravidhi* 171; 320 *punaś ca nṛṣiṃhamantrena sāmagāyanavidhi* 172; 321 āṅgirasakalpe gaṇeśamantravidhi 181; 322 saubhāgyakāṇḍe dakṣiṇakālīmantravidhi 182; 324 *punaś ca kālīyantravidhi* 182; 325 *punar dakṣiṇakālīyantravidhi* 180; āṅgirasakalpe mahācakrayantravidhi 182; 326 ākramacakravidhi 182; 327 dakṣiṇakālīyantravidhi 182; 328 dakṣiṇakālīyantradevatāvidhi 182; 329 vakratuṇḍamantravidhi 182; 330 paravidyānivāraṇayantravidhi 182; 331 gopālāṣṭadaśākṣaramantravidhi 182; 332 punar vṛṣṭikāmavidhi 183; 333 mantrarājajapavidhi 183; 334 pātālanṛṣiṃhamantravidhi 184; 335 mūṣalanṛṣiṃhamantravidhi 187; 336 pātālanṛṣiṃhaṣya māhātmyavidhi; 338 sahasrākṣanṛṣiṃhamantravidhi 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) Nīlasarasvatībhaktakulasarvasvasahasranāmastotra (Tārā); (2) the Ekajaṭāstotrarāja said to have been proclaimed by Brahmā and assigned to the Brahmayāmala (Tārā); (3) the Tārāstotra of the Nīlatantra (Tārā); (4) the Trailokyamohana of the Tārākalpa of the Bhairavatantra (Tārā); (5) the Karpūrastotra of the Pheṭkāriṇītantra, said to have been composed by Mahākāla (I presume this to be the well-known hymn to Dakṣiṇa-

bhairavī), Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī, Bagalāmukhī, Mātaṅgī, and Kamalā,⁸⁹ of whom Dakṣṇakālī 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 DON-ALDSON to the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.⁹⁰ The same scholar reports that the majority of Orissan images of Dakṣṇakālī 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 been 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 \bar{A} gamic sources on which the Orissan Paippalādins drew for the creation of their \bar{A} \dot{n} girasa 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 *Pheṭkārinītantra*); (6) the *Mahogratārājanmaprakaraṇastotra* of the *Kubjikātantra* said to be the second Kalpa of the *Rudra-yāmalamahātantra* (Tārā); (7) the *Nityapūjānirṇaya* from the *Tārārahasya* of the Śaṅkarācārya of Gauḍa (*gauḍabhūminivāsiśrīśankarācārya*-) (Tārā); (8) the first *Pariccheda* of the *Tārāpaddhati* of Dāmodara (Tārā); (9) the *Tārinīkalpa* (Tārā); (10) the *Vakratuṇḍamahāmanukalpa*; (11) the *Gaṇeśa-prakaraṇopākhyāna* of the *Śāmbhavītantra*; (12) the *Gaṇeśastavarāja* of the *Brahmavaivarta*; and (13) the *Bhuvaneśvarīkalpa* of the *Sammohanatantra* (Bhuvaneśvarī).

⁸⁹Muṇḍamālātantra B 1.7–8: kālī tārā mahāvidyā ṣoḍaśī bhuvaneśvarī | bhairavī chinnamastā ca vidyā dhūmāvatī tathā | bagalāmukhī siddhavidyā mātaṅgī 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 Jāānadvīpa, a text with the form of scripture, that teaches the creation of Mahākālī (= Dakṣiṇakālī), Tāriṇī (= 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 *Parātriṃśikā*, 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 (*ślokavārttikam*) on the *Mālinīvijayottara* but extending far beyond this text in its range, and an elaborate prose commentary (*-vivaraṇa*) on the *Parātrīśikā*, both works by Abhinavagupta, the distinguished Kashmirian scholar of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. From the Tamil South we have a few works in the tradition of the *Parātrīśikā*, notably the *Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti*, the *Parātrīśikātātapayadīpikā*, 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., *Sarvollāsatantra*, *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 *Mokṣadharma* 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 *Lingapurāṇa* see SANDERSON 2005b, p. 235, n. 10 and *Lingapurāṇa*, *Uttarabhāga* 9.15c–16, 26; 14.32–33 (33ab: *pañcaviṃśatitattvātmā pañcabrahmātmakaḥ śivaḥ*); 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) Mātaṅgī (/Śyāmā), her general (daṇḍanāyikā) Vārāhī (Vārtālī), and the Trika's Parā, the last venerated as her heart (hṛdayam). 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.

In the Kālīkula the principal early scripture is the <code>Jayadrathayāmala</code>, also known as the <code>Tantrarāja[bhaṭṭāraka]</code>, 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. A number of shorter works teach the essentialized form of the Kālīkula known as the Krama, notably the <code>Kālīkulakramasadbhāva</code> (<code>/Kramasad-bhāva</code>), the <code>Kālīkulapañcaśataka</code> (<code>/Devīpañcaśataka</code>), and the <code>Devīdvyardhaśatikā</code>. 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 <code>Cidgaganacandrikā</code> of Śrīvatsa and the <code>Mahārthamañja-rī</code> of Maheśvarānanda with its auto-commentary (<code>-parimala</code>) composed in the South of India.

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 *Parātrīṣikālaghuvrtti* to Abhinavagupta, the author of the *Parātriṃṣikāvivaraṇa*, is correct. The redactions of the scriptural text in the two commentaries differ, the commentaries themselves diverge on many points, and the *Laghuvrtti* 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 *Āṅgirasa*, which is found in the text common to the Asimilā 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 *Āṅgirasakalpa* 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 (yogah) and final liberation (moksah).⁹⁸ At its beginning Pippalāda says to his teacher Angiras 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. Angiras then teaches him the rite of SAUH, the Trika's core Mantra, 99 describing it as the great Mantra-syllable for liberation that denotes the Sakti Parā, the power of Siva on which Siva himself meditates with devotion:

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pippalāda uvāca:

1 bhagavan sarvamantrāṇāṃ vidhānaṃ kathitaṃ tvayā |
muktihetur mahāmantro na kaścit pratipāditaḥ |

2 karmamārge praviṣṭo 'haṃ kathaṃ muktiṃ vrajāmy aham |
aṅgirā uvāca:
sādhu pṛcchasi māṃ śiṣya kṛpayā te vadāmy aham |

3 muktyartho 'sti mahāmantraḥ parāśaktyabhidhāyakaḥ |
cicchaktir ekā jīvānāṃ mokṣadānakṛtavratā |

4 tasmāt tāṃ samupāsyaiva muktiṃ yānti prasādhakāḥ |
cidrūpasya śivasyeyam parā śaktir nigadyate |
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 $^{^{98}}$ The only other Vidhis in the corpus that are presented as means of attaining meditative absorption and liberation are the brief sections on the rites of the Bhairavas Vijñānabhairava, Ekākṣarabhairava, Aṣṭākṣarabhairava, and Sarvakāmabhairava, though the first is also said to be a means by which the king may expiate the sin incurred by engaging in the hostile sorcery that is the primary concern of the $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$ and the fourth is also, as the name implies, considered to be a means of attaining any desired goal. See above, pp. 213 (Vijñānabhairava), 215 (Sarvakāmabhairava), 215 (Ekākṣarabhairava), 220 (Vijñānabhairava), 220 (Ekākṣarabhairava), and 220 (Aṣṭākṣarabhairava). In P_2 these rites of the Bhairavas (but without Sarvakāmabhairava) are grouped together immediately before the Parājapavidhi, silently forming with that a section devoted to liberation. In P_1 (and Ed P) this grouping is absent.

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

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

1a sarvamaṃtrāṇāṃ P₁ T/121 T/187: sarvadharmāṇāṃ As Ed^P 1d kaścit As P₁ T/187: kaści T/121 2b muktiṃ As P₁ T/187: mukti T/121 2c prcchasi As T/121: prcchati P₁ T/187 2d te vadāmy aham As T/187: te dadāmy aham P₁ T/121 3a muktyartho As T/121: muktārtho P₁ 3d parāśaktyabhidhāyakaḥ Ed^P: paraśaktyabhidhāyakaḥ As: parāśaktividhānakaḥ P₁^{ac}: paraśaktividhāyakaḥ P₁^{pc}: parasatvābhidhāyaḥ 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 mokṣadānakrtavratā P₁ T/121 T/187: mokṣādānakrtavratāḥ 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.: yanmantram anupāsyāmi T/121: yamantram anupaśyāmi T/187: yaṃ maṃtran anupaśyā P₁: yaṃ mantram anūpāśyāmā As: yaṃ mantraṃ samupāsya mā Ed^P 5d mriyante 'bjāsanādayaḥ As Ed^P T/121: miyatejāsanādayaḥ P₁: mriyatejāsanādayaḥ T/187 6a taṃ mantraṃ corr.: tanmantraṃ 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?

Aṅgiras 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. 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 $Par\bar{a}tr\bar{i}sik\bar{a}$, except that it assimilates this to the model of the other $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$ Mantra rites by incorporating such features as the $vy\bar{a}pakany\bar{a}sah$ and the specification of a Rsi and the rest. It ends, should there

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

be any doubt as to its source, with the unacknowledged incorporation of six verses of the *Parātrīśikā* as its verses 32–37.¹⁰¹ The preliminaries:

pippalāda uvāca: saptavimśatidhā tasyoccārane prānasamyamah 7 padmāsanagato mantrī namaskuryāt svam āsanam | aim hrīm śrīm samuccārya kulapadmāsanam namet 8 tathoddiyānapītham ca pranamen mantravittamah tatah param sivam devam pranamya svagurum namet 9 ganeśvaram ksetrapālam durgām sarasvatīm tathā | brahmānam ca namaskrtya vighnaśāntyartham ācaret 10 mūlādhāre sakārena tālatrayam samācaret | uttarottaravrddhyā tu kuryāt tālatrayam budhah 11 aukārena hrdi brahmarandhre kuryād visargakaih amībhir navabhis tālair bhūmyādivighnavāranam 12 dhrtvā vāmena hastena daksinam caranam budhah sakāroccāranaih prthvīm hanyād vighnanivrttaye 13 aukāreņa punaḥ kuryāt tālatrayam atandritaḥ | visargoccāranaih krūradrstim ākāśatah ksipet 14 pātālabhūminabhasām vighnāh sarve nirākṛtāh | antastālā bahistālā dvidhāmī parikīrtitāh 15 hṛdy antaryajanaṃ kuryād devatāyāś ca sādaram | bhūtaśuddhim prakurvīta mantram uccārayan sudhīh 16 mūlādibrahmarandhrāntam mūlena dahanātmanā samsārapāśadāhārtham bhāvayed dahanam manum 17 brahmarandhrādimūlāntam bhāvayet plāvanātmakam

6cd saptavimśatidhā tasyoccāraṇe conj.:saptavimśativārasyoccāraṇe T/121:saptavimśativāras\(y\)ovāraṇe T/187:saptavimśativārasyoddhāraṇe P1:saptavimsativāra syo gharaṇe As:saptaviśativāro ghoreṇa EdP 7b namaskuryāt As EdP P1 T/187:namaskṛrtyā T/121 • svam āsanam P1 T/121 T/187:svam āśanam As:svamānasam EdP 7c aiṃ hrīṃ śrīṃ P1 T/121:aiṃ krīṃ grā As:aiṃ klīṃ śrīṃ EdP:aindrīṃ śrīṃ T/187 7d kula As P1 T/121 T/187:kṛta EdP • namet As P1 T/121 T/187:nayet EdP 8a tathoddiyāṇapīṭhaṃ ca conj.:tathoti āṇapīṭhaṃ ca T/121:tatottrikṣāṇapāṭhaṃ ca As (yā and kṣā are readily confused in the Oriya script):tatas triḥkṣīṇapāṭhaṃ ca EdP:tathoktvā yogapīṭhaṃ ca P1 T/187 9c brahmāṇaṃ P1 EdP T/187:brahmaṇaṃ As T/121 • namaskṛtya P1 As EdP T/187:namaskṛtyā T/121 9d śāntyartham P1 As EdP T/121:śāntyadvam T/187 10a sakāreṇa As EdP T/121:svalāreṇa P1 T/187 10c vṛddhyā As EdP:buddhyā T/121:vṛddhiṃ P1:vṛddhaṃ T/187 11a aukāreṇa As T/187:aikāreṇa P1 T/121 11d bhūmyādivighnavāraṇam T/121:bhūmyā vighnanivāraṇam P1 As EdP T/187 12a vāmena P1 As T/187:vāma T/121 • hastena P1 T/121 T/187:haste As 12d hanyād P1 As T/187:janyād T/121 • nivṛttaye P1 T/121 T/187:nivṛttayet As 13a

¹⁰¹These are the verses numbered 12–18b in the KSTS edition of the *Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti*, which takes 17 to consist of a half-verse, and 12c–18b in the editions of the *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa* of Abhinavagupta.

aukāreṇa As T/187: aikāreṇa P_1 T/121 **13b** ataṃdritaḥ P_1 T/187: atantritaḥ As T/121 **13cd** dṛṣṭim P_1 As T/187: dṛṣṭam T/121 **14a** nabhasāṃ P_1 As T/187: nirasāṃ T/121 **14c** antastālā P_1 As T/187: antastālār T/121 **14d** dvidhāmī As T/187: dvidhāmi T/121: dvidhāḥ P_1 **15a** hṛdy antaryajanaṃ P_1 T/187: hṛdantaryajanaṃ T/121: hṛdyaṃ tu taryanaṃ As: hṛdyaṃ tu taryanaṃ Ed P : hṛdi tu tarpaṇaṃ conj. Paṇṇā **15b** devatāyāś P_1 As T/121: devateyāś T/187 **15c** bhūtaśuddhiṃ T/121 T/187: bhūmiśuddhiṃ P_1 As \bullet prakurvīta P_1 Ed P T/121 T/187: prakūvīta As \bullet dahanātmanā As Ed P T/121 T/187: hṛ*anātmanā P_1 **16c** pāśadāhārthaṃ P_1 T/121 T/187: pāśahatvārthaṃ As: pāśanāśārthaṃ Ed P **16d** bhāvayed dahanaṃ As Ed P T/187: bhāvayed danaṃ P_1 : bhāvadehananaṃ T/121 **17b** bhāvayet plāvanātmakam conj.: bhāvayet plavanātmakam T/121: bhāvayet pavanātmakam P_1 As Ed P T/187

Pippalāda said: (6c–8) He should restrain his breathing twenty-seven times while repeating this [Seed]. 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*). The best of Mantrins should bow to the Pīṭha *Oḍḍiyāna (*conj*.). (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: <code>soḍaśavāram ā-vṛttena mūlena pūrakaṃ catuḥṣaṣṭivāram āvṛttena kumbhakaṃ dvātriṃśadvāram āvṛttena recakam iti viṃśatidhā soḍaśadhā saptadhā tridhā vā prāṇān āyamya '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 <code>Parātrīśikā</code> 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).</code>

 103 I surmise that this means that one should consecrate one's seat with the Mantra AIM HRĪM ŚRĪM KULAPADMĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ or, considering parallels and the possibility that padmāsanam is for the metre, AIM HRĪM ŚRĪM KULAKAMALĀSANĀYA NAMAH. Cf. Parāpaddhati, p. 191: svāstīrne ūrnāmrduni śucini mūlena dvādaśavāram abhimantrite sakrt proksite cāsane SAUH ĀDHĀ-RAŚAKTIKAMALĀSANĀYA NAMAḤ iti prānmukha udanmukho vā padmasvastikādyanyatamenāsanenopaviśya; Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, Śyāmākrama, p. 193: yāgagrham praviśyāsane ĀDHĀRAŚAKTIKA-MALĀSANĀYA NAMAH ity upaviśya. I have opted for reading of the seed-syllables given in P_1 and T/121 (AIM HRĪM ŚRĪM), because these are the tritārī 'the set of three Pranavas' 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): sarvesām mantrāṇām ādau tritārīsamyogah. tritārī vānmāyākamalāh '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 (vānmāyākamalāh) as follows (p. 92): vāk sabindur dvādašasvarah. $m\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ turīyosmasahitadvitīyāntasthottara $\langle h \rangle$ sabindus turyasvarah. $kamal\bar{a}$ prathamosmasahitadvitīyāntahsthopari 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 (antahsthāh) together with the fourth of the fricatives (*ūsmānah*) (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

Ganeśa, the Ksetrapāla, Durgā, and Sarasvatī. 105 (9c–10) After bowing to Brahmā [as the Lord of the shrine (vāstvadhipatih)] he should act to eliminate the Impeders. With SA he should clap thrice at [the level of his] Mūlādhāra. The learned [worshipper] should make each subsequent clap of the three louder than that which it follows. (11ab) He should do [the same] with AU at [the level of his] heart and with [three] AHs 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 AH 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 *Parājapavidhi* 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 yogapīṭhaṃ 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 YOGAPĪṭḤĀYA NAMAḤ, thus beginning SAUḤ PṝṭḤIVṬYOGAPṬṭḤĀYA NAMAḤ and ending SAUḤ ŚIVAYOGAPṬṭḤĀYA 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 YogapṬṭha while naming the Tattvas'.

¹⁰⁵I am not aware of an exact parallel to this obeisance to Ganesa, the Ksetrapāla, 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 (= Ksetrapāla) at the base of the left, and Lambodara (= Ganeśa) above the door: dvārasya dakşavāmaśākhayor ūrdhvabhāge ca krameņa SAUḤ BHADRAKĀLYAI NAMAḤ BHAIRAVĀYA LAM-BODARĀYA NAMAḤ iti tisro dvāradevatāḥ sampūjyāntaḥ pravistaḥ; see also Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, Gananāyakapaddhati, Sūtra 4. A similar cluster of door-deities is prescribed in Śāradātilaka 4.6d–7. There one is instructed to worship Ganeśa, Mahālakṣmī, and Sarasvatī on the lintel, and Ganeśa and the Ksetrapāla at the bases of the right and left doorposts. A closer parallel is seen in the practice of some, as reported by Rāghavabhatta on this passage, according to which one worships Durgā rather than Ganeśa at the base of the right doorpost. That passage also requires one to worship Gangā and Yamunā flanking the two deities of the doorposts and Astra on the door-sill. The Parājapavidhi'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 *Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti*, p. 20 on 28ab (*tālatrayaṃ purā dattvā saśabdaṃ vighnaśāntaye*): purā pūrvam tālatrayam hrdbījakalātrayaviśrāntitrayarūpam vaikharīśabdaparyantam 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 Rṣi, metre, deity, Seed, Śakti, application, and installation (nyāsaḥ) of the Mantra:

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

no dadyāt. tatsvīkārakam svātmānam vighnānām caturandagatabhedābhimānasamkalpānām śāntaye bahir antaś ca *vāmapārsnihastamukhaśabdakramena (vāmapārsni corr. [cf. Parākrama, 8: vāmapārsnighātaih; Parāpaddhati, p. 191: vāmapārsnibhūtala-; Anuttarasamvidarcanācarcā, p. 9: pārsnihastamukhaih]: pādapāni Ed.) pātālabhūmyantariksagatabhedavighnaśamanāya 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 [SAUH], descending [through Pasyantī, 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 Parātrīśikātātparyadīpikā 377–381: vācah parāyā vaktyartharūpāyā hrdayātmanah | vivaksādhyavasoktyātmapaśyantyādikramātmanah | parādiśaktirūpena prasarattritvasūcakam | mātrmānārthasadbhāvavācyāmśatritayātmakam | hrdayam bhairavīyam tad ātmatvenāvadhārayan | *tadamśāntarupāmśūccaihśabdanakramalaksanam (tadamśā em.: tadamśo Ed.) | śaktyādicaturandodyatpātālaksmāntariksagān | sarvān śamayitum vighnān bhedataddhīmayān vibhūn | tālatrayam pārsnihastamukhaśabdanam *ācaret (em.: ācaran Ed.) | svīkurvan mātṛmā*meyatrayasadbhāvalakṣaṇam (meya em.:pīya Ed.); and Anuttarasamvidarcanācarcā, pp. 8-9: śaktyādyandacatustayārabdhapātālaprthivyantariksātmakatrailokyavisayabhedābhimānasamkalpātmakavighnanirāsāya *vivaksādhyavasāyoktirūpapaśyantīmadhyamāvaikharyātmakavāgvrttitrayena (vivaksādhyavasāyoktirūpapaśyantīmadhyamāvaikharyātmaka- em.: vivaksādhyavasāyoktirüpā paśyantīmadhyamā vaikharyātmaka- Cod.) pramānaprameyavimarśānām samyojanatayā pārṣṇihastamukhaiḥ śabdanam tālatrayasvīkaraṇam. The four spheres (caturaṇḍa-) mentioned in these passages are those beginning with the śaktyaṇḍam taught in Mālinīvijayottara 2.49.

107 For this incineration (dahanam) and inundation with nectar ([ā]plāvanam) cf. Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, Śrīkrama 11: vāyvagnisalilavarṇayukprāṇāyāmaiḥ śoṣaṇaṃ saṃdahanam āplāvanaṃ 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., Mrgendrapaddhativyākhyā, p. 77: huṃphaḍantena mantreṇa *dahanaṃ (em.: daharaṃ Cod.) krtvā vauṣaḍantamūlena śāktatvasaṃpādanāya āplāvanaṃ ca krtvā 'Having burnt away [the body] with the Mantra followed by HUM PHAT, 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 smrtah | bindumastakasambhinnah.

mantrī kuryāt ṣaḍ aṅgāni prakārāntaram ucyate |
20 tribhir varṇair dvir uktair vā saccidānandalakṣaṇaiḥ |
prakurvīta ṣaḍ aṅgāni tataḥ pratyakṣaraṃ nyaset |
21 mastake caiva jihvāyāṃ hṛdaye guhyake tathā |
sarvāṅge ca pañca pañca nyāsān kuryān mahāmanoḥ |
22 saptaviṃśativāraṃ ca śikhāyāṃ vinyasen manum |
mastakād dhṛdayaṃ yāvat sakāraṃ vinyased dvijaḥ |
23 hṛdayān nābhiparyantam aukāraṃ ca pravinyaset |
nābheś caraṇaparyantaṃ visargaṃ ca pravinyaset |
24 bhūyo 'dhaḥkramato 'py evaṃ mantrī pratyakṣaraṃ nyaset |
sarvena vyāpakam nyāsam mantrī pūrvavad ācaret |

17c ṛṣiḥ syād T/187:ruṣiḥ syād P₁ As:ṛṣisyā T/121 • dakṣiṇā P₁:dakṣiṣā As 17d triṣṭup P₁ EdP T/121 T/187:triṣṭap As 18a syāt As EdP T/187:syāḥ P₁ T/121 18b sakāro As T/121 T/187:sākāro P₁ 18c auḥ EdP:au As T/187:ai P₁ T/121 • śaktir P₁ T/121 T/187 EdP:śaktar As • siddhyarthe P₁ T/121 T/187 EdP:sadhvarthe As 19a ṣaḍbhir T/121 T/187:ṣadbhir P₁:padbhir As EdP • ca saṃyuktaiḥ As T/121 T/187:ca yuktaiś ca P₁ 19b sakārair ūrdhvabindukaiḥ As T/187:sakārair urddhvabiṃdukaiḥ P₁pc:sakārairḍdhakindukaiḥ As T/121:sakārair ūrddhvabiṃdubhiḥ P₁ac:sakārairḍdhakindukaiḥ As T/121 20a tribhir conj.:ebhir Codd. • varṇair As P₁ T/187:varṇṇai T/121 20c prakurvīta P₁ T/121 T/187:prakuvīta As 21a caiva jihvāyaṃ P₁ EdP T/121 T/187:vaiva jijñāyāṃ As 21c sarvānge ca conj.:sarvāngeṇa Codd. 21d nyāsān As P₁ T/187:nyāsaṃ T/121 • mahāmanoḥ conj.:mahāmanuṃ Codd. 22c mastakād dhṛdayaṃ yāvat P₁ As T/187:mastakāt hṛdayā jāvat T/121 22d vinyased dvijaḥ P₁ As:vinyasedvijah T/121:vinyased budhah T/187 23b aukāram As T/121 T/187:aikāram P₁

(17c–18) The Rṣi [of the Mantra] is Dakṣiṇāmūrti; 108 [its] metre is said to be the Triṣṭubh; its deity is Parāśakti; [its] Seed ($b\bar{\imath}jam$) is held to be SA ($sak\bar{a}rah$); [its] Śakti is AUḤ; and [its] application (viniyogah) has been declared [to be] "for the success of meditation" (yogasiddhyarthe). (19abc) Moreover, the Mantrin should form the six ancillary Mantras (sad $ang\bar{a}ni$) with [six] S[A]-s combined with the six long vowels [Ā Ī Ū AI AU AḤ] and M above [all except the last]. 109 (19d–20) I shall teach an alternative. He has the option of form-

¹⁰⁸ This choice was probably motivated by the thought that the form of Śiva known as Dakṣiṇāmūrti 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 expositor 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 Rauravāgama, vol. 2, p. 120: *savyahastaś (corr.: savyahastaṃ Ed.) ca mudrayā | saṃdaṃśasaṃjñayopeto *vāmahastaḥ sapustakaḥ (conj.: vāmahastasthapustakaḥ Ed.) 'His right hand has the pincers gesture (saṃdaṃśamudrā) 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: hṛdaye jñānamudrā tu hy abhyantaramukhaṃ karam.

¹⁰⁹Thus the modifications of the root-Mantra that form its six Ancillaries are SĀM [HRDAYĀYA NAMAH], SĪM [ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ], SŪM [ŚIKHĀYAI VASAT], SAIM [KAVACĀYA HUM], SAUM [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 VAUṢĀṬ], and SĀḤ [ASTRĀYA PHAṬ]. Cf. the *Parāmantravidhi* edited below, ll. 2–3, and *Tantrāloka* 30.36cd: *sakāro dīrghaṣaṭkena yukto 'ngāni; 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 *Prapaācasāra* (6.6), the *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra* 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. Śāktapramoda, p. 8), and our *Āngirasakalpa* 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 huṃ vaṣaṭ phat ca jātayah* | *angesu kramaśah satsu*).

¹¹⁰This is derived from *Parātrīśikā* 26c–27a: *mūrdhni vaktre ca hrdaye guhye mūrtau tathaiva ca* nyāsam krtvā. The Parāpaddhati prescribes this installation as follows (p. 192): tejorūpadevīmayam bhāvayann ātmānaṃ muhur āvṛttena SAUḤ NAMAḤ iti namontena mūlena śiromukhahṛnmūlādhāreṣu nyāsam vidhāya sarvānge ca vyāpakam krtvā ... '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 NAMAH, i.e. SAUH NAMAH'. 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: drśyamānāh śarīre 'tra svakīye satatoditāh | ātmano bhairavīyasya hrdayāmrtavāridheh | cidānandaisanājñānakriyākhyāh spandasampadah | vimrśya hrdaye 'traiva sarvatattvamaye nije | bhāti dehatayā *kāsyahṛdguhyānghridvayātmatā (kāsya em.: kārya Ed.) | pañcakrtvo *nyased bījam tesu sthānesu 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 [SAUH] five times on each of these five locations'.

¹¹¹For this element see *Parātrīśikā* 27ab: *nyāsaṃ krtvā śikhāṃ baddhvā saptaviṃśatimantritām*; and *Parākrama*, Sūtra 10: ... saptaviṃśatiśo 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 $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$ corpus.

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

The visualization (*dhyānam*):

25 tato dhyāyen mahādevīm sākṣān muktipradāyinīm | akalankaśaśānkābhā tryakṣā candrakalāvatī | 26 mudrāpustalasadbāhuḥ pātu mām īśvarī parā | dhyātvā devīm dhenumudrām yonimudrām ca darśayet | 27 śuklām vā śuklavasanām pīnonnatapayodharām | varābhayakarām devīm trinetrām candraśekharām | 28 sarvālamkāradīptāngīm padmāsanagatām parām | śaktisthāne 'thavākāśe moksārthī pravicintayet |

25a mahādevīṃ As T/121 T/187: mahāmaṃtraṃ devīṃ P_1 25b pradāyinīm As P_1 : pradāyinī T/121 T/187 • sākṣān P_1 T/121 T/187: sākṣyā As 25d candrakalāvatī P_1 T/121 T/187: ca candrakāvatī As 26a mudrāpustalasadbāhuḥ em.: mudrāpustanasadbāhuḥ T/121: mutāpustalasadbāhuḥ P_1 : sutāpustalasadbāhuḥ P_1 : sūtrāpustalasadbāhuḥ P_2 : sūtrāpustalasadbāhuḥ P_2 : sūtrāpustalasadbāhuḥ P_3 : sūtrāp

(2) aṅganyāsaḥ, (3) śikhānyāsaḥ, (4) pratyakṣaranyāsaḥ, and (5) vyāpakanyāsaḥ. This interpretation assumes that 20d (tataḥ pratyakṣaraṃ 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 (prakārāntaram) for the installation of the six Ancillaries given here is that prescribed by the Parākrama (Sūtra 14): bhrgucaturdaśasodaśadvirāvrttyā varnasadangam ... 'The six Ancillaries of the individual sounds are formed by repeating Bhrgu, the fourteenth, and the sixteenth twice'. Rāmeśvara explains: bhrguh sakārah. caturdaśa aukārah. sodaśo visargah. etesām pratyekam dvirāvrttyā hrdayādisadangam kuryāt. *iti (em.: atha Ed.) binduyogaś ca *śiṣṭasaṃpradāyāt. mantrasvarūpam*: SAM HŖDAYĀYA NAMAḤ AUM ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ AḤ ŚIKHĀYAI VASAT visargasya kevalasyānuccāryatvāt. evam agre 'pi 'Bhrgu is SA, the fourteenth is AU, and the sixteenth is AH. 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 SAUH]. Moreover, one must add M [to SA and AU], because such is the tradition of the learned. The form of the Mantras is as follows: SAM HRDAYĀYA NAMAḤ, AUM ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ, AH ŚIKHĀYAI VASAT—[AH,] because H on its own is unpronouncable—and so on'. The immediately preceding Sūtra rules that all the Mantras of the Parākrama should begin with the sounds SAUH (13: sarve 'pi parākramamanavah sauhvarnapūrvāh kāryāh), and the Parāpaddhati applies this to the varnasadanganyāsah. It also goes against the view seen in Rāmeśvara's commentary by teaching that the constituent sounds should be S, AU, and H, stating that the last should be on its own and not preceded by A. Thus (p. 192): SAUH S HRDAYĀYA NAMAH SAUH AU ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ SAŪH H ŚIKHĀYAI VASAT SAUH S KAVACĀYA HUM SAUH AU NETRATRAYĀYA VAUSAT SAUH H ASTRĀYA PHAT iti mūlamantrāvayavair dvir āvrttair varnasadangam. The order of installations in the *Parājapavidhi* differs from that taught in the South Indian texts. The *Parākrama* teaches first the aṅganyāsah on the five locations (Sūtra 9), then the śikhānyāsah (Sūtra 10), then the varnaşadanganyāsah with the parts of the Mantra, and finally the mantraṣaḍanganyāsaḥ with the whole Mantra (Sūtra 14). The Parāpaddhati (p. 192) teaches the same order, except that it omits the śikhānyāsah.

(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. (27–28) Alternatively one who seeks liberation should visualize the goddess Parā in the site of Śakti [above the cranial aperture] (śaktisthāne) or in the sky, white, dressed in white, with

 $^{114}\mathrm{No}$ such visualization is found in the Kashmirian sources of the Trika, but it is standard in the South Indian sources of the Parākrama, and appears there in the form of this verse or a variant of it. We see it in the Parātrīśikātātparyadīpikā (v. 2), the Anuttarasaṇvidarcanācarcā (v. 1) both with the variant mudrāpustalasadbāhā pātu vaḥ paramā kalā as the second line, the Gurupāramparyaprakāra: *akalankaśaśānkābhā (śaśānkābhā em.:śivānkābhā Cod.) *tryaksā (em.:aksā Cod.) candrakalāvatī | mudrāpustalasadbāhā pātu mām varakomalā | svarnanirmalavarnāngī †mūlamāyavarūthinī† | brahmendumandalārūdhā saccidānandamātṛkā; Parākrama 20 and Parāpaddhati, p. 193, both with mudrāpustalasadbāhuh pātu mām paramā kalā as the second line; and Prayogakramadīpikā on Prapañcasāra 9.28 (which teaches the Japa of SAUH as the śāktam bījam, the last of the three Seeds of the Mantra of Bālā Tripurasundarī [AIM KLIM SAUH], kevalaśāktajapah, for the attainment of eloquence), giving this as the visualization appropriate in the case of those who worship for liberation alone (niskāmavisaye): akalankaśaśānkābhām tryaksām candrakalāvatīm | mudrāpustalasadbāhām muktāmanivibhūṣitām. The same iconography is given in vv. 4-6 of the Parāstuti of Sahajānandayogin incorporated in the Parāpaddhati (p. 196): mauktikamaṇigaṇarucirāṃ śaśāṅkanirmokanirmalam ksaumam | nivasānām parameśīm namāmi sauvarnaputāntahsthām | 5 bhaktajanabhedabhañjanacinmudrākalitadakṣinapāṇitalām | pūrṇāhaṃtākāraṇapustakavaryeṇa ruciravāmakarām | 6 srstisthitilayakrdbhir nayanāmbhojaih śaśīnadahanākhyaih | mauktikatātankābhyām manditamukhamandalām parām 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 Para, 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 Brahmāndapurāna (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 ($j\tilde{n}\bar{a}namudr\bar{a}$, $cinmudr\bar{a}$) 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., $J\tilde{n}\bar{a}n\bar{a}rnava$ 4.40c–41b and the unattributed quotation in $S\tilde{a}rad\bar{a}tilakapad\bar{a}rth\bar{a}darSa$, 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 $pustakamudr\bar{a}ibid.$, l. 25 ($v\bar{a}mamustinsv\bar{a}bhimukh\bar{a}$).

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 (*arghyapātram*). See *Gaṇanāyakapaddhati*, Sūtra 5, concerning the setting up of the Arghyapātra: *astreṇa saṃrakṣya kavacenāvakuṇṭhya dhenuyonimudrāṃ pradarśayet*; Śyāmākrama, Sūtra 18: *astreṇa saṃrakṣya kavacenāvakuṇṭhya dhenuyonī pradarśya*; and 19: *astreṇa saṃrakṣya kavacenāvakuṇṭhya dhenuyonī pradarśayet*. For photographs of these Mudrās see *Paraśurāmakalpasūtra*, Appendix 6, figs. A5 and B4.

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

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

The repetition of the Mantra (*japah*):

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

29a apānam P_1 As $T/187:\bar{a}p\bar{a}nam$ T/121 • $\bar{u}rdhvam$ P_1 As : $\bar{u}rddham$ $T/121:adv\bar{u}m$ T/187 **29b** śāmbhavīṃ P_1 $T/187:\bar{s}ambhavī$ $T/121:\bar{s}ambhav\bar{u}$ As **29c** mantraṃ P_1 As T/187:mantraṃ T/121 **29d** yathāśaktyā P_1 As T/121 T/187:yathāśakti Ed^P **31a** gūḍhād gūḍhatamo $P_1:g\bar{u}dh\bar{a}d$ guḍhatamo As $Ed^P:g\bar{u}dh\bar{a}mgh\bar{u}datamo$ $T/121:apadg\bar{u}dhatamo$ T/187 **31b** kṛpayoditaḥ As P_1 T/187:krpayodvitaḥ 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 $\bar{A}ngirasa$ texts edited here.

¹¹⁸The expression apānam ūrdhvam ākarsan echoes a verse quoted without attribution by Rāghavabhatta on Śāradātilaka 2.111: pārsnibhāgena sampīdya yonim ākuñcayed gudam | apānam ūrdhvam ākarsen mūlabandho nigadyate, which also appears as Hathayogapradīpikā 3.61, Goraksaśataka 58, and Yogamārtanda 48, but with ākrsya instead of ākarsen: '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 Rāghavabhatta'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 Hathayogapradīpikā continues as follows (3.62-64): adhogatim apānam vā ūrdhvagam kurute balāt | ākuñcanena tam prāhur mūlabandham hi yoginah | gudam pārsnyā tu saṃpīdya vāyum ākuñcayed balāt | vāraṃ vāraṃ yathā cordhvaṃ samāyāti samīranah | prāṇāpānau nādabindū mūlabandhena caikatām | gatvā yogasya samsiddhim yacchato nātra samśayah '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 Hathayogic passages, but Rāghayabhatta 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: ityādidosadustāms tān 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 japah (= $Par\bar{a}tr\bar{\iota}sik\bar{a}^{120}$):

32 muhūrtaṃ smarate yas tu cumbake nābhimudritam | sa badhnāti tadā dehe mantramudrāgaṇaṃ mahat | 33 atītānāgatān arthān pṛṣṭo 'sau kathayaty api | praharād yad abhipretaṃ devatārūpam uccaran | 34 sākṣāt paśyaty asaṃdigdham ākṛṣṭaṃ rudraśaktibhiḥ | praharadvayamātreṇa vyomastho jāyate smaran | 35 trayeṇa mātaraḥ sarvā yogeśvaryo mahābalāḥ | vīrā vīreśvarāḥ siddhā balavān śākinīgaṇaḥ | 36 āgatya samayaṃ dattvā bhairaveṇa pracoditāḥ | yacchanti paramāṃ siddhiṃ phalaṃ yad vā samīhitam | 37 anena siddhāḥ setsyanti sādhayanti ca mantriṇaḥ | yat kiṃcit bhairave tantre sarvam asmin prasiddhyati |

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32b cumbake nābhimudritam P₁ As T/121:cumvakenābhimantritam T/187 33a atītānāgatān P₁ As T/187:atatānagatān T/121 34ab asaṃdigdham ākṛṣṭaṃ P₁ As:asaṃdiśyamākṛṣṭaṃ T/121:asandigdhaṃmāmkṛṣṭaṃ T/187 35b yogeśvaryo As T/121:yogeśvaraṃyo 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 phalaṃ yad vā samīhitaṃ em.:phalaṃ yad vā samīritaṃ P₁ T/121 T/187:phala yadā samīritaṃ

to Japa: yonim baddhvā bījam bindvādipathena conmanīm prāpya tatra sahasram mantram japet. sa mantram prabuddham 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'.

¹¹⁹ See Haṭhayogapradīpikā 4.36—37: *antarlakṣyaḥ (conj.:antarlakṣyaṃ Ed.) bahirdṛṣṭir nimeṣon-meṣavarjitā | eṣā sā śāmbhavī mudrā vedaśāstreṣu gopitā | antarlakṣyavilīnacittapavano yogī yadā vartate dṛṣṭyā niścalatārayā bahir adhaḥ paśyann apaśyann api | mudreyaṃ khalu śāmbhavī bhavati sā labdhā prasādād guroḥ śūnyāśūnyavilakṣaṇaṃ sphurati tat tattvaṃ padaṃ śāmbhavam; Lasakāka, *Āryāvivaraṇa (commenting on the Āryā verse udyantṛtābalena tu vikāsavṛttyā svarūpagas tiṣṭhet svayam upasṛtendriyārthān aśnann ānandabhūmigo yogī | eṣocchṛṅkhalarūpā vikasvaratarā prabuddhabuddhīnām siddhāḥ sthitāḥ sadāsyāṃ hy ānandaratāḥ parā ca mudraiṣā): eṣā daśā parātyutkṛṣṭā mudrā śāmbhavīmudrākhyā. yad uktam antarlakṣyo bahirdṛṣṭir nimeṣonmeṣavarjitā | eṣā sā śāmbhavī mudrā sarvatantreṣu gopiteti. The Kashmirians Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja refer to this state of wideeyed introversion as the Bhairavamudrā; see Mālinīvijayavārttika 2.77c—28b: parabhairavamudrāṃ tām antarlakṣabahirdṛśam | yadāśrayati śaivī sā parā devī; Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya on Sūtra 18, p. 42: śakter vikāsaḥ antarnigūḍhāyā akramam eva sakalakaraṇacakravisphāraṇena "antarlakṣyo bahirdṛṣṭiḥ nimeṣonmeṣavarjitaḥ" iti bhairavīyamudrānupraveśayuktyā bahiḥ prasaraṇam; and Svacchandoddyota, commenting on the description of Svacchandabhairava as 'large-eyed' (viśālākṣam) in 2.89c: viśālākṣam iti "antarlakṣyo bahirdṛṣṭir nimeṣonmeṣavarjitaḥ" ityāmnātaparabhairavasphārāvasthitam.

¹²⁰See above, n. 101 on p. 241.

As: $t\bar{a}m$ $\bar{a}nayat$ $sam\bar{i}ritam$ Ed^P **37a** setsyamti P_1 T/121 T/187:sevyanti As:sevyante Ed^P **37c** tantre As T/121:mamtre P_1 T/187 **37d** asmin em.: $asm\bar{i}$ As: $asm\bar{a}t$ P_1 T/121 T/187 **Colophon** $par\bar{a}japa$ As T/187: $par\bar{a}jaya$ T/121: $par\bar{a}jina$ P_1

(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 -vivarana give cumbakenābhimudritah in their text of the verse): ata eva muhūrtam akālakalitatve 'pi parakalanāpekṣayonmeṣamātram yah smaraty anusamdhatte sa eva vyākhyātam mantramudrāganam *sarvam badhnāti (em. [see below, n. 125 on p. 254]: sambadhnāti Eds.) svātmany ekīkaroty advayatah. katham. cumbakena viśvasparśakena śāktena rūpenābhitah sarvato mudritam mudranam 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 ($sarvatah \leftarrow abhitah [\leftarrow abhi-]$) sealing ($mudritam mudranam krtv\bar{a}$) [his awareness of Siva] 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 -laghuvrtti reads cumbake nābhimudritam, taking cumbake as an elliptical locative absolute (cumbake sati): atha tathāveśo nirantaram yadi ghaṭikādvayam abhyasyati cumbake vaktre samastabāhyasadrūpabhāvarāśiniṣṭhacumbanātmani *nigiranapravrttakākacañcuputākāre (pravrtta conj.: pravrtte Ed.) sadvrttisomabhāvaparamaśītalarasāsvādakārini sati nābhimudritam nābhisthānāvadhim krtvā pūrnakumbhakasamāveśābhyāsena tadā mantramudrāganah ... (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): kākacañcuputākrtinā mukhena samcosyānilam saptavimśatiśo mūlam japtvā vedyam nābhau sammudrya ... '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: vedyam sattrimśat tattvāni vaksyamānāni sammudrya ekīkrtya. 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 samayam dattvā bhairaveṇa pracoditāḥ* | *yacchanti paramām siddhim* following the *Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti*, which takes *bhairaveṇa* as the agent of *dattvā*: *samayam 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 *Āṅgirasa*[kalpa].

The Parāmantravidhi

Covering the same ground as the $Par\bar{a}japavidhi$ but in an abbreviated form and in prose, is the $Par\bar{a}mantravidhi$ found in P_2 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 $Par\bar{a}$ with the 'higher knowledge' ($par\bar{a}$ $vidy\bar{a}$) taught in the Mundakopaniṣad and the 'supreme power' ($par\bar{a}$ śaktih) of Maheśvara taught in the $\acute{S}vet\bar{a}\acute{s}vataropaniṣad$:

atha parāvidhānam ucyate. asya parāmantrasya dakṣiṇāmūrti⟨r⟩ ṛṣis triṣṭup chandaḥ parāśaktir devatā. saṃ bījaṃ auḥ śaktir mama yogasiddhyarthe viniyogaḥ. sāṃ sīṃ sūṃ saiṃ ⟨sauṃ⟩ saḥ iti ṣaḍ aṅgāni. nābher adhaḥ hṛdayād adhaḥ śiraso 'dhaḥ sakāraukāravisargān nyaset. sarvāṅge vyāpakaṃ nyaset. śaktisthāne ā⟨kā⟩śamaṇḍale vā śu⟨klāṃ⟩ śuklavasanāṃ pīnonnatastanīṃ trinetrāṃ varābhayakarāṃ candraśekharāṃ †niravakarāṃ† padmāsanopaviṣṭāṃ prasannavadanāṃ sarvālaṃkārabhūṣitāṃ muktipradāṃ parāṃ dhyāyet. athavā śuklāṃ śuklavasanāṃ trinetrāṃ candraśekharāṃ vāme pustakam anyasmin jñānamudrāṃ ca bibhratīṃ parāṃ padmāsanāṃ devīṃ muktyarthī pravicintayet. sakāraukāravisargaiḥ piṇḍita ekākṣaraḥ parāmantraḥ. apānam ūrdhvam ākarṣan pratyahaṃ dvādaśasahasraṃ japet. jñānaṃ prāpnoti. tathā ca śrutiḥ: atha parā yayā tad akṣaram adhigamyata iti ⟨na⟩ tasya kārya⟨m⟩ karaṇaṃ ca vidyate na tatsamaś cābhyadhikaś ca dṛśyate parāsya śaktir vividhaiva śrūyate svābhāvikī jñānabalakriyā ceti.

ITI PARĀMANTRAVIDHIH

1 asya parāmantrasya conj.: atha parāmaṃtrasya Cod. 2 saṃ bījaṃ: sīṃ bījaṃ Cod. 3 sāṃ sīṃ em.: sīṃ sīṃ Cod. 5 śuklāṃ em.: śurāṃ Cod. 5–6 varābhayakarāṃ corr.: varabhayakarāṃ Cod. 8 pustakam anyasmin conj.: pustakasaparita Cod. • bibhratīṃ corr.: bibhratīṃ Cod. 9 muktyarthī conj.: muktyārtha Cod. • pravicintayet conj.: vā cintayet Cod. 11 parā yayā em.: parājayā Cod.

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

ti maryādāpūrvakam bhairavena 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 dattvā), and then bestow the ultimate Siddhi'. Cf. Picumata f. 364v3 (101.28c—29a): dadate yogisaṅghas tu kaulaṃ samayam uttamam | carukaṃ sampradāyaṃ ca 'The assembly of Yoginīs [comes and] bestows [on him] the supreme Kaula samayaḥ, the [initiatory] sacrament, and the tradition'. The word yogi- in yogisaṅghaḥ is to be understood to mean yoginī-. Cf., e.g., Netratantra 20.16c's yogiyogena and Kṣemarāja's gloss: yoginīnāṃ yogena; and Mālinīvijayottara 19.25c—26: tato 'sya vatsarārdhena *dehāntar (em.:dehāntaṃ Ed.) yoginīkulam | āvirbhavaty asaṃdehāt svavijñānaprakāśakam | tenāvirbhūtamātrena yogī yogikule kulī.

Śakti AUH, and its application [formula] 'For the success of my meditation'. The six Ancillaries are SAM, SIM, SUM, SAIM, SAUM, and SAH. He should install S below his navel, AU below his heart, and H 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 H. 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]" (Mundakopanisad 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.

¹²³ The reading niravakarāṃ in niravakarāṃ padmāsanopaviṣṭāṃ yields no meaning. The syllables nirava- are probably a corruption of nīraja- 'lotus', in which case one might conjecture the emendation nīrajakarāṃ vā 'or holding a lotus in her hand' or 'or holding a lotus in each hand'. But this would be awkward. The emendation would give an alternative within an alternative, we would expect any such alternative to be expressed immediately after varābhayakarāṃ, and it is not seen in the Parājapavidhi. Since the crux with its probable reference to a lotus immediately precedes Parā's description as seated on the lotus posture it is more probable that the text was stating that she is to be visualized on a lotus in that posture, a prescription seen elsewhere in our Āngirasa corpus, for example, in the *Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa edited below, v. 34ab: padme padmāsanāṃ devīṃ bhadrakālīṃ smared raṇe and in EdP, p. 141: padme padmāsanaṃ raktaṃ vakratuṇḍaṃ 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, niravakarām is a corruption of nīrajopari, nīrajāsanām, or similar.

¹²⁴I have translated kāryam here as 'body', and karaṇam as 'faculties [of cognition and action]' in accordance with the usage of the Pāncārthika Pāsupatas, 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 (Pancārthabhāṣya p. 26: kāryapiṇḍaḥ śarīrākhyaḥ), and karaṇam the three internal faculties (buddhiḥ, manaḥ, and ahaṃkāraḥ), the five sense-faculties (buddhīndriyāṇi), and the five faculties of action (karmendriyāṇi), all these making up the twenty-three kalāḥ that are the transformations of primal matter (pradhānam, prakṛtiḥ) (Pancārthabhāṣya p. 77: atra kalā nāma kāryakaraṇākhyāḥ kalāḥ. tatra kāryā-khyāḥ pṛthivy āpas tejo vāyur ākāśaḥ śabdasparśarūparasagandhāś ca ... tathā karaṇākhyāḥ śrotraṃ tvak cakṣuḥ jihvā ghrāṇaṃ pādaḥ pāyur upastho hasto vān mano 'hankāro 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 $\bar{A}ngirasa$ texts on the propitiation of Para, 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 -laghuvṛtti 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 anukramanī with its specification of a Rsi 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 Parātrīśikālaghuvrtti on the one hand and Abhinavagupta's -vivarana on the other the Parājapavidhi agrees with the former against the latter. 125

raṇam so defined (ibid., p. 5: kāryakaraṇāñjanā nirañjanāś 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 devam mucyate sarvapāśaih and 1.11a: jñātvā devam sarvapāśāpahānih (cf. Pañcārthabhāsya p. 5: pāśā nāma kāryakaranākhyāh kalāh); 4.21cd: yat te daksinam mukham tena mām pāhi nityam (cf. Pāśupatasūtra 1.9: mahādevasya daksināmūrteh); 5.14ab: kalāsargakaram devam 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. dṛkkriyāśaktyor apratighātāt; ibid., p. 118: niṣkalasya kāryakaraṇarahitasyety arthaḥ); 6.9a: sa kāraṇaṃ (cf. ibid., p. 55: atrotpādakānugrāhakatirobhāva (ka) dharmi kāraṇam; ibid., p. 11: kāraṇamūrtyāropitāvatāritam nisparigraham padmotpalādyam); 6.20d-21a: duhkhasyānto bhavisyati | tapahprabhāvād devaprasādāc ca (cf. Pāśupatasūtra 5.39: apramādī gacched duhkhāntam īśaprasādāt). 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.

125 Thus in 32cd the Parājapavidhi has dehe mantramudrāgaṇaṃ. This agrees with the reading of the -laghuvṛtti (12cd) against that of the text transmitted with Abhinavagupta's -vivaraṇa, which reads sarvaṃ mantramudrāgaṇaṃ here (13ab). The KSTS edition of the -laghuvṛtti gives dehaṃ rather than dehe here in its text of the Parātrīśikā, but the -laghuvṛtti's comment indicates that it read dehe as in the Āngirasa text (p. 12, l. 11–12: tadā mantramudrāsamūhaḥ dehe vāgrūpe kālarūpe ca parameśvarasyaivābhivyajyate). The -vivaraṇa appears not to confirm the reading sarvaṃ by glossing it, the relevant passage in both of the critical editions reading simply sa eva vyākhyātaṃ mantramudrāgaṇaṃ saṃbadhnāti svātmany ekīkaroty advayataḥ. However, I judge the reading saṃbadhnāti 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 $\bar{A}ngirasa$ 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; P_1 ff. 138r2-145v4; P_2 ff. 138r2-145v4; P

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1 atha devyā bhadrakālyā mantro yaḥ so 'bhidhīyate |
yo rājño jayakāmasya dadāti jayam īpsitam |
2 praṇavaṃ pūrvam uccārya māyābījaṃ samuccaret |
mahācaṇḍapadaṃ procya yogeśvaripadaṃ vadet |
3 phaḍanto mantrarājo 'yaṃ bhaved ekādaśākṣaraḥ |
pūjākāle namontaḥ syād dhome svāhānta iṣyate |
4 pippalāda rṣiḥ proktaś chando nāsti yajuṣṭvataḥ |
devatā syād bhadrakālī jayadurgeti yāṃ viduḥ |
5 praṇavo bījam etasya hrllekhā śaktir iṣyate |
jaye ca viniyogaḥ syād atharvamunibhāṣitaḥ |
6 niyamo nāsti mantre 'smin na puraścaraṇaṃ bhavet |
kevalaṃ vihitaṃ kṛtvā yathāśāstraṃ phalaṃ labhet |
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1d $\bar{\imath}psitam$ As T/187: ipsitam P₂: $\bar{\imath}psitam$ T/121: $\bar{\imath}sithitam$ P₁ 2d yogeśvari As T/121 T/187: $yog\bar{\imath}śvari$ P₁: $yogeśvar\bar{\imath}$ P₂ • vadet P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: bhavet As 3a phadanto P₂ T/121 T/187: $phad\bar{\imath}anto$ As: padanto P₁ • $mantrar\bar{\imath}jo$ As P₁ T/187: $mantrar\bar{\imath}je$ T/121 3c namontah As P₂ T/121 T/187: namontam P₁ 4c $sy\bar{\imath}d$ P₂ T/187: $sy\bar{\imath}a$ As P₁: $sy\bar{\imath}a$ T/121 4d $y\bar{\imath}am$ 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 *sambadhnāti* (f. 64v11) in agreement with the two editions and MS no. 848 in the same collection (f. 151v2). But a marginal annotation in a recent Śāradā hand requires or proposes the insertion of *rva* after the *sa* of *sambadhnāti* to give *sarvam badhnāti*. I am very grateful to Dr. Bettina BÄUMER for providing me with scans of these two manuscripts (and of another, no. 2138, which lacks this passage due to a lacuna that extends inclusively from *nāmasmaraṇam* in l. 4 of p. 260 of GNOLI's edition to *mudrāmudritaḥ* in l. 23 of p. 281 of the same) from a crucial collection that has long been inaccessible to scholars.

T/121 T/187: $y\bar{a}h$ As ${\bf 5b}$ hrllekhā As P_2 T/121 T/187: hrkhā P_1 ${\bf 6b}$ puraścaraṇaṃ As P_1 T/187: punaścaraṇaṃ P_2 T/121 ${\bf 6d}$ labhet P_1 P_2 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 Pranava [OM] he should utter the Seed of Māyā [HRĪM], 126 then MAHĀCANDA and YOGEŚVARI. (3) This, with PHAT 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 NAMAH. In the fire sacrifice it should end in SVĀHĀ. (4) Pippalāda has been proclaimed to be its Rsi. 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 Pranava [OM] and its Śakti is held to be Hrllekhā [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] (purascaranam). 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 hrdayam sa nigadyate | tathekāraḥ śiraḥ prokta ūkāraś ca śikhā smrtaḥ | 8 aikāraḥ kavacaṃ jñeyaḥ au ca netratrayaṃ viduḥ | astram aḥ syāt khakāro 'tra phra prayojyaṃ ca pūrvataḥ | 9 karāṅganyāsam etasya mantrasyettham vadanti vai |

¹²⁶ For the convention that māyābījam (also māyārṇaḥ, or māyā) denotes HRĪM see, e.g., Śivasvāmin Upādhyāya, Śrīvidyāmantravivṛti f. 16v6–7: śuddhavimarśadārḍhyam eva māyābījenāha hrīm iti; Tantrālokaviveka on 30.107 (praṇavo māyā bindur varṇatrayam): māyā hrīm; on 30.116a (māyārṇaṃ): māyārṇaṃ hrīm; Rāmeśvara on Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, Śrīkrama 8: māyā turīyoṣmasahitadvitīyāntasthopari sabindus turyasvarah; Rāghavabhaṭṭa on Śāradātilaka 6.39–40 (p. 370): sāmpradāyikās tu praṇavamāyālakṣmīpañcākṣarī-... prayogas tu oṃ hrīm śrīm namah 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. Svacchandatantroddyota, vol. 3 (Paṭala 7), p. 231, ll. 13–14: puraścaryā prathamam eva mantragrahapūrvaṃ *vrataniyatajapādikaraṇam (vrata em.:vrataṃ Ed.). The practice is also termed pūrvasevā 'prior service' or sevā 'service'. See, e.g., Niśvāsaguhya f. 80v3: japamānam eva māsena pūrvasevā kṛtā bhavatīty evaṃ ...; f. 80r4: pañcaviṃśasahasrāṇi japtvā vyomaśivasya tu | sarvapāpaviśuddhātmā kṛtasevo bhaviṣyati | sarvakarmasamarthaś ca; Svacchandatantroddyota, vol. 3 (Paṭala 7), p. 235, ll. 3–4: pūrvasevārthaṃ japapūjādhyānādi; Bāṇa, Harṣacarita p. 184: bhagavato mahākālahṛdayanāmno mahāmantrasya kṛṣṇasragambarānulepanenākalpena kalpakathitena mahāśmaśāne japakoṭyā kṛtapūrvasevo 'smi. In the norm, waived here, it is only after this preliminary practice that one may employ the Mantra for specific ends.

7a ya ākāro P_2 T/187: ya ākāraḥ As: pa ākāraḥ T/121: ja ākāraḥ $P_1: trir$ ākāraḥ conj. Ed^P 7b hṛdayaṃ P_2 T/121: hṛdayaḥ P_1 As: hṛdaya T/187 • sa nigadyate P_1 As T/121 T/187: saṃnigadyate P_2 7c tathekāraḥ P_1 P_2 As T/187: nvekāraḥ T/121 • śiraḥ proktaḥ P_1 As T/121: proktaḥ P_2 7d ūkāraś P_2 T/121: ukāraś P_1 As T/187 8a aikāraḥ P_1 P_2 As T/121: aikāraṃ T/187 • kavacaṃ P_2 T/121 T/187: kavaca $P_1: kavace$ As • jñeyaḥ As P_1 T/121: jñeyaṃ P_2 T/187 8b au ca T/121: oṃ ca P_1 $P_2: aiṃ$ ca $P_1: kavace$ $P_2: pre$ T/187 8c astram aḥ $P_1: pre$ $P_2: pre$ T/187 $P_2: pre$ T/187: $P_1: pre$ $P_2: pre$ T/187 $P_1: pre$ $P_2: pre$ T/187: $P_1: pre$ $P_1: pre$ $P_1: pre$ $P_2: pre$ T/187: $P_1: pre$ $P_1: pre$ $P_1: pre$ $P_2: pre$ T/187: $P_1: pre$ $P_1:$

(7) It is taught that the Heart [of the Mantra] is Ā with <code>anusvāraḥ</code> (M), the Head I, and the Hair-queue Ū. (8) Know that the Armour is AI. The [wise] know that AU is the Three Eyes. The Weapon is AH. [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 anusvārah should be added not only after the A of the Heart but after all except the Weapon, which ending in H does not receive this closure, and (2) that the prescription of the opening consonant cluster KHPHR should be applied throughout. Thus we have the following: KHPHRĀM [HR-DAYĀYA NAMAH], KHPHRĪM [ŚIRASE SVĀHĀ], KHPHRŪM [ŚIKHĀYAI VASAT], KHPHRAIM [KAVACĀYA HUM], KHPHRAUM [NETRATRAYĀYA VAUSAT], and KHPHRAH [ASTRĀYA PHAT]. 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 AM, IM, UM, AIM, AUM, and AH for the vowel of that syllable. Since the main Mantra has been given as OM HRĪM MAHĀCANDAYOGEŚVARI PHAT, that is to say, with HRĪM as its Seedsyllable, those of the Ancillaries should have been HRĀM, HRĪM, HRŪM, HRAIM, HRAUM, and HRAH. From the fact that the section on the Ancillaries has them begin with KHPHR 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 HRĪM MAHĀCANDAYOGEŚVARI PHAT but OM KHPHREM MAHĀCANDAYOGEŚVARI PHAT, which, as we shall see, conforms to the practice of the Kālīkula, and therefore that the substitution of HRĪM 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 HRĪM, is a corruption of mātrbījam 'the Seed

¹²⁸The vowels \bar{A} , \bar{I} , \bar{U} , AI, AU, and AH 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 Tantraloka 30.11 (vaktrangam $hrasvad\bar{\iota}rghakaih$): $a\ i\ u\ e\ o\ iti\ panca\ hrasvah$. $\bar{a}\ \bar{\iota}\ u\ ai\ au\ ah$ $iti\ sad\ d\bar{\iota}rghah$. $evam\ \bar{\iota}pata\ eva\ vacanad\ anyatrapy\ angavaktranam\ iyam\ eva\ vartety\ \bar{\iota}veditam$; and BRUNNER 1986, p. 102.

of the Mothers', denoting KHPHREM. 129
We are now told how the goddess should be visualized:

syāmām indudharām devīm ātāmranayanatrayām |
10 vāme raktakapālam ca triśūlam dakṣine tathā |
krśodarīm raktavastrām pīnastananitambinīm |
11 padmasthām yuvatim dhyāyet smerāsyām atisundarīm |
bhadrakālīm mahādevīm jayadātrīm suśītalām |

9c śyāmām P_1 P_2 As: śāmām T/121: $\langle śyā \rangle m\bar{a}$ T/187 • indudharāṃ As P_2 T/121: bindudharāṃ P_1 : śadudharāṃ P_1 : śadudharāṃ P_1 : \$\delta \text{atāmra} \ P_1 \ P_2 \ As T/187: ātāgra T/121 • trayām P_1 P_2 T/121: trayīṃ As T/187 11a yuvatiṃ T/187: yuvatīṃ P_1 P_2 As T/121 11d jayadātrīṃ P_1 P_2 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

 $^{^{129}}$ I can cite no instance of the use of $m\bar{a}trb\bar{i}jam$ in this sense, but the concept that the syllable KHPHREM embodies the essence of the Mothers is well-attested. Thus Tantrāloka 30.45c-51: aksisanmunivargebhyo dvitīyāh saha bindunā | 46 yonyarnena ca mātīnām sadbhāvah kālakarsinī | ādyojjhito vāpy antena varjito vātha sammatah | 47 jīvah prānaputāntahsthah kālānalasamadyutih | atidīptas tu *vāmānghrir (em.: vāmānghri Ed.) bhūṣito mūrdhni bindunā | 48 dakṣajānugataś cāyaṃ sarvamātrganārcitah | anena prānitāh sarve dadate vāñchitam phalam | 49 sadbhāvo paramo hy esa mātrnām bhairavasya ca | tasmād enam japen mantrī ya icchet siddhim uttamām | 50 rudraśaktisamāveśo nityam atra pratisthitah | yasmād eṣā parā śaktir bhedenānyena kīrtitā | 51 yāvatyah siddhayas tantre tāh sarvāh kurute tv iyam | angavaktrāni cāpy asyāh prāgvat svaraniyogatah 'The second [consonants] from the second, sixth, and seventh series [KH, PH, and R] with the Bindu [M] and the Yoni vowel [E] [form] Kālasamkarsanī, the **Essence of the Mothers** (Mātrsadbhāva) [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 mātrjam calam that denotes the syllable PHEM in the Trika's Tantrasadbhāva, f. 22v2-3: calam tu mātrjam cādyam tam pravaksyāmi vistarāt | vāmapādam [PH] samuddhrtya bhinnam daksinajānunā [E] | bindunā [M] samalamkrtya amrtārthe prayojayet. One of these variants of the Mātrsadbhāva syllable, PHREM, was adopted as that of the appropriately named Viśvamātr 'Mother of the Universe', the female consort of the Buddhist Tantric deity Kālacakra; see the Mantra OM AĀ AM AH HA HĀ HAM HAH HOH PHREM DAŚAPĀRAMITĀPŪRANI SVĀHĀ used in the filet consecration (pattābhisekah) of the Kālacakra initiation (Vimalaprabhā, vol. 2, p. 92, ll. 12–13, explaining Kālacakra 3.96c: śaktibhih pattam eva), in which the ten syllables beginning with A and ending with PHREM embody the ten Śaktis in ascending order from Kṛṣṇadīptā to Viśvamātṛ; also CHANDRA 1991, fig. 724, a Tibetan drawing of Sna tshogs yum dkar mo (White Viśvamātṛ) with her Mantra below: OM PHREM (corr.: PHRAIM Ed.) VIŚVAMĀTAH

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 āsurīpīthe syus tadāvaraṇāni ca | tryayutaṃ vāyutaṃ vāpi ghrtahomāj jayo bhavet | 13 ājyenāktāḥ palāśasya samidho vā huned budhaḥ | athavā japanāt tāvaj jayaḥ syān nātra saṃśayaḥ |

12b syus As P_1 T/121 : syās P_2 T/187 **12c** tryayutaṃ P_1 P_2 As T/187 : ayutaṃ T/121 **12d** homāj As P_2 T/187 : homārj P_1 : homāt T/121 **13c** japanāt em. : japanāṃ tāvaj P_1 As : japanāṃtāc ca P_2 : ja $\langle pa+++ \rangle$ 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]. 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 Anustubh verses:

¹³⁰For the throne taught for Āsurī (the āsurīpīṭhaḥ) see the passage on this subject in Bhūdhara's \bar{A} surīdīpikā (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 (...NAMAH) to the following in the order of ascent: Mandūka, Kālāgnirudra, Kūrma, Ādhāraśakti, Vārāha, Pṛthivī, Hayagrīva, Kṣīrārṇava, Ratnadvīpa, *Maṇipāṇḍara (?), Manimandapa, Ratnavedikā, Kalpadruma, Sarvatobhadrakāla, Ratnasimha, the eight buddhidharmāh 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 Gunas (sattvam, rajah, and tamah), 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, Sūksmā, Viśuddhā, Nanditā, Subhadrā, Vijayā; and the Śakti Siddhipradā at their centre. He completes the āsurīpīṭhaḥ by uttering the Simhamantra, invoking the 'great lion [of Durgā] whose weapons are his adamantine claws and fangs'. See also EdPp. 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 Kṣemankarī (see Bhūdhara, Ed^P p. 212, l. 19); (3) [the attributes of her hands (āyudhāh:] the gesture of protection (for abhir in Ed^P p. 48, l. 11 read abhīr), 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 Mahālaksmī; (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 rgdvayasya vidhim bruve |
pūrvavat sarvam atra syād viniyogo 'sya māraņe |
15 jaye vā viniyogaḥ syād dhomena japanena vā |
BHADRAKĀLI BHAVĀBHĪṢṬABHADRASIDDHIPRADĀYINĪ |
16 SAPATNĀN ME HANA HANA DAHA ŚOṢAYA TĀPAYA |
ŚŪLĀSIŚAKTIVAJRĀDYAIR UTKRTYOTKRTYA MĀRAYA |
17 MAHĀDEVI MAHĀKĀLI RAKṢĀSMĀN AKṢATĀTMIKE |
rṣir bhrguḥ 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 karāṅgayoh |

14b rgdvayasya T/121:rugdvayasya As P_2 :rgbhayasya T/187:ruyasya P_1 14c sarvam atra conj.:sarvamantra P_1 :sarvamantra As P_2 T/121 T/187 15c $bhadrak\bar{a}li$ P_1 : $bhadrak\bar{a}l\bar{l}$ P_2 As T/121 T/187 15d $prad\bar{a}yin\bar{l}$ As P_2 T/121 T/187: $prad\bar{a}n\bar{l}$ P_1 17b $raks\bar{l}asm\bar{l}a$ P_2 T/121 T/187: $raks\bar{l}asm\bar{l}a$ P_1 : $raks\bar{l}asm\bar{l}a$ As • $aksat\bar{l}asmike$ conj. (cf. here 23c: $aksat\bar{l}asmike$ bhavayann $et\bar{l}asmine$ $aksatat\bar{l}asmike$ As:anta ambike P_1 : $asit\bar{l}asmike$ P_2 T/187 17c $prad\bar{l}asmile$ P_3 : $prad\bar{l}asmile$ P_4 :prad

(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 Rṣi is Bhrgu. 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. He should use the Māyābīja [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 Śāradātilaka 22.145–146, with the difference that in the first line the editions have *bhavābhīṣṭe bhadrasiddhipradāyini*.

 $^{^{132}}$ The variant of P_1 and T/121 specifies that the substance offered should be parched grain ($l\bar{a}jahom\bar{a}j$ jayo bhavet).

20 śūlāsiśaktivajrāṇi śankhacakradhanuḥśarān | dhārayantī mahākālī ghorā vikaṭadaṃṣṭrikā | 21 calajjihvā mahātuṇḍī lambamānapayodharā | mukhād vahniṃ vamantī ca trāsayantī jagattrayīm | 22 dhāvantī nighnatī śatrum dhyeyā yuddhe jayaisinā |

vajrāṇi P_1 As T/121: vajrāśri T/187: vajrāśi P_2 **20c** dhārayantī Codd.: mārayantī Ed^P **21a** calaj-jihvā P_2 T/187: calajjijijñā As: lalajihvā T/121 • mahātuṇḍī T/121: mandatundī T/187: mamḍatundī $P_2:$ manyatundī As: manyatulī P_1 **21b** lambamāna P_2 T/121 T/187: lambina As: vilambita P_1 **21c** vahniṃ $P_1:$ varhni T/121: vakniṃ $As^{ac}:$ vagniṃ $As^{pc}:$ va + T/187: ya P_2 • vamaṃtī P_1 As: vamaṃti $P_2:$ vamantrī T/121: vamantri T/187: ald jagattrayīṃ P_1 As T/187: jagatrayīṃ T/121: jagatrayaṃ P_2 **22a** nighnatī T/187: nīghnatī T/121: jighnatī T/187: As T/187: dhyayā T/121 • yuddhe T/187: fatrūn T/187: śuddhe T/187: dhyayā T/121 • yuddhe T/121: T/187: śuddhe T/187: jayiṣiṇā T/121: yuddhe T/121: jayiṣiṇā T/121: jayiṣinā jayiṣinā T/121: jayiṣinā jayiṇinā T/121: jayiṣinā jayiṇinā jayiṇinā jayinā jayinā jayinā jayinā jayinā jayinā jayinā jayinā jay

(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:

gajam vā vājinam vāpi samārūdho mahārane |
23 dhyāyann etām bhadrakālīm japan mantram ripum jayet |
akṣatām bhāvayann etām svayam akṣatatām iyāt |
24 tṛṇakūṭam yathā vātyā preritam śīghratām vrajet |
japato dhyāyataś cāgre parasainyam palāyate |
25 na cāsti japasamkhyātra niyamaś ca na vidyate |
dhyāyann etām japan mantram parasenām jayaty aho |
26 tasmād yatnena bhūpālo vidyām etām samabhyaset |
durbalo 'pi balīyāmsam yatprasādād ripum jayet |

22c mahāraṇe P_2 As T/121 T/187: mahāruṇe P_1 23a bhadrakālīṃ P_2 As T/121 T/187: mahākālīṃ P_1 EdP 23b japan P_1 As T/121 T/187: japanan P_2 23d akṣatatām iyāt P_1 P_2 T/121 T/187: akṣatasamiyāt As 24b śīghratāṃ vrajet P_2 T/187: śīghraśaṃbhavet P_1 T/121: śīghratāṃ bhavet As 24c dhyāyataś cāgre P_1 T/121: dhyāyatasyāgre P_2 T/187: dhyāyatayāgre As 25b japasaṃkhyātra P_2 T/121 T/187: japaraṃkhyātra As: japasaṃkhyāni P_1 25c japan maṃtraṃ P_2 T/121 T/187: jayet sarvaṃ P_1 : bhadrakālīṃ As 26a yatnena P_2 As T/121 T/187: yatatvaṃ P_1 26b vidyām As P_2 ? T/121 T/187: vijñam P_1 • samabhyaset: P_1 P_2 As T/187: samabhūset T/121

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

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

Now a third Mantra is taught:

27 atha mantrāntaram tasyā bhadrakālyā nigadyate |
yasya prasādān nṛpatir ekacchatrī bhaved bhuvi |
28 bhadrakālipadasyānte jayaṃdehipadaṃ vadet |
phaḍanto 'yaṃ mahāmantro ghorayuddhe jayapradaḥ |
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 kaṇṭha urasy api |
udare ca tathā liṅge ūrudvandve padadvaye |
32 itthaṃ pratyakṣaraṃ nyasya bhadrakālī svayaṃ bhavet |
tatah samastamantrena vyāpakam vigrahe nyaset |

28a bhadrakāli P_1 P_2 : bhadrakālī T/121 T/187: bhakrakālī As 28b jayam P_1 P_2 As T/121: jaya T/187 • padam P_1 P_2 T/121: pade T/187: prade P_1 P_2 P_2 P_2 P_2 P_2 P_2 P_3 P_4 P_2 P_3 P_4 P_5 P_6 P_7 P_8 $P_$

(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 BHADRAKĀLI ('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 Rṣi 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:

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33 bālāṃ kālīṃ raktavastrāṃ kupitāṃ candraśekharām | dakṣiṇe dadhatīṃ śūlaṃ vāme rudhirakarparam | 34 padme padmāsanāṃ devīṃ bhadrakālīṃ smared raṇe |
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33a $k\bar{a}l\bar{t}m$ P_1 As T/121: $b\bar{a}l\bar{t}m$ T/187: $bal\bar{t}m$ P_2 33b śekhar $\bar{t}m$ P_1 P_2 As T/187: sekhar $\bar{t}m$ T/121 33c dakṣiṇe dadhat $\bar{t}m$ P_1 As T/121: dadhat $\bar{t}m$ dakṣiṇe P_2 : dadhat \bar{t} dakṣiṇe T/187 33d karparam P_2 T/121 T/187 As: kharparam P_1

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 lotusposture.

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 (mūlāsṭamī) to the 'Great Eighth' (mahāstamī), 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 ($p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$), repeat her Mantra (*japah*), and make 10,000 oblations of parched grain into the fire (*ho*mah), 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 $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$ 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 japah], or only [the dhyānam and] the japah, 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:

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evam vicintayen mantrī yāgam antar vidhāya ca |
35 japed arcet prajuhuyāl lājānām ayutam sudhīḥ |
mūlāṣṭamīṃ samārabhya bhaved yāvan mahāṣṭamī |
36 tāvad etāṃ prapūjyājyaṃ tryayutaṃ juhuyān nṛpaḥ |
sarvān ripūn vijityāyaṃ bhunkte rājyam akaṇṭakam |
37 etat kṛtvā purā śakro 'py asurāñ jitavān svayam |
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¹³³On the Navarātra festival, a pan-Indian royal tradition, see, e.g., EINOO 1999 and LEVY 1990, pp. 523–576.

homāśaktau caret pūjām tadaśaktau japed budhaḥ | 38 kevalam cintayed enām japāśaktau raṇe vrajan | niyatam jayam āpnoti na vicāryam idam vacah |

34c vicintayen P_1 P_2 As:vicintayan T/187:vicintyayan T/121 34d yāgam antar vidhāya ca em.:yāgamantra vidhāya ca T/121:yāgamantarvavāya T/187:yāgamantram vidhyāya ca P_2 As:yā?dha?mantram vidhyāya ca P_1 35a prajuhuyāl P_1 P_2 As T/187:prajūhuyāt T/121 35b ayutam As P_2 ? T/121 T/187:ayutām P_1 35c mūlāṣṭamīm P_2 As T/187:mūlāṣṭamī P_1 T/121 35d bhaved P_1 P_2 As T/187:bhavedd T/121 36a prapūjyājyam P_2 As T/121:prapujyājyam T/187:prapūjyāmti P_1 36b juhuyān P_1 P_2 As T/187:juhuyā T/121 36c sarvān ripūn P_1 P_2 T/187:sarvātripūn As:sarvatripūn T/121 • vijityāyam P_1 P_2 As T/187:vijityāya T/121 36d bhunkte P_1 P_2 As T/187:bhukte T/121 • akanṭakam P_1 P_2 T/121 T/187:akaṣṭakam As 37a śakro P_1 P_2 As:śatro T/187:śukro T/121 • etat kṛtvā P_2 As T/121 T/187:etatkṛtye P_1 37b asurān P_1 P_2 ? T/121 T/187:asurām As 37c caret P_1 T/121:japet P_2 As T/187 37d tadaśaktau P_1 P_2 As T/187:daśaktau T/121 38b japāśaktau P_2 As T/121 T/187:japāśakto P_1 • vrajan P_2 As T/121 T/187:vrajet P_1

(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 $\bar{\text{A}}$ svina ($m\bar{u}l\bar{a}$ \dot{s} \dot{t} $am\bar{t}$) to the eighth of the bright half of the same ($mah\bar{a}$ \dot{s} \dot{t} $am\bar{t}$). (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 ($p\bar{u}$ $j\bar{a}$) [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 māyām phaḍ ity api | 40 daleṣu vilikhed aṣṭau mantravarṇān pṛthak pṛthak | dalānte varmabījāni mātṛkābhiś ca veṣṭayet | 41 yantram etat kare baddhvā śūlinam jetum īśvaraḥ | pūjayed vidhinā yantram sahasram juhuyād ghṛtaiḥ | 42 tāvad eva japaṃ kṛtvā yantram baddhvā raṇe viśet | durgāpīthe 'rcayed durgām vidhinā vidhivittamah |

39a yaṃtram P_1 As T/121 T/187: mantram P_1 • etasyā conj.: etasya Codd. Ed^P 39cd madhye As P_2 ? T/121 T/187: madhya P_1 • māyāṃ As P_2 ? T/121 T/187: māyā P_1 40a daleṣu P_1 P_2 ? As T/121: daleṣṭa T/187 40b varṇṇān P_1 P_2 ? T/187: varnnā T/121: mantraṇn As: mantrān Ed^P • pṛthak pṛthak P_1 P_2 ? T/121 T/187: pṛthak As 40d mātṛkābhiś P_1 As T/187: mā + kābhis T/187: mākābhiś P_2 41a yaṃtram P_1 As T/121: maṃtram P_2 T/187 • etat: P_1 P_2 As T/187: eta T/121 • baddhvā: P_1 P_2 ? As T/121: baddhvāt T/187 41b jetum P_2 As T/121 T/187: petum P_1 41d ghṛtaiḥ P_1 As T/121: ataiḥ P_2 T/187 42c pīṭhe P_1 P_2 As T/187: pāṭhe T/121 42d vidhinā P_1 As T/121 T/187: vidhi P_2 • vidhivittamaḥ P_1 P_2 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, YAM, 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 (*mahābījamantrah*) HSKHPHREM:

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43 ataḥ paraṃ mahābījaṃ bhadrakālyā nigadyate | yatprasādān mahīpālo mahāntaṃ jayam aśnute | 44 hakāraś ca sakāraś ca khakāraś ca tataḥ param | phakāraś ca tathā rephas tathaikāraḥ sabindukaḥ | 45 saptavarṇaṃ mahābījaṃ bhadrakālyāḥ prakīrtyate | jayadāyimahāmantragaṇesv eṣa mahāmanuḥ | 46 bhadrakālīmahābījam avaśyaṃ vijayapradam |
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life: the eyes, tongue, eight cardinal points of the compass and the five cardinal points. When properly made and subjected to a routine of $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}s$ by a magician ($mantrav\bar{a}di$), 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 tathaikāraḥ sabiṃdukaḥ As P_1 T/121 T/187: tathaikārasya biṃdukaḥ P_2 45a saptavarṇaṃ P_2 T/121 T/187: satvavarṇṇaṃ P_1 : samastavarṇṇa As (45ab is lacking in Ed^P) • mahābījaṃ P_1 P_2 T/121 T/187: hābījaṃ As 45c jayadāyi P_2 As T/187: jayadāpi P_1 P_2 T/187: jayadākṣi T/121 46a bhadrakālī P_1 P_2 As T/187: bhadrakālīh 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 proktam tat param brahma kīrtitam 47 kālī tamomayī śaktih sā ca samhārinī smrtā samhāraśaktisamyuktam param brahma yad ucyate 48 bhadrakālīpadenaitan munibhih parigīyate bhadrakālīmahābījam api tasyābhidhāyakam 49 hakāro jīva ity uktah sakāro brahma kathyate tayor aikyam param brahma khakārenābhidhīyate 50 phrem syāt samhārinī śaktis tatpradhānam hi cetanam bhadrakālīpadenāpi mahābījena cocyate 51 samhāraśaktimad brahma mahābījārtha isyate samhartā ca vidhātā ca sthitikartā ca samsmṛtah 52 hamsah so 'ham mahābījapadārtham paribhāvayan | mahābījam japen mantrī svayam samhāraśaktimān 53 paramātmā bhavan rājā jayam prāpnoti cāksayam athavā bhadrakāly eva ghorarūpā svayam bhavet 54 mahābījam japan rājā jayam eti na samśayah na homo na balir nārcā na ca tarpanam isyate 55 dhyānāj japāc ca so 'vaśyam nṛpatir jayam aśnute | bhadrakālīmahābījadhyānam samyag vadāmy aham 56 yatprasādān mahādevo 'py ātmārim ajayad bhrśam | kālī raktāmbarātyuccā pīnaśronipayodharā 57 krśodarī mahāvīryā trijagadgrasanaksamā samarābhimukhī devī candikā candavikramā | 58 bhīsanā śavapṛsthasthapadme dattapadā sthitā pañcavaktrānuvaktram ca tāmrasthūlatrinetrakā 59 ūrdhvabāhutaladvandve dhrtam śatrum adhomukham pañcavaktramahādamstrāvimsatyā pīditam ripum 60 bhūyo bhūyah pīdayantī mahākopabharena ca

dakṣe 'dhaḥkramataḥ śūlam aṅkuśaṃ śaram eva ca |
61 khaḍgaṃ ca dadhatī dorbhir vāme 'dhaḥkramatas tathā |
raktapātraṃ ca pāśaṃ ca dhanuḥ kheṭakam 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 vicāranā |

ITY ÄNGIRASE BHADRAKĀLĪMANTRAVIDHIḤ

46c bhadram sukham P₂ T/121 T/187: bhadrasukham P₁ As **47a** tamomayī P₁ P₂ As T/187:tamomayā T/121 47b smrtā P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187:smrtāh As 47c samhāra P₁ P₂ As T/187:samhā T/121 • samyuktam P₂ As T/121 T/187:samyuktām P₁ 47d brahma P₁ P₂ As T/187: brahmā T/121 48b munibhih P2 T/121 T/187: mūnibhih As: mahāmunibhi P1 48c bhadrakālī P₂ As T/121 T/187: mahākālī P₁ 49a hakāro P₁ P₂ As T/187: hamkāra T/121 • jīva $P_1 P_2 As: b\bar{\imath} ja T/121 T/187$ **50a** phrem $P_1 As T/121: phre P_2: pre T/187$ **50b** hi $P_1 T/121 T/187$ As: ca P₂ • cetanaṃ P₁ P₂ As T/187: tetanaṃ T/121 50c padenāpi P₁ P₂ As T/187: panenāpi T/121 **50d** cocyate P_1 P_2 As T/187: nocyate T/121 **51a** saṃhāra P_1 P_2 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: vidharttā P₁ 51d samsmrtah P₂ As T/121 T/187: sa smrte P₁ 52a mahābīja P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: mahāvīta As 52b padārtham P₁ P₂ As T/121: padārtha T/187 **53b** jayam prāpnoti P₂? As T/121 T/187: jayam āpnoti P₁ • cāksayam P₁ As T/121: cāksatam P₂ T/187 **53c** eva P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: e As **53b** bhavet P_2 As T/187: bhavan P_1 T/121 **54b** jayam eti P_1 P_2 ? T/187: jayam iti As: jayanet $\langle i \rangle$ T/121 **54c** balir P₁ As T/121 T/187: balī P₂ **54d** isyate P₁ P₂? As T/187: āpsite T/121 **55a** ca so 'vaśyam conj.:cāvaśyam T/121 T/187:ca nāvaśyam As:cāvaranyam P₁:cāvaśam P₂ 55c samyag vadāmy aham As T/121 T/187: samāpyadāmy aham P₁: illegible in P₂ 56b ātmārim ajayad T/187: ātmārāmamjayad P₁ P₂: ātmārāmojayad T/121: ātmābhimajjayad As • bhṛśaṃ P₂ T/121 T/187: bhruśam As: bhusam 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** śavaprsthastha P₂ T/121 T/187: śavaprsthasya P₁: śavaprsthasthā 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** vimśatyā P₁ P₂? T/187:vimśatyo T/121:viśatyā As **60c** dakse P₂? As T/121 T/187: dīkse P₁ 61a dadhatī As P₂? T/121 T/187: dadhati P₁ 62a daśabhujā P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: daśabhūjā As 63b japatā P_1 P_2 T/121 T/187: japatām As 63c dhyānāśakto P_1 As T/121T/187: dhyānāśaktau P₂ 63d bījam P₂? As T/187: bija T/121: rvam P₁ 63f kāryyā P₁ P₂ T/121 T/187: karıyığ As Colophon bhadrakālīmantravidhih As P₁ T/187: bhadrakālīmahābījavidhih 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] $-k\bar{a}l\bar{t}$ [in her name, meaning 'black', denotes] the power that embodies the [Guṇa] darkness (*tamah*); 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 PHREM [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] HAMSAH 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 (homah) are required, nor animal-sacrifices (balih), nor worship (arcā), nor gratification with libations (tarpanam). (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 HAMSAḤ SO 'HAM to be that HAMSAḤ 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 (*saṃhārakramaḥ*, *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 (*sṛṣṭikramaḥ*, *avarohakramaḥ*).

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

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

64 rṣir atra na kaścit syān na ca cchando 'sya vidyate | devatā bhadrakālī syān na bīje bījam iṣyate | 65 jaye ca viniyogaḥ syāt karāṅganyāsavarjanam | na caiva vyāpakanyāso na ca pratyakṣaraṃ bhavet | 66 mahābījajapāt sadyo nrpatir jayam aśnute | na puraścaraṇaṃ kiṃcin na kaścin niyamo bhavet | 67 bhadrakālī svayaṃ bhūtvā japan jayam avāpsyati | maheśo 'pi sadā sarvaṃ jagat saṃharate yayā | 68 tatprasādān mahārājo jayaty atra kim adbhutam | na bhūto na bhavan bhāvī mahābījasamo manuh |

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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 karāṅganyāsavarjanaṃ P₁ As T/121 T/187:katanyāsanivarjanaṃ P₂ 65c vyāpakanyāso P₂ As T/187:vyāpakanyāsa T/121:vyāpakaṃnyāsa 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:japanaṃ 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:adbhūtaṃ P₂ As T/121 68c bhūto na P₁ P₂ As:bhūto pi T/187:bhūto T/121 • bhavan P₁ P₂ As T/187:bhāva T/121 • bhāvā As T/121 T/187:bhāvi P₁ P₂ 68d samo P₁ P₂ As T/121:samā T/187 Colophon ity āṅgirase bhadrakālīmahābījapraśaṃsā conj::ity āṅgirase mahābījapraśaṃsā P₂ T/121:iti bhadrakālīmahābījapraśaṃsā P₁ T/187:iti bhadrakālīmahāpraśaṃsā As

(64–65a) This [Mantra's] deity is Bhadrakālī and its application is for victory. It has no Rṣi, 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] (niyamaḥ). (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 Bhadrakālīmahābījapraśaṇṣā ('Praise of the Great Seed of Bhadrakālī') in the Āṅgirasa[kalpa].

The *Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakarana continues and ends in P_1 and the Asimilā 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 Angiras 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. Angiras 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

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69 athātaḥ pippalādena pṛṣṭo maharṣir aṅgirāḥ |
bhagavan vedatattvajña sarvabhūtahite rata |
70 sarveṣām 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 |
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69d rata P_1 : rataḥ Ed^P **71a** mahābījaṃ P_1 : mahemantraḥ Ed^P **71b** phaladaṃ P_1 : phaladaḥ Ed^P **71c** mātrena P_1 : mantrena Ed^P

(69) Then Pippalāda addressed a question to the great Rṣi 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

 $^{^{136}}$ Constraints of time did not permit me to collate directly with the Asimilā manuscript (As) the following final part of the *Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa, that I decided to include in my contribution only at a relatively late stage. I have thus edited it only from P_1 and Ed^P , which is based on As.

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

brahmanoktena vidhinā yantram kuryāt prayatnataḥ |
73 suvarṇaśatamānena nirmitam yantram iṣyate |
vilikhyāntar mahābījam 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 evam yantram vinirmāya saṃpūjya ripujid bhavet |
bahubhir gandhapuṣpaiś ca dhūpadīpair niveditaiḥ |
77 bhūyobhir mahiṣājāvipaśubhiḥ saṃskṛtaiḥ smitām |
bhadrakālīṃ yajet tatra pañcāsyāṃ ripucarvaṇām |
78 upāsakaḥ prayatnena sukruddhāṃ śāntarūpiṇīm |
saccidānandarūpasya māyāśaktiṃ vadanti yām |

74a mānena Ed^P : māṣeṇa P_1 74b navapatre navākṣaraṃ em.: navapatreṇavākṣaraṃ P_1 : navapatre navākṣarāṃ Ed^P 74d mantram Ed^P : ayam P_1 • ekādaśākṣaraṃ P_1 : ekādaśākṣarāṃ Ed^P 75b ṣoḍaśa svarān Ed^P : ṣoḍaśākṣarān P_1 77a mahiṣājāvi P_1 : mahiṣājādi Ed^P 77d pañcāsyāṃ ripucarvaṇām Ed^P : paṃcāsyaripucarviṇāṃ P_1 78a upāsakaḥ prayatnena P_1 : upāsakaprayatneṣu Ed^P 78b sukruddhāṃ Ed^P : sakṛdyāṃ P_1

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 PHAT) on [the petals] of a nine-petal [lotus drawn around that centre], then the elevensyllable [Mantra] (OM KHPHREM/HRĪM MAHĀCANDAYOGEŚVARI PHAT 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 (māyāśaktih) 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 homam pravaksye 'ham pravarārinivāranam |

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vṛtte kuṇḍe 'gnim ādhāya gandhādyair abhipūjayet |
80 aṣṭottarasahasraṃ tu juhuyād gavyasarpiṣā |
tāvad eva japed rātrau baliṃ dadyād vidhānataḥ |
81 saptāham evaṃ vidhinā kṛtvā jayam avāpnuyāt |
dvādaśāhaṃ tathā pakṣam ekaviṃśativāsaram |
82 māsaṃ kāryaṃ vidhānaṃ vā homakālo 'sya ṣaḍvidhaḥ |
tāvad vā sarpiṣāktāś ca aśvatthasamidho hunet |
83 sarpir aśvatthasamidhaḥ pratyekaṃ vā hunet budhaḥ |
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82a kāryam vidhānam Ed^P : kāryāvasānam P_1 83a samidhah P_1 : samidbhih 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:

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athavā yuddhasamaye sahasram sarpiṣā hunet |
84 juhuyāt tāvad evāsau yuddham yāvad dinam bhavet |
paṭṭe mantram vilikhyāgre vaṃśadaṇḍe ca dhārayan |
85 jayakāmo nrpo yāyād avaśyam jayam āpnuyāt |
athavā bhadrakālīm tām saṃlikhya 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 yantram krtvā bhadrakālyāḥ pratyaham yadi pūjayet |
parājayam na labhate jayaṃ ca labhate sadā |
89 athavā brāhmaṇadvārā yantram etat prapūjayan |
na parājayam āpnoti jayam cāvaśyam aśnute |
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84b yāvad yuddhadinaṃ conj.: yuddhaṃ yāvad dinaṃ P_1 Ed P 84d dhārayan P_1 : 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 P_1 86d baddhvā vā P_1 : badhnīyāt Ed P 87c kenacid P_1 : kenacad Ed P • dhārayan P_1 : dhārayed Ed P 87d vijayaśriyam P_1 : vijayaṃ śriyam Ed P 88a bhadrakālyāḥ P_1 : 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:

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90 prabalārijayam kānkṣan mahīpālo vidhānataḥ |
śuklāyām ca navamyām vā bhadrakālīvratam caret |
91 svaputram vā svapatnīm vā vidvāmṣam vāpi kārayet |
samvatsareṇa rājāyam ajayyam jayam aśnute |
92 pippalāda śṛṇu mama vratam etaj jayapradam |
śatamānena yantram vai kṛtvā devīm prapūjayet |
93 pūpān aṣṭau prakurvīta śālitaṇḍulanirmitān |
devyai nivedya vidhivad ekam viprāya yacchati |
94 tato bhuñjīta vidhivat sapta pūpān svayam vratī |
suvarṇam dakṣiṇām dadyād gurave yena tuṣyati |
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90a $k\bar{a}n\dot{k}$ şan Ed^P : $k\bar{a}m\dot{k}$ ş $\bar{\imath}$ P_1 90c śukl $\bar{a}y\bar{a}m$ ca navamy $\bar{a}m$ v $\bar{\imath}$ P_1 : śukl $\bar{a}y\bar{a}m$ navamy $\bar{\imath}m$ v $\bar{\imath}$ p_1 : p_2 supatn $\bar{\imath}m$ v $\bar{\imath}$ p_2 supatn $\bar{\imath}m$ v $\bar{\imath}$ p_3 supatn $\bar{\imath}m$ v $\bar{\imath}$ p_4 : p_4 supatn p_4 : p_4 supatn p_4 : p_4 :

(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 nrpo gacchan tatpūrvadivase ghrtaiḥ | sahasratritayam hutvā dhruvam vijayate ripum | 96 svasainyālokamātreṇa parasainyam palāyate | yatamāno nrpo 'śvatthasamidbhir ayutam hunet | 97 rājā mahājayam vāñchan candanair ghrtasaṃyutaiḥ | ayutaṃ juhuyād eṣa mahājayam avāpnuyāt | athavāgurukāṣṭhasya samidbhir ayutaṃ hunet | 98 ripuṃ jetuṃ nrpaḥ sainyaṃ prasthāpayati cet tadā | etat sarvaṃ prakurvīta tatsainyam arijid bhavet | 99 sahasraṃ sarpiṣā hutvā saṃpātyāśvatthakīlake | parasenāsthitisthāne khātvā jayam avāpnuyāt |

95a gacchan Ed^P : yacchan P_1 96c yatamāno P_1 : yajamāno Ed^P 98c etat sarvaṃ P_1 : tat sarvaṃ tu Ed^P 99c sthitisthāne P_1 : 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 saṃpātahomaḥ 'a sacrifice of the remnant' or by abbreviation a sampātah. In Tantric practice the officiant pours the first part of each oblation of melted butter from the ladle (sruvah) 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 (ājyaśesah) 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: pūrvamantram samuccārya SVĀ ity agnau pradāpayet HEti śisyasya śirasi sampātah śivacoditah; Tantrāloka 15.440c-441b: SVĀ ity amrtavarnena vahnau hutvājyasesakam | carau HEtyagnirūpena juhuyāt tat punah punah; Kalādīksāpaddhati f. 60v-61r4: niskalena tadangavaktraiś ca ekaikayāhutyā sampātam kuryāt, yathā: OM HŪM SAMPĀTAM KAROMI SVĀ ity agnau HĀ iti carau. evam hrdayādimantraih. OM HĀM SAMPĀTAM KAROMI SVĀ ity agnau HĀ iti carau. evam anyat. punah niskalenāstottaraśatam japtvā parāmrtam anusmaran carāv ājyāhutim ksiped ity agnīsomasomatāvyāptaś carur bhavet. iti carusādhanam. tatah karanīkhatikārajahkartaryājyatilādīnām yajñāngānām mūlena sadangena prāgvat SVĀ ity agnau HĀ karanīkhatikādisu iti saṃpātaṃ kuryāt; ibid. f. 76v6-11: tataḥ śiṣyaśirasi saṃhitayā SVĀ ity agnau HĀ iti śiṣyaśirasi pratyekam āhutitrayena trayena kāryam yathā OM HŪM SAMPĀTAM KAROMI SVĀ ity agnau HĀ iti śisyaśirasi ghrtāhutityāgah. evam hrdayādibhih.

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100 sarpiṣāyutahomena khadgaṃ saṃpātya yo nṛpaḥ | tam ādāya paraṃ jetuṃ prayāti paramaṃ jayet | 101 ghṛtasyāyutahomena saṃpātya śarapañcakam | tat kṣipan parasenāyāṃ tāṃ senāṃ bhañjayen nṛpaḥ |
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101c tat ksipan Ed^P: tam ksipan 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:

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102 yantram nirmāya vidhinā mantrenānena mantravit | snāpayec chuddhatoyena sahasram tu dine dine | 103 evam phalāntakam karma kālasamkhyā na vidyate | yantram etad gale baddhvā yudhyamāno jayam vrajet |
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102c snāpayec chuddhatoyena P_1 : snāpayed ghrtatoyena Ed^P **103c** yantram etad gale baddhvā P_1 : mantram etam hrdi 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:

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104 āśvinasya ca māsasya kṛṣṇapakṣasya yāṣṭamī |
tām ārabhya yajed devīṃ bhaved yāvan mahāṣṭamī |
105 prātarmadhyāhnayoḥ sāyaṃ trikālaṃ tāṃ prapūjayet |
viśeṣeṇa niśāyāṃ tu pūjayet pṛthivīpatiḥ |
106 tryayutaṃ juhuyād rājā sapatnavijayecchayā |
niśāyāṃ homasaṃprāptau baliṃ dadyād dine dine |
107 mahiṣājāvipaśubhir māṃsabhojyair yathā jayet |
tato mahānavamyāṃ tu gandhādyair bahubhir yajet |
108 niśāyāṃ pūjayed devīṃ śraddhābhaktisamanvitaḥ |
gandhādyair upacāraiś ca balibhir nṛtyagītakaiḥ |
109 toṣayet tāṃ mahādevīṃ jayakāmo mahīpatiḥ |
evaṃ devīṃ samārādhya sukhaṃ saṃvatsaraṃ vaset |
110 nāriḥ saṃmukham āyāti āgato 'pi palāyate |
tasmād vijayakāmo yaḥ sa etat kurute sadā |
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ITY ĀNGIRASAKALPE BHADRAKĀLĪMAHĀBĪJAVIDHIH

104c $t\bar{a}m$ $\bar{a}rabhya$ P_1 : $tad\bar{a}rabhya$ $Ed^P \bullet yajed$ P_1 : $p\bar{u}jed$ Ed^P **105c** $vi\acute{s}e\acute{s}e\acute{n}a$ $conj.: vi\acute{s}e\acute{s}am$ tu P_1 $Ed^P \bullet ni\acute{s}\bar{a}y\bar{a}m$ tu $P_1: ni\acute{s}\bar{a}y\bar{a}m$ hi Ed^P **106b** sapatna $Ed^P: sapatn\bar{\iota}$ P_1 **107ab** $pa\acute{s}ubhir$? $m\bar{a}msa$?-bhojyair yath \bar{u} yajet $P_1: pa\acute{s}ubhi$ bhojyaih prato $\acute{s}ayet$ Ed^P **Colophon**: bhadrak \bar{u} l \bar{u} mah \bar{u} b \bar{u} javidhih As [reported by Arlo Griffiths; P_1 broken off]: bhadrak \bar{u} l \bar{u} balimah \bar{u} vidhih 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 *Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraņa 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 Visnudharmottarapurāṇa (2.152.5ab; 2.158.1–8), the Agnipurāna (268.13c–30),

 $^{^{138}}$ For a detailed analysis of the Purāṇic prescriptions of this festival see EINOO 1999.

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

and the *Nāradapurāṇa* (*Pūrvārdha* 118.17c–22). In the early medieval period it is, to my knowledge, only in the Mātṛtantra 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. 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, 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; and the principal purpose of this worship

¹⁴⁰I base the following remarks concerning the South Indian Mātṛṭantra 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 destoyer of the demon Dāruka) 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 Nolambavāḍi detailed in two Tamil inscriptions from that temple (*Epigraphia Carnatica* 10, Kl 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-Rājakesarivarma 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.

¹⁴¹ We see this connection in the fact that Bhadrakālī is attended by the same four goddesses as Caṇḍā Kāpālinī, the supreme goddess in the *Picumata/Brahmayāmala*, though Mahocchuṣmā, the fourth, appears under the varant 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): *evaṃvidhā (em.:evaṃvidhi 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 mahocchiṣṭā pṛthak pṛthak; p. 143 (36.14ab): raktā⟨ṃ⟩ karālī⟨m⟩ caṇḍākṣī⟨ṃ⟩ mahocchiṣṭā⟨m⟩ pṛthan nyaset.

¹⁴² These priests are required to be non-brahmins, termed pāraśavaḥ in Sanskrit (defined in the Dharmaśāstra 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 bhadrakālīpūjanacitrakarmāngavidyātūryaghoṣaṇamardanavṛttiḥ '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 (deśaśantiḥ, rāṣṭraśāntiḥ),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 MAHĀCAŅDAYOGEŚVARI PHAŢ or OM HRĪM MAHĀCANDAYOGEŚVARI PHAŢ.
- 2. HSKHPHREM.

The first is given in all the manucripts accessed here in the form OM HRĪM MAHĀCAŅDAYOGEŚVARI PHAŢ but, as we have seen, the fact that the seeds

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

 143 Brahmayāmala IFP, p. 2 (1.17–19): bhadrakālī tu cāmuņdī sadā vijayavardhinī \mid 1.17 *śatrunāśe śivodbhūtā (conj.:nāśaimastu śirodbhūtā Cod.) kaliyuge prakīrtitā | *catasro (conj.:etair Cod.) mūrtayo jñeyā sadā *śāntikarī (karī em.:karo Cod.) bhavet | 1.18 tasyās sarvaprayatnena *caturmūrtim (em.:caturmūrtih Cod.) prapūjayet | *deśaśāntikarāś (em.:daśaśāntikaraś Cod.) caiva **nrpānām vijayam** bhavet | 1.19 sarvapāpaharam śāntam sadā **vijayasambhavam** | caturmūrtividhānena *mātrpūjām (em.:mātrpūjāś Cod.) ca kārayet; ibid., p. 30 (7.104ab): *pratisthāvidhinā (conj.:pratisthāvidhāyām Cod.) proktam rāstraśāntyarthakāranam; p. 50 (12.65cd): *svāhāntam (corr.:svāhānte Cod.) devikāhomam *nagaraśāntivardhanam (nagara em.:nagaraṃ Cod.); p. 50 (12.70ab): devihomam tu śāntyartham 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.:kevalaṃ Cod.) caikabere tu bhadrakālīti viśrutā | saptadhā bahubere vā mātaraś ceti sarvataḥ | jayārtham **śatrunāśārtham** ekaberam praśamsitam | śāntipustikarārtham tu bahuberam udāhrtam; 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.) rājadhānike | tantroktena vidhānena vijayārtham nrpena tu | *sthāpyeta (conj.:sthāpayet Cod.) kṣetram ekaṃ vā *prayāgādipracoditam (conj.: prāyāgādipracodite Cod.) | kāśmīram oḍḍiyāṇaṃ vā pīthasthānam ca kalpayet | raksārtham vijayārtham ca pīthahīne tu mandale; p. 20 (3.147-50b), on the solitary Bhadrakālī (Ekaberī): *asyā (em.: asya Cod.) eva parā mūrtih kālarātrīti viśrutā | sarvasamhārinī *sāksāt (conj.:sābhāk Cod.) *kālāgnisadrśopamā (em. [= Mahābhārata 12.273.7b; ibid., supplementary passage after 12.274, l. 105]: kālāgniyatraśopamā Cod.) | 48 *ekaberīti (corr.:ekavīriti Cod.) nāmnā *sā (em.:syā Cod.) dā⟨ru⟩kāsuranāśinī | *vāstuśaktir iti proktā (conj.: vāstuśakteritikrāntā Cod.) *śatrupaksavināśinī (pakṣa em.: panka Cod.) | 49 *eṣā (corr.:esa Cod.) vai *devatāmūrtī (corr.:devatāmūrtim Cod.) rājñām vijayasādhanī | caturbhedoditā (conj.: caturthāheditā Cod.) devī jayadā rājapadminī | 50 kṣatriyasya viśeṣeṇa rājadhānau pratisthayā; p. 22 (3.172): yaś cainām sampratisthāpya *kārayen (em.: kārayan Cod.) nityam arcanam | sa **nrpah sārvabhaumatvam prāpnuyād** iti *niścayah (corr.: niścayam Cod.).

of its Ancillaries are said to be KHPRĀM, KHPHRĪM, KHPHRŪM, KHPHRAIM, KHPHRAIM, 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. This is the core Mantra of the Kālīkula insignificantly modified by being enclosed by the universal Mantra-syllables OM and PHAṬ, the first used everywhere in this position as the opening 'illuminator' (dīpakaḥ) of Mantras, 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 *Devīdvyardhaśatikā*, in a recension of parts of that text that forms the *Kālikākrama* chapter of the *Manthānabhairava*, in the anonymous *Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha*, 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 tr̥tīyādyaṃ turaṅgaṃ ca ḍākinīmarmasaṃyutam | pavanaṃ navame yuktaṃ tejas tejagrhe yutaṃ | 90 lakṣmīveśmaṃ tu udadhim ekatra samayojitam | somāt saptamakoddhṛtya navavarṇā kuleśvarī |

Devīdvyardhaśatikā f. 8v3–4 (**D**); Manthānabhairava, Siddhakhaṇḍa, Kālikākrama (ff. 179r5–186v3), ff. 183r2–4 (**K**); Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṇgraha A, f. 3v1–2 (**J**¹); Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṇgraha B, ff. 3v7-4r1 (**J**²); Tantrālokaviveka 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 varāngam K $J^2:varānga$ D $J^1 \bullet vihagam$ D K $J^1:vihaga$ $J^2 \bullet krūram$ K J^1 $J^2:śūram$ D 88b puñjam D K: $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}m$ $J^1:p\bar{u}jj\bar{a}m$ J^2 88d $d\bar{a}ran\bar{a}$ K J^1 J^2 T: $d\bar{a}run\bar{a}$ D \bullet sumdari $J^1:sundar\bar{a}$ D: $s\bar{u}mdar\bar{a}m$ $J^2:sundara$ K (because in this version the pupil is Bhairava and the Goddess the teacher):mastakam T (to avoid the Aiśa stem-form of $d\bar{a}ran\bar{a}kr\bar{a}nta$) 89a $trt\bar{u}y\bar{a}dyam$ K T $J^2:trt\bar{u}y\bar{a}dya$ D $J^1 \bullet turangam$ $J^1:turanga$ $J^2:turaga\bar{a}$ D:tarangam K T b^2 b^2

¹⁴⁴See above, pp. 257–258.

¹⁴⁵ Niśvāsaguhya f. 108v5 (15.202ab): oṃkāraś cādhikaś cātra mantrādau dīpakaḥ sthitaḥ 'and the syllable OḤ is present here in addition as the illuminator at the beginning of the Mantra'. The term dīpakaḥ is used both for the opening OḤ and for the closing NAMAḤ; see Svacchandatantroddyota, vol. 3 (Paṭala 6) p. 145: sarvamantrāṇāṃ pūjājapaviṣaye praṇavanamaskārābhyām ādyantasaṃbandho dīpakaḥ kārya iti śāstrasamayaḥ 'The convention of the Śāstra is that when worshipping or repeating any Mantra one should provide an illuminator at its beginning and end with OḤ and NAMAḤ'; and Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa, p. 281 (ed. GNOLI): etad eva hṛdayabījaṃ dīpakābhāvād gamāgamaśūnyatvāt satatoditatvāc cānādyantam 'This same heart-syllable is said [in Parātrīśikā 33a] to be without beginning or end because it lacks the [two] illuminators, because it is free of ebb and flow, and because it is permanently active'.

vāridhyuparisaṃsthitam K: lakṣmībījaṃ tatoddhr̥tya udadhīśasamanvitam T **90c** somāt saptamakoddhr̥tya K J^1 $J^2:$ somāsaptamakoddhr̥tya D: somāt saptamam uddhr̥tya T **90d** navavarṇā kuleśvarī K T: navavarṇṇākuleśvari $J^1:$ navavarṇṇāh kuleśvari $J^2:$ navarṇṇāh 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 $[\bar{A}]$, ¹⁴⁸ the first of the third [consonant class] [CA], the horse $[N(A)]^{149}$ united with the vulnerable point of the $D\bar{a}$ kinīs DA, wind A united with the ninth [of the solar vowels] [O], fire A with the house of fire A the residence of Lakṣmī [Ś(A)] ¹⁵³

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

¹⁴⁷Varṇanāmapaṭala, v. 40: pañcamāntaṃ lāñchanaṃ ca **kālaṃ puruṣam** eva ca | paśuṃ marmāntarangam ca makāram samudāhrtam.

 $^{^{148}}$ Varnanāmapatala, vv. 4c–5a: nārāyanam anākāram ankuśam *mukhadāraṇā (corr.: mukhadāru-nam Cod.) | 5 dīrghādyam nāmabhi $\langle r \rangle$ jñeyam.

¹⁴⁹The *Kālikākrama* (K) and the unattributed quotation by Jayaratha (T) read not *turangaṃ* 'horse' but *tarangaṃ* 'wave'. The written shape of the syllable ŅA is indeed wavelike in the Gupta script, a feature that has been preserved in the Śāradā script of Kashmir. However, ŅA is referred to as the 'horse sound' (aśvavarṇaḥ) elsewhere in the literature of the Kālīkula; see, e.g., *Varṇanāmapaṭala*, v. 33ab: *aśvaṃ megham adhovaktraṃ ṇakāraṃ parikīrtitam*; *Kālīkulapañcaśataka*, N², f. 31v6–32r1 (2.88b): *aśvārṇaṃ vāmakarṇake*.

 $^{^{150}}$ For dākinīmarma as a term for DA cf. Varṇanāmapaṭala, v. 32: musalaṃ caiva marmaṃ ca yoginīnāṃ ca vallabham | dakāraṃ damarādhāraṃ nāmabhi $\langle r \rangle$ jñeyam eva hi; and Tantrasadbhāva f. 114v1 16.233c: $dakāra \langle h \rangle$ 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 (pṛthivī) 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): pṛthivyādīni 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 Tantrālokaviveka vol. 2, p. 154: pṛthivyādīni tattvāni puruṣāntāni pañcasu | kramāt kādiṣu vargeṣu makārānteṣu suvrate ityādyuktyā kādayo māvasānāḥ pañcaviṃśatir varṇāḥ pṛthvītattvād ārabhya puruṣatattvāntaṃ yāvat sthitāḥ.

¹⁵²For *tejagrham* (Aiśa for *tejogrham*) 'the abode of fire', probably meaning a (triangular) fire-receptacle, denoting the vowel E, which had the written form of a triangle, see the synonym *vahnigeham* in the *Varṇanāmapaṭala* v. 13: *trikoṇam ekādaśamaṃ vahnigehaṃ ca yonigam* | śṛṅgāṭaṃ caiva ekāram nāmabhih parikīrtitam.

¹⁵³T has *lakṣmībijam* '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 somah [R].¹⁵⁵ It is also given in the $K\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}kulapa\tilde{n}ca\acute{s}ataka$ 3.35–40:

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35 daksabāhusthitam varnam mahānādena samyutam
tasyādhah śirasontastham mahāyonisamāyutam
36 vāmajānu(m) śirahkrāntam proddharet pindanāyakam
anena jñātamātrena yogayuktyā maheśvara
37 vaśīkaroti vīrendro brahmādīn yoginīs tathā
athānyac chrnu deveśa bījam bījavarottamam
38 savyaśravanapālistham hrdayam nābhisamyutam
kevalam vāmapārśvastham vāmakarnam samuddharet
39 adhahstād yojayed deva kapālārnatrtīyakam
nārāntram vāmapādādhoharimundena samyutam
40 jīvārnam yonibījena samyuktam saptamam hara
guhyam śiroruhādyastham dakṣiṇoru(m) samuddharet |
41 randhrasamkhyā mahāvidyā śuskāvigrahakoddhrtā
durlabhā tridaśeśānām siddhānām khecarīsu ca
42 asyāh samsmaranād eva merutulyo gurur bhavet
bhasmasād yāti sadyaiva pāpam yat pūrvasamcitam
43 anayā jñātayā deva kālikākulajātayā |
saptasaptatikotis tu vidyānām paramārthatah
44 adhītā tena deveśa kim anyair vistarena vā
N<sup>1</sup>, f. 13r3-v3; N<sup>2</sup>, ff. 43r3-44r2; N<sup>3</sup>, ff. 36r5-37r3
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35c śirasontasthaṃ N^2 N^3 : śirastontasthaṃ N^1 35d samāyutam conj. : mahāyutaṃ N^2 N^3 : mahāputaṃ N^1 37c deveśa N^1 N^2 : deveśī N^3 38a pālisthaṃ em. : pāṇisthaṃ Codd. 38b saṃyutaṃ N^2 N^3 : saṃyu + N^1 39a adhaḥstād em. : adhaḥsthād Codd. 40a hara N^1 N^3 : haraṃ N^2 40b saṃyutaṃ N^2 N^3 : saṃ + + N^1 41a randhrasaṃkhyā em. : randhrasaṃjñā Codd. 42a saṃsmaraṇād N^1 N^2 : sasmaraṇād N^3 42c sadyaiva N^1 N^2 : saṃdyaiva N^3 43c koṭis tu conj. : koṭīnāṃ Codd. 43d paramārthataḥ N^1 N^2 : pāramarthataḥ N^3

(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 *udadhiḥ* 'ocean' for VA is through reference to its watery nature, VAM being the seed-syllable of water and of its deity Varuṇa. See *Varṇanāmapaṭala 43*cd: *vakāraṃ vāruṇaṃ candraṃ sudhā saudhaṃ prakīrtitam*.

¹⁵⁵See *Tantrālokaviveka*, vol. 12, p. 202, glossing this: $somāt saptama \, r$. There is no doubt that the syllable intended is R, but it cannot be 'seventh from somah', since somah 'the moon' denotes SA or TA in the Mantra-code and R is not seventh from either of these. However, R is the seventh sound of the syllabary and 'seventh' is among its synonyms in the Mantra-code (Varnanāmapaṭala, v. 9: $rkta\langle m\rangle$ devakalādyam ca saptamam bhānur uttamam | napumsakādyam vikhyātam rkāram nāmabhih sadā). The vowels are 'lunar' when they are sixteen (A to AH) and 'solar' when they are reduced to twelve by the omission of the neuter or sterile vowels (R, R, L, and L). So the intended meaning must have been 'seventh of the lunar series'.

¹⁵⁶The syllable-code used here has been explained in the second Patala (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 $[\bar{A}]$ 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] [DA]. Then he should extract the human entrails [Y(A)]combined with the severed head of Visnu 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 [R]. (41) [Thus] has been extracted from the body of [the goddess] Śuskā, 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' (mantroddhāraḥ) the Mantra is as in the Bhadrakālī-mantravidhiprakaraṇa except that the final syllable is given as R 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).

 $^{^{157}}$ In spite of the grammatical irregularity that this entails I take the masculine adjectives merutulyo gurur of 42b to qualify the neuter $p\bar{a}pam$ 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): $s\bar{u}dayed$ $duskrt\bar{u}n$ ghor $\bar{u}n$ merutulya-m-*ayopam $\bar{u}n$ (em. : ayopam $\bar{u}n$ Cod.), with masculine $duskrt\bar{u}n$ for neuter $duskrt\bar{u}ni$. The deviation appears to have been prompted by the metre, the correct merutulyam guru being unmetrical.

¹⁵⁸ Yonigahvara f. 19v–20r4 (vv. 271–279): ebhyo mantrān pravakṣyāmi yathāmnāye prakāśitam | tridaśe dvitiyaṃ gṛhya navamadhyaṃ tu āsane | 272 laṭhamadhyaṃ adhe yojya tridaśe navamaṃ śire | asyaiva pañcamaṃ gṛhya śire deyaṃ vicakṣaṇāt | 273 kūṭarājaṃ mahāghoraṃ sarvasiddhikaraṃ param | jhahamadhyagataṃ gṛhya sayamadhyaṃ tu uddharet | 274 triyonī-aṅkuśaṃ deyam etad varṇatṛtīyakam | saptame prathamaṃ gṛhya kevalaṃ tu samuddharet | 275 taḍhamadhyagataṃ gṛhya ḍha-ūmadhyaṃ tu āsane | dvau varṇāv ekataḥ kuryād aśvadhāraṃ prakīrtitam | 276 navame antimoddhṛtya ñalamadhyam adhe dadet | uddhṛtaṃ ṣaṣṭhamaṃ varṇaṃ mahāsiddhikaraṃ param | 277 tridaśe prathamaṃ gṛhya tasyaiva navamaṃ śire | saptamaṃ tu mahāvarṇaṃ vāgvilāsaṃ prakīrtitam | 278 dasamadhyagataṃ gṛhya śalamadhyaṃ tu āsane | aṣṭamaṃ tu mahāvīra navamam adhunā śṛṇu | 279 tridaśe antimaṃ gṛhya kevalaṃ tu samuddharet | ante pāda samākhyātaṃ madhye nāmaṃ prakalpayet. This gives the Mantra as KHPHREM MAHĀCANDAYUGEŚVAR, 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). However, the form with RI, which provides the correct orthography for what is evidently the vocative singular of mahācandayogeśvarī, is also widely attested. We see it, for example, in the Guhyakālīkhaṇḍa of the Mahākālasaṇhitā, 161 the Guhyakālīpūjā, 162 the Uttarāmnāyayajñakrama, 163 and the scripture Jñānārnavatantra. 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 (Daksināmnāya), 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 R. 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: $navame\ antimoddhrtya$) for O. The code used here is that of the position of the 49 letters in the triangular grid of 49 triangles in descending rows of 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, and 13, known as the yonigahvaram, with the 50^{th} , 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 | na-vārṇeyaṃ guptatarā sadbhāvaḥ kālakarṣiṇī | śrīḍāmare mahāyāge parātparataroditā '[When] the set of eight syllables MAHĀCAṇṇAYOGEŚVAR [is preceded by KHPHREM or one of its variants], this is the most secret [Vidyā] of nine syllabes [known as Mātr]sadbhāva or Kāla[saṃ]karṣiṇī which has been taught [in the chapter of the Devyāyāmala on] the Great ṇāmara 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 R here is sanctioned by scripture (aṣṭamaś cātra varṇaḥ *ṣaṇṭhādya [corr.:śaṇṭhādya Ed.] iti saṃhitayā āveditam). He then demonstrates this by citing the passage edited above that also appears in the Devīdvyardhaśatikā and the Kālikākrama for these eight syllables that follow KHPHREM.

 $^{^{160}}$ Kālīkulakramārcana, f. 16r1–2: varāṅga-vihaga-śūra-puñja-puruṣa-kāla-sarvagata-dāraṇa-tr̥tīyādya-turaga-ḍākiṇīmarma-pavananavama-tejas-tejo $\langle grama \rangle$ -lakṣmīveśma-udadhi-somasaptamayogāt pañcaca-krasāmānyā $\langle m \rangle$ navākṣaravidyāṃ samuccārya. Here Vimalaprabodha is following the passage seen in the $Dev\bar{u}$ dvyardhaśatikā with the erroneous variant śūra- (see above, p. 279).

¹⁶¹Mahākālasaṃhitā, Guhyakālīkhaṇḍa 3.34: etasyaiva dvitīyārṇaṃ mahātaś caṇḍato 'py anu | saṃbodhanapadaṃ yogeśvaryā mantro navākṣaraḥ 'The second syllable of the same, MAHĀ, and then, after CAṇṇA, 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.

¹⁶²Guhyakālīpūjā, f. 10v1–2: КНРКЕМ МАНĀCANDAYOGEŚVARI AMBĀPĀDA.

¹⁶³ Uttarāmnāyayajñakrama, f. 2r: КНРНГЕМ МАНĀСАŅДАYOGEŚVARI BALIM GŖHŅNA 2 HŪM РНАТ; 5r: НКІМ ŚRІM КНРНГЕМ МАНĀСАŅДAYOGEŚVARI ŚRІPĀDUKĀM NAVASOPĀNAŚRІPĀDUKĀM PŪJAYĀMI NAMAH.

¹⁶⁴Jñānārṇavatantra 9.67–68b: khphremātmakaṃ samuccārya mahācaṇḍapadaṃ likhet | *yogeśvaripadaṃ (corr.: yogeśvarīpadaṃ Ed.) paścād vidyeyaṃ kālikā priye | uttarāmnāyavidyeyaṃ nāmnā kālīti viśrutā. On the Uttarāmnāya and the Kālīkula see SANDERSON 2007, pp. 342–343, n. 363.

Radiance (*bhāsācakram*), respectively KHMLYPHREM CAŅDAYOGEŚVARI RJHRIM ANĀKHYE GPHREM YOGEŚVARI PHAŢ and KHPHREM MAHĀCAŅDAYOGEŚVARI RKHPHREM PHAŢ RAUDRARAUDRE JHKHPHEM PHAŢ. ¹⁶⁵

The second of the two Mantras adopted from the Kālīkula in the *Bhadra-kālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa 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 Kālasamkarṣaṇī called both Kuṇḍaleśvarī and Kūṭeśvarī:168

8 gatvā vīrendranilayam candanāgurucarcitaḥ | madirānandacaitanyo pañcaratnasamācitaḥ | 9 prastaren mātrkām tatra sarvavānmayamātaram |

 $^{^{165}}$ These 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 *Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha*, f. 29v1) and Ṣaṭka 4, ff. 124v6–125r1 (*Mādhavakula* 3.37–41), quoted, but only in its first and last lines, in *Tantrālokaviveka*, 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 $n\bar{a}s\bar{a}rnam$ to $n\bar{a}s\bar{a}rnam$ to yield the $\bar{1}$ of HRĪM, and in the sixth *jihvayoḥ* to *jihvayā* to yield the RI of MAHĀCAŅPAYOGEŚVARI ($s\bar{u}ladandam$ tu jihvayā 'the staff of the trident [R(A)] with the tongue [I]'). The *anusvāraḥ* after each of the syllables $\bar{T}H\bar{R}$, $DH\bar{R}$, and $TH\bar{R}$ 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 \bar{R} for $R\bar{I}$ in these syllables parallels the alternation of \bar{R} and $R\bar{I}$ in the nine-syllable Vidyā.

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

vīradravyopaliptāyām bhuvi vīrendravanditaḥ |
10 saṃpūjya vividhair bhogais tato mantraṃ samuddharet |
mahāśūnyaṃ tatpravāhaṃ triśaktiparimaṇḍitam |
11 tato binduṃ tataś candraṃ tato yonyaṣṭamaṃ punaḥ |
tadadho yojayed vidvān yonikuṇḍān maheśvari |
12 aṣṭāviṃśatimaṃ bhadre nādāt saptamasaṃsthitam |
tadveśmaśirasā bhinnaṃ natipraṇavavarjitam |
13 piṇḍam etan mahābhāge sarvamantrāraṇiṃ param |
sarvamantreśvaraṃ sāraṃ sarvamantrapradīpakam |
14 sarvasāṃnidhyakaraṇaṃ sarvasiddhibharāvaham |
bhogamokṣapradaṃ sāraṃ devyāpiṇḍam anuttamam |

Jayadrathayāmala, Ṣaṭka 3, f. 108r4-6

10a *vividhair* em. : *vividhā* Cod. **10c** *trišaktiparimaṇḍitam* em. : *trišaktiṃ parimaṇḍitam* Cod. **11a** *binduṃ* 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] NAMAH 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 vīradravyam kadācana; Tantrālokaviveka, vol. 9 (Āhnika 15), p. 223 on 15.437c (carau ca vīradravyāṇi): vīradravyāṇi sārādirūpāṇi; Tantrāloka 16.49a: raktādisāraughacālanākarṣaṇādiṣu; Svacchandatantroddyota, vol. 3 (Paṭala 5), p. 41 on 5.48ab (madyaṃ māṃsaṃ tathā matsyam anyāni ca): anyānīti vīradravyāṇi '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 Mātṛkā syllabary is KHA.

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

¹⁷³ The Sanskrit tadveśmaśirasā bhinnaṃ is irregular. The sense in prose is tadveśmabhinnaśirasam '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 Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasaṃgraha, f. 44v4–5: mahāśūnyaṃ HA. tatpravāhatriśakti SA. bindu o. candra . yonyaṣṭamaṃ ekārād aṣṭamaṃ KHA. yonikuṇḍād aṣṭāviṃśatimaṃ PHA. nādāt saptamasaṃsthitaṃ hakārāt saptamaṃ RA. tadveśmabhinnam ekārayuktam ity arthaḥ. militvā HSKHPHREM kuṇḍaleśvaryāḥ.

all Mantras, the Essence that illumines all Mantras, that makes all [Mantradeities] 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 *Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakarana, 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 kālīkramavidhih, 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 Sṛstikālī 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 Kūteśvarī followed by the name of the deity and the honorific ending -PĀDA. The Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasamgraha explains when commenting on the passage that contains this instruction that the Mantra required is either HSKHPHREM MAHĀKĀ-LĪPĀDA or HSKHPHREM MAHĀCANDAYOGEŚVARĪPĀDA with the Mantras of the individual Kālīs consisting of PHĀM PHĀM PHEM 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 uccāraḥ kriyate sakṛt | tadā pra-kampate dehaḥ *samantāt tu (conj.:samanāttaṃ Cod.) na saṃśayaḥ | 16 hṛcchiraś-ca-śikhāvarma-locanāstravivarjitām | dhyānadhyeyavinirmuktāṃ cidacitpadamadhyagām | 17 spandamānāṃ pare vyomni sarvaśaktikalālayām | ā kālacakrakuharāc †chadanāt† parakuṇḍalīm | 18 prabodhya guru-vaktrāntaṃ 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 pādāntaṃ parameśāni punar *anyaṃ (A:mantraṃ B) śṛṇu priye | *mahātmānaṃ (A:mahānādaṃ B) nādayutaṃ mahābindusamanvitam | 46 kuṇḍalaṃ *dāraṇākrāntaṃ (em.:dāruṇākrāntaṃ ca B) bindunādasamanvitam | punar *binduṃ (B:bindu A) trikoṇaṃ ca kuṇḍalaṃ dhāmasaṃsthitam | 47 nāmapādasamāyuktaṃ mantraṃ sarvāsu kīrtitam. The Jayadrathayā-

This upgraded form of the nine-syllable Mantra (HSKHPHREM MAHĀ-CANDAYOGEŚVARI) 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 Kālasamkarsanī included in the Raśmimālā, 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: SAM SŖSTINITYE SVĀHĀ | HAM STHITIPŪRNE NAMAH | RAM MAHĀSAMHĀRINI KŖŚE CANDAKĀLĪ PHAŢ | HSKHPHREM MAHĀNĀKHYE ANANTABHĀSKARI MAHĀCANDAKĀLI PHAŢ | RAM MAHĀSAMHĀRIŅI KŖŚE CANDAKĀLĪ PHAT | HAM STHITIPŪRNE NAMAH | SAM SRSTINITYE SVĀHĀ | HSKHPHREM MAHĀCAŅDAYOGEŚVARI. 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 (srstih), stasis (sthitih), retraction (samhārah), 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 (HSKHPHREM MAHĀNĀKHYE ANANTA-BHĀSKARI MAHĀCANDAKĀLI PHAT) and the transcendent or universal fifth (HSKHPHREM MAHĀCANDAYOGEŚVARI).

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

malaprastāramantrasaṃgraha leaves it to the reader to understand for himself that the conjunct syllable 'taught above in the cycle of Kūṭeśvarī' is that of Kuṇḍaleśvarī taught in the third Ṣa-ṭka, Kuṇḍaleśvarī also being called Kūṭeśvarī in that chapter, as shown above (see p. 284). He explains only what should follow that syllable in the primary Mantra and then decodes the instructions for the Mantras for the individual Kālīs. Without the interspersed citations from the text he is explaining his commentary is as follows (f. 61r–6): MAHĀKĀLIPĀDA. ATHAVĀ MAHĀ-CAṇḍayogeśvarīpāda. . . . Phāṃ Phāṃ Phēṃ sṛṣṭikālipāda. . . . 3 sthitikālipāda. 3 saṃhārakālipāda. 3 *raktakālipāda (corr. raktakālipāda Cod.). 3 sukālipāda. 3 yamakālipāda. 3 mātaṇḍakālipāda. 3 mātaṇḍakālipāda. 3 kālāgnirudrakālipāda. 3 *mahākālakālipāda (corr.: mahākālakālikāpāda Cod.). 3 mahābhairavakālipāda. *evaṃ (em.: 3 evaṃ Cod.) devī 13. The numeral 3 here denotes the three syllables Phāṃ Phāṃ Phēṃ.

¹⁷⁷ Mahātripurasundarīvarivasyā (Karapātrasvāmin 1962), p. 255: [Oṃ Hrīṃ īṃ Oṃ] HSKHPHREṃ MAHĀCAŅDA*YOGEŚVARI (corr.: YOGĪŚVARI Ed.) KĀLIKE PHAṬ UTTARĀMNĀYA-SAMAYAVIDYEŚVARIKĀLIKĀDEVYAMBĀ[ŚRĪPĀDUKĀṃ PŪJAYĀMI NAMAḤ]. The additions in parenthesis are mine, replacing the author's indications to carry standing elements forward.

¹⁷⁸ Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, Sarvasādhāraṇakrama, Sūtra 25. On the context of recitation see *ibid.*, Sūtras 8–9: *atha raśmimālā*. 9 *suptotthitenaiṣā manasaikavāram āvartyā* 'Next the *Raśmimālā*. He should recite this once mentally as soon as he has risen from sleep'.

PHAT PHAT PHAT.

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 Kālīkula appears in learned Kashmirian sources in a mystical and soteriological context.

However, the contrast diminishes when we look beyond this exeges is to the primary sources of the tradition. The short Krama scriptures Kālīkulakramasadbhāva, Kālīkulapañcaśataka, and Devīdvyardhaśatikā 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 Kālasamkarsanī 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 Satka, when Devī asks Bhairava to teach Jayadratha, the king of Sindhu, the root Mantra of this Tantra, namely the seventeen-syllable Vidyā of Kālasamkarsanī, 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 Satka tells us that by seeing her Mandala, 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 Satkas that were subsequently added to the first. Indeed the whole work ends with several chapters setting out the means of propitiating a form of Kālasamkarsanī called Mahālaksmī¹⁸² with a variant of the seventeen-syllable Vidyā¹⁸³ as the means of attaining sovereignty over the earth (prthivyaiśvaryam) and obtaining from the goddess a sword that embodies her power and so renders its bearer invincible in battle (khadgasiddhih). 184

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

¹⁷⁹ Jayadrathayāmala, Ṣaṭka 1, ff. 69v6—70r1 (11.6—11b): 6 pihanāt gopitā yā ca gūḍhā *sarvārthasiddhidā (conj. [cf. Yonigahvara, f. 15v5 (212b): kūṭaṃ sarvārthasiddhidam]: sarvajñasiddhidā Cod.) | prabodhakaraṇī vidyā kṛṭyāvetālasādhanī | 7 trailokyarājyapradayā *yayā (conj.: yasyā Cod.) tulyā na vidyate | āścaryāṇi mahīyāṃsi pratyayāś ca tathaiva ca | 8 yayā jāyanti vīrāṇāṃ vidhānārpitacetasām | yayā sarvāṇi kāryāṇi ekayā sādhayet sadā | 9 yā na kīlayituṃ śakyā yasyānyogrā na vidyate | mantra mudrāthavā vidyā yā tvayādhyāsitāsakṛt | 10 kālarūpā mahāvidyā jagat karṣayate yataḥ | kālasaṃkarṣaṇī tena proktā yā prāk tvayā mama | 11 sā muhuḥ kṛpayā nātha saindhavāya prakāśyatām.

¹⁸⁰ Jayadrathayāmala, Ṣaṭka 1, f. 125r1–2 (19.66ab): dṛṣṭvaitan maṇḍalaṃ yodhā jayanti yudhi līlayā. ¹⁸¹ Jayadrathayāmala, Ṣaṭka 1, f. 177r9–v1 (40.87): saṃsthitā dhārakā *hy asya (em.:dyasya Cod.) śiracchedasya suvrate | sāṃgrāmikam idaṃ tantraṃ rājānasyātidurlabham.

¹⁸² Jayadrathayāmala, Ṣaṭka 4, ff. 222v5–237v3. Colophons: mahālakṣmīmatacakre devyutpattimantroddhārapaṭalaḥ (f. 224v2–3); mahālakṣmyā yāgapaṭalaḥ (f. 229r7–v1); mahālakṣmyādisiddhipaṭalaḥ (f. 232v4–5); mahālakṣmīvidhipaṭalaḥ (f. 234v1); mahālakṣmīvidhau rasadvayasiddhipaṭalaḥ (f. 237v3).

¹⁸³ The Vidyā is extracted on f. 223v2–7. It is decoded in the Jayadrathayāmalaprastāramantrasamgraha, f. 28r6 as follows: HRĪM MAHĀLAKSMYAI KALEŚVAR ŚRĪM ŚRYĀM HŪM PHAT PHAT

¹⁸⁴Jayadrathayāmala, Ṣaṭka 4, f. 223r1–2 (vv. 6–9b): adhunā śrotum icchāmi mahālakṣmīmataṃ śubham | utpattivratavijñānacaryāmantrasamāyutam | 7 sādhakānām yathā karma mudrāmandala-

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. The medieval Bengali narrative poem *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* portrays the first king of Kalinga as having received his sword from the goddess Caṇḍī; 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; and in a variant of this theme, drawing on the notion that the king's sword is an embodiment of the goddess herself, Danteśvarī, 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 niśamya deveśaḥ priyāvaktroditaṃ vacaḥ | 9 *prāha (corr.:prāhi Cod.) tantravarasyānte mahālakṣmīmataṃ śubham; f. 224r7: dadāti pṛthivīśvaryam acirān nātra saṃśayaḥ; f. 226r1: yad icched *rājyasaṃpattiṃ (corr.: rājyasaṃpattis Cod.); f. 228r6–7, speaking of the Yoginīs worshipped in the Maṇḍala: etat sādhāraṇam devi khaḍgasiddhipradāyikā⟨ḥ⟩ | acirāt pārthivendratvaṃ sādha⟨ka⟩sya dadanti tāḥ; f. 230v1: carukaṃ juhuyād devi bhāgaṃ tāsāṃ prakalpayet | dadanti pṛthivīśvaryaṃ; f. 231v7: siddhikṣetrāṇy ataḥ śṛṇu | yeṣu saṃsiddhyate mantrī yena rājyaṃ labhed dhruvaṃ; f. 232r3: saṃvatsare narendratvaṃ; and f. 232r4: siddhyate caiva samrājyam.

185 REGMI 1965–1966, Part 3, p. 27 (No. 31), ll. 25–26: śrīmanmāneśvarīvaralabdhakrpāṇaśāsitānyamahīpālaśrīśrījayasthitimallarājamalladevena śrībhaṭṭārakebhya iyaṃ pranāḷikā 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 -śrīganḍakīvaralabdhaprasāda- (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 Khiñjalimaṇḍala as -stambheśvarīlabdhavaraprasāda- (SINGH 1994, p. 101), and the Hoysaļa 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.

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

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 Prthivīnārayan 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 Vindhyavāsinī, 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 templecomplex 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 vraḥ 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 (CŒDÈS 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 Kamraten añ śrī Indrapatīndrāditya, and his daughter Šikharamahādevī to the Thai prince Pha Muang of Muang Rat (CŒDÈS 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 Saiva palace culture of Bali, where krises, 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 bhatāri 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 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 ($d\bar{\imath}k\bar{\imath}a$) and Vidyā of this goddess from his wife's mother, a great Yoginī ($siddhayogin\bar{\imath}$, $yogeśvar\bar{\imath}$). He then goes to Śrīparvata to perform the postinitiatory observances that are the means of achieving mastery over this Vidyā-deity ($vidy\bar{a}s\bar{a}dhanam$). Once mastered ($siddh\bar{a}$) she appears before him and grants him a magnificent sword (khadgottamam 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. The same story is included in the $Brhatkath\bar{a}manjar\bar{\imath}$, a briefer redaction of the same materials composed by the Kashmirian Kṣemendra between 1028 and 1063.

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 Kashmir:

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1 śṛṇu deveśi tattvena rahasyam paramadurlabham |
ekāntī devatā ⟨yā sā⟩ kālasaṃkarṣaṇī parā |
2 sutānāṃ jīvitārthe ca pūjayet parameśvarīm |
purā tu devadeveśi gauryāḥ putro na jīvitaḥ |
3 divyaṃ varṣasahasra⟨m⟩ ca tapas taptaṃ mayā priye |
jīvitārthena putrāṇāṃ kṛtaṃ 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 dīrghajīvas suto bhavet |
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śrīdevy uvāca:

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

īśvara uvāca:

¹⁹⁰ Kathāsaritsāgara 68.64—71b: athākasmād grhāyātām śvasrūm tām siddhayoginīm | anugrahārthī so 'bhyarcya prārthayām āsa yatnataḥ | 65 sātha yogeśvarī tasmai sabhāryāya yathāvidhi | kālasamkarṣinīm vidyām dīkṣāpūrvam upādiśat | 66 tataḥ śrīparvatam gatvā sa vidyām tām asādhayat | sā ca siddhā satī sākṣāt tasmai khadgottamam dadau | 67 prāptakhadgaś ca saṃpannaḥ sa tayā bhāryayā saha | kāntimatyā krtī vāmadatto vidyādharottamaḥ | 68 tato rajatakūṭākhye śrṅge malayabhūbhrtaḥ | krtaṃ puravaraṃ tena nijasiddhiprabhāvataḥ | 69 tato vidyādharendrasya tatra kālena kanyakā | tasyāṃ patyāṃ samutpannā nāmnā lalitalocanā | 70 jātamātraiva sā vidyādharasaccakravartinaḥ | bhāryā bhavitrī nirdiṣṭā gaganodbhavayā girā.

¹⁹¹Bṛhatkathāmañjarī 9.52–54, reading in 53 tacchikṣayā vāmadattaḥ *kālasaṃkarṣiṇīṃ śritaḥ (em.: kāle saṃkarṣiṇīṃ śritaḥ Ed.'s MS KHA: kālasaṃkarṣaṇo 'sinaḥ Ed.) | vidyāṃ śrīparvate dhyātvā khadgavidyādharo 'bhavat.

7 śrnu devi pravaksyāmi tantram trailokyadurlabham vedādyam pūrvam uddhrtya mahāpāpāntam uddharet 8 pānujam repham ārūdham agnidhāmnaiva bhūsitam ardhendubindusahitam mantram tridasadāmaram 9 svanāmasahitā devī namaskārāntayojitā | karādidehanyāsam ca ekoccārena kārayet 10 svagrhe pūjayed devīm bhogair nānāvidhaiś śubhaih padmam cātra surekham tu caturasram tu prsthatah 11 dvāraiś caturbhis samyuktam nānāraṅgais tu rañjitam ādau snātvā suvastrā ca bhaktyā pūjyā maheśvari 12 pūjitā varadā devī śuklapakse dine tithau trayodaśyām arkadine caturthyām ca varānane 13 mārgaśīrse tathā jyaisthe pratisamvatsaram punah grhe bhartuś ca putrārthe śāntyarthe pūjayet sadā | 14 devaveśmapratisthādau sutakanyāvivāhayoh sasthyā yāge tathā **khadge** jantau jāte prapūjayet 15 rājakāryesu sarvesu yajñe devīm prapūjayet

Kāśmīrikakarmakāṇḍapaddhati, f. 35v (Ekāntavāsinīdevatāyāgaḥ)

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. Nityākaula, f. 4v3–4: + ntraṃ tridaśaḍāmaraṃ]:didaśaḍāmaram Cod. 9c nyāsaṃ ca conj.:nyāsena Cod. 10d pṛṣṭhataḥ conj.:pṛṣṭatām Cod. 14a devaveśmapratiṣṭhādau conj.:pratiṣṭhādevaveśmādau Cod. 15b devīṃ conj.:dīkṣāṃ Cod.

Hear, Deveśī, in truth the secret supremely difficult to acquire. The goddess Ekāntī is the supreme Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī. 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 Ekāntavāsinī /Ekāntī with Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī in this text see SANDERSON 1990, pp. 61–63.

¹⁹³That 'the great sin' ($mah\bar{a}p\bar{a}pam$) is K[A] so that the letter which follows it ($mah\bar{a}p\bar{a}p\bar{a}ntam$) is KH[A] may be inferred from the $Varnan\bar{a}mapaṭala$. For that lists 'the cutting', 'Brahmā' and 'the

with the fire-pit [E] and accompanied by the half-moon and the dot[, namely] the Tridaśadāmara Mantra [KHPHREM]. The goddess [that is this Vidyā] should be accompanied by her name [in the dative case] and have NAMAH 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 Mārgaśīrsa and Jyaistha, 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] Sasthī, 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 brahmāṇaṃ śīrṣakaṃ caiva kakāraṃ 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 uttamam | pāśam tatra samālikhya aśvattham vrksam uttamam | tasyādhastāl likhen mantrī nāmnā gandhavatīnadī $\langle m
angle \mid$ tasya daksinatīre tu śmaśānām cālikhed budhah). There are striking affinities between these two early versions, notably in the detail that Visnu offers his own blood when Siva holds out the skull to him for alms, with the difference that in the Ur-Skandapurāna Visnu opens a vein in his forehead for this purpose (6.4–6b), whereas in the Picumata he holds out his arm, from which Siva then extracts the blood by piercing it with his trident (78.214c–216 [f. 311r3–4]: kapālamālinam drstvā jñātvā ca purusottamah | svabhujam darśayām āsa mahāsattvo mahābalah | tato mayā triśūlena hatas tu śubhalocane | śronitasyātivegena tato dhārā vinirgatā | mahāghosena patitā kapāle cātibhāsvare).

 $^{^{194}}$ Thus KHPHREM KĀLASAMKARSANYAI NAMAḤ or KHPHREḤ EKĀNTAVĀSINYAI NAMAḤ.

 $^{^{195}}$ I have emended the manuscript's reading $d\bar{\imath}k_{\bar{\imath}}\bar{a}m$ to $dev\bar{\imath}m$ here. The reading is not impossible. For there is a D $\bar{\imath}k_{\bar{\imath}}\bar{a}$ dev $\bar{\imath}$ in the Kashmirian Ś \bar{a} kta pantheon, this name being an alias of the goddess Bhuvanam \bar{a} lin $\bar{\imath}$ taught in the $Jayadrathay\bar{\imath}mala$. However, that goddess has a very specific application both there and in the Kashmirian rituals, namely, as her alias indicates, initiation ($d\bar{\imath}k_{\bar{\imath}}\bar{a}$); 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 *Kālīmukha*, evidently a text of the Kālīkula, specifies a sword, a dagger, or a knife as suitable substrates for the worship of this goddess; 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 (HŪM PHAŢ KHPHREM MAHĀCAŅDAYOGEŚVAŖ), 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.

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 Tantrālokaviveka on 29.25–27b (J): pūjyam etad brahmapadme nirākhyam ca nirāmaye | 5.49 ṣoḍaśānte navānte vā cidantah parameśvara | svasamvittikramenaiva *bāhye (N¹: bāhya N³) vātha trilocana | 5.50

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 *Netratantra, 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.

¹⁹⁷Tantrāloka 27.44: khadgam krpānikām yad vā kartarīm makuram ca vā | vimalam tat tathā kuryāc chrīmatkālīmukhoditam.

¹⁹⁸ Kālīkulapañcaśataka N¹ f. 18r3–5, N³ f. 43v6–44r3 (N² lacks the folio that contained this portion): 4.71 pūjayed bindumārgordhvam mahātejahsvarūpinīm | bhāvābhāveṣu sarveṣu samhāracakranāyikām | 72 mahātejovatīm dīptām bindūrdhvapathagāminīm | tatra pūjyā prayatnena svasamvedanatatparaih | 73 athavā cchurikām *sthāpya (N^1 : sthāpyā N^2) kartarīm vā sudārunām | *mahāmukuraprsthe (mukura conj. : mukuta Codd.) tu pūjyā samhārabhairavī. The Vidyā is extracted in 4.64–69. I have emended the reading of the manuscripts mahāmukutaprsthe 'on a large crown' to mahāmukuraprsthe 'on a large mirror' because I know no instance of worship on crowns, because the related passage cited above from the Kālīmukha 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 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.

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/Pratyangirā, whose cult is taught in the second Ṣaṭka of the <code>Jayadrathayāmala</code>, ²⁰⁰ is summoned into her Maṇḍala for worship as 'the goddess of the king's Mantra²⁰¹ present in and as the sword' (<code>khaḍgasthākhaḍgarūpiṇī</code>). 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

*rājavartena (N^1 : rājavattena N^3) rajasā vyomabimbam tu kārayet | bimbadvādaśakam bāhye tadrūpam avatārayet | 5.51 *lohitām (em. [= J]: lohitam Codd.) vyomarekhām tu (rekhām tu em. [= J]: rekhānta Codd.) dadyāt sindūrakena *ca (Codd.: tu J) | viparyayeṇa vā kāryā śuklā vā vyomarekhikā | 5.52 niśite śūlacakre vā pūjayet tat *svadehajaiḥ (em.: svadehaje Codd.) | pañcāśītis tu devīnām koṭayas tatra nityaśaḥ | 5.53 vyomarūpāś ca tiṣṭhanti mahāsiddhipradā yataḥ | madhye pūjyā mahākālī bāhye 'nyā dvādaśa kramāt | 5.54 pūrvād ārabhya sarvās tāh pūjayed yoginandana; and 5.78: pūjayed raktavastre vā dīpe **khadgeśamūrdhani** | *madhye (N^2 N^3 : + dhye N^1) pūjyā punar devī vidyeśānī 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 *Tantrarājatantrāvatārastotra* of Viśvāvarta, according to which Siddhalakṣmī is the principal deity of the second Ṣaṭka. Her Vidyā and its worship are taught at its end (ff. 129r1–132v3).

²⁰¹Navarātrapūjā, f. 5r6: śrī 3 rājamantrabhaṭṭārikāśrīsiddhilakṣmīdevārcanaṃ kārayet '[Next,] the worship of the deity Siddhilakṣmī, the thrice venerable goddess of the king's Mantra'; and Navarātrapūjāvidhi, f. 15v11: śrīrājakulabhaṭṭārakapāraṃparyakrameṇa śrīsiddhilakṣmīdevīthaṇḍilyarcanaṃ '[Next,] the worship of Siddhilakṣmīdevī in the vase (Newari thaṇḍili) in accordance with the tradition of the venerable royal palace'. On the role of Siddhilakṣmī in the royal ritual of the Kathmandu valley see Sanderson 2003–04, pp. 366–372.

²⁰²E.g. Navarātrapūjāvidhi, f. 17r1–2 (in the worship of Siddhilakṣmī): yā sā parāparā sūkṣmā khaḍgasthā khaḍgarūpiṇī | suralokagatā devī *sāyātu (em.:sāyāntu Cod.) iha maṇḍale; Pratyaṅgirāpaddhati, f. 15v−16r: yā sā parāparā devī khaḍgasthā kha⟨d⟩garūpiṇī | suralokagatā *yāsti (conj.:yānti Cod.) *āyātu (conj.:āyāntu Cod.) iha maṇḍale; Uttarāmnāyapavitrārohaṇavidhi, f. 4v6 (in which the Yajamāna is identified as the Malla king Jayasthiti [r. 1382–1395]): yā sā parāparā devī khaḍgasthā *khaḍgarūpiṇī (em.:khasvarūpiṇī Cod.) | suralokagatā saumyā *āyātu (em.:āyāṃtu Cod.) iha mandale.

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 Kalhana 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 Mahānayaprakāśa, 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 (vidvesanam). 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 vidvesanam. 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 $\bar{A}ngirasakalpa$ 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 Hrasvanātha and his performing hostile rituals of chastisement, immobilization, and dissension is presented in SANDERSON 2007, pp. 280–291.

Sigla and Abbreviations

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 CŒDES 1937–1966

KBC = The Korean Buddhist Canon

KSTS = Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies

NAK = National Archives, Kathmandu

NGMPP = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project

OSM = Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar

 $P_1 = BORI MS 960 \text{ of } 1887–91 ($ *Āngirasa*)

 $P_2 = BORI MS 959 \text{ of } 1887–91 ($ *Āṅgirasa*)

SRPD = Srinagar, Manuscript Collection of the Research and Publication Department of the Jammu and Kashmir Government

T/121 = OSM MS T/121 (Angirasakalpa)

 $T/187 = OSM MS T/187 (\bar{A}\dot{n}girasakalpa)$

Taishō = *Taishō shinshū daizokyō* (The Tripitaka in Chinese)

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