

The Cult of Khaḍgarāvaṇa

by

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Spring 2007

The Cult of Khaḍgarāvaṇa

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Dedicated To My Family,

Corinne, Juniper, and Ana,

For supporting me during this time-consuming endeavor.

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Introduction

Overview of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*

Possession is a condition that continues to be a fact of life in most South Asian contexts. The realities of physical and mental illnesses were fertile ground for texts with practical remedies in mind. There is a class of texts, known as *Bhūtantras*, that is solely concerned with curing possession and related illnesses. An allied genre, whose texts are known as *Gāruḍika*,¹ is concerned with the classification of snakes, treatment of snakebite, and illnesses caused by other venomous creatures. The *Kriyākālaguṇottara*² is an early Śaiva text that combines the two genres. It is, in fact, the *locus classicus* of the *Bhūtantra* and *Gāruḍika* genres. The text survives in a half-dozen Nepalese manuscripts and one partial manuscript held in Jammu.³ Its thirty-five chapters deal with everything from the warding off of snakes and scorpions to various techniques of combatting childhood and adult possession. In many ways, it is a cross between a religious and folk-medical text.

The text was known to Kṣemarāja in Kashmir in the eleventh century,⁴ and is likely somewhat older than this. Up until now, no editions of the text have been published, aside

¹Cf. SANDERSON 2001: 4, fn. 4

²The meaning of the title *Kriyākālaguṇottara* is not yet entirely clear to me. *Kriyākāla* is a lesser known Ayurvedic term. It literally means “time of action” and refers specifically to the time when treatment is begun (SINGH 1969: 451–3). The literal meaning of the whole title would be: “Higher Qualities in the Time of Action.” More research into the use of the term in Ayurvedic texts is needed. It may refer more specifically to the time of counteracting poison, which would be fitting given the concerns of our text.

In the *Kubjikāmatantra*, both GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN’s edition and the more recent (partial-) edition by HEILJGERS-SEELEN read *sā kriyākālaguṇottarā...devī* at verse 16.42. The possibility that there is a goddess by this name is fascinating. HEILJGERS-SEELEN translates it as a *bahuvrīhi* rather than a proper name: “the *kriyā*-[*śakti*], superior to the qualities of time...” (HEILJGERS-SEELEN 1994: 265). They list as a variant *kriyākālaguṇottare*, attested in three manuscripts including D, the oldest of the group. Unfortunately neither scholar offers philological notes explaining their rationale in choosing between readings. The HEILJGERS-SEELEN edition is apparently based on GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN’s. SANDERSON points out the many problems with this *editio princeps* in his 2002 review. I have not done enough work with either the *Kubjikāmata* or the rest of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* to suggest if the reading *kriyākālaguṇottare* is superior, but initially it seems more likely. On the other hand, at *Kubjikāmata* 11.87, we have *kriyākālaguṇottaram*, apparently as the name of a male deity or an adjective modifying him. More research is needed.

³I recently discovered a reference to a sixteen folio partial manuscript held at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. I have ordered a reproduction of it.

⁴Cf. SANDERSON 2001: 14, fn. 13. SANDERSON notes that Kṣemarāja quotes from the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* in his commentary to *Netratantra* verses 19.62c–64b, 69, 172–178b, 179a, 179c–180b, 180cd, and 182. There is also a lengthy quote from the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* in the commentary to *Netratantra* 19.81ab (SHĀSTRĪ 1939: 157–8). I have collated some of these testimonia with the Nepalese readings, but this is too preliminary to include here. I can say that the verses (as edited by SHĀSTRĪ) seem to be split in their agreement, sometimes reflecting the readings of β , and sometimes those of γ .

from a few isolated verses cited in the works of SANDERSON⁵ and TÖRZSÖK,⁶ and the brief transcriptions in two manuscript catalogues.⁷

The genre as a whole has hardly caught the notice of scholars despite its importance for understanding the religious beliefs and practices as well as the medical knowledge of early South Asian peoples. Perhaps the earliest reference to it is in *Chandogya Upaniṣad* 7.1.2. The context is the sage Nārada describing his scholarly qualifications. He lists the genres he has studied including the four books of the Veda, histories, mathematics, and notably for us, the “science of spirits” (भूतविद्या) and “science of serpent beings” (सर्पदेवजनविद्या).⁸ Thus here we have evidence that the genre may be at least 2,500 years old. Clearly it was important enough at that time to be included in Nārada’s brief list, and I suggest that it has continually played a fundamental role in folk and, to some extent, popular Hindu religion.⁹ A cursory survey of large manuscript catalogs such as that of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP), reveals literally hundreds of texts concerned with spirit possession, snakes, and poisons. We currently have only a handful of non-critical editions of texts which may come under the genre Bhūtatantra, and none, to my knowledge, for the Gāruḍatantras. Such important texts deserve critical editions, and the genres as a whole deserve a survey, which I intend to carry out as part of the larger Ph.D. project.¹⁰

The *Kriyākālaguṇottara* is quite possibly the earliest surviving text which is solely devoted to Bhautika and Gāruḍa interests. The *Netratantra*, recently dated to the 8th century by Alexis SANDERSON,¹¹ has as its nineteenth chapter a self-contained Bhūtatantra directed

⁵SANDERSON 2007: 288, fn. 181

⁶TÖRZSÖK in PADOUX 2000 vol. II. For complete list of TÖRZSÖK’s references, see my section on References to the Palm leaf under the Manuscripts section.

⁷Cf. ŚĀSTRĪ 1915: 85–6 (in GRÜNENDAHL 1989) and RĀSHṬRIYA-PUSTAKĀLAYA (Vol. IV) 1967: 66–68

⁸OLIVELLE, 1998: 258–9, 563.

⁹By “folk Hinduism” I mean the religion as practiced on the village level. By “popular Hinduism” I refer to the mainstream Hindu traditions found in more urban areas and most prolifically disseminated through texts and in modern times, the media. We could easily problematise the term “Hinduism” itself, but that is beyond the scope of what I am doing here.

¹⁰The cause of this popular neglect is the subject for another paper, however one might argue, and recently Frederick SMITH has done so, that possession forms one of the most important cornerstones of Hindu religion. SMITH goes on to argue that the place of possession within Hinduism has been continually downplayed by orthodox transmitters of the literature, including non-Indian scholars in modern times, in order to construct a more sophisticated and orderly Hinduism. SMITH’s voluminous book, it may be argued, fulfills the need for a survey, however most of the important Sanskrit texts on possession, such as the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, are unknown to (or at least not cited by) SMITH because they have not yet been edited and published.

¹¹SANDERSON 2005: 293–4.

at a royal readership. It is in his 11th century commentary to the text that Kṣemarāja cites passages from the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*.¹² We have several canonical lists of Bhūtantras, such as those found in the *Śrikanṭhīya* and *Jñānapañcāsikā*.¹³ Although these lists do not directly cite the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, they do contain titles, such as *Khadgarāvaṇa* and *Caṇḍāsīdhāra* which are taught in it. We also have a text variously spelled *Trotala*, *Trotalottara*, *Trotula*, *Toḍala*, or *Totula*, that falls under the Gāruḍa class.

In order to give an overview of what the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* as a whole is concerned with, we can let its introductory chapter speak for itself. Note that this is a *non-critical* rendering of the first chapter for introductory purposes. Both the edition and translation are thus highly tentative.

The Opening Chapter

“प्रणम्य शिरसा देवं श्रीकण्ठमुमया सह ।
कलया कलितं कान्तममितौजःशुभप्रदम् ॥ १ ॥

॥ कार्तिकेय उवाच ॥

Bowing his head to the Lord Śrikanṭha together with Umā,¹⁴
to that one who is lovely, adorned with the crescent moon,
granting blessings out of his boundless energy,

Kārttikeya said:

विविधं मे श्रुतं तन्त्रं लोके आश्चर्यकारकम् ।
सिद्धिमुक्तिप्रदं सर्वं त्वयोक्तं परमेश्वर ॥ २ ॥

¹²Cf. above, note 4

¹³For both see SANDERSON 2001, 14fn, and for a preliminary edition of the former see Hanneder 1998, 237–268.

¹⁴This can be taken three ways: It could mean Kārttikeya is bowing to both Śrikanṭha and Umā; it could mean both Kārttikeya and Umā are bowing to Śrikanṭha, or it could be a general introductory verse wherein the reader mentally bows. The latter case is slightly problematic without a finite verb. I prefer to take the second possibility—that it is Kārttikeya bowing to Śrikanṭha who is together with Umā.

I have [already] heard all of the various tantras.¹⁵
They give rise to miracles in the world. All grant powers
and liberation, the ones you taught O Supreme Lord.

न श्रुतं गारुडं किञ्चित् सद्यःप्रत्ययकारकम् ।
तमाचक्ष्व सुरश्रेष्ठ मम भक्तस्य शङ्कर ॥ ३ ॥

O Śaṅkara, O Best of Gods, I have heard no
Gāruda[tantras] whatsoever, which grant immediate
evidence of their efficacy. Teach it to me, your devotee.

लक्षणं नागजातीनां गर्भोत्पत्तिमशेषतः ।
रूपकं सर्वनागानां व्यन्तराणां च जातकम् ॥ ४ ॥

[And tell me] the classification of the classes of serpents,
the birth of their young without omitting any detail,
the appearance of all the snakes, and the classes of intermediate [snake divinities].

ग्रहयक्षपिशाचानां शाकिनीनां च लक्षणम् ।
बालग्रहाश्च ये क्रूराः पीड्यन्ते नित्यनिर्घृणाः ॥ ५ ॥

[And tell me] the classification of Seizers, Yakṣas, Piśācas, and Śākinīs,
and those cruel Child-Seizers, which always mercilessly torment.

नारीगर्भकरा ये तु तेषां कथय रूपकम् ।
गोनसानां तु देवेश वृश्चिकानां तु लक्षणम् ॥ ६ ॥

And tell me the signs of those spirits which impregnate women,

¹⁵In this verse I take the singulars in the sense of a system, the collective system of the tantras, and translate it plurally for effect.

and the classification of Gonasas and scorpions, O Lord of Gods.

अन्ये ऽपि विविधा दुष्टा रासभा कीटलूतयः ।
ज्वराः कतिविधाः प्रोक्ता असाध्यसाध्यमेव च ॥ ७ ॥

And the various other evil Rāsabha [parasites],
worms, and spiders. And [tell me] how many
types of fevers are known, and the cure of the incurable.

ज्ञानयोगक्रियादीक्षामन्त्राश्चाचार्यलक्षणम् ।
दीक्षितानां च समया सिद्धिसाधनसाधके ॥ ८ ॥

And tell me the classification of doctrine, yoga, rites, initiation,
mantras, as well as the classification of teachers, and the
post-initiatory obligations of students and those in regard
to advanced students striving for attainment.

गारुडं भूततन्त्रं च सिद्धान्तं यच्च-म्-उत्तमम् ।
तत्सर्वं मम देवेश अज्ञो ऽहं भवतः पुरा ।
स्वयं वद महादेव दीनानामभयङ्कर ॥ ९ ॥

Tell the Gāruḍa and Bhūtantras, and what[ever other]
supreme doctrine. Tell all of that to me O Lord of Gods,
I am ignorant before you. Tell me yourself O Mahādeva,
O granter of security to the wretched!

॥ ईश्वर उवाच ॥

The Lord Said:

शृणु वक्ष्यामि तत्त्वेन तन्त्रसद्भावमुत्तमम् ।

देव्यायाः कथितं पूर्वमन्येषां गोपितं मया ॥ १० ॥

Listen, I will tell you truthfully that supreme essence of the Tantras!
Previously I revealed it to the Goddess, but concealed it from others.

[I said:]

गारुडं मन्त्रवादं च सिद्धान्तं यच्च-म्-उत्तमम् ।
सर्वेष्वेतेषु देवेशि सिद्धं नान्यत्र कीर्तितम् ॥ ११ ॥

In regards to all of these—the Gāruḍa[tantra], the system of mantra-sorcery,
and the most excellent scripture—the true teaching has been taught nowhere else.

[The teaching begins]

सर्वसिद्धिप्रदो देवः सर्वज्ञानप्रदायकः ।
भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदः सो वै भक्तानां कारणेश्वरः ॥ १२ ॥¹⁶

The Lord grants all powers and bestows all gnostic insight.
The Lord who is the [Primal] Cause verily grants
enjoyment and liberation to his devotees.

न तेन रहितं किञ्चिदिहलोके परत्र च ।
स च ब्रह्मा स वै विष्णुः सगरुडः पुरंदरः ॥ १३ ॥

There is nothing without him in this world or the next.
He is Brahma, indeed, he is Viṣṇu. He is Garuḍa and Indra.

स रुद्रः सोम सूर्यो वा ईश्वरो ऽथ सदाशिवः ।¹⁷

¹⁶We have सो instead of सः here *metri causa*.

¹⁷Note that सोम lacks its *visarga* due to the metre.

एवं सर्वगतो देवः सर्वव्यापी परात्परः ॥ १४ ॥

He is Rudra, Soma, indeed Sūrya; He is Īśvara
and also Sadāśiva. Present in everything in this way,
the Lord pervades everything and is transcendent.

यं कामं ध्यायते योगी तत्कामफलदो भवेत् ।
तं ज्ञात्वा सिद्ध्यते मन्त्री नात्र कार्यविचारणा ॥ १५ ॥

He grants the fruit of whatever desire the Yogi meditates upon.
Knowing him, the Mantra practitioner succeeds, there can be no doubt.

इति क्रियाकालगुणोत्तरे प्रथमः पटलः ॥

Thus concludes the first chapter in the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*.”

The text is concerned with classification and healing. The concordance on the following page can serve as a table of contents. Note that chapters 21–23 treat pediatric illnesses, and will be discussed in the next section because of how other texts combined them with the Khaḍgarāvaṇa teachings.

Concordance of the Nepalese Manuscripts

Chapter	Title	Palm	Pra	Db	Dc	Prb	Da
Ch. 1	<i>(Introductory Chapter)</i>	1v	1v	1v	1v	1v	1v
Ch. 2	<i>(Nāgajāti)</i>	2v	2r	2r	2r	2v	2r
Ch. 3	<i>(Daṃṣṭrā)</i>	4v	3v	3v	3r	5v	4r
Ch. 4	<i>(Astrological)</i>	6v	4v	5r	4v	7v	5r
Ch. 5	<i>(Debāsthasaptadhātavaḥ)</i>	8v	6r	6v	6r	10v	7r
Ch. 6	<i>(Pañcatattvāḥ)</i>	14v	10r	10v	9r	17r	11v
Ch. 7	<i>(Viśa)</i>	19r	12v	13v	11v	21v	14r
Ch. 8	<i>Bhūtalakṣaṇapāṭala</i>	33v	21v	21v	20r	37v	24v
Ch. 9	<i>Khaḍgarāvaṇasya...</i>	42v	27r	27r	25v	48r	31r
Ch. 10	<i>Maṇḍalavidhāna</i>	47v	30r	30r	28v	53v	33v
Ch. 11	<i>Bhūtapāṭala</i>	49v	31v	31r	30r	56r	35v
Ch. 12	<i>Lohakasya Kalpa</i>	59r	37r	37r	35r	66r	41v
Ch. 13	<i>Krodheśvarasya Kalpa</i>	60v	38r	38r	36r	67v	43r
Ch. 14	<i>Devatrāsasya Kalpa</i>	61v	38v	38v	37r	69r	44v
Ch. 15	<i>Aghorasya Kalpa</i>	62v	39r	39r	37v	70r	45r
Ch. 16	<i>Jvareśvarasya...Kalpa</i>	64r	40r	39v	38r	71v	46r
Ch. 17	<i>Jvarādhikāra</i>	65r	40v	40v	39r	72v	47r
Ch. 18	<i>Dhātuvikāracikitsā</i>	68v	42v	42v	40v	76r	50r
Ch. 19	<i>Abhiṣekapaṭala</i>	73v	45v	45v	43v	81r	55r
Ch. 20	<i>(Sūtikopadravakriyā)</i>	78r	48r	48r	45v	85r	X
Ch. 21	<i>Jātamātrabālacikitsā</i>	81r	49v	50r	47v	88r	X
Ch. 22	<i>Bālānām cikitsā</i>	89v	54v	54v	52v	96r	X
Ch. 23	<i>Bālagrahacikitsā</i>	93r	56v	56v	54v	99v	X
Ch. 24	<i>Rakṣāpāṭala</i>	99r	60v	60r	59v	106v	X
Ch. 25	<i>Śākinilakṣaṇa</i>	109r	67r	66r	67r	118r	X
Ch. 26	<i>Piṇḍatrayoddhāra</i>	110v	68r	67r	68r	119v	X
Ch. 27	<i>Vṛścikakalpa</i>	115v	71r	70r	72v	128r	X
Ch. 28	<i>Jvālāgardabha</i>	121r	75r	73v	74v	132v	X
Ch. 29	<i>Gonasasambhitā</i>	125v	78r	76r	77r	137v	X
Ch. 30	<i>Lūtāpāṭala</i>	132r	82v	80v	80v	145v	X
Ch. 31	<i>Markaṭīcikitsā</i>	X	X	X	83v	152r	X
Ch. 32	<i>Svānacikitsā</i>	137v	86r	84r	84v	155r	X
Ch. 33	<i>Viśaguḍādhikāra</i>	140v	88r	86r	86r	159r	X
Ch. 34	<i>Nāgakriḍā</i>	142r	89r	87r	87r	160v	X

*Parentheses indicate that the title is not in manuscripts and is very tentatively supplied by editor.

*Dots (...) indicates that the title was abridged to fit in the chart.

*X indicates that the chapter is not present in the manuscript.

The Contents of Chapter Nine

Chapters nine through twelve are known as the *Khḍgarāvaṇakalpa*, and they treat his origin, mantras, maṇḍalas, and worship in more detail than any of the other Indian sources. The other Indian sources treating *Khḍgarāvaṇa* will be discussed in more detail, and include the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, *Tantrasārasaṃgraha*, *Prapañcasārasaṃgraha*, *Śāradātilaka*, *Nārada/Nāradya Purāṇa* and a few unavailable manuscript fragments.¹⁸ Chapter eight begins the proper Bhūtantra section of the text, and teaches the classification of beings that possess people. We are taught a wide range of symptoms and the type of possessor indicted by those symptoms, but the chapter does not teach methods of curing possession.

Which brings us to the opening words of chapter nine. Kārttikeya asks Īśvara for information about the specific varieties of mantras and *vidyās* which are “sovereign over ghosts” (भूताधिपाः). Īśvara responds by briefly noting the three kinds of mantras, their origin, and their use.

At this point, after 9.08, the text switches topics in a rather abrupt way. The previous line has Īśvara telling Kārttikeya to listen to the explanations (प्ररूपाणि) of those mantras, but the next twenty-five verses, up to Kārttikeya’s next speech, is a very specific narration about the origin of the five great mantras, including *Khḍgarāvaṇa*.¹⁹ I believe the passage could be an interpolation—perhaps going back to the composition of the text—because we do not see any mention of the three types of mantras (high, low, middle) after the first eight verses, nor is there any mention of the five great mantras prior to the story of their origin. Kārttikeya does not ask for the origin, uses, and prescriptions for worship of the five great mantras, and Īśvara answers as if he will be teaching general categories.

Following the story of the five great mantras’ origin, and after some general words about the mantras (9.34–36), Īśvara declares that he will teach the supreme mantra that sub-

¹⁸Cf. GOUDRIAAN 1977: 149. There is also a Nepalese manuscript under the title *Khḍgarāvaṇanāmamahātāntra* (NGMPP E 78/28). It is a single-chapter text of 79 verses teaching the worship, mantras, and *yantras* of *Khḍgarāvaṇa*. Although the theme is the same, it is not directly related to the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*’s *Khḍgarāvaṇa* material, nor that of the other Indian sources. I hope to work more closely with this text in the future. Additionally, I have inspected a manuscript entitled *Khḍgarābhanatantra* (NGMPP X 1439/1), but it seems to have no connection with *Khḍgarāvaṇa*. Special thanks to Harunaga ISAACSON for quickly providing me with images of this latter manuscript.

¹⁹*Khḍgarāvaṇa* is both a mantra deity, and the object of mantras. Out of the innumerable mantras, some are said to have bodies, and each has a specific function (Cf. 9.01–8 and 9.28–30). *Khḍgarāvaṇa* is part of a group of five main mantras taught in chapters 9–16 of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*.

jugates ghosts. Thereupon we get the Principal Mantra of Khaḍgarāvaṇa, which we have attested in slightly different forms in the other Indian sources. We are told that one must chant the heart mantra, ॐ भूतपति स्वाहा, 100,000 times in order to get the results of driving off spirits, etc. When one has mastered the mantra these things can be done without even chanting it. We are told that when it is vocalized, even the gods become subjugated. A classic list of “six acts” comes next, empowered by the following division of the Principal Mantra into limbs. Next we have a very brief Mudrā given, that can be used to scare off ghosts. Thereupon the text teaches a brief mantra associated with the maṇḍala, whose brief description follows. Chapter ten is solely concerned with the maṇḍalas, which are explained in much more detail. Chapter nine closes with a brief admonition on how one must honor Khaḍgarāvaṇa.

Introduction to the Cult of Khaḍgarāvaṇa

Now I would like to explore the wider origin and worship of this mantra-deity Khaḍgarāvaṇa. He is invoked as the Lord of Ghosts, and his mantra, alone or in conjunction with a maṇḍala and retinue of attendants, is said to have the power to cure possession, grant magical powers, and even lead to spiritual liberation.

As mentioned before, the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* is not the only text that treats Khaḍgarāvaṇa, and I am not the first scholar to notice this striking figure. However with the exception of a brief entry by Judit TÖRZSÖK in the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*,²⁰ earlier scholarship does not seem to know the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, the earliest known source for Khaḍgarāvaṇa's cult. Instead they rely on a number of other texts which I will argue are derived from it.

One can see that Khaḍgarāvaṇa was known to texts spanning a large geographical area. Among the Nepalese manuscripts of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, the earliest is a palm-leaf dated to 1184 CE. From related colophons of the same time period and locale we know that there was a healthy textual commerce between Kashmir and Nepal. It is likely that this palm-leaf *Kriyākālaguṇottara* was copied from a Kashmiri manuscript. In fact the text is quoted by the

²⁰TÖRZSÖK in PADOUX 2000 vol. II. For complete list of TÖRZSÖK's references, see my section on References to the Palm leaf under the Manuscripts section.

Kashmiri exegete Kṣemarāja whose dates are roughly 1000–1050 CE.²¹ We also know with a fair degree of certainty that the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* dates to around the 12th century.²² The other texts are not datable at this time. GOUDRIAAN has suggested that the *Tantrasārasaṅgraha* is largely a borrowing from the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, but he notes that this is a very tenuous conclusion pending further textual analysis. It seems that the direction of transmission may be the opposite. Opening chapter 41, *Īśānaśivagurudeva* feels the need to explain:

“अथ ग्रहचिकित्सात्र लिख्यते नातिविस्तृता ।
तत्र बालचिकित्सायाः प्रकारा बहुधा स्मृताः ॥ १ ॥
तेष्वदौ मतमाश्रित्य खड्गरावणचोदितम् ।
नारायणीयोदितं च मार्गद्वयमिहोच्यते ॥ २ ॥”(SĀSTRĪ, G. 1921, vol. II: 288)

“Now, I will set down a medical text concerning possession, but not in a very extended manner. Many kinds of pediatric texts have come down to us. To begin with we will de-

Geographical Distribution of Texts Treating Khaḍgarāvaṇa

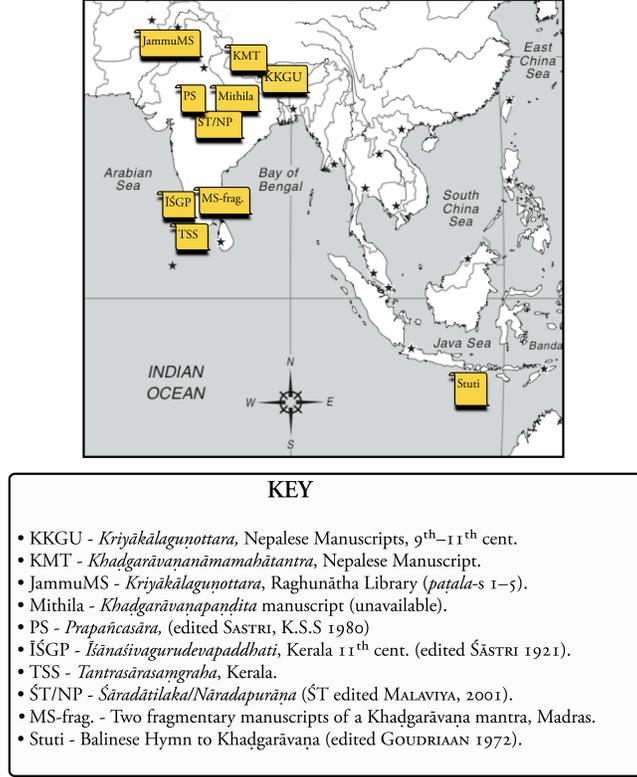


Figure 0.1: Map

²¹SANDERSON 1988: 3

²²BÜHNEMANN, 2000: 2–3

pend upon the doctrine taught in the Khaḍgarāvaṇa²³ [tradition], and also that taught in the *Nārāyaṇīya*. [Therefore] two [such] systems are taught here.”

GOUDRIAAN states that this *Nārāyaṇīya* cannot be identified with the *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* (1977: 160), however BÜHNEMANN has refuted this and cites a long list of correspondences pointing to the identity of the *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* as the *Nārāyaṇīya* (2000, vol. 1: 2).

What could be the source of this enigmatic figure? Is there a connection between the Rāvaṇa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and this Śaiva deity Khaḍgarāvaṇa. The prior is the Lord of Rākṣasas and a great devotee of Śiva; the latter the Lord of Ghosts and a form of Śiva. One would not be alone in supposing a common identity. GOUDRIAAN considered Khaḍgarāvaṇa to be a Śaiva adaptation of the epic Rāvaṇa.²⁴ And indeed every other short passage published on the topic defers to GOUDRIAAN's 1977 article.²⁵

Most of us think of Rāvaṇa simply as the anti-hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He is evil incarnate and the gods enjoined Viṣṇu to stop him from taking over the universe. But close readers will note the deep respect he is accorded by most versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He is considered a great ascetic, though with an evil predisposition. Still there is even more to his character than what we get in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Recently, political movements in South India have portrayed Rāvaṇa as a cultural hero of the Dravidian people. They see the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a racist North Indian narrative that characterizes the people of South India as uncivilized barbarians. I recently read an article about plans to build a temple to Rāvaṇa—the first of its kind—in Jodhpur.²⁶ And Zee-TV, the Indian satellite television channel has begun a serial about Rāvaṇa, apparently to counter the updated *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* serials that recently came out. The main point that I want to get across is that the reception of Rāvaṇa is not as one-dimensional as we are sometimes expected to believe. Now let's return to the Sanskrit literature.

There is the well known Buddhist text the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, which portrays Rāvaṇa as

²³Note that there is some ambiguity here. खड्गरावणचोदितम् may mean “taught by Khaḍgarāvaṇa,” or “taught in [the text called] Khaḍgarāvaṇa,” or it could be taken more generally as “taught in the Khaḍgarāvaṇa [tradition].”

²⁴GOUDRIAAN 1977: 166

²⁵Cf. SMITH 2006: 572, FN. 197; BÜHNEMANN 2001: 275—6

²⁶“Jodhpur” website, see Bibliography for URL.

the pious lord of Laṅkā giving a warm reception to the Buddha. Less well known is his character as scholar and transmitter of knowledge. He shows up in various *Śāstrāvataṛaṇas*, the sections of a work which trace the textual transmission. For example in Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* (chapter 36, verse 6) (SHĀSTRĪ 1938, vol. 12: 381–5), Rāvaṇa is said to have stolen half of the scripture from heaven, half of which was then stolen by Rāma and given to Vibhīṣaṇa. In his commentary, Kṣemarāja notes a similar scenario in the *Śāstrāvataṛaṇa* of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*.

Rāvaṇa is attributed with composing dozens of texts, including a commentary on the *Ṛg Veda*, Śiva's *Tāṇḍavastotra*, the astrological work *Rāvaṇasaṃhitā* as well as various medical treatises. The latter was taken up in the 1930's by the French scholar Jean FILLIOZAT. He discusses a work known as the *Rāvaṇakumāraṇtra*, both written by and with mantras directed to Rāvaṇa. It teaches the curing of childhood possession. Now this is hitting closer to home in regard to the role of our Khaḍgarāvaṇa.

The *Kumāraṇtra* is part of an extremely large and once popular genre treating childhood possession. The names of the texts vary, sometimes *Bālatantra*, *Bālagrahaśānti*, *Bālacikitsā*, *Piśācagrahaśānti*, and so on. Although the titles and details vary, the theme is the same. We have several classical Newari parallels, such as one called *Piśācādigrahaçikitsā*. In Sanskrit, the classical opening to the text goes “प्रथमे दिवसे मासे वर्षे वा गृह्णाति नन्दना नाम मातृका १,” meaning “On the first day, month, or year the Mātṛkā named Nandanā seizes [the child].” The text goes on to list the types of *grahīs*, malevolent female spirits, and treatments. Most of the previously mentioned texts that treat Khaḍgarāvaṇa also have a section like this on childhood possession.

Still I should note that they are not consistently ascribed to Rāvaṇa nor are the mantras always directed to him. In Newari versions I have consulted, the mantra is directed to the *grahī* herself. In the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (Chapter 41, up to verse 41) the mantras are directed to Khaḍgarāvaṇa. Also common are mantras directed to Śiva.

Now one might expect the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* to direct its mantras for childhood possession to Khaḍgarāvaṇa, the *Bhūtapati*. But it does not. The sections treating Khaḍgarāvaṇa and the chapters on childhood possession are kept conspicuously separate, both in terms of location within the text and in manner of treatment. The *Bālagraha* chapters of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* (Chapters 21–23) mostly prescribe various fumigations for the child and

food offerings for the malevolent being.

Finally we can address the question of the relationship between Rāvaṇa and Khaḍgarāvaṇa. As I mentioned, many scholars have published short paragraphs on Khaḍgarāvaṇa. We have the 1977 article of GOUDRIAAN which I already discussed, and short descriptions in MEULENBELD (1999: 146), BÜHNEMANN (2000, vol. 2: 275–6), TÖRZSÖK (in PADOUX 2000: 164), and most recently in SMITH (2006: 572, fn. 197). With the exception of MEULENBELD, they all suggest that Khaḍgarāvaṇa is a Śaiva assimilation of the same Rāvaṇa as that found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.²⁷

Still, my conclusion is that Khaḍgarāvaṇa originally had nothing to do with epic Rāvaṇa. In the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, arguably the earliest and most sophisticated source for the cult, there are only two reasons to suppose a link with epic Rāvaṇa, and neither are very strong. The first of course is the name, and the second is the fact that he is the Lord of Ghosts. But the fact that Khaḍgarāvaṇa is called Bhūtapati is nothing on which to base a conclusion. This is a common epithet of Rudra-Śiva in the Epics, Purāṇas, and throughout the Tantras. Khaḍgarāvaṇa's visualizations in the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* represent the standard iconography of Śiva, not the ten-headed *rākṣasa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.²⁸

So we are left with a name. Let us consider what the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* teaches about the origin of Khaḍgarāvaṇa and his name:

“क्रोधे क्रोधेश्वरो जातो रावे वै खड्गरावणः।
गर्जिते ऽघोरमन्त्रस्तु धुतगात्रे ज्वरेश्वरः॥ ६. २८ ॥”

“Krodheśvara was born in my anger; Khaḍgarāvaṇa verily in my roar.

The Aghora Mantra was born in my bellowing, and Jvareśvara in my shaking limbs.”

Khaḍgarāvaṇa is a mantra-deity created by Śiva in order to defeat a powerful demon.²⁹

²⁷My original impetus to study this figure was to combine my interests in the Epic and Śaiva literatures.

²⁸Sally GOLDMAN notes that Rāvaṇa has ten heads only when he is engaged in battle, and has one head at other times (GOLDMAN and GOLDMAN 1996: 372, note to 5.8,13,19).

²⁹Note that TÖRZSÖK is not quite accurate in saying that Khaḍgarāvaṇa was created to *frighten* a Dānava (PADOUX 2000 vol. II: 164). Rather, he and the other mantras were a by-product of Śiva's attempt to kill him in battle.

He is Rāvaṇa because he arose from Śīva's *rāva*, his roar.³⁰ The text does not directly explain the *khadga* part of his name, but perhaps it is to *distinguish* him from the epic Rāvaṇa.³¹ In this regard, consider the case of the *Mahābhārata*'s Paraśurāma (Jāmadagnya); so named to distinguish him from Rāma Dāśarathi. Or for that matter consider the name Balarāma.

Somadeva VASUDEVA has suggested further research into the early culture's ideas about swords in order to better understand the name. He pointed to chapter 50 of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (BHAT 1981: 426—31), a text he says was recently dated to the 5th century. This peculiar chapter called खड्गलक्षण is focused on describing the techniques an astrologer can use to determine the location and significance of dents (व्रण) in the sword of a client. Of interest to us is that the chapter has several hints which suggest a belief in sword-divinities. The fifth verse interprets the portent of actions such as the sword making sound, refusing to come out of its sheath, coming out on its own, or glowing.³² Also of note is the offering of various “drinks” to a sword (खड्गपान) in verses 23–26, including, among others, blood.³³

There seems to be a connection between deities that cure possession and swords. I came across a website with the following picture of a Buddhist deity worshipped in Japan. Of particular note is that he bears a sword and that he is a “tutelary deity to many kamisama spirit mediums.”³⁴ There seems to be some connection here with the Khadgarāvaṇa tradition, but this clearly requires a great deal of defense. One would need to look into the pantheons of Buddhism as well as local religions to determine if the source of this figure could have been India. Still I include it for the visual impact; I regret that I have been unable to find any representations of Khadgarāvaṇa in the art historical books. This may be

³⁰Cf. the derivations of “Bhairava,” often involving the root “ru,” as analyzed by SANDERSON 1995: 62–3 & KAHRIS 1998: 82. Cf. also the following passage in the sixteenth *sarga* of Vālmiki's *Uttarakāṇḍa*, which has Śīva giving a *nirvacana* explaining the name Rāvaṇa:

प्रीतो ऽस्मि तव वीर्याच्च शौण्डीर्याच्च निशाचर । रवतो वेदनामुक्तः स्वरः परमदारुणः ॥ २६ ॥
यस्माल्लोकत्रयं त्वेतद्रावितं भयमागतम् । तस्मात्त्वं रावणो नाम नाम्ना तेन भविष्यसि ॥ २७ ॥
देवता मानुषा यक्षा ये चान्ये जगतीतले । एवं त्वमभिधास्यन्ति रावणं लोकरावणम् ॥ २८ ॥

गच्छ, पौलस्त्य विस्रब्धः पथा येन त्वमिच्छसि । (Vālmiki *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.16.26–29ab, (Critical Edition) Oriental Institute 1992: 882–3)

³¹It is true that we have a Rāvaṇa-Śīva connection with the Candrahāsa sword, but this may be an interpolation and Rāvaṇa seldom uses a sword in battle (GOUDRIAAN 1977: 168).

³²BHAT 1981: 426

“क्वणितं मरणायोक्तं पराजयायाप्रवर्तनं कोशात् ।
स्वयमुद्गीर्णे युद्धं ज्वलिते विजये भवति खड्गे ॥ ५ ॥”

³³BHAT 1981: 430

³⁴“Sword Divinity,” website, see Bibliography for URL.

due in part to his obscurity in mainstream scholarship; i.e. unlabeled images of Khaḍgarāvaṇa may have been identified with a more well-known figure such as Nairṛti or Bhairava.

The *Kriyākālaguṇottara* is not only the earliest source for Khaḍgarāvaṇa, it is also the most complete. Yet it does not have the feel of an inflated text. Based on this fact, and based on the separation of its childhood possession chapters, I would like to put forth a preliminary theory of transmission. I believe the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* is the basis of the wide variety of *Bhūtatantra* compendiums I have been discussing. The transmission became muddled at an early point, and

outside of Nepal the text as a whole disappeared. But its chapters continued to be transmitted as separate texts. This is evident in lists of *bhūtatantras* such as in the *Śrīkaṇṭhīya* which lists the Khaḍgarāvaṇa and Caṇḍāsīdhara as individual and separate texts. I propose that the chapters on childhood diseases and the section on Khaḍgarāvaṇa became fused together due to popular reception. It is logical that Khaḍgarāvaṇa would be involved. And the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* does in fact combine them. Texts which I suggest are later than both of these, such as the *Rāvaṇakumāratantra*, go further by losing the distinction between Rāvaṇa and Khaḍgarāvaṇa altogether. What is illogical is to have a powerful deity like Khaḍgarāvaṇa not involved in curing possessed children, which is precisely why I believe the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* was the root text of the Cult of Khaḍgarāvaṇa.



Figure 0.2: A Japanese Sword-Deity Worshipped by Spirit-Mediums

Aiśa, The Language of Śaiva Tantras

The language of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* often departs from Pāṇinian Sanskrit in a variety of ways. The kinds of deviations I will be discussing occur not only in this text, but are common to most Śaiva manuscripts. Some of the features are not even peculiar to Śaiva texts, but rather are common deviations from Pāṇinian Sanskrit which also are frequent in the Epics and Purāṇas.

In the process of editing chapter nine of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, I struggled with the question of what this label Aiśa means. Of course it literally refers to the language characteristic of Īśa, or Śiva, and is parallel to the term *ārṣa* (usage of the ṛṣis). Since this and most other tantras present themselves as the direct speech of God, any unusual characteristics of the language have been labeled Aiśa. This is all well and good if none of the manuscripts ever have variant readings, but the fact is that they do. The editor is then faced with serious questions in regards to constituting the text and handling non-standard forms. Is their occurrence systematic? Is this label Aiśa simply a fancy way of saying that the author took great liberty with his Sanskrit grammar? And on a more concrete level- what should be considered Aiśa and what simply scribal error, and how might we go about systematically distinguishing the two? Unfortunately I have not yet come to any certain answers to these questions. Even so, what we do know is that there are some patterns of usage in the text which are common to all manuscripts and shared by other Śaiva texts. If the editor is inclined to purge the text of all such non-standard features, he will surely be creating a text that never existed.

I have been relying on three references works for determining the boundaries of what I should label Aiśa. The most complete is GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMANN 1988. In the introduction their critical edition of the *Kubjikāmatatantra*, they have a lengthy and well organized listing of all of the various non-standard forms they came across while editing their edition. More up to date, but much more limited is the few pages in Dominic GOODALL's edition of Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary on the *Kiraṇatantra* (1998). The final reference I have been using is Judit TÖRZSÖK's doctoral dissertation. In the introduction she has a long section on the Aiśa forms occurring in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*.

The term *Aiśa* is not an invention of modern Indologists. It was used by the Kashmiri

commentators such as Kṣemarāja, Jayaratha, and others. For example, in his commentary to *Svacchandatantra* 3.16d, Kṣemarāja says दिशास्वित्यादिरैशः पाठः । (SHĀSTRĪ 1921: 149).

These are the most common features I have labeled as *Aiśa* forms in chapter nine:

- **Simplified Noun Declensions**

- At 9.49a, there is a feminine locative plural of दिग् as दिशासु rather than classical Sanskrit दिक्षु (also noted in Kṣemarāja's commentary above).
- At 9.15c, we have the instrumental plural of अप्सरस् as अप्सरैः in place of classical Sanskrit अप्सरोभिः.
- At 9.04c, we have शिवतेजाः as a masculine plural instead of तेजसः.

- **Double Sandhi**

- At 9.08b, we have °अः before इति going to °एति
- At 9.14a, we have ओ before उ going to ओ.

- **Lax Application of आः sandhi.**

- Very common, 9.03a, 9.04c, 9.05a, etc.

- **–म– as a Vowel Hiatus Filler**

- ***Aiśa* vocative (masculine, singular) in अः**

- 9.01b - वृषभध्वजः (emended to वृषभध्वज)
- 9.31f - शङ्करः (emended to शङ्कर)

Later texts and many modern editors simply consider *Aiśa* forms to be bad Sanskrit. This has led to a deluge to meaningless particles inserted to fill hiatuses or to change the metre. It has also led to much redactional editing, sometimes maintaining the sense of the text, but sometimes obscuring it. Luckily we have many early manuscripts preserved in Nepal, where tampering with *Aiśa* and other awkward forms proceeded at a slower pace.

Metre and Vipulā

The *Kriyākālaguṇottara* is generally in *anuṣṭubh/śloka* metre, the primary exception being sections that give mantras. Three line verses are common, particularly before and after a change of speaker. *Sandhi* is often not applied in order to preserve the metre. In general the verses are *pathyā*. *Vipulā pādas* in the edited text of chapter nine include 25c, 33a, and 50c (*na vipulās*); as well as 30e (*ra vipulā* by emendation). Unmetrical *pādas* which have not yet been reconstructible are 10b (syncopation), 10d (non-iambic); 13c. There were additional unmetrical and *vipulā pādas* in the manuscripts as noted in the apparatus and notes.

The Manuscripts

P_{alm} “Palm-Leaf”

Title: *Kriyākālaguṇottara*

Script: *Nandināgarī/Pāla*

Medium: Palm-leaf

Condition: Very good. Occasional Smeared folios. A few damaged leaves.

Size: 31.5cm X 5.5cm

Number of folios: 144

Lines per Side: 4–5

Akṣaras per line: *circa* 50

Location Held: National Archives Kathmandu (NAK) 3-392

Microfilmed: NGMPP B 25/32; filmed September 27th, 1970

Photographed by Author: July 28th, 2006

References: This manuscript of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* is important to historians of Nepal because of its final colophon (see “Colophon” section), and is therefore cited by numerous authors. To my knowledge, SANDERSON and TÖRZSÖK are the only scholars who have published comments about the text itself, rather than simply copying the colophon and chapter titles.

- Original Catalogue of Manuscripts at the National Archives Kathmandu (handwritten, date unknown, unpublished).

It contains brief notes on size, number of folios, etc. There is an incomplete transcription of the final colophon with some errors (for example “रत्नीवराज्ये” for रत्नदीवराज्ये). This

and every source that mentions a *ślokaṣaṅkhyā* report it as 2100. This is a calculation based on *akṣaras* per line multiplied by lines per page and number of pages. This may serve the purposes of a cataloger, but one should note that the actual verse-count cannot be determined in this way because the text contains lengthy prose sections concerning mantras.

- ŚĀSTRĪ 1915: 85–6 (in GRÜNENDAHL 1989).

ŚĀSTRĪ gives a much more detailed summary, but has many errors and peculiarities. For example, in the final colophon he, like the handwritten catalog, reads “रत्नीवराज्ये” for “रत्नदीवराज्ये,” which makes one wonder whether he was partially copying from the handwritten catalog’s transcription. He gives a transcription of the first 6 1/2 lines of the opening chapter, with several notable errors. In the second verse he reads “सिद्धेर्मुक्तिप्रदं” for सिद्धिमुक्तिप्रदं. In the fifth verse, he reads “नृत्यनिर्घृणा” for नित्यनिर्घृणाः. In the seventh verse, he reads “जराश्च” for ज्वराश्च and also “कतिचित्” for कतिविधा. There is one final notable error in the ninth verse, where he reads “लूततं वचः” for भूत(ं)तंत्र च. ŚĀSTRĪ lists only three chapter colophons.

- REGMI 1965: 192.

REGMI writes as a historian rather than as a cataloger and therefore he is only interested in the final colophon of the manuscript. He cites ŚĀSTRĪ 1915 (whose work he abbreviates as CPMDN, II), but he does not repeat the “रत्नीवराज्ये” error. He does however misread the title of the text as “Triyakalagunottara” and reads “rājaguruṇā” for “राजगुरुणां,” as well as “trikasaḍanvaya” for तृकषडन्वय° [sic].

- RĀSHṬRIYA-PUSTAKĀLAYA (Vol. IV) 1967: 66–68.

This catalog entitled “Bṛhatsūcipatram” gives a slightly longer opening transcription than ŚĀSTRĪ, but has even more errors. For example, in the second verse, “श्रुतास्तवो” for श्रुतास्तथा and “सिद्धिर्भुक्तिः प्रदं” for सिद्धिमुक्तिप्रदं; in the fifth verse, “कूरा” for कूराः; in the sixth verse, “गोनभानां” for गोनसानां; in the seventh verse, “राक्षसाः” for रासभा° and “क्षराश्च” for ज्वराश्च.

He lists many of the chapter colophons, but skips a large number as well. His transcription of the final colophon has only a few minor errors.

- RAGHAVAN 1969 (NCC vol.V): 131–2.

Refers to ŚĀSTRĪ'S 1915 catalog (discussed above) and to the text's citations in other sources.

- PANT 1977: 21

Mahes Raj PANT is only interested in the facts of the final colophon in his 1977 article, "The Two Earliest Copper-plate Inscriptions from Nepal." He does not transliterate the colophon. I discuss his interesting conclusions about the location of *Dhavalasrotapura* below in the Colophon section.

- PETECH 1984: 73.

PETECH is also interested in the manuscript for historical purposes. He gives the title of the text as "*Triyakalaguṇottara*," assumedly following the error of Regmi and worsening it by adding only one diacritical mark (out of three expected). His transcription of the final colophon is accurate except for inconsistent corrections to spelling errors in the manuscript.

- JOŚĪ 1991: 124.

JOŚĪ catalogs the facts of the final colophon accurately and makes some suggestions concerning the location (to be discussed below).

- TÖRZSÖK in PADOUX 2000 vol. II: 54 *karaśuddhi*, 59–60 *karmajā*, 108 *kuṇḍa*, 115 *kumārī*, 146 *kriyādīkṣā*, 163 *khadga*, 164 *khadgarāvaṇa*, 167 *khinkhinī*, 187 *gāyatrī*, 187–8 *gāruḍatantra*, 199 *guhyaka*, 210 *grahapūjā*, 292 *ḍākinī*, 305 *ekaliṅga*.

Judit TÖRZSÖK has often cited the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* in her entries to the *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* project, basing her readings on this Palm-leaf manuscript. I have noticed a few occasions where TÖRZSÖK might be quoting it out of context. Take for example her entry to the term "*guhyaka*." Let me preface this by saying that I have not worked

extensively on this chapter, but what it seems to be saying at 42^v is that one should address a Brāhmaṇa ghost as “*guhya*ka,” a Kṣatriya ghost as “*mahāsattva*,” a Vaiśya ghost as “*nandika*,” and a Śūdra ghost as “*ko-sādhu*.”³⁵ TÖRZSÖK says that here the text “...defines *guhya*kas as a subclass of possessing spirits belonging to the brahmin *varṇa*” (p.199). I agree that the text seems to be suggesting an affinity between Brāhmaṇas and this class of beings called *guhya*ka, but are we to assume that *mahāsattva* and the others would also need to be considered subclasses of possessing spirits? I am not familiar with these as subclasses, and I would not argue for it based on this verse.

- TÖRZSÖK 2007: 497 (fn.42): 501.

In her 2007 article “The Search in Śaiva Scriptures for Meaning in Tantric Ritual,” TÖRZSÖK quotes a verse here edited as 9.27cd–9.28ab.

- SANDERSON 2001: 4, fn. 4 and 14, fn. 13; 2007: 235, fn. 17, and 288, fn. 181.

Alexis SANDERSON was the first scholar to take a serious interest in the text itself, rather than just the facts, of the Palm-leaf manuscript. He recognized the text as the same *Kriyākālaguṇottara* referred to by Kṣemarāja in his commentary to Chapter 19 of the *Netratantra*. In his 2001 article “History through Textual Criticism,” he located the text within the *Gāruḍika/Bhautika* branch of Tantric literature (p.4, fn. 4), and notes that some of its chapter titles correlate with other early lists of canonical *Bhūtantras* such as the *Śrīkaṇṭhīya* and the *Jñānapañcāsikā* (p. 14, fn.13). In his most recent article “The Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir,” SANDERSON references a verse from the ninth chapter (edited here, see my note to 9.16c) in support of an emendation to another text (p.288, fn.181). Cf. my note to 9.43cd.

Extra/Missing Folios: The first extra leaf, which is the first leaf under the wooden-block cover of the manuscript, has a recto side with two Royal Archive stamps (covering some of the text) and an illegibly faded eight-columned list. The verso side of this leaf is also a list, this time with eleven columns, which is mostly illegible. Some words can be made out, such as the fourth in the eighth column from the right “खदिर,” the sixth in the same column

³⁵“भो गुह्यकेति ब्राह्मणः महासत्वेति क्षत्रियः । भो नन्दिकेति वैश्यं [sic] च कोसाधु शूद्र-र्-उच्यते ॥” P_{ALM}42^v2-3. For the full context see the transcription example on page 35.

“अपामार्ग,” and the second in the final column to the right “गुगुलु.” Thus it appears to be a list of medicinal herbs. Both sides appear to have been written by the original scribe.

The recto of the following leaf is covered with mantras in a thin scrawling second hand. The script is Pracalita (Newari). It is partially legible, and will be analyzed with further work on the text. The verso side of this leaf begins the text proper.

The verso side of the final leaf has three lines of faded text in the hand of the original scribe. Some words can be made out, and it seems to be verses from a part of the text or from another text. It does not seem to be a continuation of the final colophon on the recto side. Below the three lines from the original scribe are two lines in the same hand as the second leaf preceding the text. The language mixes Sanskrit and Newari (*cf.* the verb “जपरपं”).

Colophon: The manuscript has chapter colophons generally—but not always—following the rubric “इति क्रियाकालगुणोत्तरे <name of chapter, number of chapter> पटलः ॥ ❀ ॥.” On folio 133^v5 there is an unusual internal colophon that does not mark the end of the chapter or text. Unlike the final colophon, PR_A and D_B copy this colophon as part of the text. It reads: “इति क्रिया[का]लगुणोत्तरं तृकशडन्वय-परमाराध्य-शैवा[चा]र्य-श्री-श्रीधराणां लिखापितम् । .”³⁶ This is the same Śrīdhara mentioned in the final colophon. There is similar internal colophon at 135^v4. It reads: “तृक(ष)डन्वय-शैवाचार्य-श्री-श्रीधराणां लिखापितं क्रियाकालगुणोत्तरं नाम (सा)स्त्रम् ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥.” It is noteworthy that the text is called a *śāstra* here rather than a tantra.

This final colophon has been cited by at least eight historians trying to work out this relatively obscure period in Nepal’s history. After the final chapter colophon and a statement that the text is complete, it reads³⁷ “नेपालदेशियसंवत् ३०४ ज्येष्ठसुदि १३ गुरौ । धवलस्रोतपुरे । महासामन्त-श्री-रत्नदीवराज्ये ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ तृकशडन्वय-शैवाचार्य-श्री-श्रीधर-राजगुरूणां लिखापितं । लिखितं धर्मादित्येन । सुभं भवतु पाठकलेखयोः ॥ काव्यकर्ता स्वयं व्यासः लेखकश्च विनायक (1) तय[ि:] (स्व)लते बुद्धिः किं पुनर्मानुषा वयं । नूताक्षरमधिकाक्षरं वा आपैः[=आप्तैः] परि[साधनीय],” which I translate as “[The text was written in] Nepal Saṃvat 304 (1184 CE), [on] Thursday, the 13th day of the light lunar fortnight [in] the month of Jyaiṣṭha (May-June) in Dhavalasrotapura,³⁸ in the kingdom of the Great Vassal the

³⁶ *Akṣaras* in square brackets supplied by me. Note that the final colophon reads शैवाचार्य and not शैवार्य. Dashes supplied by me for clarity.

³⁷ The transcription is without emendation aside from a few dashes and glosses in square brackets for clarification.

³⁸ The date is verified as Thursday May 24th, 1184.

	NGMPP#	DateNS	Ruler:	Scribe/Patron
<u>Written at Dhavalasrotapura:</u>				
Aryoṣṇiṣavijayadhāraṇī	X	220	Rāmadeva	Kamalapāṇi
Carakasamhitā	A 46/6	303	Ratnadeva	Kāyastha Ratnapāla/Bhārośrī
Kriyākālaguṇottara	B 25/32	304	Ratnadīva	Dharmāditya/Śaivācārya Śrīdhara(rājaguru)
Kulālikāṃnaye Kubjikā°	C 4/23	X	Ratnadeva	Bhogana/Kāśmīrācārya Tejas*
<u>Other:</u>				
Kubjikāmata	B 25/22	X	Rāmadeva/Rāmapāla	X
Kubjikāmata	B 25/26	300	X	X
Manthānabhairava	B 27/7	306	Guṇakāmadeva	Kāyastha Mahādeva

Figure 0.3: Relevant Colophons

Glorious Ratnadeva. [May] the great goddess Śrī [grant] welfare. The glorious Śaiva master Trikaṣaḍanvaya³⁹-Śrīdhara, the royal sage, had it written. It was written by Dharmāditya. May all be well for the reader and the scribe. Vyāsa himself was a composer of poetry and Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa) was the scribe. Even the intellect of those two is subject to blunders, how much more [the intellect of] us humans? New syllables or additional syllables should be settled by learned [readers].”

The previously mentioned historians were concerned with two issues—the identity of the ruler Ratnadīva and the location of the place called Dhavalasrotapura. We have several other manuscripts from this same time and place which report to be under the rule of a Ratnadeva. PANT takes Ratnadīva as a corruption for Ratnadeva.⁴⁰ The catalogers of the *Bṛhatsūcipatram* simply read Ratnadeva. There is some debate about what the title “*Mahāsā-manta*” means in the case of Ratnadeva. REGMI is firm that he was a high feudatory and not a full-fledged king (REGMI 1965: 192), and is backed by PETECH who says “Of course there is no reason for assuming that this frontier *sāmanta* ruled over the Valley” (PETECH 1984: 73). They point to his absence in the *Vaṃśāvalī*s, and the general gap in the historical record for

³⁹I don’t know if *Trikaṣaḍanvaya* (corrected from *Tṛkaśadanvaya*) should be taken as part of his name or a religious qualification.

⁴⁰PANT 1977: 23.

about four years preceding the rise of Guṇakāmadeva (Dec. 1184 CE). They suggest that Ratnadeva, a frontiersman, asserted a measure of independence in the regnal lapse preceding Someśvaradeva's death in 1185 CE. I find it puzzling that both REGMI and PETECH assert that we have no documents from the period between 1181 CE and 1185 CE (REGMI p. 191; PETECH p.72), but then go on to quote the *Carakasamhitā* and *Kriyākālaguṇottara* manuscripts that fall precisely within these dates. Perhaps the reason is that they mean there are no documents from within the Kathmandu Valley, and although they do not specifically say so, they assume Dhavalasrotapura to be elsewhere.

Back in 1915, ŚĀSTRĪ located this Dhavalasrotapura in Dhankhel (now called Dhulikhel) "about 8 kos from Kathmandu, to the east" (p.85, "kos" = San. *krośa* = "a yell"). REGMI and PETECH agreed. Following the publication of PANT's 1977 article, PETECH was swayed to agree with PANT in locating it far to the west near the Dhaulagiri mountain in the Kālīgaṇḍakī river valley. PANT builds his argument with a number of points. He emphasizes the fact that the area called "Nepal" extended beyond the Kathmandu valley. This is a contentious point. Most scholars hold fiercely to the claim that the title "Nepal" only referred to the Kathmandu valley before modern times. PANT's strongest evidence in this regard is the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-chuang, which he says gives the size of Nepal as 4000 *lis* in circuit, or 2150 km, roughly the size of modern Nepal.⁴¹ PANT's next point of argument is to locate historical districts and events near the present Kālīgaṇḍakī river valley. He does so by attempting to identify a place called Gaṇḍigulma as an outpost on the Kālīgaṇḍakī river. He points out a passage in the Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* wherein a *Kālagāṇḍikā* river is mentioned as a stopping place within the district of Nepal. (*Rājatarāṅgiṇī* IV.555). Next PANT identifies Maṅgvara-viṣaya noted in a colophon with the present-day territory near the Kālīgaṇḍakī. Finally he concludes that Dhavalasrotapura was located within the Maṅgvara-viṣaya on the basis of two colophons. The first, dated NS 220, was written in Dhavalasrotapura under the reign of Rāmadeva. The second, dated NS 221, was written in the Maṅgvara-viṣaya and also lists Rāmadeva as the ruler. From all of this, PANT concludes that the "Dhavala" of Dhavalasrotapura is the standardized spelling of the Dhavala, as in the Dhaulagiri mountain near the Kālīgaṇḍakī.⁴²

⁴¹PANT 1977: 16.

⁴²PANT 1977: 16.

I tried to pick out the main points of PANT's argument, but the interested reader is urged to refer to the article itself. I find the argument fairly convincing, but not completely. Kashinath TAMOT, who helped me research these colophons, pointed out that relying on similarity of name is a shaky business. He said that the earliest inscription at Changu Narayan, a temple on the edge of the Kathmandu Valley, mentions a Gaṇḍakī river. He also noted that the old name for the Kālīgaṇḍakī river is Triśūli, and therefore we should be suspicious of identifying ancient place names with modern ones.

Despite the uncertainties, I think PANT has put forward a strong argument. I see no reason to assume that this Dhavalasrotapura, the site where our earliest surviving manuscript of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* was penned, had to have been located within or near the Kathmandu Valley. The colophon says “*Nepāladeśiya-saṃvat,*” meaning the dating system is that of Nepal. Even if we assume that Nepal only referred to the Valley, the possibility of settlements near Dhaulagiri using the Nepal saṃvat system seems quite plausible. This also would have been a likely route for travelers going from Kashmir to the Kathmandu Valley. The patron of the *Kubjikāmata* manuscript given in the chart was such a Kashmiri traveler who stopped in Dhavalasrotapura. Although we cannot date this manuscript at this time, it appears to be contemporaneous with the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* palm-leaf. The script is very similar, the ruler is Ratnadeva, and the town is Dhavalasrotapura (धवलसोत्तिका).⁴³ Since we know the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* was known to Kṣemarāja in Kashmir a century before, I think we are safe in assuming the text traveled to Nepal in this manner.

⁴³Kashinath TAMOT and I closely inspected this colophon in the *Kubjikāmata* manuscript and determined that PANT erroneously transcribed it. PANT read धवलासन्निकायां, and was at a loss to locate it, when it actually reads धवलसोत्तिकायां. The ध does look like a व, but this is often the case in this script, and one may argue that the small upward stroke that would make the differentiation is present. PANT simply misread the ओकार which is *pr̥ṣṭhamātra* here.

Scribal Features:

- **General Scribal Mannerisms**

- *Virāma* is often, *anusvāra* Occasionally, and *visarga* less commonly left unwritten.
- He sometimes uses स for श and other times does not. For example at one place he will write सरीर, and another शरीर.
- *e* can be *pr̥ṣṭhamātra* or regular.
- *Anusvāra* nearly always used in place of homorganic nasal.
- Gemination of most consonants after र्.
- ख used for ष (खण्मुख for षण्मुख)
- Occasional non-standard conjunct reading order- फल्गुनी looks like फग्लुनि (56^r2).
- Occasionally both *anusvāra* and full *m* are used at the end of a word.

- **Indistinguishable and Difficult to Distinguish Characters:**

 (38^r5) = “व” vs.  (49^r5) = “व” (never distinguished).

 (43^v3) = “प” vs.  (44^v4) = “ए” vs.  (44^v4) = “ष.” Also hard to distinguish from these is “य” when it is in conjunct.

 (44^r2) = “न्न” vs.  (55^v4) = “न्त” vs.  (57^v3) = “त्त.”

 (47^v2) = “र्व्व” vs.  (48^r1) = “र्थ.”

 (55^v2) = “डा” vs.  (55^r4) = “द्रां.”

 (49^v4) = “ट” vs.  (48^v4) = “ढा.”

- **The vowel ि and the *daṇḍa* ि added in as afterthoughts *propia manu*.**

 (12^v1) = “कुलि.”  (50^r1) = “त ि भू.”

- **Notable Ligatures:**

 (43^r1) = *visarga-daṇḍa* ligature (ःः).

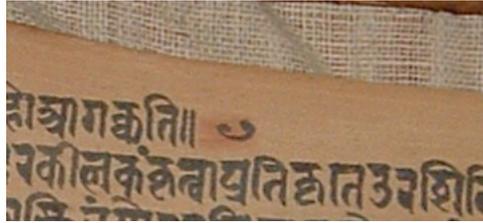
 (47^v1) = “r” plus double retroflex “ṛ” ligature (र्ण).

 (48^v4) = “घा.”

 (47^v2) = “घ्ये.”

- **An Unknown Symbol Identified**

The manuscript uses the symbol  (86^r) quite often to mark a section of line that must be started past the usual margin or ended early because of the tapering shape of some of the leaves:



 (52^r), but the context of its use is slightly broader than this. At 71^r it is used not because there is any unusual shape to the leaf, but rather to fill the space left after an erasure: . Therefore I propose that it signifies any intentional gap in the space ordinarily occupied by text. Unlike the horizontal line used for missing or illegible *akṣaras* (see below), it signifies the opposite—that the gap is intentional and should not be taken as a lacuna in the text. One might also conjecture a superstition about stopping a line short before the margin. It may be considered a sort of vulnerability for which the symbol acts as a shield, however this is highly speculative.

Mahes Raj PANT has noted the same symbol in his manuscript “A” of Jātarūpa’s *ṭikā* to the *Amarakośa*, however he does not know what it means. (PANT 2000: 78 (1.3.2.5.6))

The symbol is found in numerous other manuscripts. One notable example is a Nepalese *Matasāra* manuscript I have inspected (filmed as NGMPP B 28/16). This manuscript bears a striking resemblance to the our *Kriyākālaguṇottara* palm leaf, and may have been written by the same scribe. The symbol in question can be observed at folio 69^v, among others. It is also found on the first folio of the *Timirodghāṭana* (filmed as NGMPP

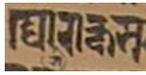
A 35/3 and A 1380/8), on the folio labeled 107^v of the *Kālottara* (filmed as NGMPP B 25/7), and on 11^v of the *Uttararāmacarita* (filmed as NGMPP B 15/4).

- **Missing Vowel Marker:**

When the scribe forgets to write a vowel sign, has already continued writing, and lacks space to fit in the vowel sign, a vocalic “wildcard” mark is used.  (45^r 2) It is invariably clear from context what the missing vowel should have been, and manuscripts PR_A and D_B always fill in the vowel sign rather than copy the “wildcard” mark.

- **Symbols whose Meanings are Unclear**

I do not know what the symbol just after “तं । ए” and before “तेषां” means:  (49^r 3) PR_A ignores it and D_B seems to take it as negating the previous letter.

The symbol below “घो”  (50^v 2) probably denotes a missing *akṣara* (in this case र), but this is the only place I have seen the scribe do this, and I don’t know why he wouldn’t have used a marginal insertion.

- **Ornamentation and Binding:** The following symbol is used just before a change of speaker/topic:  (fol.1^v1).

For chapter end there are two varieties of floral designs. The more common is:

 (14^v4) and the less common:  (42^v3) ; or occasionally an additional change of speaker symbol is used.

The manuscript has a single hole for binding, with marginal lines assumedly pre-drawn by the leaf manufacturer. The purpose of the marginal area was to protect the text around an area of the leaf more subject to damage. Dharmāditya, the original scribe, is quite careful to avoid writing within this marginal area, but will extend the first and last line of the leaf over and under it when the guidelines are not present:



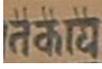
vs.

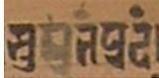


Binding hole ornamentation includes:  (2^v, common),  (38^r, un-
common), and  (69^r, uncommon).

- **Deletion Strategies:**

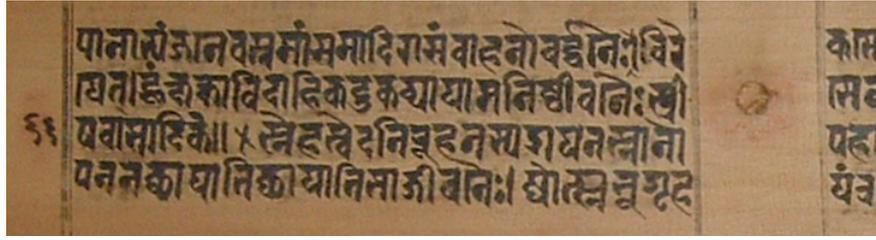
The scribe uses a variety of techniques to delete mistaken letters and words. The simplest and easiest to miss is the small vertical dash mark on top of the *akṣara* to be deleted:  (42^v4) = “Delete the syllable ष्.”

Occasionally, and more often towards the beginning of the text, there will be more than one vertical dash present:  (13^r1). I consider this deletion technique original.

Another technique is simply erasure:  (1^v1, and in this case we can see that the vertical dash was first employed). Most erasures are done by the original scribe. We can tell this because very often they are written over in the same hand. Cf. 76^r3.

Longer deleted strings are set off with parenthesis-like brackets:  (45^r3) This parentheses-like deletion was by a later hand. Cf. 8^r1, where the parenthesis-like marks are the same thickness as the marginal दा, both of which are much thinner than the original scribe's.

Extremely long deletions, such as this one starting from the first line and ending on the third, are marked off by two caret marks at the beginning (just before विरे near the middle margin) and an X at the end.



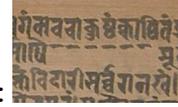
(66^v1-3)

It is clear that this was a technique of the original scribe because of the gap left for the X mark.

- **Gaps:**



(55^v1) represents a space-holder used at the end of lines and before the gap of the binding margin. It is often read as a *daṇḍa* by PR_A and D_B. Note that the difference is a thin horizontal line slightly descending from the left side of the vertical stroke.



Illegible/missing syllables are represented by horizontal lines: (139^f2)

- **Rubrication:** The manuscript often uses rubrication—a sort of red highlighting—for emphasis. It is found around the binding hole with or without floral ornamentation



(107^r), on page numbers



(56^v), and often, but not always mark-



ing the chapter colophons (8^v4).

There are other instances of rubrication, whose purpose I do not currently understand. Incidentally, there are what appear to be blood stains on a few folios (1^v, 93^r, 93^v). The varying shades of the rubrication makes me wonder if it is a blood-based material.

Transcription Example:

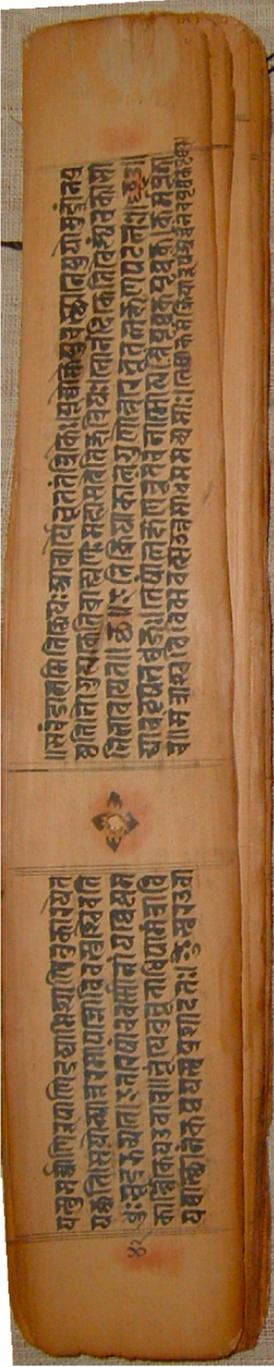


Figure 1: "P_{alt}" Folio 42^r, NGMPP B 25/32.—End of Ch. 8 and Beginning of Ch. 9—

Transcription

- Line 1: *yas tu sarvāṇi rūpāṇi dravyānistāṇi tu kāṅyeta || sa camāḍalam iti jñeyah ācāryai bhūtatamirrikaiḥ | pā[?]voktesu ca sbānesu yo mudrām na prā-*
- Line 2: *yacchati | sa jomyāntaram āpanno vivastṛās caiva tīṣṭhati | bho gūbyaketi brāhmanāḥ mahāsarveti kṣatṛiyah | bho namāḍkeiti vaiśyāṃ ca ko sā-*
- Line 3: *dhuh sūdra—r—ucyate | itaresāṃ ca varmānām yathestam abhibhāvayeta || + || iti kriyākāḷeguoittare bhūtalakṣāṇapatalah || ❁ ||*
- Line 4: *kārttikeya uvāca || [bhū] ye tu bhūtādhipā mantrā vidyā ca vīśabbadvajah | teśāṃ lakṣāṇabhūtam ca nāmotpattim pṛibakapṛthak | karmapūjā*
- Line 5: *yathāsthānam kathayasva prāsādataḥ | īsvara uvāca || mantrās ca vivīdhā vatsa uttamāḍhamamadhyamāḥ | teśāṃ karmakriyāṇāṃ arccanam ca pṛibakapṛthak |*

Pr_a “Pracalita A”

Title: *Kriyākālaguṇottara*

Script: Pracalita (Newari Script)

Medium: Paper, thick and polished.

Condition: Excellent

Size: 29cm x 9cm

Number of folios: 90

Lines per side: 8

Akṣaras per line: *circa* 48

Location Held: National Archives Kathmandu (NAK) Access # 5/4948

Microfilmed: NGMPP

Photographed by Author: July 28th, 2006

References: none

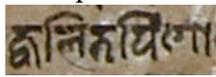
Colophon: Internal colophon on 83^v2–3 directly copied from P_{ALM}133^r5. Internal colophon on 85^v1–2 directly copied from P_{ALM}135^v4.

Extra/Missing Folios: none

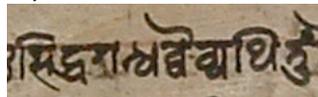
Scribal Features:

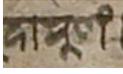
- **General Scribal Mannerisms**

- Non-initial vowels are usually *Pracalita* style, that is to say marked by a wiggly line over the consonant. This style of vowel marking can be difficult to see in this manuscript. Occasional *prṣṭhamātra* following P_{ALM}.

Cf. 34^r5:  (ज्वलितपिंगो°).

- *Daṇḍas* are not always used between verses.
- Gemination of most consonants after र् is common.
- Superscript र् is sometimes not written, particularly when another superscript mark intervenes and preceding a consonant in the instrumental plural ending *aiḥ*:

 (सिद्धगन्धवै व्यथितुं) (28^r1).

- *Anusvāra* is most commonly a small loop touching the top line:  (28^r3).

Alternatively the loop may be filled in:  (28^r3).

- ञ is sometimes substituted for ञ, following P_{ALM} and representing colloquial pronunciation.
- The space-filler/hyphenation mark used at the end of a line looks like a colon, with either two or three dots:  (33^r3).
- Metathesis is sometimes corrected by scribe:  (34^v3) = नाम.

- **Indistinguishable and Difficult to Distinguish Characters:**

 (28^r1) = “व्य” vs.  (27^v1) = “ध्य” vs.  (29^r1) = “ज्य” (sometimes not distinguished).

 (27^v1) = “च” vs.  (27^r2) = “घ” (sometimes not distinguished).

The letters ञ and ण are generally clearly distinguished to the attentive eye, but can look very similar:

 (28^v8) = “शृणु.”

 (29^v4) = “ह” vs.  (29^v7) = “फ” (difficult to distinguish).

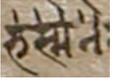
 (31^v3) = “ट” vs.  (31^r2) = “ढ” (sometimes not distinguished).

 (29^v6) = “ड” vs.  (28^v5) = “ढ्र” (never distinguished)

- **Ornamentation and Binding:** The manuscript is not bound. It has no ornamentation.

- **Deletion Strategies:**

Deletion is done in the manner of P_{ALM}, either by multiple tick marks:  (37^r3) or by

single marks for each *akṣara*.  (37^r2)

- **Gaps:** Horizontal lines in P_{ALM} (representing either illegible or missing syllables in γ) are either reproduced in PR_{AL}, or denoted by a blank space the size of the lacuna.
- **Rubrication:** No rubrication is present.

Transcription Example:

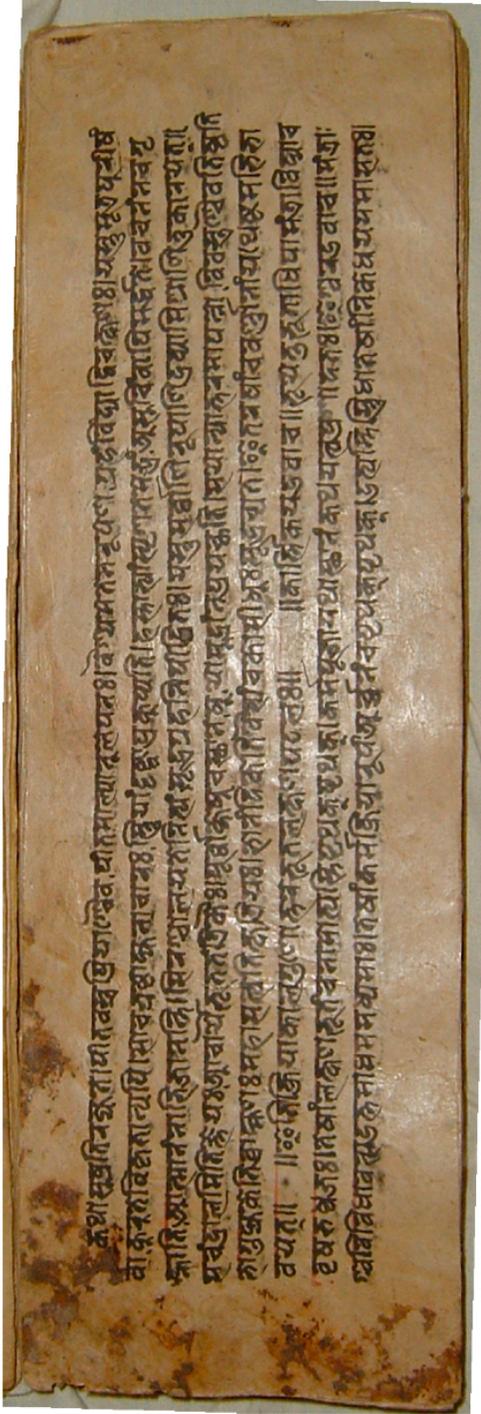


Figure 5: "Pr." Folio 27, NGMPP B II 9/5

Transcription

- Line 1: *kathāsu pratirāyate | pūvavastrapriyās caiva pūtamābhyānulepanaḥ | vaiśyam etena rīpeya grāham vīndyād vicakṣanaḥ | yas tu mūrtapurīṣam*
- Line 2: *vā kurute vikṛāny api | so ca bhṛāsto hy anācārāḥ strīyām dṛṣṭvā prakupyati | hastābhyām spṛṣate medhram asucim vāpi marddhate | vacanam na ca gr-*
- Line 3: *hṛānānānānā bhījananti | siraś cālayate nityam sūdamgraha nīpī (dī) taḥ | yas tu saruvāni rāpāni dravyamīṣṭāni tu kārayet ||*
- Line 4: *sa camādālam iti jñeyāḥ ācāryai bhūtatamīrikatāḥ | pūrvvoktesu ca sthānesu yo mūdṛām na prāyaccchati | sa yoryāttarām āpanno vivastṛās caiva tīṣṭhati*
- Line 5: *bho gubhyaketi brāhmanāḥ mahāsarveti kṣatṛiyāḥ | bho nāmdiketi vaiśyam ca ko sīdhuḥ sūdra cyate | itaresām ca varnīnānām yathesiam abhibhā-*
- Line 6: *vayet || || iti kriyākālaguṇottare bhūtalakṣānapatalāḥ || || kārtikeya uvāca || bhūye tu bhūtādhipā mamtrā vidyā ca*
- Line 7: *viśabbhadhvājāḥ | teśām lakṣanābhūam ca nānotpatti pṛthak | karma pūjā yathāśhānam kathaya tvapṛāsādātāḥ | īśvara uvāca || mamtrā-*
- Line 8: *ś ca vivīdhā vatsa uttamādhamamadhyamāḥ | teśām karmakṛiyārūpām arcanam ca pṛthak pṛthak | uppattis trivīdhā teśām nīkedhaya yamāsataḥ |*

Pr_b “Pracalita B”

Title: *Kriyākālaguṇottara*

Script: Pracalita (Newari Script)

Medium: Paper

Condition: Very good, slight mold and water damaged around margins.

Size: 20.5cm x 6.5cm

Number of folios: 248 (Part 1: 164, Part 2: 84)

Lines per side: 6

Akṣaras per line: *circa* 36

Location Held: Part 1: Private Collection; provided to NGMPP by one Minaraj Regmi.

Part 2: National Archives Kathmandu (NAK)

Microfilmed: NGMPP E 2189/6 (Part 1); NGMPP B 120/11 (part 2)

Photographed by Author: July 28th, 2006

References: None.

Colophon: The final chapter colophon on 133^r5–6 is followed by a *granthasaṃkhyā* reckoning: ग्रंथसंख्या एकष[⟨*⟩]ुत्तर १]ष्टिशतद्वयाधिकसहस्रद्वयं २२६१ ॥ ॥.

There is a final colophon at 134^r3–4, 134^v1. It reads (in *anuṣṭubh* metre):

[*siddhi*]नेपालिके गतेरब्दे दहनाश्रयुगाङ्किते ।

पक्षे फाल्गुणशुक्ले तु तृतीयायां तिथौ रवौ ॥

शिवरामस्य पौत्रेण विश्वनाथस्य सूनुना ।

लिखितं वैद्यदेवेन क्रियाकालगुणोत्तरं ॥

काव्यकर्त्ता यथा व्यास लेखको गणनायकं ।

तदपि चरते बिंदु का कथा इतरे जने ॥ शुभं ॥

उदकानलचौरैभ्यो मूषिकेभ्यस्तथैव च ।

रक्षितव्यं प्रयत्नेन मया कस्तेन लेखितं ॥

जथा दृष्टं तथा लिखितं लेखको नास्ति दोषकं ।

यदि सुद्धंमसुद्धं वा मम दोषो न दीयते ॥⁴⁴

I translate: “In the current Nepalese year reckoned as 473 (1353 CE) on the third lunar day,

⁴⁴Note that fourth verse is very similar to the final verso of P_{ALM}'s colophon. This suggests that such a verse was present in Σ.

a Sunday, of the bright half of the month 'Phālgūṇa' (February–March), Vaidyadeva, the grandson of Śiva-Rāma and the son of Viśvanātha, wrote the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*. When Vyāsa was a composer of poetry, and Gaṇanāyaka was the scribe.⁴⁵ Even in this case there might have been a bit of ink [misplaced], what to say in regards to ordinary people. You must take pains to protect [the manuscript] from water, fire, thieves, and also rodents. It was difficult for me to write it. I copied it as it was written. The scribe is not to be blamed. Whether [the text is] accurate or inaccurate, don't blame me."

Extra/Missing Folios: The text has been split into two parts. Part I, up to the end of chapter 19, is privately held, but was lent to the NGMPP for microfilming. The second half of the text is held at the National Archives in Kathmandu. In order to understand why and when the manuscript was split, it would be useful to know how and when the National Archives came to possess the latter half. Unfortunately I think it is very unlikely that they kept/keep such records, judging on the basis of the miserably disorganized manuscript cataloguing system I witnessed as a patron.

It seems—and this can only be speculation without further evidence—that the manuscript was split immediately after its copying to manuscript D_A. At this point it seems that the two halves went their separate ways. D_A, for some reason, only copied through chapter nineteen. We know that the text was whole at the time of copying because of the short note on the final page of D_A, and the starting page of PR_B's latter half. D_A reads: अत उत्तरग्रन्थः (पुस्तकान्तरे ****), which I take to essentially mean that there is more to the text than what is given here. In PR_B (in the same hand and writing size) we have the following note on the starting page of chapter twenty: इतः पूर्वग्रन्थः (पुस्तकान्तरे), meaning there was more to the text preceding that page. D_A could not have copied solely from Part I, because the last of chapter 19, which is present in D_A, is on the first line of Part 2. One explanation might be that someone wanted to buy PR_B, and the owner agreed to sell the latter half (which he was not particularly interested in) and to allow the first half (which was dear to him) to be copied. This would explain why both D_A and PR_B (Part 2) came to be held at the National Archives.

⁴⁵The verse has गणनायक as neuter, but it should be masculine.

Folios 133^v–134^v contain the final colophon and some notes in Newari about marginal verses he did not include in the text and *pādas* that he did not know where to place. He includes folio numbers for some of these.

Scribal Features:

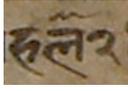
- **General Scribal Mannerisms**

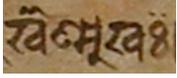
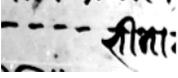
- म (65^r3) = म vs. म (65^r3) = म्
- *Anusvāra* generally used in place of homorganic nasal before consonant.
- *Visarga* usually looks like a figure-eight: ः (35^r1), but sometimes just two vertical dots: ः (35^r4).
- *Anusvāra* is most commonly a small loop touching the top line: ः (133^v3), but occasionally it is simply a dot: ः (133^v3).
- Gemination of some consonants after र् is present.
- Space-filler mark is rarely used and looks like this: ः (50^r5). Cf. also 41^v2.
- Metathesis sometimes self-corrected by scribe: गंरुद (136^v2) = गर्दभ.

- **Indistinguishable and Difficult to Distinguish Characters:**

- ऋ (52^r6) = ऋ vs. ऋ (52^r5) = ऋ (occasionally difficult to distinguish).
- व (133^r3) = व vs. व (129^v2) = व (sometimes not clearly distinguished).
- व (44^r4) = व vs. व (44^r4) = व (never distinguished).
- ञ (48^v6) = ञ vs. ञ (48^r1) = ञ (difficult to distinguish).
- ञ (53^r3) = ञ vs. ञ (51^v4) = ञ (difficult to distinguish).

- **Symbols whose Meanings are Unclear:** The following symbol, over the first *akṣara*, seems to indicate that the wrong *akṣara* was written: खेम्खे (129^v6). In this case it clearly should have been ष (phonetically identical in many regional languages), but in the following case it is unclear what the correct reading should have been (assum-

ing I have interpreted the meaning of this mark correctly):  (141^r4). Another possibility is that the mark indicates that the letter is copied faithfully from the exemplar but that the current scribe thinks it is wrong.

- **Ornamentation and Binding:** The manuscript is not bound and has no ornamentation.
- **Deletion Strategies:** Deletions are rare in this manuscript, and are marked by small dots over the *akṣara* to be deleted, in this case *visarga*:  (129^v6).
- **Gaps:** I think gaps are marked by raised horizontal lines, such as  (8^v3), denote a damaged section of the exemplar (or perhaps similar horizontal lines in the exemplar), while blank space denotes a section that is simply missing (also blank) in the exemplar.
- **Rubrication:** Rubrication is present over some of the chapter colophons, and sometimes used over *daṇḍas* to highlight mantra sections. Somadeva VASUDEVA has noted that such use of rubrication can tell us what the scribe thought about how the text should be subdivided, and is therefore a philologically useful tool. In the first half of the text rubrication is not visible because only the black and white microfilm images are available. Rubrication is also occasionally used to highlight change of speaker.

Transcription Example:

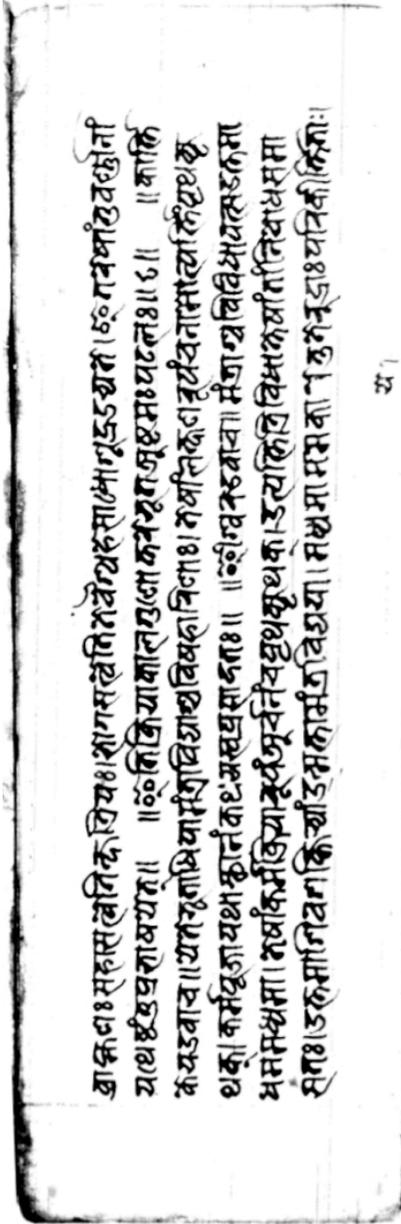


Figure 2: "Pr." Folio 48r, NGMPPE 2.189/6 –End of Ch. 8 and Beginning of Ch. 9–

Transcription

- Line 1: *brāhmanāḥ sabāsatvati kṣatriyāḥ | bhogasatvati te vaiśya he sādho śūdra ucyaṭe | itaresāṃ tu varinānāṃ*
 Line 2: *yathēṣṭam tu prabhāṣyēt || || iti kriyākālaguṇottare bhūta-astānāḥ patalāḥ || 8 || kārṭti-*
 Line 3: *keya uvāca || ye te bhūtādhipā mantrā vidyās ca viśahārināḥ | teṣāṃ lakṣanarūpam ca namotpartim pṛthak pṛ-*
 Line 4: *thak | karmapūjā yathāśhānanam kathayasva prasādātāḥ || || śuara uvāca || mantrās ca vivadhā vatsa uttamā-*
 Line 5: *dhamaṃmadhyamā | teṣāṃ karmakryārūpam arcānam ca pṛthak pṛthak | utpattitrividhāṃ teṣāṃ tāṃ nicodha samā-*
 Line 6: *sataḥ | uttamā śivasaktibhyāṃ unṃmattā mantravidyajā | madhyamā mama kāśye> tu te rudrāḥ parikīrtitāḥ |*

D_a “Devanāgarī A”

Title: *Kriyākālaguṇottara*

Script: *Devanāgarī*

Medium: Paper

Condition: Very Good, slight damage from water, mold, and rodents

Size: 28cm x 12cm

Number of folios: 57

Lines per side: 8–10

Akṣaras per line: *circa* 40

Location Held: National Archives Kathmandu (NAK)

Microfilmed: NGMPP B 120/3.

Photographed by Author: July 28th, 2006

References: None.

Colophon: The manuscript has chapter colophons following the pattern of β (Cf. the colophons of PR_b). The first and fifth chapter colophons are rubricated. Following the final chapter colophon are the words: अत उत्तरग्रन्थः (पुस्तकान्तरे ****), which I take to essentially mean that there is more to the text than what is given here. In PR_b (in the same hand and writing size) we have the following note on the starting page of chapter twenty: इतः पूर्वग्रन्थः (पुस्तकान्तरे), meaning there was more to the text preceding that page. For a full explanation see the Extra/Missing Folios section for PR_b.

Extra/Missing Folios: No extra folios. The recto side of the first page has the stamp of the Royal Archives, and the following written with a modern pen: title, NAK number, and microfilm reel number. The text is complete through chapter nineteen. The following folios were not photographed by the editor and are supplied from the microfilm: 5^v–6^r, 51^v–52^r, and 55^v–56^r.

Scribal Features:

This is one of the more recent manuscripts. The script is very close to modern Devanāgarī.

- **General Scribal Mannerisms**
 - **Aspect** varies from straight to right-slanted, with the latter being particular from

folio 39^v onward. I originally thought this was a second hand, but I now believe it is the result of a hastened job.

- *Anusvāra* occasionally used in place of homorganic nasal.
- ख used for ष: खण्मुख for षण्मुख (only once, copying from PR_b).

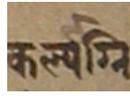
- **Characters not Distinguished:**

 (31^r2) = ह vs.  (32^r5) = घं.

 (18^v7) = व vs.  (34^v9) = व.

- **Difficult to Distinguish Characters:**  (32^r4) = त्त vs.  (32^r7) = न्न vs.  (31^r5) = त्त.

- **Missing Vowel Marker:** The manuscript uses a missing vowel marker similar to P_{ALM}.

 The vowel to be supplied is invariably clear from context.

- **Ornamentation and Binding:** The manuscript has no ornamentation excepting a few cases of rubricated chapter colophons. It has no cover and no binding.

- **Deletion Strategies:**

The manuscript uses no fewer than five methods of deleting a mistaken syllable.

- The most common is the use of small tic marks similar to those used in P_{ALM}:

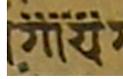
 (37^r7) = भेदे[र].

- Also very common is blacking out:  (32^v8) = Blackout with insertion mark.

- Less common are the following:

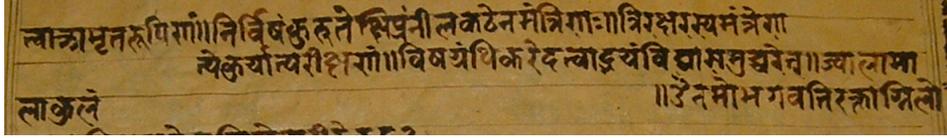
 (31^r4) = X over partially erased *akṣara* (Could this be evidence of the scribe's familiarity with the western habit of “x-ing” out? Or that of a second hand?).

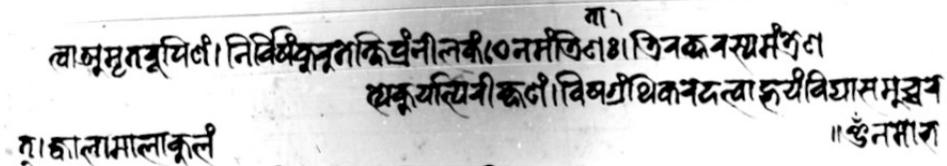
 (33^r2) = *Akṣara* deleted with two horizontal lines above; supply marginal insertion.

 (41^v5) = [[गाय]] (string of *akṣaras* deleted with dots).

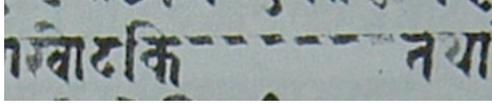
- **Gaps:** D_A leaves gaps as found in its exemplar PR_B .

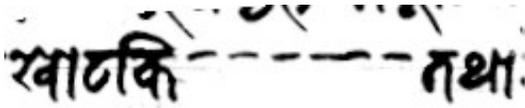
When PR_B leaves empty space, D_A will do the same:

 (D_A22^v) vs.

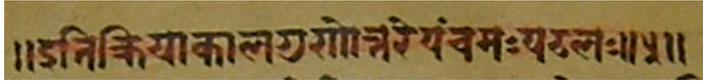
 (PR_B34^v).

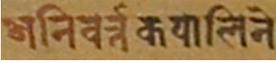
Likewise, when PR_B writes horizontal lines, presumably marking *akṣaras* which are illegible in β , D_A will likewise copy the lines:

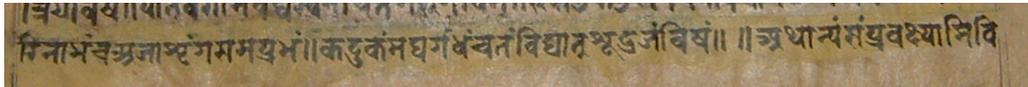
 (D_A5^v4) vs.

 (PR_B9^v6).

- **Rubrication:** Chapter colophon rubrication used for *paṭalas* one and five.

 (II^v1)

This type of rubrication occurs sporadically. I am puzzled about why and how it is done.  (32^v9). I do not know why the following “yellow rubrication” was used here:

 (19^r9)

D_B “Devanāgarī B”

Title: *Kriyākālaguṇottara*

Script: *Devanāgarī*

Medium: Paper

Condition: Excellent

Size: 29.5cm x 12cm

Number of folios: 88

Lines per side: 9

Akṣaras per line: *circa* 50

Location Held: Kaiser Library, Kathmandu; Access # 9/297

Microfilmed: NGMPP C 30/16 December 31st, 1973

Photographed by Author: July 28th, 2006

References: David WHITE makes a few broad references to the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* in his 2003 book, *The Kiss of the Yoginī*. He cites this manuscript in his bibliography, but it is unclear to what extent it was used in his work.

Colophon: Internal colophon at 81^v3–4 copied directly from P_{ALM}133^r5. Internal colophon at 83^r1–2 copied directly from P_{ALM}135^v4.

Extra/Missing Folios: none

Scribal Features:

- **General Scribal Mannerisms**

- The scribe is generally sloppy. *Virāma* and *visarga* are commonly left off, particularly at the end of verses.
- *Anusvāra* nearly always used in place of pre-consonantal nasal.
- Following P_{ALM}, the scribe sporadically uses स for श.
- After र् gemination is generally *not* present.
- Space-filler mark is a diagonal slash:  (85^v3).
- *Daṇḍas* are in a red ink (not visible as such on microfilm), but sometimes omitted or present in the middle of a verse.
- Occasionally both *anusvāra* and full ञ are used at word end.

- Following P_{ALM}, ख substitutes for ष in षण्मुख.
- **Indistinguishable and Difficult to Distinguish Characters:**
 - य (35^v6) = ष vs. ष (35^v4) = ष vs. ए (34^v2) = ए (Often not distinguished).
 - व (31^r5) = व vs. व (31^r4) = व (never distinguished).
 - न (31^r8) = न vs. न (31^r6) = न (can be difficult to distinguish). थ (32^r4) = थ vs. थ (27^v3) = ध्य (usually not distinguished).
 - द्र (27^r5) = द्र vs. ढ (27^r3) = ढ (not distinguished).
- **Notable Ligatures:** ख (27^r1) = ख.
 रथा (27^r4) = रथा.
 Three ligatures for ध्य: थ (27^r9), थ (27^v3), थ (27^v1).
- **Ornamentation and Binding:** The manuscript has no binding. It is held between two boards, approximately 1/2 inches thick. The only ornamentation are three floral symbols marking the end of the text:  (88^r8).
- **Deletion:** Akṣara omitted with small dots above it: कं (36^r5).
- **Gaps:** When akṣaras are illegible in P_{ALM}, the scribe writes horizontal lines:  (43^v6).
- **Rubrication:** Only the final chapter colophon is rubricated.

Transcription Example:

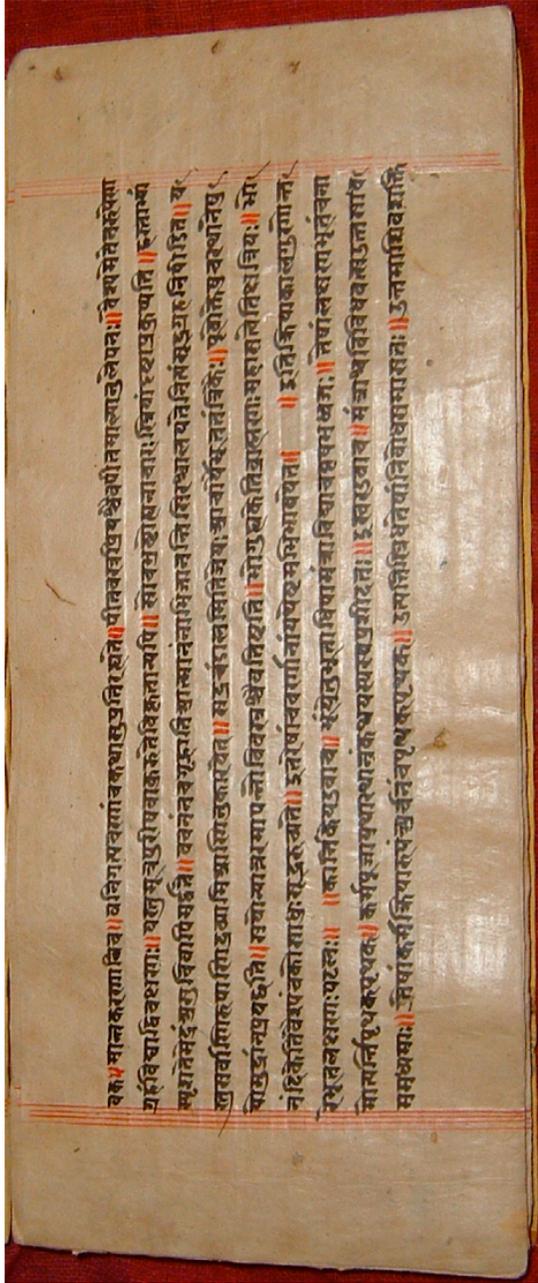


Figure 6: "D," Folio 27r, NGMPPC 30/16

Transcription

- Line 1: -va ka || māntakaraṇā(n) i ca || vanigatyacanām ca kathāsu pratnabhyate || pūvāstrapriyās caiva pūtamāhānulepanaḥ || vaiśyama etena rūpena
 Line 2: grāham vidyād vicakṣaṇaḥ || yas tu mūtrapurīsa vā kurute vikṛtāny api || so ca bhraṣṭo hy anācāraḥ strīyām dṛṣṭā prakṛpyati || hastābhyām
 Line 3: spṛṣṭate mēdbrām asuci vāpi marddate || vacanam na ca gṛhnāti ātmānam nabhijānanti siraś cālūyate nityam sādṛagrabhanipīḍita || ya-
 Line 4: s tu sarvāni rūpāni dhavyāmīṣṭrāni tu kārayet || sa (dra) caṇḍālam iti jeyāḥ ācāryai bhūtataṃtrikaib || pūvoktesu ca sṭhānesu
 Line 5: yo mudrām na prayachati || sa yonyāntaram āpanno vivuṣṭrās caiva tīṣṭati || bho gubhyaketi brāhmaṇaḥ mahāsatvete kṣatriyaḥ || bho
 Line 6: naṃdikēti vaiśyam ca ko sādbruh sādhrā-n-ucyate || itarēṣām ca varnānām yathēṣṭam abhibhāvayeta || || iti kriyākālaguṇotta-
 Line 7: re bhūtalakṣaṇaḥ pāṭalaḥ || kārttikēya uvāca || bhūm ye tu bhūtaādhipā mamatrā vidyā ca vīṣabhadbhvaḥ || teṣām lakṣaṇabhūtam ca nā-
 Line 8: moṣṭatīm pṛthak pṛthak || karma pūjā yathāsthānam kathayasya svapnāśdataḥ || isvara uvāca || mamtrās ca vivīdhā vatsa uttasādha-
 Line 9: mamadhyamāḥ || teṣām karma kriyārūpaṇi arcānam ca pṛthak pṛthak || upattis tridha teṣām nibodha samāṣataḥ || uttamā sīvasakti-

D_c “Devanāgarī C”

Title: *Kriyākālaguṇottara*

Script: *Devanāgarī*

Medium: Paper

Condition: Very good, slight damage from water, mold, and rodents.

Size: 30cm x 8.5cm

Number of folios: 88

Lines per side: 6–10, usually 8–9

Akṣaras per line: *circa* 54

Location Held: National Archives Kathmandu (NAK)

Microfilmed: NGMPP A 149/2 October 8th, 1971

Photographed by Author: July 28th, 2006

References: none

Colophon: On the folio labeled 88, there is a colophon that reads: शुभमस्तु सर्वजगतां च लेखकपाठकोः

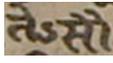
॥ ॥ ग्रंथसंख्या २२६१ ॥. I translate: “May all be well for all mankind and for the scribe and reader.

Verse count = 2261.”

Extra/Missing Folios: Preceding the text are two folios of another text, possibly *Svā-naparīkṣā*. The ordering of folios from 71^v onward has changed since the manuscript was microfilmed. As of my filming, the one line folio microfilmed below 71^v is located at the bottom of the stack. I have not yet been able to sort out the correct numbering for the folios after 71^v. Folios referred to in the concordance reflect the order of microfilming.

Scribal Features:

- **General Scribal Mannerisms**

- On the first folio only, the manuscript appears to have been started by one person (Lines 1–2), continued by another (Lines 2–5), and finally continued by the main scribe for the rest of the text. This puzzles me.
- *Avagraha* is seldom used in any of the manuscripts, but does occur in this one at folio 22^r 3:  = ते ऽसौ.

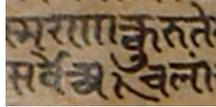
- *Prṣṭhamātra* vowels are used occasionally, suggesting that they were present in the script of an exemplar.  (32^v4) = चुडे.
 - Gemination after consonants occurs in all of the manuscripts consulted, however only in D_c do we get gemination *before* certain consonants. It is common especially in the case of त् preceding य or स:  (25^v1) = नृत्त्य;  (25^v8) = वत्स.
 - Metathesis self-corrected by scribe:  (1^v8) = वंश.
 - The following is the manuscript's spacefiller/hyphenation symbol used sporadically at the end of lines:  (27^r6).
 - When *sandhi* dictates an र् ending for third-person plural ऐः, it is often not written.
 - Conjunct reading order is sometimes reversed:  (30^r4) = परस्परं, but looks like परप्सरं.
 - *Anusvāra* nearly always used in place of homorganic nasal preceding consonant.
- **Indistinguishable and Difficult to Distinguish Characters:**
 -  (26^v3) = व vs.  (27^v4) = व (never distinguished).
 -  (26^v1) = दृ vs.  (26^v4) = द (seldom distinguished).
 -  (26^v3) = त्र vs.  (26^v1) = ञ (can be difficult to distinguish).
 -  (27^v6) = स vs.  (28^v1) = पू (very difficult to distinguish).
 - **Notable Ligatures:**
 -  (27^v2) (Normal ण) vs.  (25^v3) (Unusual ण).

रु can be written with full उ and hook र् above. I previously took note of this, but have been unable to find where it occurs.

 (26^r4) = कार्य? All β manuscripts read a similar ligature. γ has कार्य. For more details and an example of this type of ligature in another manuscript, see *Philological Commentary*, note to 9.08a.

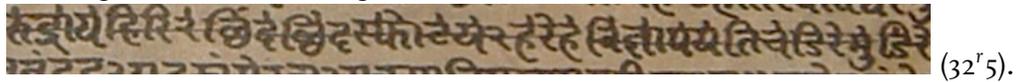
An unique ligature for ल्ला:  (33^r5).

- **Symbols whose Meanings are Unclear:** A horizontal line over a character may mean a number of things. Here it seems to mark a point of insertion for a marginal reading:  (27^v4). But here it must mean an uncertain *akṣara* in the exemplar:  (31^v6). In this latter case it is actually the wrong reading. Here D_c reads an uncertain व्य while PR_b, and P_{ALM} read the assumedly correct अ.

Here we have a symbol whose meaning is not clear to me:  (12^r7–8). The symbol on the lower line may indicate that the scribe intended to drop the अ, but it does not resemble an *avagraha*.

- **Ornamentation and Binding:** The manuscript is not bound, it has no extra cover, and has no ornamentation.

- **Deletion Strategies:** Dots over an *akṣara* mark its deletion:  (32^v8). Here we have a very long deletion with small vertical tick marks on each *akṣara* and a horizontal line crossing out the entire string:



- **Gaps:** Like most of the other manuscripts, D_c uses horizontal lines to indicate the space of an illegible *akṣara*, and blank space where there was lacunae in the exemplar.
- **Rubrication:** The manuscript has no rubrication.

Transcription Example:

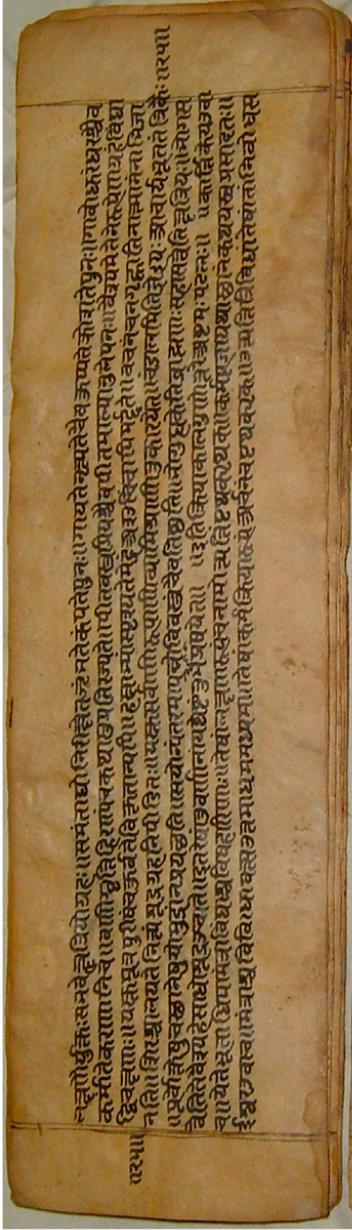
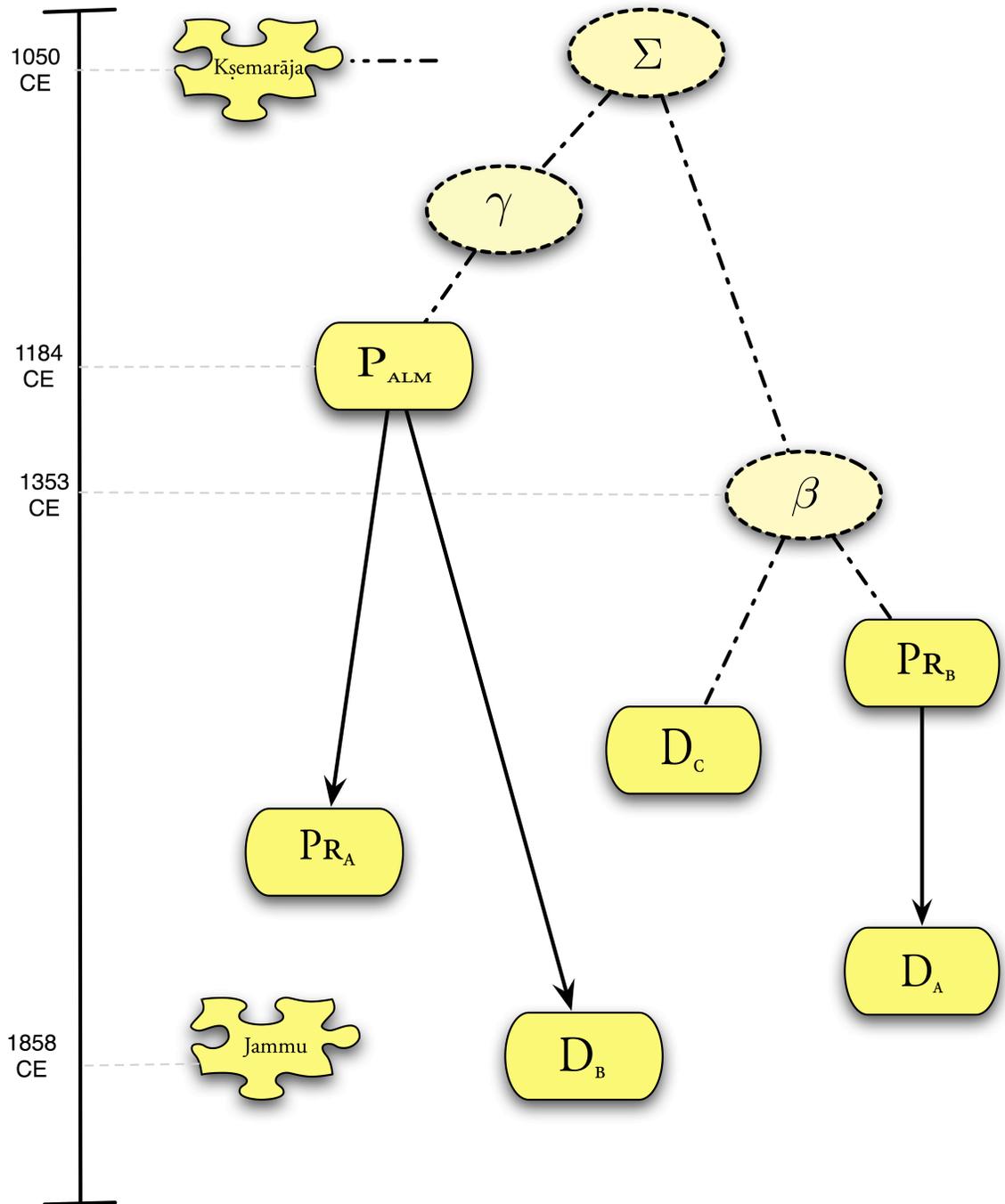


Figure 4: "D." Folio 25r, NGMPP A149/2 – End of Ch. 8 and Beginning of Ch. 9–

Transcription

- Line 1: *lakṣaṇair yuktah sa bhavet kṣatriyo grahah || samamitād yo nirikṣeta jñābhate kampate punah || gāyate nṛtyate cāiva kupyate kṛoṣate punah || gāvo dharām dharas cāiva*
- Line 2: *karmānte karānāni ca || vaiṅgīrttibhāṅgam ca kathāsu pratirāyate || pīṭavastrapriyas cāiva pīṭamāhānulepanah || vaiśyam etene rūpeṇa graham vīṇdyā-*
- Line 3: *d vīcakṣaṇah || yas tu mūtrapurīṣam ca kurvate vibhāṅgāpi || hasābhyaṅg spṛśyate mēdhrām asūcinī cāpi marḍate || vacanam ca na gṛhṇāti nātmanām nābhijā-*
- Line 4: *nati || śnās cāḷyate nīṛyam sūdragrahānīḍīṭah || yas tu sarvāni rūpāni vyāmīṣāni tu kānyeta || caṇḍālam tī jñeyah acāryabhūtatāṃrikaiḥ*
- Line 5: *|| pūrvokṛtya ca sṭhāneṣu yo mudrām na prayacchati || sa yonyantaram āpanno vivastram cāiva tīṣṭhati || bho gubhyaketi brāhmaṇah sabāsatveti kṣatriyah || bhogasa-*
- Line 6: *tveti te vaiśya bh sādho sūdra ucyate || itaresāṅ tu varṇānāṅ yatheṣṭam tu bh(ā)² pra' śeyet || || tī kriyākāḷagūṇottare aśāmah paṭalāḥ || || kārttikeya uā-*
- Line 7: *ca || ye te bhūtādhipā mānitrā vīṇdyās ca viśahārīṇah || teṣāṅ lakṣaṇarūpam ca nāmōtpatim pṛthakpṛthak || karmaṇijā yathāśhānam kathayasu prasādātah ||*
- Line 8: *śānara uāca || mānitrās ca vivīḍhā vatsa uttamādhamamādhyamā || teṣāṅ karma kriyārūpam arcānam ca pṛthakepi || utpattitriṇidhām teṣāṅ tām nibodha sa-*

The Relationships among the Manuscripts



Explanation of the Stemma Chart

The preceding chart graphically represents the interrelationships of the actual and conjectured manuscripts of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* which have survived. The manuscript listed as “Jammu,” is a seven folio section held at the Raghunātha Temple Library in Jammu.⁴⁶ I am also investigating a reported sixteen folio manuscript, possibly held at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. To my knowledge these are the only extant manuscripts of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*.

Let me begin by explaining the conventions of the stemma chart. The three rounded fields are a lighter color and delineated with broken lines. These represent conjectured hyparchetypes (namely Sigma, Gamma, and Beta) rather than extant manuscripts. The transmission between these hyparchetypes and the extant Nepalese manuscripts may include a number of intermediaries, therefore the lines connecting them are broken. Cases of direct descendants (such as D_B from P_{ALM}), are marked by a bold black arrow. This means the “child” manuscript copied directly from the “parent.”

The time line is for the reader’s convenience, however I should note that the chart is not vertically precise. That is to say, I have no formula such as “1/2 inch = 100 years” as one might expect in a time line. For this reason, the dates are linked to their respective texts by a broken grey line.⁴⁷ The manuscripts not tied to a date fall somewhere in the range one the line, but precisely where cannot be determined at this time.

Rationale for the Relationships Depicted in the Stemma Chart

γ and β are Separate Branches of Σ

It is evident from the most cursory survey of variants, that the extant Nepalese manuscripts fall into two groups, one descended from Gamma, and one descended from Beta. We can infer that the two are related by way of their hyparchetype Sigma, because of a number of conjunctive errors.

⁴⁶Special thanks to Dr. Rāmkr̥ṣṇa ŚUKLA for traveling to Jammu and photographing this manuscript on my behalf.

⁴⁷Note that the date 1353 CE assigned to β is tentative. It is actually the date found on manuscript PR_B , but I have concluded that PR_B cannot possibly be this old, and that it is likely copying the date of its exemplar, in this case theorized to be β .

Consider the corrupt 9.17b with its various non-sensical readings. It seems that Sigma conflated this *pāda* with that of 9.18b. Consider 9.30c, where we have all manuscripts hypermetrically reading “भृत्यवर्गस्य.” Also consider the unanimous reading “कमण्डलं” at 10.05c which surely must be emended to “कमण्डलुं.” Additionally we have a verse in chapter 10 (which would have been numbered 10.07) missing from all the manuscripts. Although it is not marked as missing in any of the manuscripts, it is contextually necessary. Verse 10.05 instructs the positioning of the seat and implements of a Brahman in the Northeast; verse 10.06 that of a Kṣatriya in the Southeast; and verse 10.08 that of a Śūdra in the Northwest. The seat and implements of a Vaiśya in the Southwest should have been present between 10.06 and 10.08 based on the counter-clockwise enumeration of the text. Thus we have established that all the manuscripts have errors in common and therefore have a common ancestor—Sigma.

P_{alm} is the “Child” of the hyparchetype γ

Proving the existence of the Gamma hyparchetype is not as simple. As Somadeva VASUDEVA has often reminded me, there is an aesthetically pleasing yet erroneous desire for the stemma to always branch into two.⁴⁸ We must ask ourselves: “Why could P_{alm} not be copying directly from β ? Do we need γ as a hyparchetype?” One piece of evidence for γ although admittedly not firm proof, is a series of illegible characters in the hyparchetype of P_{alm} , which P_{alm} marks as horizontal lines (P_{alm} 142^r1). Neither PR_B (160^v3) nor D_c (86^r1) are missing the syllables, therefore β must have the complete verse, and Σ would also be complete. A possible criticism of this hypothesis is that Σ was missing the text, but β improvised a reading to fill the lacuna. However one thing we can be sure about is that P_{alm} is not copy-

⁴⁸According to HAUGEN 2003, the tendency was first exposed by Joseph BÉDIER in his 1928 article *La tradition manuscrite du Lai de l’Ombre. Réflexions sur l’art d’éditer les anciens textes*. He had published two editions of the Old French *Lai de l’Ombre*, and in each he struggled to come to terms with the structure of the manuscript stemma. HAUGEN does an excellent job of summarizing BÉDIER’s important conclusion, and I will only give the barest overview. BÉDIER realized that 105 out of the 110 stemmas of Old French textual traditions were two branched and he exclaimed “*Sylva Portentosa!*” What a remarkable forest of only two-branched trees (HAUGEN 2003, 9)! The editors tend to find parallels within two manuscripts of a three-branched stemma, and link them via a hyparchetype. This maneuver reduces the working stemma to the two-branched model, leaving the choice of reading to the editor. With a three-branched stemma the editor would be obligated to read whichever reading is supported by two of the manuscripts. I have to admit that my stemma is, on a practical level, two-branched, but I believe this accurately reflects the evidence. With BÉDIER’s exposé in mind, I have struggled to come up with alternative arrangements of the stemma, but I could not find any other structure that matches the evidence.

ing from a lacunose β , because PR_B and D_C independently read a complete verse. Therefore it is likely that these illegible syllables reflect a manuscript that is intermediary between Σ and P_{ALM} , and we can call that manuscript γ .

D_b and Pr_a are the “Children” of P_{alm}

Manuscript D_B and PR_A are clearly the children of P_{ALM} . This is evident from countless major and minor mistakes in P_{ALM} , carried through to PR_A and D_B , that do not occur in the β manuscripts. Take the opening words of chapter 9 for example. In P_{ALM} there is a mistake: “[भूं]ये तु भूताधिपा मन्त्रा.” Now the scribe of P_{ALM} caught himself and deleted the extra syllable with a tiny vertical dash mark, but D_B and PR_A did not understand, as is evident in their variants.

And with the final word of the chapter we get another piece of evidence by looking closely at P_{ALM} ’s reading “कायेत्” against β ’s “कारयेत्.” Figure 0.4 shows why D_B and PR_A read the even more corrupt “कायेते.” Note that D_B and PR_A read the *virāma* of the previous line as an extra *e-kāra* of “कायेत्.” For D_B we also have the case of missing text precisely equal to one line of P_{ALM} . Thus, the eye of D_B ’s scribe simply skipped to the following line while copying.

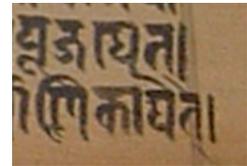


Figure 0.4: P_{ALM} 47^r 5

D_c and Pr_b are the “Children” of the hyparchetype β

Now to demonstrate the existence of the Beta hyparchetype is relatively simple. We need simply show that D_C and PR_B share errors, and that neither is copying directly from the other. Take for example 9.14a, which corruptly reads कलकलशेन नमो in the Beta-derived manuscripts. Also, in the *Rakṣāpaṭala* (Chapter 24), the Beta group shares a very lacunose section which is not missing in the Gamma group: D_C 65^v–66^r and PR_B 116^v–117^r.

We can be certain that PR_B is not copying from D_C nor vice-versa because often D_C is missing more text in the lacunose sections of the Beta group. This clearly demonstrates that D_C is not the exemplar of PR_B . It also suggests that D_C was copying from a later, more damaged form of the β exemplar. Take as an example the opening of the third *paṭala* (PR_B 7^v–8^v; D_C 4^v–5^r).

D_a as the “Child” of Pr_b

The final relationship to be demonstrated is that of D_A and PR_b . We have a comment written in the same hand on both D_A and PR_b . In the case of the former it is on the final page of the (incomplete) manuscript and in the case of the latter it is on the first page of the latter half of the text not copied by D_A . For a full explanation, see the colophon section in the description of manuscript PR_b .

Aside from this very plain evidence that D_A copied from PR_b , we also have numerous shared lacunae. Cf. D_A22^v and PR_b34^v .

Editorial Policies

Choice among Significant Variants

The job of the critical editor is similar to that of a judge. The witnesses, in our case manuscripts, each offer “testimony” on which the editor must base his reconstruction of the story. Naturally one tries to discern which witnesses are the most reliable. But this is not always as straightforward as one may suppose.

While photographing the five manuscripts of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* held at the National Archives, Kathmandu, I was approached by a senior staff member. He wanted to know why I was wasting my time and money photographing all of these different manuscripts of the same text. He suggested that I pick the best one and work from that. But the problem is knowing which is the best, and defining what it means to be the best. If I had chosen D_B , a beautiful Devanāgarī manuscript in excellent condition, I would be stuck with *the most corrupt* manuscript of the text. Truly, one cannot determine which is the best without first working intensively with all of them, collating the readings of a large section of text, and determining the stemmatic relationships.

On the basis of evidence depicted in the stemma, I take P_{ALM} , PR_B , and D_C as the manuscripts whose readings carry the most weight, precisely because they are not copies of any extant manuscripts. D_B and PR_A are copies of P_{ALM} , and more often than not their readings are identical to or corrupted from P_{ALM} . The same is true for D_A as a copy of PR_B . Thus when variants within these three principal manuscripts occur, we have to come to terms with them. If PR_B and D_C agree—which is often the case because they have a common exemplar in β —we simply have to make the choice between the reading of P_{ALM} and β . When PR_B and D_C disagree, a choice must also be made about how to reconstruct β .

Some may question this methodology as too eclectic. They may suggest choosing one manuscript, such as P_{ALM} , and using it as the default when variants are of equal merit. This is a more sophisticated version of the *copy-text* or *best-text* method of textual criticism hinted at by the National Archives staff member. This method may work in certain circumstances. For example, if one has many manuscripts of a Kashmiri Śaiva text, and on early Nepalese manuscript, one might prefer the Nepalese because *in general* early Nepalese manuscripts

tend to preserve Aīśa forms. Nevertheless, the *best-text* method would be of little use in the present edition.

Part of the problem is determining what equal merit is. I collected a list of the significant variants in the first ten verses, and saw that I have preferred γ eight times and β nine times. In each case I give a note detailing the rationale for the choice of variant or emendation in the main text. I would not classify any of these variants as readings of equal merit because in each case I chose or emended to the reading most likely to be original based on the evidence and context.

I employ the well-known principle of *lectio difficilior potior*, however its application is not as straightforward as many who do not edit texts believe. One must note the fine line between a difficult reading and a corrupt one. In 9.03b for example, we have the choice between उन्मत्ता in β , and उत्पन्ना in γ . In this case the former is certainly difficult to make work in the context, and the latter perfectly natural; but other factors have to be weighed, and there is little point in publishing a text which does not make sense. Reflection and experience with manuscripts will show that a scribal error and not a true *lectio difficilior* is the source of the variant. The ligatures for न्म and न्प are not always easy to distinguish in handwritten documents in these scripts. The same is true for the ligatures त्त and त्त. We have a true *lectio difficilior* in γ 's प्ररूपाणि (9.08c). This is a word that seldom occurs in the language in this form. Dictionaries attest a base noun प्ररूपण, but not प्ररूप. If we take the meaning as “examples, representations” we have a solid reading. However it seems that β did not accept प्ररूपाणि as a proper word and changed it to स्वरूपेण. स्वरूपेण does not lend much meaning to the verse, and leaves a generally transitive verb without an object, thus we can accept that प्ररूपाणि was the original reading.

Standardization

The text is generally respected for its idiosyncrasies of grammar in many cases such as non-application of *sandhi*, incorrect verb forms, and non-standard nominal declensions. However there are a large number of features that have been standardized for the convenience of the reader, even though it is possible that the text never had such strict conventions. First of all, manuscripts do not give spaces between words, and the edition has

taken the liberty to do so, therefore one should note that the division of words is editorial and thus subject to error. Verses are often, but not always separated by *daṇḍas* in the manuscripts, but in the edition they are consistently delineated. Section titles are added by the editor. The manuscripts almost always use *anusvāra* in place of the homorganic nasal, and this has been silently emended by the editor, except in the case of *upasargas*. Gemination is silently emended, as is degemination, conflation of ञ and स, *avagraha*, and *anusvāra* where *sandhi* would dictate a full स. The editor considers differences in the preceding list of silently emended items to be non-variants, but the idiosyncrasies of each manuscript are reported in the apparatus when true variation is also present. For example in 9.02a, the edition reads मन्त्रा विद्याश्च and the apparatus reports that this is the reading of PR₁. It actually reads मंत्रा विद्याश्च, but the editor does not deem the difference significant enough to be considered a variant. However when a word or phrase is rejected from the main text, its idiosyncrasies are reported. In the same *pāda* for example, D₁ reads मन्त्रविद्याश्च, and is reported exactly so, because there is no need to formalize the use of *anusvāra* in this case. It is considered a variant because of the shortened *a* vowel, not because of the use of *anusvāra*.

Correction, Emendation, and Conjecture

A **correction** is similar to an emendation, but is confined to spelling or case-marker errors. Corrections may be removal of corruption, but may also be part of the edition's standardization agenda. The edition makes thirty-five corrections in the ninth chapter, and the majority are simply adding or removing *visarga* according to proper *sandhi*. Corrections are not discussed in the notes unless relevant.

An **emendation** is when the text has been changed with a mid to high level of confidence that some corruption present in all of the manuscripts has been removed. The edition has made twenty-two emendations in the ninth chapter. Each emendation is backed up by an endnote detailing the editor's rationale.

Conjecture is only used when the text does not make sense or is unmetrical in all of the manuscripts. It is similar to an emendation in that its purpose is to remove corruption, but the level of confidence in the conjecture is low. There are only three conjectures in the ninth chapter and notes are given for each.

Conventions of the Layout

The edition is divided into the following sections:

- The main text with verse number at the end and to the right of each verse, line numbers in increments of five to the left of the verses, and corresponding page in each manuscript in the right margin.
- On the first page of the chapter, the topmost register of the apparatus is reserved for sigla and longer lacunae. Below the topmost register on the first page, and in the topmost register on every subsequent page, is the field for testimonia and textual harmonies considered important enough to be placed on the main page rather than in an endnote.
- The largest register is located below this and gives the variants by line number. Note that one line may have several variants, so the reader must check that the lemma is the one desired.
- The bottom register, if present, is for comment about the text that may be necessary for the reader to immediately understand the main text. Comments not immediately necessary, and those concerning variation, are given in the philological commentary.

Abbreviations

Σ = All manuscripts share reading; also used to refer to the common ancestor of extant manuscripts.

γ = P_{ALM} , PR_A , D_B ; also refers to the archetype of P_{ALM} .

β = D_C , PR_B , D_A ; also refers to the archetype of PR_B & D_C .

P_{ALM} = NGMPP B 25/32

D_A = NGMPP B 120/3

PR_A = NGMPP B 119/5

D_B = NGMPP C 30/16

D_C = NGMPP A 149/2

PR_B = NGMPP E 2189/6

$\langle xyz \rangle$ = xyz are uncertain syllables; also used to represent the “vowel wildcard” mark used in the manuscripts.

$\llbracket e \rrbracket$ = e is omitted *propia manu*

$\dagger xyz \dagger$ = xyz passage is corrupt

! = represents hyphenation marks used by scribes at end of line or before binding gap.

- = within edition used to clarify non-standard vowel sandhi.

hypomet. = the variant makes the verse hypometrical

hypermet. = the variant makes the verse hypermetrical

unmet. = the variant makes the verse unmetrical

PROPIA MANU = reading is written by the original scribe

SECUNDA MANU = reading is written by a second hand

om. = omitted

em. = emendation

em. VASUDEVA = emendation suggested by VASUDEVA

conj. = conjecture

corr. = correction

* = illegible syllable

$[xyz]^{\text{MARG.}}$ = reading xyz supplied in margin

$va^2 de^1$ = *deva* (metathesis of syllables self-corrected by scribe.)

Edition

खड्गरावणस्य मूलमन्त्रस्य विधानम्

कार्तिकेय उवाच

- ये तु भूताधिपा मन्त्रा विद्याश्च वृषभध्वज ।
तेषां लक्षणरूपं च नामोत्पत्तिं पृथक्पृथक् ।
5 कर्म पूजा यथास्थानं कथयस्व प्रसादतः ॥ १ ॥

ईश्वर उवाच

- मन्त्राश्च विविधा वत्स उत्तमाधममध्यमाः ।
तेषां कर्म क्रियारूपमर्चनं च पृथक्पृथक् ।
10 उत्पत्तिस्त्रिविधा तेषां तान्निबोध समासतः ॥ २ ॥
उत्तमाः शिवशक्तिभ्यामुत्पन्ना मन्त्रविद्यया ।
मध्यमा मम काये तु ते रुद्राः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ ३ ॥
दशकोट्यस्तु मन्त्राणां विद्याश्चाप्यप्रमाणतः ।

P_{ALM} 43^r

D_c 26^r

PR_A 27^v

D_B 27^v

PR_B 48^v

I Σ = All MSS; β = D_cD_APR_B; γ = P_{ALM}D_BPR_A; γ-6c, 7b-

8 मन्त्राश्च विविधा...] Cf. Nīśvāsattattvasaṃgraha 12.48 “मन्त्राश्च तृविधा प्रोक्ता उत्तमाधममध्यमाः.”

3 ये तु] corr., [भू]ये तु P_{ALM}, भूये तु D_B hypermet., भूये त PR_A hypermet., ये ते β 3 मन्त्रा विद्याश्च] PR_B, मंत्रविद्याश्च D_A, मंत्रा विद्या च γ, मंत्रा विद्याश्च D_c 3 वृषभध्वज] corr., वृषभध्वजः γ, विषहारिणाः β 4 °रूपं] β, °भूतं γ 4 नामोत्पत्तिं] P_{ALM}D_c, नामोत्पत्ति PR_A, नामोत्पत्ति PR_BD_A, नामोत्पत्ति(ं) D_B 4 पृथक्पृथक्] βD_BPR_A, पृथक्पृथक् P_{ALM} 5 कथयस्व प्रसादतः] βP_{ALM}PR_A, कथयस्य स्वप्रशीदतःD_B 7 ईश्वर] βP_{ALM}, ईश्वर PR_A, इस्वर D_B 8 विविधा] P_{ALM}PR_APR_BD_A, विविधो D_c, विविध D_B 8 उत्तमा°] βP_{ALM}PR_A, उत्तसा° D_B 8 °मध्यमाः] γ, °मध्यमा β 9 पृथक्पृथक्] βPR_AD_B, पृथक्पृथक् P_{ALM} 10 उत्पत्तिस्त्रिविधा] em., उत्पत्तिस्त्रिविधा P_{ALM}PR_A hypomet., उत्पत्तिस्त्रिविध D_B hypomet., उत्पत्तिस्त्रिविधान् PR_BD_A, उत्पत्तिस्त्रिविधां D_c 10 तान्निबोध] corr., तां निबोध D_A, तां निबोध स D_c hypermet., तां निबोध PR_B, निबोधय P_{ALM}, निबोध D_B hypomet., निकेधय PR_A 10 समासतः] βP_{ALM}D_B, यमासतः PR_A 11 उत्तमाः] corr., उत्तमा γD_cPR_B, उ[*]त्तमा D_A 11 उत्पन्ना] γ, उन्मत्ता β 11 मन्त्रविद्यया] γPR_BD_A, मंत्रविज्या D_c 12 मम काये तु] D_cD_A, मम का* [ये] तु PR_B^{MARG.}, मकायानि | P_{ALM}PR_A, मकायाति D_B 12 रुद्राः] β, रुद्रा γ 12 परिकीर्तिताः] βP_{ALM}PR_A, परिकीर्तिता D_B 13 विद्याश्] γPR_BD_A, विज्याश् D_c

6 In 9.01e For nominative plurals functioning as grammatical objects, which is permissible in Aīśa Sanskrit, see note in Philological Commentary. Cf. also note to 9.02e.

- शिवतेजाः समुत्पन्नाः सर्वे चामोघशक्तयः ॥ ४ ॥
- 15 रुद्राश्चैव असंख्यातास्ते ऽपि मन्त्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
मम देहे समुत्पन्नाः क्रियाभेदे पृथक्पृथक् ॥ ५ ॥
- मध्यमास्ते तु गीयन्ते सर्वकर्मसु षण्मुख ।
अधमा देवकार्येषु केचिद्देवाश्च देहतः ॥ ६ ॥
- मन्त्ररूपाः स्थिताः सर्वे स्वसिद्धान्तेषु चोदिताः ।
20 यस्य रूपं यथाप्रोक्तं क्रिया कर्म पृथक्पृथक् ॥ ७ ॥
- तस्य तत्तादृशं कर्म कार्यं रूपं न संशयः ।
ते आख्यामि प्ररूपाणि निबोध शिखिवाहन ॥ ८ ॥
- पुरा-म्-आसीन्महावीर्यो कलशेनेति विश्रुतः ।
राजानो दानवेन्द्राणां प्रथमो योधविक्रमः ॥ ९ ॥
- 25 यदा जातो हरिर्ब्रह्मा ब्रह्माण्डमध्यनिःसृतौ ।
ततो कललमध्यस्थं पतितः स्वेदो ब्रह्मणः ॥ १० ॥
- तस्मिञ्जातो महावीर्यो दानवो रक्तलोचनः ।
महासत्त्वो महावीर्यो अवध्यो देवदानवैः ॥ ११ ॥

D_A 31^v

P_{ALM} 43^v
PR_B 49^r

14 समुत्पन्नाः सर्वे चामोघशक्तयः] Cf. *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* 22.IIcd: “प्रासादाब्जसमुत्पन्नाः सर्वे चामोघशक्तयः ।”

14 शिवतेजाः] *corr.*, शिवतेजा Σ 14 समुत्पन्नाः] *corr.*, समुत्पन्ना Σ 14 चामोघशक्तयः] βP_{ALM}D_B, चामोघशक्तयः PR_A 15 असंख्यातास्] *corr.*, असंख्याता β, समाख्याता γ 15 ते ऽपि मन्त्राः प्रकीर्तिताः] γ, ते मन्त्राः परिकीर्तिताः β 16 समुत्पन्नाः] *corr.*, समुत्पन्ना Σ 16 भेदे] γD_CPR_B, भेदे[*ti*] D_A 16 पृथक्पृथक्] βP_{ALM}D_B, पृथक्पृथक् PR_A 17 तु] P_{ALM}PR_A, तु D_B, स्तु β 17 °कर्मसु] D_CPR_B, °कर्मसु D_A, °कर्मस्तु γ 17 षण्मुख] D_C, षण्मुखः γD_A, खण्मुखः PR_B 19 मन्त्ररूपाः] *corr.*, मंत्ररूपा β, *om.* γ 19 चोदिताः] γD_CPR_B, चेदिताः D_A 20 यस्य] β, सम्यग् γ 20 यथाप्रोक्तं] β, तथाप्रोक्तं γ 20 क्रिया] βP_{ALM}D_B, क्रिया PR_A 20 पृथक्पृथक्] D_CPR_BPR_AD_B, पृथक्पृथक् P_{ALM}, प्रथक्प्रथक् D_A 21 तत्] β, तं γ 21 कार्यं] P_{ALM}PR_A, कार्य° D_B, कार्यं β 22] ते आख्यामि *em.*, तेनाख्यामि P_{ALM}D_B, तेनाख्यामि PR_A, आख्यामि ते β 22 प्ररूपाणि] γ, स्वरूपेण β 22 निबोध] γD_CD_A, निचोध PR_B 22 शिखिवाहन] *corr.*, शिखिवाहनः Σ 23 -म्-आसीन् *em.*, -म्-आशी γ, चासीन् PR_BD_A, वासीन् D_C 23 कलशेनेति] β, कालनेमीति P_{ALM}PR_A, कालमीति D_B *hypomet.* 24 राजानो] βP_{ALM}PR_A, राजा भो D_B 24 दानवेन्द्राणां] βP_{ALM}PR_A, दानवेन्द्राणे D_B 24 योधविक्रमः] βP_{ALM}PR_A, योधविमः D_B *hypomet.* 25 हरिर्ब्रह्मा] γ, हरिर्ब्रह्मा D_CD_A, हरिर्ब्रह्म PR_B 25 °निःसृतौ] *corr.*, निःसृतौ β *unmet.*, °निर्गताः γ 26 कललमध्यस्थं] β, कलकलं मध्ये γ 26 पतितः] β, पतितितः γ *hypermet.* 26 स्वेदो ब्रह्मणः] *conj.* *unmet.*, स्वेद ब्रह्मणः γ *unmet.*, स्वेद ब्रह्मणे β *unmet.* 27 तस्मिञ्जातो] β, तस्मिन्जातो γ *hypermet.* 28 महासत्त्वो] β, ततो महासत्त्वो γ *hypermet.* 28 अवध्यो] P_{ALM}D_CPR_A, अवधो PR_BD_A, अवध्या D_B 28 देवदानवैः] γD_CPR_B, देवदानवै D_A

14 °तेजाः] For *Aiśa* plural use of *tejah*, cf. *Kubjikāmata* 15,47c. GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN 1988: 74 describes the form as “Themmatization of stems on -s.” Cf. also cf. *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 1,35,7a, where the editor remarks “अदंतत्वमार्षम् ।,” i.e. “the अ declension is permissible as a usage of the sages” (SARMA 1983: 69). 17 केचिद्देवाश्च देहतः] This *pāda* and most of the next line are missing in γ; they read “देवकार्येषु चोदिताः ।” which is of course *hypometrical* if taken together. 23 -म्- आसीन्] See endnote to 9.09a. 23 कलशेनेति] for *Aiśa* “double-*sandhi*”/elision of nominative before *iti*), see GOODALL 1998: lxviii. For further discussion of the variants, see *Philological Commentary*.

स च वै देवशत्रुश्च संजातो कालपर्ययात् ।
 30 तेन देवाः सगन्धर्वा ऋषिदानवराक्षसाः ॥ १२ ॥

त्रासितास्तेन वीरेण ब्रह्माद्या असुराः सुराः ।
 आगत्य मम पुरतो एवं विज्ञापयन्ति ते ॥ १३ ॥

“कलशेनोग्ररूपस्य दानवो दानवाधिपः ।
 अवध्यः सर्वभूतानां महावीर्यपराक्रमः ॥ १४ ॥

D_B 28^r

35 असह्यो देवदैत्यानामृषीणां च महातपाम् ।
 अप्सरैः सिद्धगन्धर्वैर्व्यथितुं नैव शक्यते ॥ १५ ॥

PR_A 28^r

D_C 26^v

नाशितास्तेन देवेश उपायं कुरु शङ्कर ।”
 ता दृष्ट्वा देवता भीता महीशयमहाशिराः ॥ १६ ॥

त्रायणी सर्वदेवानां †शुद्धायुद्धं प्रवर्तितुम् † ।

P_{ALM} 44^r

40 तेन सार्धं मया युद्धं संजातं भीषणं महत् ॥ १७ ॥

दिव्यं वर्षशतं साग्रं महायुद्धं प्रवर्तितम् ।
 ततः क्रोधं मया कृत्वा रावं कृत्वा सुदारुणम् ॥ १८ ॥

जिह्वां च लालयित्वा तु लोभं शोणितभोजने ।

37 नाशितास्तेन देवेश उपायं कुरु शङ्कर] Cf. Kriyākālaguṇottara P_{ALM} (fol. 126^r1-2) “वदन्ते रक्ष देवेश उपायं कुरु
 सूलिनः[sic].” 38 ता दृष्ट्वा देवता भीता] Cf. Kriyākālaguṇottara P_{ALM} (fol. 126^r1): “तां दृष्ट्वा देता [sic] भीता मम
 सरणामागताः ॥.” 42 ततः क्रोधं मया कृत्वा रावं कृत्वा सुदारुणम्] Cf. Kriyākālaguṇottara P_{ALM} (fol. 125^v5) “ततो
 रावसमुत्पन्नाः सकृद्धा रक्तलोचनाः ।.”

29 °शत्रुश्] PR_BD_A, °श(स)त्रु D_C hypermet., °शक्रश् γ 29 संजातो] β, संयातो γ 29 कालपर्ययात्] P_{ALM}PR_AD_C,
 कालपर्ययान् PR_BD_A, कालपर्ययेया D_B 30 तेन] βP_{ALM}PR_A, न D_B 30 देवाः] β, देव(र) [श उपायं] P_{ALM}, देवेश
 उपायं PR_AD_B hypermet. 30 सगन्धर्वा] γ, सगन्धर्वाः β 31 त्रासितास्] corr., त्रासिता Σ 31 असुराः] D_C,
 असुरा γPR_BD_A 32 आगत्य] β, आगत्य च γ hypermet. 32 एवं वि°] γ, एवं च β 33 कलशेनोग्ररूपस्य]
 P_{ALM}D_B, कलशेनोग्ररूपस्य PR_A, कलकलशेन नमो β unmet. 33 दानवाधिपः] γPR_BD_A, दानवाधिः D_C hypomet. 34
 °पराक्रमः] β, °पराक्रमाः γ 35 असह्यो] P_{ALM}D_B, असह्या PR_A, अशक्यो β 35 °दैत्यानाम्] βD_B, °दैत्यानां P_{ALM}PR_A
 35 ऋषीणां] D_CPR_B, ऋषिणां D_A, सर्वाणां γ 35 महातपाम्] β, मात(पे) P_{ALM}, मातथे D_B, मातये PR_A 36 °गन्धर्वैर्]
 D_C, °गांधर्वैर् PR_B, °गांधर्वै D_A, °गन्धर्वै PR_A, °गन्धर्वै P_{ALM}D_B 36 व्यथितुं] βP_{ALM}PR_A, व्यथितुं D_B 36 शक्यते] β,
 स(क्य)ते P_{ALM}PR_A, सव्यते D_B 37 नाशितास्] corr., नासिता γ, त्रासिता β 37 तेन] βPR_A, तेन तेन P_{ALM}D_B hypermet.
 37 शङ्कर] β, संकरः γ 38 ता] em., ते βP_{ALM}D_B, त PR_A 38 दृष्ट्वा] βPR_A, दृष्ट्वा P_{ALM}D_B 38 देवता भीता
 महीशयमहाशिराः] em.VASUDEVA, देवा भीता महीषयमहाशिराः P_{ALM}D_B hypomet., देवा भीता महीषयमहाशिवाः PR_A
 hypomet., देवता भीता-म-भीषय मया गिरा β 39 °देवानां] βP_{ALM}PR_A, °दवानां D_B 39 शुद्धायुद्धं प्रवर्तितुम्] conj.,
 मुक्त्वा युद्धं प्रवर्तितुं D_C, मुक्त्वा युध्यं प्रवर्तितुं PR_BD_A, (सु)द्धायुद्धं [प्र****]P_{ALM}^{MARG.}, सुद्धायुद्धं PR_A hypomet., मुद्गरपुवं D_B
 hypomet. 40 सार्द्धं] D_A, सार्द्धं D_CPR_B, सर्व γ 40 भीषणं] γD_C, भूषणं PR_BD_A 40 महत्] D_APR_APR_B, महत्
 P_{ALM}D_BD_C 41 दिव्यं] βP_{ALM}PR_A, दीव्यं D_B 41 °शतं] γD_CPR_B, °शसतं D_A 42 सुदारुणम्] βP_{ALM}D_B, °प्सु दारुणं
 PR_A 43 शोणित°] β, सोनित° γ

33 कलशेनोग्ररूपस्य] I dissolve the string of characters as कलशेनो + उग्ररूपस्य. For “ो + उ –ो” as Aiśa double-
 sandhi see Goodall 1998: lxviii. 36 अप्सरैः] This is an Aiśa form of अप्सरस् that follows the declension of
 masculine “a” stem nouns.

तेन नादेन संत्रस्ता मोहं देवा-म्-उपागताः ॥ १६ ॥

45 पातितं दानवं क्रूरं यावत्पश्यामि चाग्रतः ।
मोहापन्नो हरिर्ब्रह्मा स-इन्द्रो देवदानवाः ॥ २० ॥

मा भीष्यत पुनर्वाचा मयाप्युक्तास्ततस्ततः ।
एवमाश्रासिताः सर्वे पश्यन्ते प्रथमाधिपाः ॥ २१ ॥

D_A 32^r

50 महाकाया महावीर्याः कालकल्याणिवर्चसा ।
नानारूपधरा मन्त्रा नानाभरणभूषिताः ॥ २२ ॥

नानाप्रहरणाहस्ता उदयार्कसमप्रभाः ।
भीमवक्त्राश्च पिङ्गाक्षाः खादयन्त इमं जगत् ॥ २३ ॥

PR_B 50^r

अन्यानि स्त्रीसहस्राणि दिव्यानां कामरूपिणाम् ।
तासां मध्ये महावीर्याः पुरुषाः कामरूपिणः ॥ २४ ॥

P_{ALM} 44^v

55 तान्दृष्ट्वा देवता भीताः प्रलापयितुमुद्यताः ।
पृच्छन्ति ब्रह्मासहिताः “किमेतद्भुम्बिकायते ॥ २५ ॥

क्षोभयन्तो जगत्सर्वं ज्वलद्विद्युत्समप्रभाः” ।
एभिस्तु त्रासिता देवाः कम्पते विह्वलाननाः ॥ २६ ॥

D_B 28^v

44 नादेन] $\beta P_{ALM}PR_A$, नादेने D_B 44 मोहं] $\beta P_{ALM}PR_A$, माहं D_B 44 देवा-म्-] γ , देवा β 44
उपागताः] $\gamma D_C PR_B$, उपागता D_A 45 दानवं] β , दानं $\gamma unmet.$ 45 क्रूरं] $\beta P_{ALM}PR_A$, क्रुर D_B 45 यावत्]
 β , यवत् γ 45 पश्यामि] $P_{ALM}D_B D_C PR_B$, पश्यामि D_A, प(न्या)मि PR_A 46 मोहापन्नो] $P_{ALM}PR_B$, मोह(त्)पन्नो
D_A, मोहापन्नो D_C, मोहापन्नो PR_{A}D_B} 46 स-इन्द्रो] $P_{ALM}D_B$, म-इन्द्रो PR_A, स-इन्द्रा β 46 °दानवाः] $\gamma D_C PR_B$,
°दानवा D_A 47 भीष्यत] $D_C D_A$, ष्य°भीषत PR_B, भीष्य च γ 47 ततस्ततः] *corr.*, त[त]स्ततः $P_{ALM}^{MARG.}$,
तस्ततः PR_{A}D_B} *hypomet.*, ततः पुरा D_C, ततः पुराः PR_{B}D_A} 48 एवम्] β , एष-म्- γ 48 आश्रासिताः] γD_C ,
आश्रासिताः PR_{B}D_A} 48 पश्यन्ते] $P_{ALM}PR_A$, पश्यस्ते D_B, पश्यते β 48 प्रथमाधिपाः] β , प्रथमाधिपाः $P_{ALM}D_B$,
प्रथमाधिपाः PR_A 49 महाकाया] β , महाकाय° γ 49 महावीर्याः] *corr.*, महावीर्या $\gamma D_C PR_B$, महावीर्या[त्] D_A 49
कालकल्याणिवर्चसा] $D_C PR_B$, कालकल्प(त्)णिवर्चसा D_A, कालकल्पिवर्चसाः γ 50 °रूपधरा] $\beta P_{ALM}PR_A$, °रूपं धरा
D_B 50 °भरण°] $\beta P_{ALM}D_B$, °रत्न° PR_A *hypomet.* 51 नानाप्रहरणा°] $P_{ALM}PR_A$, नानाप्रहरणे D_B, नानाप्रहरणा° β
51 हस्ता] $\gamma D_C PR_B$, हस्त(त्) D_A 51 उदयार्क°] $P_{ALM}PR_A$, उदयार्क° D_B, उदयार्का D_{C}PR_B}, उदयार्की D_A 51 समप्रभाः]
 $\gamma D_C PR_B$, समप्रभां D_A 52 °वक्त्राश्च] $P_{ALM}PR_A$, °वक्त्राश्च D_B, °वक्त्रास्तु D_{C}PR_B}, °वक्त्रास्तु D_A 52 पिङ्गाक्षाः] *corr.*,
पिङ्गाक्षा Σ 52 खादयन्त] *corr.*, खादयन्ता D_{C}PR_B}, खादयन्त(त्) D_A, खादयन्त्या γ 52 इमं] γPR_B , इ*मं D_A,
इमां D_C 53 सहस्राणि] $D_C PR_B$, सहास्राणि D_A, सहस्राणि $P_{ALM}D_B$, सहस्रानि PR_A 54 तासां] γPR_B , तासा D_{C}D_A}
54 महावीर्याः] *corr.*, महावीर्या βPR_A , महावीर्यो $P_{ALM}D_B$ 54 पुरुषाः] β , पौरुषा γ 55 दृष्ट्वा] $\beta P_{ALM}PR_A$,
दृष्ट्वा D_B 55 भीताः] *corr.*, भीता Σ 55 प्रलापयितुम्] *corr.*, प्रलापयितु γ , प्रपालयेतुम् PR_{B}D_A}, प्रपालयितुम्
D_C 55 उद्यताः] β , ताः $\gamma hypomet.$ 56 पृच्छन्ति] β , प्रच्छन्ति γ 56 °सहिताः] *corr.*, °सहिता β , °साहिता
 γ 56 किमेतद्भुम्बिकायते] *em.* VASUDEVA, किमेदं विकार्यते $P_{ALM}PR_A hypomet.$, किमेदं [[किं]विकार्यते D<sub>B} hypomet.,
किमेतदं । विकापते D_C, किमेतदं विकापते PR_{B}D_A} 57 क्षोभयन्तो] *corr.*, क्षोभयन्तं $P_{ALM}D_A$, क्षोभयन्तं[त्] PR<sub>B}^{MARG.},
क्षोभयन्तं D_C, क्षोभयन्तं PR_{A}D_B} 57 ज्वलद्विद्युत्समप्रभाः] D_C, ज्वलद्विद्युस[त्स] मप्रभाः PR<sub>B}^{MARG.}, ज्वलद्विद्युसमप्रभां D_A,
ज्वल[द्यु]द्विद्युज्वलद्विद्युसमप्रभाः P_{ALM} , ज्वलद्युद्विद्युज्वलद्विद्युसमप्रभाः PR_A, ज्वलद्युद्धि जुज्वलद्विद्युज्वलद्विद्युसमप्रभाः D_B 58
एभिस्] $\beta P_{ALM}PR_A$, एरिस् D_B 58 त्रासिता] β , तासिता $P_{ALM}PR_A$, नासिता D_B 58 देवाः] *corr.*, देवा β , *om.* γ
58 कम्पते] β , वा कम्पते $P_{ALM} hypomet.$, चाकन्यते PR_A, वा कस्यते D_B 58 विह्वलाननाः] *corr.*, विह्वलानना $\gamma D_C D_A$,
चिह्वलानना PR_{B}}</sub></sub></sub>

60 पुनरुक्ता मया ते तु धीरास्तिष्ठन्तु देवताः ।
मन्त्राश्च सह विद्याभिर्निःसृता मम देहतः ॥ २७ ॥

PR_A 28^v
D_C 27^r

नामोत्पत्ति

क्रोधे क्रोधेश्वरो जातो रावे वै खड्गरावणः ।
गर्जिते ऽघोरमन्त्रस्तु धुतगात्रे ज्वरेश्वरः ॥ २८ ॥
जिह्वया लालने चैव हाहाशब्दकृतेन तु ।
65 देवत्रासो महामन्त्र उत्पन्नो पावकप्रभः ॥ २९ ॥

PR_B 50^v

एते पञ्च महामन्त्रा उत्पन्ना मम देहतः ।
कोटिकोटिस्तु मन्त्राणां विद्यानां च तथैव च ।
परिवारो भृत्यवर्ग एतेषां वशवर्तिनः ॥ ३० ॥

70 ब्रह्म उवाच

एते मन्त्रा महावीर्या अमोघाः कामरूपिणः ।
तव वीर्यसमाः सर्वे तव तेजःसमप्रभाः ।
रक्षन्त्येते जगद्देव आज्ञया तव शङ्कर ॥ ३१ ॥
ततो आज्ञा मया दत्ता मन्त्राणां रुद्ररूपिणां ।

P_{ALM} 45^r
D_A 32^v

65 देवत्रासो महामन्त्र] Cf. *Kālotara* 2^r5 (the context is a list of mantras): “देवत्रासं च सूत्रासं सावरं कालसावरम् ॥.”
Cf. *Manavināyakovratavidhi* (I 27/7) folio. 2^v7 (the context is a list of deities to pay homage to): “ॐ देवत्रासाय नमः ॥”

59 पुनर्] β P_{ALM}PR_A, पुणर् D_B 59 उक्ता] β , अक्ता γ 59 तु] β P_{ALM}PR_A, तु D_B 59 धीरास्] β , धीरा PR_A,
वीरा P_{ALM}D_B 59 तिष्ठन्तु] β , तिष्ठन्ति γ 60 मन्त्राश्च सह विद्याभिर्] *corr.*, मन्त्राश्च सह विद्याभि β , मन्त्रास्त्वेते
सह विद्यै P_{ALM}PR_A *unmet.*, मन्त्रास्त्वेते सह विद्ये D_B *unmet.* 60 निःसृता] γ , निःशृता D_C, निःसृता PR_BD_A 62 क्रोधे
क्रोधेश्वरो] D_CPR_B, क्रोधक्रोधेश्वरो γ D_A 62 रावे वै] P_{ALM}PR_A, वे वै D_B, रावेवे D_CD_A, रावैके PR_B 62 खड्गरावणः]
 β , खड्गरावण γ 63 गर्जिते घोरमन्त्रस्तु] D_CPR_B, गर्जिते घोरमन्त्रस्तु D_A *hypermet.*, नागर्जितेमन्त्रसु γ *hypomet.*
63 धुतगात्रे] D_C, धुतगात्रे PR_B, धुतः गात्रे D_A, धुनगात्रे P_{ALM}PR_A, धुनगारे D_B 63 ज्वरेश्वरः *em.*, जरेश्वरः PR_BD_A,
जनेश्वरः] γ D_C 64 जिह्वया लालने] β , जिह्वाया लालते γ 64 हाहाशब्द°] PR_BD_A, हाहाब्द° D_C, हाहशब्द° γ
65 देवत्रासो महामन्त्र] *corr.*, देवत्रासो महामन्त्रो β , देत्रासो महा[देवो]मंत्रो P_{ALM}, चे त्रासो महादेवौ मंत्रो PR_A, वे त्रासो
महादेवो मंत्रो D_B 65 °प्रभः] β P_{ALM}PR_A, °सुभः D_B 66 उत्पन्ना] γ D_CPR_B, उत्पन्नो D_A 66 मम] β P_{ALM}PR_A, म
D_B 67 कोटिकोटिस्] P_{ALM}D_APR_APR_B, कोटिस् D_BD_C *hypomet.* 67 मन्त्राणां] γ D_CPR_B, मंत्राणां D_A 68 भृत्यवर्ग]
em., भृत्यवर्गस्य Σ *hypermet.* 68 वश°] β , मम γ 71 एते मन्त्रा महावीर्या अमोघाः कामरूपिणः] *corr.*, एते
मन्त्रा महावीर्या अमोघा कामरूपिणः] PR_BD_A, एते मन्त्रा(व)महा- वीर्या अमोघा कामरूपिणः D_C *hypermet.*, [५ एते मंत्रा
म[या]हावीर्या अमोघा काररूपिणः ५]P_{ALM}^{MARG.}, श्री एते मंत्र(ी)मयाहा- वीर्या ह्यमोघा काररूपिणः PR_A *hypermet.*, *om.* D_B
72 °समाः] P_{ALM}PR_A, °समा D_B, °समः D_C, °समः PR_BD_A 72 तेजः°] *corr.*, तेज° Σ 73 रक्षयन्त्य] γ PR_BD_A, राक्षन्त्य
D_C 73 देव] β , देवा γ 73 आज्ञया] β P_{ALM}D_B, अज्ञाया PR_A 73 शङ्कर] γ D_A, शंकरः D_CPR_B 74 °रूपिणां]
 γ D_C, °रूपिणा PR_BD_A

68 वशवर्तिनः] The plurality of this word is a slight problem, but is explainable because of the sense of plu-
rality in *parivārah* and *bhṛtyavargah*

75 पालयन्ति जगत्सर्वं स्वनियोगव्यवस्थिताः ॥ ३२ ॥

न लङ्घयन्ति समयमात्मकर्मसु योजिताः ।
अन्यकर्म न कुर्वन्ति ममाज्ञाया नियामिताः ।
ततो देवगणाः सर्वे हर्षिताः स्वपुरस्थिताः ॥ ३३ ॥

80 कार्तिकेय उवाच

यदि मन्त्रास्त्वया प्रोक्ता महावीर्यपराक्रमाः ।
कथयस्व पृथक्त्वेन यथाकर्म सुयोजिताः ।
अर्चनं साधनं तेषां यथाभवति शूलिन ॥ ३४ ॥

PR_B 51^r

85 ईश्वर उवाच

शृणु षण्मुख तत्त्वेन एकैकस्य यथाक्रियाः ।
मम वीणास्तु ते मन्त्राः कामरूपाः स्वभावतः ॥ ३५ ॥
यस्य यद्रूपमाख्यातं पठ्यते च स्वरूपतः ।
तस्य तद्रूपकं ज्ञेयं सर्वतन्त्रेषु षण्मुख ॥ ३६ ॥

PR_A 29^r

D_B 29^r

P_{ALM} 45^v

D_C 27^v

90 अथ मन्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि भूतानां गुह्यमुत्तमम् ।
यं श्रुत्वा तु ज्वरा भूत्वा प्रेतराक्षसगुह्यकाः ।
नातिक्रमन्ति मर्यादां योजनानां शतैरपि ॥ ३७ ॥
भवन्ति किकरास्तस्य पादाभ्यां ते पतन्ति च ।

93 भवन्ति किकरास्तस्य] Cf. *Matasāra* 73^v3: “सर्वे किकरास्तस्य भवते नात्र संशयः ।”

75 जगत्°] βPR_A, यगत्° P_{ALM}, यजगत्° D_B 75 स्वनियोग°] β, नियोगा च γ 75 व्यवस्थिताः] βPR_AD_B,
व्यवस्थित(T): P_{ALM} 76 लङ्घयन्ति] γ, लंघयति β 76 समयम्] γD_CPR_B, समय D_A 77 अन्यकर्म] β, अन्यकर्म
P_{ALM}PR_A, अन्यकर्म D_B 77 ममाज्ञाया] γ, मयाज्ञाया D_CPR_B, मयाज्ञा[त्वा]या D_A 77 नियामिताः] γ, नियोजिताः
β 78 ततो देवगणाः सर्वे हर्षिताः स्वपुरस्थिताः] D_B, ततो देवगणाः सर्वे हर्षिताः स्वपुरस्थिताः । [[न लंघयन्ति समयं]]
P_{ALM}, ततो देवगणाः सर्वे हर्षिताः स्वपुरस्थिताः । न लंघयस्ति समयं PR_A, हर्षिताश्च पुरः स्थिता PR_B, [ततो देवगणाः सर्वे
हर्षिताश्च पुरः स्थिता]D_A^{MARG.}, *ततो देवगणाः सर्वे हर्षिताश्च पुरः स्थिताः D_C 80 कार्तिकेय] γPR_BD_A, कार्तिकेय D_C
81 यदि] γ, ये ते β 81 मन्त्रास्] corr., मन्त्रा γ, मन्त्र β 81 प्रोक्ता] γ, प्रोक्ताः β 82 पृथक्त्वेन] β,
पृथक्(त्वे) P_{ALM} hypomet., पृथक्त्वे PR_A hypomet., पूपृथक्ते D_B 82 सुयोजिताः] β, सुयोजिताः । अन्यकर्म न कुर्वन्ति ।
P_{ALM}D_B, सुयोजिताः । अन्यकर्म न कुर्वन्ति । PR_A 83 शूलिन] corr., शूलिनः β, शूलिनः P_{ALM}, सुनिनः D_B, यूनिनः PR_A
85 ईश्वर] βP_{ALM}PR_A, इस्वर D_B 86 षण्मुख] β, खण्मुख γ 86 तत्त्वेन] βP_{ALM}PR_A, तत्त्वेन D_B 86 यथाक्रियाः]
β, यथाक्रिया γ 87 वीणास्] γ, वीर्यास् β 87 कामरूपाः] γD_C, कामरूपा PR_BD_A 88 यस्य यद्रूपम्] βP_{ALM}D_B,
यद्रूपम् PR_A 88 स्वरूपतः] D_CPR_B, स्वरूपत D_A, स्वभावतः γ 89 °तन्त्रेषु] βP_{ALM}D_B, °तंत्रेषु PR_A 89 षण्मुख]
D_CPR_AD_B, षण्मुखः P_{ALM}PR_BD_A 90 मन्त्रं] γD_CPR_B, मन्त्र D_A 91 ज्वरा] γ, पुरा β 92 नातिक्रमन्ति मर्यादां]
β, अतिक्रममर्यादां γ hypomet. 92 शतैर्] βP_{ALM}D_B, शतैर् PR_A 93 किकरास्] γD_CPR_B, किकरोस् D_A 93 ते]
β, तु γ

77 आज्ञाया] The expected instrumental form आज्ञया would render the verse unmetrical, and thus I suggest that the genitive is used as a substitute following the maxim “षष्ठी शेषे” (Pāṇini 2.3.50).

अस्य मन्त्रप्रभावेन जीवं मुञ्चन्ति गुह्यकाः ॥ ३८ ॥

95

खड्गरावणस्य मूलमन्त्रः

ॐ नमः पशुपतये नमो भूताधिपतये नमो रुद्राय अललललल खड्गरावण बलं विहर २ सर २ नृत्य २ वल्ग PR_B 51^v
२ स्फोटय २ श्मशानभस्मार्चितशरीराय घण्टाकपालमालाधराय व्याग्रचर्मपरिधानाय शशाङ्कृतशेखराय
कृष्णसर्पयज्ञोपवीतिने चल २ बल २ वल्ग २ अनिर्वर्तकपालिने हन २ भूतान्त्रासय २ मण्डलमध्ये कडु २ D_A 33^r
रुद्राङ्कुशेन समयं प्रवेशय २ आवाहय २ चण्डासिधाराधिपति रुद्रो ज्ञापयति स्वाहा ॥ एष विद्याराजखड्ग- P_{ALM} 46^r
रावणस्य मूलमन्त्रः सर्वकर्मकरः ॥ ॐ भूतपति स्वाहा ॥ खड्गरावणस्य हृदयं सदा जप्तव्यं कर्म-म्-उत्पा-
दयति ॥

भूतास्तस्य वशं यान्ति लक्षमेकं जपेद्यदि । PR_B 52^r
प्राणासनविधानं तु प्रणवेन च-म्-आचरेत् ॥ ३६ ॥

उपचारविधिः पश्चादनेनैव तु कारयेत् । PR_A 29^v

105

भूतमन्त्राश्च ये केचिद्विद्याश्चामोघशक्तयः ॥ ४० ॥

96 पशुपतये] Cf. *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* 43.53b (prose following half-verse) (SĀSTRĪ, G. 1921, vol. II: 306);
Śāradātīlaka 19.110, (vol. II: 894), and *Nāradapurāṇa* 1.91.168ab (SĀSTRĪ, CĀRUDEVA 1984: 293^r), all of which read
the dative against β. 100 ॐ भूतपति स्वाहा] Cf. *Kriyākālaguṇottara* 11.28 (mantras following verse) “ॐ भूतपति
ठ ठ”; Cf. *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* 43.60: “ॐ भूतपतिः स्वाहा”

94 मन्त्रप्रभावेन D_B, मन्त्र(प्र)भावेन P_{ALM}, मन्त्रप्रभावेन PR_A, मन्त्रो प्रभावेन β 94 जीवं मुञ्चन्ति] P_{ALM}D_C, मुञ्चन्ति[न्ति] PR_B^{MARG.},
जीव मुञ्चति D_A, जीवं मुञ्चति D_B, जीवं मुञ्चन्ति PR_A 96 पशुपतये] γ, पशुपते β 96 नमो] βP_{ALM}PR_A, मो D_B
96 अलललल] em., अललललल β, लललल P_{ALM}PR_A, ललल D_B 96 बलं γ, बलं २ PR_BD_A, बल २ D_C 96
विहर २] γD_C, विहर विहर PR_BD_A 96 सर २] βP_{ALM}D_B, मर २ PR_A 97 वल्ग] P_{ALM}D_BD_CPR_B, व[*][ल्ग] २
D_A^{MARG.}, बला PR_A 97 श्मशानं] γD_CPR_B, [***][श्मशा]नं D_A^{MARG.} 97 °भस्मार्चितं] β, °भस्मार्चितं γ
97 घण्टाकपालमालाधराय] β, घंटा । कपालमधराय P_{ALM}, घंटा । कपालमधराय PR_A, य घंटा ॥ कपालमधराय D_B
97 °परिधानाय] βP_{ALM}PR_A, °परिधानाय D_B 97 शशाङ्कं] βP_{ALM}D_B, संसाकं PR_A 97 °शेखराय कृष्णं] γ, °शेखर
कृष्णं β 98 सर्प] γPR_BD_A, [ष्ट][स]र्प D_C^{MARG.} 98 °यज्ञोपवीतिने] D_A, [य]°यज्ञोपवीतिने PR_B^{MARG.}, °यज्ञोपावीतिने
D_C, °यज्ञोपवीति] नेन P_{ALM}, °यज्ञोपवीति । तेन PR_AD_B 98 वल्ग २] βP_{ALM}D_B, बला PR_A 98 हन २] β, । हन
P_{ALM}D_B, हन PR_A 98 भूतान्] corr., भूतां Σ 98 °मध्ये] βP_{ALM}D_B°मध्य PR_A 98 कडु २] em., कंद D_C, क(न्व)
२ PR_BD_A, कट्ट २ γ 99 समयं] γPR_BD_A, समयं D_C 99 °आसिधारां] βP_{ALM}PR_A, °आसिधारां D_B 99 रुद्रो
ज्ञापयति] γD_CPR_B, रुद्रा ज्ञापयति D_A 99 एष] PR_B, ए[*][ष] D_A^{MARG.}, एषा γ, ए D_C 99 विद्याराजखड्गं] β,
ते विद्या राजखड्गं γ 100 °मन्त्रः] γD_CPR_B, °मन्त्र D_A 100 °करः] γD_CPR_B, °कर D_A 100 भूतपति] β, भूपति
γ 100 खड्गरावणस्य] D_CPR_APR_B, खड्गवारणस्य D_A, खड्गरावणस्य P_{ALM}, खड्गरावणस्य D_B 100 सदा] γD_CPR_B,
स[स][दा] D_A^{MARG.} 101 जप्तव्यं] γD_CD_A, जप्तव्यं PR_B 101 उत्पादयति] βP_{ALM}D_B, उत्पादयति PR_A 102 भूतास्]
γ, भूता D_C, भूतां PR_BD_A 102 जपेद्] βP_{ALM}PR_A, जपे D_B 103 प्राणासनं] γ, प्राणासनं β 103 °विधानं]
βP_{ALM}PR_A, °विधानं D_B 103 च-म्-आचरेत्] em., च-म्-आरभेत् β, [स]-म्-माचरेत् P_{ALM}^{MARG. SECUNDA MANU} hypermet.,
समाचरेत् PR_AD_B hypermet. 104 उपचारविधिः] γPR_BD_A, उपचारविधिः D_C hypomet. 104 कारयेत्] P_{ALM}D_CD_APR_A,
कारयेत् D_B, कारयेत् PR_B 105 भूतमन्त्राश्] β, भूतमन्त्राश् γ hypomet. 105 केचिद्] corr., केचि β, केचित γ unmet.
105 विद्याश्चामोघशक्तयः] β, विद्यामोघशक्तिः[त]यः P_{ALM} hypomet., विद्यामोघशक्तितयः PR_AD_B unmet.

99 प्रवेशय २] PR_A misinterprets P_{ALM}'s use of a spacefiller following this word and copies it as a *danḍa*.

100 विद्याराजखड्गरावणस्य मूलमन्त्रः] All the MSS have at least a single *danḍa* before मूलमन्त्रः, which I have removed to facilitate what in my view is the stronger reading; namely that the genitive °खड्गरावणस्य modifies the nominative मूलमन्त्रः.

अनेनैव तु सिद्धेन सर्वे सिद्धा न संशयः ।
यक्षज्वरग्रहा नागाः पिशाचा ब्रह्मराक्षसाः ॥ ४१ ॥

D_B 29^v

डाकिनीहेद्रवेताला अजप्तेनैव मोचयेत् ।
जप्तस्यैव तु मन्त्रस्य गुणांस्तु शृणु षण्मुख ॥ ४२ ॥

D_C 28^f

P_{ALM} 46^v

110 देवापि वशमायान्ति किं पुनः क्षुद्रमानुषाः ।
उच्चाटनं तथाकर्षं विद्वेषं स्तम्भमारणम् ॥ ४३ ॥

कीलनं चाङ्गभेदेन कुरुते चिन्तितेन तु ।
मूलमन्त्रं जपेन्नित्यं जपहोमार्चनेन तु ॥ ४४ ॥

मूलमन्त्रस्य अङ्गभेदः

115 ॐ हः स्वाहा शिरः । ॐ यः स्वाहा शिखा । ॐ जूं सः स्वाहा कवचं । ॐ ईश्वर फट् नेत्रं ॥ ॐ अत्रं ।
एतद्विद्याङ्गविन्यासः ॥ ॐ अलल खङ्गरावणं विहर २ सर २ नृत्य २ खः हा हृदयं ॥ ॐ पशुपतये
नमः शिरः ॥ ॐ नमो भूताधिपतये स्वाहा शिखा ॥ ॐ नमो रुद्राय स्वाहा नेत्रं ॥ ॐ नमो मालाधराय
भस्मार्चितशरीराय खङ्गघण्टाकपालमालाधराय ॐ नमः स्वाहा कवचं ॥ ॐ नमो व्याघ्रचर्मपरिधानशशा-

PR_B 52^v

D_A 33^v

107 पिशाचा ब्रह्मराक्षसाः] Cf. *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* 3,13.95b: “पिशाचा ब्रह्मराक्षसाः.” 110 वशमायान्ति किं पुनः क्षुद्रमानुषाः] Cf. *Agnipurāṇa* 123.031ab “सेन्द्राः सुरा वशं यान्ति किं पुनः क्षुद्रमानुषाः ।”

106 सिद्धा] $\gamma D_C PR_B$, सिद्धो D_A 106 न] $\beta P_{ALM} D_B$, नं PR_A 106 संशयः] $\beta P_{ALM} PR_A$, शंसयः D_B 107 यक्ष] β , यक्ष γ 107 नागाः] *corr.*, नागा Σ 107 पिशाचा] $\beta P_{ALM} PR_A$, पिचा D_B *hypomet.* 107 ब्रह्मराक्षसाः] D_C PR_B, ब्रह्मराक्षसा D_A, ब्रराक्षसाः P_{ALM} PR_A *hypomet.*, राक्षसाः D_B *hypomet.* 108 °हेद्र°] P_{ALM} PR_A, °हैद्र° D_B, °भूत° β 108 अजप्तेनैव] β , अजप्तेनैव तु P_{ALM} D_B *hypermet.*, अजप्तेनैव तु PR_A *hypermet.* 108 मोचयेत्] βPR_A , मोचयेत् P_{ALM} D_B *hypermet.* 109 जप्तस्यैव] γ , जप्तस्यास्य β 109 गुणांस्] β , गुणास् γ 109 षण्मुख] D_C, खण्मुख PR_B D_A, षण्मुखः P_{ALM} D_B, खण्मुखः PR_A 110 पुनः] $\gamma PR_B D_A$, पुनर् D_C 110 क्षुद्रमानुषाः] γ , मानुषादयः β 111 उच्चाटनं] $\beta P_{ALM} PR_A$, उच्चाटनं D_B 111 तथाकर्षं] D_C PR_B, तथाकर्षं D_A, तथा[मं]क[र्षं] P_{ALM}, तथामंकर्म PR_A, तथामंकर्म D_B 111 विद्वेषं] $\gamma PR_B D_C$, विद्वेषं D_A 112 चाङ्गभेदेन] *em.*, चाङ्गभेदं[नं] च P_{ALM}, चाङ्गभेदं च PR_A D_B *hypermet.*, चाङ्गभेदं च β 112 चिन्तितेन तु] $\beta P_{ALM} PR_A$, चिन्तितेन तु D_B 113 मूल°] PR_B D_A PR_A D_B, मूल° P_{ALM} ^{MARG.}, *om.* D_C 113 जपेन्] PR_B D_A, जपे γ , *om.* D_C 113 °आर्चनेन] P_{ALM} D_A PR_A PR_B, °आर्चतेन D_B, *om.* D_C 115 शिरः] $\gamma D_C PR_B$, शि(र 11) D_A 115 शिखा] $\gamma D_C PR_B$, शिखाः D_A 115 जूं] $\beta P_{ALM} PR_A$, हुं D_B 115 कवचं] $\gamma D_C PR_B$, कवचः D_A 115 ईश्वर] P_{ALM} PR_A, ईश्वर D_B, ई D_C, ई PR_B D_A 115 फट्] β , फट् γ 115 नेत्रं] P_{ALM} D_B D_C PR_B, नेत्रे D_A, नेत्रं PR_A 116 एतद्] γ , एते β 116 °विन्यासः] β , °न्यासः P_{ALM}, °न्यास PR_A D_B 116 खङ्गरावणं] β , रावणं γ 116 विहर २] $\gamma PR_B D_A$, विरह २ D_C 116 सर २] $\gamma PR_B D_A$, (सी) २ D_C 116 खः हा] P_{ALM} D_A PR_A PR_B, खः स्वाहा D_C, खः खाः हा D_B 117 भूताधिपतये] D_C PR_B, भूताधिपतये D_A, *om.* γ 117 नेत्रं] $\gamma PR_B D_C$, नेत्रे D_A 117 मालाधराय] β , मालाधराय ॐ नमः स्वाहा PR_A D_B, मालाधराय ॐ नमः स्वहा P_{ALM} 118 °शरीराय खङ्ग°] β , °शरीरखङ्ग° γ 118 °परिधान°] D_C PR_B P_{ALM} PR_A, °परिधान° D_A, °परिधन° D_B

109 In 9.41cd—42ab For nominative plurals functioning as grammatical objects, which is permissible in Aīśa Sanskrit, see note to 9.01e. 110 देवापि] For Aīśa double-sandhi, cf. GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMANN 1988: 62. 113 मूलमन्त्रं] D_C lacks this half-verse (44cd).

120 ड्काङ्कितशेखरकृष्णसर्पयज्ञोपवीतिने हूं फट् अस्त्रं ॥ ॐ चल २ वल्ग २ अनिवर्तकपालिने हन २ भूतान्वासय
२ नमः स्वाहा ॥

P_{ALM} 47^r

महामुद्रा

दक्षिणं हस्तमुत्तानं कृत्वाङ्गुष्ठेन तर्जयेत् ।

एषा चैव महामुद्रा खङ्गरावणपूजने ॥ ४५ ॥

PR_B 53^r

मारणे निग्रहे चैव आवेशयजनेन च ।

125 योजयेत महामुद्रां सर्वविघ्नविनाशिनीं ॥ ४६ ॥

खङ्गरावणस्य सर्वाङ्गविन्यासः

ॐ ह्रीं मण्डले कडु २ अङ्कुशेन समयान्प्रवेशय २ आवेशय २ आवाहय २ चण्डासिधाराधिपति रुद्रो ज्ञाप-
यति ॥ ॐ नमः ठ ठ ॥ खङ्गरावणस्य सर्वाङ्गविन्यासः ॥

आत्मन्यासं पुरा कृत्वा विधिना साधकोत्तमः ।

130 ततो वै यजनं कुर्यात्कर्म वा होममेव च ॥ ४७ ॥

PR_A 30^r

D_C 28^y

आग्नेय्यां हृदयं पूज्य ऐशान्यां तु शिरस्तथा ।

नैऋत्यां तु शिखां पूज्य वायव्यां कवचं बुधः ॥ ४८ ॥

D_B 30^r

122 उत्तानं कृत्वा] Cf. Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary to *Śāradātīlaka* 15.108: "वामहस्तमथोत्तानं कृत्वा देवस्य चोपरि
।" (MĀLAVĪYA 2001: 739); Cf. *Agnipurāṇa* 26.5cd: "वामहस्तमथोत्तानं कृत्वाऽर्द्धं नामयेच्छूनैः ।"

119 °आङ्कित°] β P_{ALM}PR_A, °आंकित° D_B 119 °शेखर°] γ D_CPR_B, °शे[ख]र° D_A^{MARG.} 119 °पवीतिने°] β , °पवीतिने°
P_{ALM}PR_A, °पवीतिने° D_B 119 हूं फट् अस्त्रं] β , हूं फट P_{ALM}PR_A, हूं फट D_B 119 वल्ग २] β , om. γ 122 दक्षिणं
हस्तम्] D_C, दक्षिणहस्तम् PR_B unmet., [****][दक्षिणहस्तम्] D_A^{MARG.} unmet. 122 उत्तानं] em., उत्तमां β , om. γ 122
कृत्वाङ्गुष्ठेन] em., कृत्वा अंगुष्ठेन न तु PR_BD_A hypermet., कृत्वा अंगुष्ठेन (तु) D_C hypermet., om. γ 123 एषा] D_CPR_B,
एष(ी) D_A, एषां γ 123 महामुद्रा] β , महामुद्रां γ 123 खङ्गरावणपूजने] β , सर्वविघ्नविनाशिनीं γ 124 मारणे]
PR_BD_A, मारणा D_C 124 चैव] γ D_CPR_B, वैव D_A 124 आवेश°] PR_BD_A, अवेश° D_C 125 °विनाशिनीं] D_C, °विनाशिनीं
 γ PR_BD_A 127 मण्डले] β P_{ALM}PR_A, मण्डल D_B 127 कडु २] em., कण्टकण्टां D_CD_A, कण्ट[\langle ढ \rangle] कण्ट[\langle ढ \rangle] PR_B^{MARG.},
कट्टकट्टां γ 127 समयान्] β , मम सयां γ 128 चण्डासिधाराधिपति रुद्रो ज्ञापयति] em., चण्डासिधाराज्ञापयति
PR_BD_A, चण्डासिधाराज्ञापयति D_C, चण्डासिधाराय ज्ञापयति रुद्रो ज्ञापयति γ 128 ठ ठ] γ PR_BD_A, ठः ठः D_C 128
खङ्गरावणस्य] γ , खङ्गरावण° β 128 °विन्यासः] β , °विन्यस्य P_{ALM}PR_A, °विन्यसे D_B 129 आत्मन्यासं] β P_{ALM}D_B,
आत्मन्यास PR_A 129 साधकोत्तमः] γ , साधकोत्तम β 130 वै यजनं] D_CD_A, [वै] यजनं PR_B^{MARG.}, वैद्यजनं P_{ALM}D_B,
वैद्यजनं PR_A 130 कुर्यात्] γ , कुर्या β 130 कर्म वा होममेव च] em., कर्मेवाहोममेव च PR_BD_A, कर्मेवाहोममेव वा D_C,
कर्म वचहोमेव P_{ALM} unmet., कर्मवचहोमे च वा PR_A unmet., कर्मवच D_B hypomet. 131 आग्नेय्यां] corr., आग्नेयां Σ
131 हृदयं] γ PR_BD_A, हृ[द]यं D_C^{MARG.} 131 ऐशान्यां] P_{ALM}PR_A, ऐशान्या D_B, ईशान्यां β 132 नैऋत्यां] D_C, नैऋत्यां
P_{ALM}D_APR_APR_B, नैऋत्या D_B 132 शिखां] PR_B, शिखा γ D_CD_A 132 पूज्य] corr., पूज्य । P_{ALM}PR_A, पुज्य D_B, पूज्या β
132 वायव्यां] β P_{ALM}PR_A, वा[म]यव्यां D_B 132 बुधः] β , पुपुनः P_{ALM}PR_A hypermet., पुनः पुनः D_B hypermet.

119 अस्त्रं] γ is missing the text beginning with अस्त्रं and ending with तर्जयेत्. 124 मारणे] This verse is
absent from γ except for it's use of the pāda D as the end of the previous verse

दिशासु चैव सर्वासु अस्त्रं चैव प्रपूजयेत् ।
कर्णिकायां तु मन्त्रेषं पूजयेत्खड्गारावणम् ॥ ४६ ॥

135 गन्धपुष्पं तथा धूपं नैवेद्यं बलिमेव च ।
हृदिना भूतपतये सर्वकर्माणि कारयेत् ॥ ५० ॥

इति क्रियाकालगुणोत्तरे खड्गारावणस्य मूलमन्त्रस्य विधानं नवमः पटलः ॥ ६ ॥

PR_B 53^v

P_{ALM} 47^v

133 चैव] β P_{ALM}, [[वैद्य]] चैव D_B, वैव PR_A 133 सर्वासु] β , सर्वेषु γ 134 कर्णिकायां] β P_{ALM}D_B, कर्मकायां PR_A
134 मन्त्रेषं] γ D_CPR_B, मन्त्रे[[ण]]पं D_A 134 पूजयेत्] β PR_A, पूजयेत् P_{ALM}D_B hypermet. 135 गन्धं] γ PR_B, गन्धं D_A,
गन्धं D_C 135 °पुष्पं] β P_{ALM}PR_A, पूष्पं D_B 135 धूपं] β , om. γ 135 नैवेद्यं] β P_{ALM}PR_A, वै वेद्यं D_B 135 बलिमेव
च] β , बलिनिवेदनं P_{ALM}D_B hypermet., बलिनिवेदनं PR_A hypermet. 136 हृदिना] β , हृदया γ 136 कारयेत्] β ,
कायेत् P_{ALM}, कायेते PR_AD_B 137 मूलमन्त्रस्य विधानम्] β , मंत्रविधानं P_{ALM}PR_A, मंत्रविधानं D_B 137 नवमः पटलः]
 β , °पटलम् P_{ALM}PR_A, °पटल D_B

133 दिशासु] This appears to be an Aísa form for दिक्षु.

Philological Commentary

- °9.01] In the opening verse, Kārttikeya asks for information about several topics. Evidently the answer stretches through to the sixteenth chapter, because there are several important mantra deities discussed starting with our three chapters on Khaḍgarāvaṇa, followed by Lohaka, Krodheśvara, Devatrāsa, Aghora, and finally Jvareśvara. Not having worked on the further chapters, I cannot vouch for whether they give all of the information asked for here by Kārttikeya, but the answer regarding their लक्षण is given in verse 9.02ab, their कर्म (at least in the case of the मध्यम and अधम mantras) in 9.06, and their नामोत्पत्ति in verses 9.28–9.30. Verse 9.30 specifies these as “the five great mantras,” but Lohaka (Chapter 12) is conspicuously absent. This makes it seem like the Lohaka chapter is an interpolation. Their पूजा and रूपम् are evidently dealt with in their own separate chapters.
- °9.01a ये तु] The readings of γ are our first instance of conjunctive error linking PR_A and D_B to P_{ALM}. They frequently misread P_{ALM}’s small tick mark used as a deletion symbol, either taking it as *anusvāra* (D_B) or ignoring it altogether (PR_A). Presumably the eye of P_{ALM}’s scribe skipped ahead to the word भूताधिपा. The reading ये तु is better than β ’s ये ते, because तेषां in the second line functions as the correlative to ये. Having तु in second position in the first *pāda* of the chapter may seem problematic, but it occurs in similar contexts elsewhere in the text. The twenty-sixth chapter opens with गारुडं तु त्वया देव in both γ and β . γ has several other chapters with तु occurring in the opening *pāda*, namely chapters 8, 20, and 29. β reads differently in some cases, but in the opening *pāda* of the final chapter it reads तु whereas γ does not. I basically take तु as an expletive, but it may carry some degree of the sense “now,” a meaning which is also listed in many Sanskrit dictionaries.
- °9.01b विद्याश्च] A विद्या is a female “spell-divinity.” It is the female counterpart to a mantra. The title *Vidyādhara*, a class of semi-divine beings common throughout Sanskrit literature, should certainly be translated as something to the effect of “Holders of Spells” rather than “Wisdom Bearers,” the translation of SMITH 2006: 326, following PARPOLA.
- °9.01ab var. मंत्रविद्याश्च] D_A’s variant is likely a blunder. The mantras and *vidyās* are भूताधिपाः, and taking D_A’s reading seriously would negate the force of the च.
- °9.01b var. विद्या च] Σ frequently has masc. and fem. plural in “ā,” regardless of whether the following syllable is voiced or non-voiced.
- °9.01b वृषभध्वज] Σ frequently has masc. sing. vocative in *ah*. Also note that β ’s variant विषहारिणाः is grammatically feasible—after having accepted it as an *Aiśa* plural for °हारिणः—as an adjective of मन्त्राः, but it does not fit the context. The mantras described in the next several

chapters are used in curing possession rather than removing any kind of विष (poison).

°9.01c लक्षणरूपं] β 's reading, a *dvandva*, is stronger than γ 's pleonastic लक्षणभूतं. In standard Sanskrit grammar two nouns must be a commonly linked pair in order to form a *samāhāradvandva* compound, but in *Aiśa* Sanskrit the collective singular (*jātāv ekavacanam*) is extremely frequent. Cf. TÖRZSÖK 1999 (*dissertation*): xlvi.

°9.01d नामोत्पत्ति] The variant reading “नामोत्पत्ति” shared by PR_b and D_a , is puzzling. According to Somadeva VASUDEVA, manuscripts from Kerala frequently use a symbol very similar to this “र्” which indicates that the letter under it is doubled, but this explanation is not completely satisfying because in each manuscript one can easily find other cases of “त्ति” without the peculiarly added “र्.” More investigation in this vein is needed. Also note that D_b 's *anusvāra* could be read as “र्.” In other words one may wish to read नामोत्पत्ति in D_b , however this would be a mistake. D_b occasionally writes his *anusvāras* in this way. Cf. “नेत्रं” at D_b 26^v3. Also note that there is no convincing evidence that D_b is copying from any manuscript other than P_{ALM} .

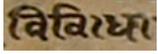
°9.01d var. पृथक्पृथक्] P_{ALM} commonly omits *virāmas* for no apparent reason.

°9.01e पूजा] This is an example of the *Aiśa* practice of “*nominativus pendens*,” the disjunct nominative. Cf. TÖRZSÖK 1999: 57 and GOUDRIAAN & SCHOTERMAN 1988: 88–9.

°9.01f कथयस्व प्रसादतः] Although the root कथ् is listed as *parasmaipada* in most dictionaries and grammars, it is most commonly *ātmanepada* in Epic and Tantric literature. One might argue that the text should read “कथय स्वप्रसादतः” instead, but we have the case of the verb unequivocally being used in the *ātmanepada* at कथयस्व पृथक्त्वेन at 9.34c. Cf. Kṣemarāja's commentary to *Svacchandatantra* 1.7, where we have the same phrase. MADHUSŪDAN KAUL SHĀSTRĪ'S 1921 edition prints it as “कथय स्व प्रसादतः” on the basis of the commentary in which Kṣemarāja takes the “स्व” as a vocative abbreviation for *Svacchanda-Bhairava*. (p.9) Cf. also the 1988 dissertation of William ARRAJ for extensive background information and translation of the passage and commentary (p.383)

°9.02a त्रिविधा] In light of the passage at *Niśvāsātattvasaṃgraha* 12.48 “मन्त्राश्च त्रिविधा प्रोक्ता उत्तमाधममध्यमाः,” and the fact that the mantras are in fact of three kinds, I find the reading त्रिविधा suspicious, despite its occurrence in all of the manuscripts. I considered emending to त्रिविधा here and consequently त्रिविधा at 9.02e, but in my opinion that would be taking too much liberty with the text. My translation of 9.02e makes त्रिविधा refer back to the mantras because they are in fact त्रिविधा, while modes of birth are manifold.

°9.02a var. त्रिविधो] It is possible that the scribe of D_c is copying a *prṣṭhamātra* “o” from his

exemplar.  (25⁸).

- °9.02a तेषां] The first *akṣara* is written over an erased “प्र°” in D_B.
- °9.02f var. निबोधय] P_{ALM}’s variant fits the metre, but makes the caesura come in the middle of a word. More importantly, having a causative here makes Īśvara ask Kārttikeya to inform, rather than tell him to listen.
- °9.02e उत्पत्तिस्त्रिविधा] The emendation is based on the reading of P_{ALM}, but with the prefix वि for metre. Contextually, it is possible that त्रिविधा should *not* be modifying उत्पत्ति, and rather be taken in the sense of “three things,” namely कर्म, अर्चन (which is क्रियारूप), and उत्पत्ति. Following the suggestion of Somadeva VASUDEVA, I have kept the nominative case even though syntactically उत्पत्ति and the preceding neuter nouns function as grammatical objects. VASUDEVA further suggested that the pattern is a list of nominative words followed by one collective accusative before the verb, but if this was the case we would have to emend the unequivocally accusative नामोत्पत्ति in the first verse (I do not take PR_A’s lack of *anusvāra* seriously as I am certain that he copied from P_{ALM}). See also, note to 9.01e.
- °9.03] Note the slight alliteration in this verse with उत्तमाः – उत्पन्ना, and मध्यमा – मम काये. The author was possibly trying for a *nirvacana* (folk etymology) by this technique.
- °9.03b var. उन्मत्ता] β’s variant does not fit the context of this उत्पत्ति section.
- °9.03b मन्त्रविद्यया] Initially I tried reading मन्त्र विद्यया and explaining the stem form as acceptable *Aiśa* Sanskrit for the purpose of fitting the metre. Somadeva VASUDEVA suggested a better solution. We should take it as a synonym of मन्त्रकल्प, a term found in other texts meaning “Mantra-booklet.” Cf. Svachchandatantra 4.498 (SHĀSTRĪ 1923, vol. 38: 307–308): मन्त्रकल्पाक्षसूत्रं च खटिकां छत्रपादुके ।; to which Kṣemarāja comments: कल्पः साध्यमन्त्रपुस्तिका, उष्णीष आचार्ययैव देयः ॥.
- °9.05a var. समाख्याता] γ’s variant is redundant with प्रकीर्तिताः following, and was perhaps an attempt to avoid a vowel hiatus. On the other hand, Somadeva has suggested that the *rudras* being innumerable may be problematic. Usually there is a number affixed to them.
- °9.05b ते अपि मन्त्राः प्रकीर्तिताः] γ’s reading is stronger with the अपि, but β’s ते मन्त्राः परिकीर्तिताः also works.
- °9.06a var. स्तु] β’s reading makes no sense, and is a small but significant conjunctive error linking the D_C, PR_B, and D_A to their hyparchetype β.
- °9.06 var. °कर्मस्तु] I take γ’s variant as a scribal error. There would be little difference between the ligature for स्तु and a hastily written सु.

- °9.06b var. खण्मुखः] ख for ष is a common variant in all manuscripts except D_c. In Newari the sounds are not distinguished, and I am told the case is the same for much of Northern India (VASUDEVA *personal communication*, GOLDMAN *personal communication*).
- °9.07c यस्य] I find यस्य to be the better reading because it correlates with तस्य in the following verse. As for यथा° vs. तथा°, my choice is less certain. The meaning of 9.07cd-9.08ab is obscure to me, therefore I cannot be confident that यथा° is preferable.
- °9.08ab तत्] I choose तत् over तं for gender agreement, but once again I should emphasize that I do not understand precisely what the intended meaning of 9.07cd-9.08ab is. The same can be borne in mind for my choice of कार्य° over कार्य°.
- °9.08a var. काच्च] β's variant is most likely due to an exemplar which wrote the र् + य conjunct with the र् element below the top line. Compare the form of this conjunct in the earliest extant manuscript of the *Uttararāmacarita*: श्र (1^v2). Somadeva VASUDEVA has suggested emending to काण्डं, but I am not confident enough about the meaning of the verse to do so.
- °9.08a ते आख्यामि] I emend on the basis of तेन having little meaning here and β's आख्यामि ते looking suspiciously like a scribal redaction to smooth over the vowel hiatus. One might argue that न् is a hiatus filler after the manner of -म्- (see comment to 9.09a), but I don't consider this likely.
- °9.08ab प्ररूपाणि] γ's reading is the *lectio difficilior* as the noun प्रूपम् is very rare. It is not listed in my dictionaries, but must have a meaning similar to प्ररूपणम्/णा "teaching." (Monier-Williams p.689) स्वरूपेण adds little meaning and leaves the verb without an object.
- °9.09a -म्- आसीन्] The letter "m" is commonly used to fill the hiatus between two vowels. Cf. GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN 1988: 65, EDGERTON 1953, § 4,57-67, or TÖRZSÖK 1999: xxxiv. I consider it an older trait that would not be a redaction from the easier चासीन् of PR_b and D_a. γ occasionally uses ण for स, so that aspect is not a problem. As for the lack of an ending in γ, we can either suggest that it became *anusvāra* at some point and then was dropped by mistake, or that it is a frozen *lan* form of √as, cf. EDGERTON 1953, § 32,20.
- °9.09b var. कालनेमीति] P_{ALM} and PR_A's variant is easier in several respects. First of all, कालनेमि is a well known Dānava who fits the description. Cf. *Vāmanapurāṇa* Ch. 47 (TRIPĀṬHĪ 2003) for a description of Kālanemi and his battle with the gods which is similar to our current narrative. The irregular *sandhi* in P_{ALM} and PR_A's variant is *metri causa* and allowable in *Aiśa* Sanskrit. Cf. GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN 1988: 62. Yet with all of this evidence of why it could be correct, one serious flaw remains. At 9.14a, P_{ALM} reads कलशेनो in apposition to दानवो! कलशेन is an unusual name, and to my knowledge no such character occurs in the literature.

Perhaps it is a corruption from कालसेन. At any rate, no scribe would choose to redact a perfectly logical name like कालनेमि to कलशेन, and P_{ALM} has it in 9.14, so we can be certain that it is the reading in Σ.

°9.09c var. राजा भो] I don't take D_B's variants very seriously as we can be certain that they either derive from P_{ALM} or from the scribe's imagination. In this case it is from the latter. He must have considered राजानो unsuitable as a singular. I take it as an *Aiśa* form. I am told that it is grammatically correct as a singular according to *Siddhāntakaumudī* 4I.137, however I have been unable to verify this. Monier-Williams attests the form as a denominative stem. Nevertheless D_B's variant is just as likely a blunder, because he generally doesn't concern himself with grammar. Consider his readings of the next *pāda*.

°9.09 वासीत्] D_C. Somadeva VASUDEVA has pointed out that the scribe of D_C possibly began to write an “f” before realizing his mistake. Thus his intended reading is वासीत्. Also note that D_C is somewhat loose about differentiating व and च, so his intention *could* have been चासीत्.

°9.10a var. हरिब्रह्म] Note the confusion regarding the gender of the word ब्रह्मन्. No manuscript is consistent about the word having the masc. nominative ण ending that it should properly have. β has the neuter ending here, but the masc. at 9.20c. γ has the masc. ending here and at 9.20c, but all manuscripts read ब्रह्म उवाच just after 9.30.

°9.10a var. हरिब्रह्मर्] It is likely that PR_B's ब्रह्मर् simply represents a misplaced र् from हरिरर्, therefore we can conjecture that β's reading was हरिरर्, perhaps with the awkwardly placed र् copied directly by PR_B, but ignored by D_C and D_A.

°9.10b °निःसृतौ] I consider β's °निःसृतौ and γ's °निर्गताः as readings of competing merit whose meanings are basically identical. °निःसृतौ is bad because it is unmetrical without the *visarga*; but this is likely an orthographical error. The obvious problem with °निर्गताः is that it is plural where we expect a dual, however this could be considered a Prakritic feature. In fact within the chapters I have collated (9–11), no duals occur in γ, and °निःसृतौ is the only dual in β. β does show a tendency towards cleaning up the grammar and *sandhi* where possible. Thus although I chose to correct β to °निःसृतौ, I find °निर्गताः equally plausible.

°9.10a var. कलकलं मध्ये] I can rationalize this variant of γ as meaning “There was a murmuring sound in the middle,” but it seems like a long shot.

°9.10cd स्वेदो ब्रह्मणः] This seems to be the intended meaning, that a drop of sweat fell from Brahma, but we have the serious problem of it being unmetrical in my conjecture and in all of the manuscripts. One is reminded of the creation narrative opening the *Manusmṛiti* particularly the class of beings known as स्वेदज (OLIVELLE 2005: 390). In this narrative the

स्वेदज beings are insects (1.45ab), while demons are said to be created by the sages and born out of embryonic sacs (जरायुजाः). (1.43cd) Cf. also *Vāmana Saromāhātmya* Ch. 22 (particularly 22.28–39) for the story of creation from the *Brahmāṇḍa* with some similar vocabulary used (कललत्वमुपागतम् (22.33), and अण्डमध्ये समुत्पन्नो ब्रह्मा लोकपितामहः (22.35). And more significantly we also have the Purāṇic demon named Svedaja whose story—as told in Ch. 14 of the *Padma-purāṇa*—is strikingly parallel to our current passage. He was also a demon born from the sweat of Brahma. The gods similarly wanted this demon destroyed. In this version they created Raktaja, another demon, for the purpose of killing him. More research is needed to determine if our passage is a Śaiva assimilation of the story or perhaps an earlier form of it.

- °9.11d अवध्यो] The अ of अवध्यो cannot be dropped for *sandhi* without disrupting the metre.
- °9.12a var. शक्र] The confusion of शक्र for शत्रु was certainly the result of an ambiguous ligature either in the hyparchetype γ or in Σ .
- °9.12b var. संयातो] I don't take γ 's संयातो as a true variant, rather it seems to be due to the phonological identity of ज and य in many North Indian and Nepalese languages. Cf. 9.32c and 9.41c for unambiguous cases of P_{ALM} reading ज for य.
- °9.12b var. कालपर्ययान्] Perhaps this variant in PR_B and D_A is due to an ambiguously written त् in β . These two letters are sometimes not clearly distinguished in the manuscripts.
- °9.12c var. देव(र्) [[श उपायं]]] At first glance P_{ALM} 's deletion marks are difficult to see, but if one looks closely they are visible. This is another case where clearly PR_A and D_B are copying from P_{ALM} . The mistake of P_{ALM} 's scribe is important because it is an eyeskip down to 9.16ab. The error tells us that the phrase देवेश उपायं was located directly below तेन देवा in γ and therefore we can estimate the physical size of γ based on the number of *akṣaras* intervening. In this case the number is around one hundred and fifteen, therefore the latter phrase was probably located two lines below the former and we have a rough estimate of fifty-seven *akṣaras* per line for the hyparchetype γ .
- °9.15a °दैत्यानाम्] D_B technically reads देवेदैत्यानां, but most likely intended देवदैत्यानां and just got sloppy with the vowel signs.
- °9.16a नाशितास्] My choice of reading here is a judgement call, but it does seem to be the *lectio difficilior*. On the other hand it is not such a stretch to say that ना was a scribal error for त्रा either. We had त्रासितास्तेन at 9.13a, so one could either argue that it is an uncreative author being repetitive or a slightly clever one playing with the words. In the end I prefer the latter interpretation.
- °9.16c em. ता] I emend to the feminine accusative plural for agreement with देवता and on the

basis of the testimonia of *Kriyākālaguṇottara* P_{ALM} (fol. 126^r1): “तां दृष्ट्वा देता [sic] भीता मम सरणामागताः ॥.”

°9.16c var. देवा] Note that P_{ALM} makes a mistake with the word देवता in this phrase here as at 26.4cd (see *testimonia* register), but that it is alternate syllables— देता at 26.4cd. This is strong evidence for reading β 's metrically fit देवता. Also note that these phrases that come up again in the much later chapter point to a single author for these two chapters. It remains to be seen whether parallels like this will be deducible in the other chapters. On the basis of chapter names being listed as individual texts in lists of Bhūtatantras such as the *Śrīkaṇṭhīya* (following Sanderson 2001: 14fn), Somadeva VASUDEVA has suggested that the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* is a patchwork of separate texts. The more parallels like this that are discovered, the less likely his theory will be. It is also possible that the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* is a unified text composed by an author who knew the subject matter from various sources but put it into his own words.

°9.16d var. देवता भीता-म-भीषय मया गिरा] Perhaps β intends an imperative here with the sense of “don't be afraid.” Cf. 9.21a for a grammatically erroneous imperative with this meaning and a similar form. The fact that 9.21a has the words पुनर्वाचा makes me wonder whether we should try to make β 's variant work here.

°9.16 महाशिराः] This word as plural is another case of “Thematization of stems on -s” see GOUDRIAAN p.74 d. Also cf. 9.04c.

°9.17a त्रायणी] Σ has the word त्रायणी, evidently a *hapax legomenon*, as I cannot find it attested anywhere in the literature. Following the suggestion of Somadeva VASUDEVA, I take it as a masc. sing. nominative form from the $\sqrt{\text{त्रा}} + \text{अण} + \text{इन्}$. I take it as an adjective to the understood subject अहम्: “[I] protecting all of the gods, ...” But the word occurs preceding a clearly corrupt *pāda*, and we have the problem of the instrumental subject मया in the following line. Incidentally, in *Kriyoḍḍīśatantra* 2.2ab, Devī calls Śiva त्राता. (GUPTA 1990: 510)

°9.17b शुद्धायुद्धं प्रवर्तितुम्] The *pāda* is hopelessly conflated with 9.18b, and the conjecture is based on what may have been the (already conflated) text in Σ .

°9.18 var. प्सुदारुणं] PR_A's reading is based of “प्सु” for “सु” is based on a poorly written “सु” in P_{ALM}:

 (44^r1).

°9.20c var. माहापन्नो] D_B and PR_A took P_{ALM}'s *prṣṭhamātra* े as second *daṇḍa*.

°9.21a मा भीष्यत] This unattested verb form seems to intend an imperative with the sense of “Don't be afraid,” but the standard form would be विभित/विभीत (लोट्) or अभैष्ट (लुङ्) (ŚARMĀ 2005: 162–3).

- °9.21b var. ततः पुरा/ततः पुराः] The latter variant in PR_b and D_A makes no sense to me (“the cities/castles addressed by me”), and the first does not lend very much meaning to the verse. I prefer P_{ALM}’s intended ततस्ततः in the sense of “all around.”
- °9.21c var. एष-म्-] I transliterate the reading of the γ group with the hiatus-filler -म्- in order to give the benefit of the doubt, but I don’t think this reading would make sense and it is probably simply an redactional error for एवम्.
- °9.23d खादयन्तः(ः)] I correct the variants of both manuscripts to the standard plural present participle, but I wonder if I am glossing an Aiśa present participle. My sources for Aiśa grammar traits do not discuss formation of the present participle.
- °9.24c var. महावीर्यो] I conjecture that P_{ALM} and D_b’s variant is due to the *pāda*’s phonological harmony with 9.IIa.
- °9.25c var. साहिता] γ attempted to remedy the metre of the verse (a *na-vipula*) by lengthening सहिता to साहिता (which, incidentally, made a Vedic *anuṣṭubh*).
- °9.25d em. VASUDEVA किमेतद्दुम्बिकायते] Somadeva VASUDEVA suggested this emendation to a denominative दुम्बिकायते and I find it quite convincing in light of the confused readings of the manuscripts. व and ब are never distinguished in the manuscripts, and प and य are easily confused. Likewise we need not be attached to the र् of γ ’s विकार्यते because β does not support it. The change of the retroflex ढु to द is the issue, but this denominative form is obscure and would easily confuse the scribes.
- °9.25d var. एतदम्] Might this be some kind of contraction for एते + इदम्? GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN list various Aiśa vowel contractions, most notably “अम् + इ = ए which they note is almost always with इदम् (1988: 61, 9a), but that would not make a lot of sense here either.
- °9.26a क्षोभयन्तो] I emend here to the standard form of the plural masc. present participle as before, but with the same uncertainty about the construction of Aiśa present participles as before.
- °9.27 var. वीरास्] P_{ALM}’s scribe surely intended to write “धीरास्” and not “वीरास्,” however the letter has no hint of the thin upward stroke differentiating the “धी” *akṣara* from the “वी” *akṣara*.
- °9.28 जनेश्वरः] P_{ALM} The word “श्रीः” appears in the margin following this line and slightly elevated between it and the preceding line. I take it as a pacification of the scribe’s mistake in writing one-half verse in the margin. The “श्रीः” is taken up as part of the P_{ALM}’s marginal insertion to verse 9.31 (despite their physical separation on the folio) in PR_A’s incorporation

of the reading.

°9.29 var.] γ 's transmission variants are clearly from P_{ALM}'s awkwardness. It appears that P_{ALM} had the same *pāda* in mind as β , but in writing it made a mistake and had to omit देवो. But as P_{ALM} starts with दे (easily confused in this case for चे/वे) this shows that P_{ALM} had the word देवो in its exemplar, but had to omit it because he had already written त्रासो महत्° and that would have been more awkward to omit than the way it was done. The scribes of D_b and PR_A frequently misunderstand P_{ALM}'s omission mark.

°9.33b var. न लंघयन्ति समयं] In P_{ALM} the extra phrase after this line न लंघयति समयं (repeated from 9.33a), is deleted *secunda manu* with “parentheses.” Since D_b deletes the phrase and PR_A does not, we can conjecture the parenthetical deletion was added after PR_A copied, and either before D_b, or by the scribe of D_b himself.

°9.34a यदि] This is the *lectio difficilior*. It is admittedly awkward for Kārttikeya to use a conditional word like यदि when asking about the great power of the mantras, but β 's ये ते strikes me as a redaction.

°9.34d var. अन्यकर्म न कुर्वन्ति ।] P_{ALM} again tags on an extra *pāda* from 9.33.

°9.35c वीणास्] This is the *lectio difficilior* against वीर्यास्.

°9.36a var. अद्रूपम्] I have no explanation for this strange variant in PR_A.

°9.36b स्वरूपतः] I think स्वरूपतः is a better reading because the first half-śloka ended with स्वभावतः.

°Line 96 (Mantra) em. अलललल] I emend because all manuscripts read अलल at line 116, and four ल syllables is supported by P_{ALM} and PR_A, and two are attested in the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (SĀSTRĪ, G. 1921, vol. II: 306). On this basis one might argue that I should emend the unanimous अलल at line 116, however this would be going beyond the goal of textual reconstruction. I also do not know the significance of these syllables, and thus cannot make a strong case for having four लs in both places.

°Line 96 (Mantra) खङ्गरावण] Note that *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* and *Tantrasārasaṅgraha* read खङ्गरावणाय here, but GOUDRIAAN believes vocatives were used at an earlier stage in what he calls “automatical recitation” (1977: 151).

°Line 96 (Mantra) बलं विहर २] I read with γ , because बलं seems to be the object of the imperative विहर, and based on the presence of the *anusvāra* in PR_b and D_A, it is likely that the mistake in β was simply reading a २ after बलं. The object is not repeated in the Indian sources, only the imperative.

- °Line 98 (Mantra) var. °ने चल २ बल २ बला २ अनिवर्त्त°] D_A has rubrication over these syllables. The purpose is unclear. It seems to be the correct reading.
- °Line 97 (Mantra) घण्टाकपालमालाधराय] β's reading is supported here by the Indian sources. The *daṇḍa* in P_{ALM} and its offshoots is conjunctive error.
- °Line 97—8 (Mantra) °शेखराय कृष्ण°] γ's reading is supported by the Indian sources, however note once again that GOUDRIAAN considers the vocative to be an earlier feature than the dative in this mantra (1977: 151).
- °Line 98 (Mantra) var. °यज्ञोपावीतिने] D_c's variant is likely due to the scribe beginning to write a short “i.”
- °Line 98 (Mantra) conj. कटु २] The conjecture is based on *Īsānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, and is highly tentative because of the range of variants for this word: कटु, कट्ट, कटु, खड्ग, and कन्व as found in *Īsānaśivagurudevapaddhati*, γ, *Tantrasārasaṃgraha*, D 6124, and PR_BD_A respectively (GOUDRIAAN 1977: 151). The conjuncts of retroflex *akṣaras* in the manuscripts are generally difficult for me to distinguish. Therefore my reporting of the readings of the Nepalese manuscripts for this word is tentative pending further experience with the retroflex conjunct patterns.
- °Line 99 (Mantra) चण्डासिधाराधिपति] I take the preceding word as a vocative despite the correct vocative ending being *e*.
- °Line 99 (Mantra) var. ते विद्या राजखड्ग°] γ's reading shows that someone in the γ line took the *daṇḍa* seriously and decided that विद्या was the *Aiśa*-plural object of the genitive खड्गरावणस्य rather than taking it as compounded. They evidently added ते without much thought as to the gender difference with विद्या
- °Line 100 (Mantra) खड्गरावणस्य] D_B has three dots arranged horizontally over the *ṇa akṣara*, presumably to mark the (accidental) reversal of letters.
- °9.39a भूतास्] Σ probably read nominative plural भूता (*Aiśa sandhi*), which was later correct to भूतास् in γ, left as it was in D_c, and made into a spurious accusative in PR_B and D_A. Following the guidelines of my standardization policy, I do not accept this particular *Aiśa* practice into the edited text.
- °9.39c var. प्रागाशन°] β's reading is likely an overcorrection for प्रागासन°, but I don't know what that would be referring to. Still, the choice of reading is tentative.
- °9.39d आचरत्] Either आचरत् or आरभेत् could work in the context. My hypothesis is that there was metathesis of the former in an intermediary between Σ and β, and it was then corrected from आरचेत् to आरभेत् in β. One could argue that the opposite occurred, but I find it phonet-

ically less likely.

°9.42a °हेद्र°] This word is certainly the *lectio difficilior* over °भूत°. It does not occur in the Sanskrit dictionaries. It does occur two other times in the text: in the fifth chapter (P_{ALM} 11^v1), and in the opening of the eighth chapter in γ (P_{ALM} 34^r3). I would not be surprised if it occurred elsewhere in the sections of the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* that I have not yet read. In all three cases the β manuscripts have a variant. The scribe of β, or an antecedent between Σ and β, must have assumed the word to be nonsense and changed it in each case. What we need in order to understand what the हेद्र is, are some verses that describe it. In chapter 42 of the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*—which parallels chapter 8 of our text—we have a type of ग्रह that is likely the same but with variant spelling: हेद्र (2,42.1.15, pp.298–299). Frederick SMITH has translated a section of the chapter in his recent book (SMITH 2006: 510–513), and he has a note on what he thinks this हेद्र means. Following the suggestion of Robert ZYDENBOS, he concludes that it comes from the Kannada word “*heḍḍa*” meaning “...a fool” (p. 568, note 153). He then concludes that “the description could be that of spasticity or another kind of muscular or motor disorder, or, just as likely, severe mental retardation” (*ibid.*). I prefer to take the tradition at face value and consider it to be a class of malicious beings. Somadeva VASUDEVA has suggested that the हेद्र is a parallel to the Greek *hudra*, today spelled Hydra. Another possibility suggested by Alexis SANDERSON in a personal communication to Somadeva VASUDEVA is that it is related to Greek *udra*, meaning snake. In Sanskrit *udra* is a vague term referring to some kind of aquatic animal. Monier-Williams attests *Udrapāraka* as the proper name of a *nāga*.

I have come to know that in American slang the word *hedra* can mean, among other things, “A revolting creature of the night...” (UrbanDictionary.com). It is a provocative idea that the slang term could have a proto-Indo-Aryan antecedent, but until further research is done, we can only speculate.

°9.42c var. जमस्यास्य] β’s reading is possible, but reading एव is contextually stronger as the text is emphasizing that the *spoken* mantra holds even more power.

°9.42d गुणास्] P_{ALM} has a very faint and small dot that might be an *anusvāra*, in which case P_{ALM} would also read गुणांस्.

°9.43 क्षुद्रमानुषाः] My reading of क्षुद्रमानुषाः against मानुषादयः is supported by PR_b and D_x’s reading of पुनः, which reflects the proper *sandhi* preceding γ’s reading of a non-voiced initial. In other words, I suggest that the exemplar Beta read पुनः मानुषादयः which was then corrected by D_c to पुनर्मानुषादयः.

°9.43c & 9.44a तथाकर्ष & em. चाङ्गभेदेन] In “The Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir,” SANDERSON reads

P_{ALM}'s intended "tathā karmaṇ" (2007: 288 fn.181), but I think β's तथाकर्ष is a stronger reading. I am supported by SANDERSON's citation to *Aṃśumadāgama* 13.36cd in the same note, where we do have ākarṣa in the list. Now we have the issue of whether to take the reading अङ्गभेद of β and P_{ALM} as part of the list of actions in the previous three lines (in the sense of "breaking the limbs"), or whether to take it as referring to the upcoming "six limbs"/nyāsa division of the mantra. The former interpretation makes seven instead of the classical "six acts," however it is not uncommon to find lists exceeding six. Cf. *Uḍḍāmareśvaratantra* 1.11–12:

“प्रथमं भूतकरणं द्वितीयोन्मदनं तथा ।

तृतीयं द्वेषणं चाथ तुर्यमुच्चाटनं तथा ॥

ग्रामोच्चाटं पञ्चमं च जलस्तम्भं च षष्ठकम् ।

वह्नेः स्तम्भकरं चाथ वशीकरणमुत्तमम् ॥” (Zadoo 1947: 2)

Still, I have chosen to emend on the basis of *Tantrasadbhāva* 7.62–66:

atha caivāṅgabhedena jātiṣaṭkamanukramāt |

hṛdayādikrameṇaiva nyastavyā parameśvarī || 7-62 ||

saṃjīvanīti hṛdayaṃ dvirabhyāsapaderitam |

oṃkāradīsamāyuktaṃ namaścāntaṃ varānane || 7-63 ||

ūrdhvhakeṣīti yat proktaḥ śiraḥ [g: sirah] svāhāntalakṣaṇaḥ |

jvalitaśikhēti vikhyātā vauṣaḍantā śikhā smṛtā [k, kh, g: -tāḥ] || 7-64 ||

etc. (Etext by Mark S.G. DYCZKOWSKI verified against NGMPP A 44/I fol.67^v1)

The fact that P_{ALM} does read, then delete, a न, may suggest that its exemplar did the same. I propose that Σ assumed that अङ्गभेद was one of the powers of the mantra, and believing the text to be corrupt with it in the instrumental, simply changed it to चाङ्गभेदं[[न]] च.

°Line 116 (Mantra) एतद्विद्याङ्गविन्यासः] I am aware of the *liṅgabhedā* between एतत् and विद्याङ्गविन्यासः, but I let it stand as *Aiśa* syntax. Cf. TÖRZSÖK 1999: xlvi (IV.A.1.a); or GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN 1988: 86 (18a). I do not read β's एते because gender agreement is less significant in *Aiśa* syntax than number agreement.

°Line 116 (Mantra) °विन्यासः] I read β's °विन्यासः against P_{ALM}'s °न्यासः because Σ reads °विन्यासः at line 128.

°Line 116 (Mantra) var. रावणं] γ's reading without the खङ्ग° is most likely an omission. Cf. *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (SĀSTRĪ, G. 1921, vol. II: 306).

°Line 116 (Mantra) खः हा] I think we can be quite confident that this is what Σ read as it is attested by both P_{ALM} and PR_B. Although D_C reads खः स्वाहा, we can consider this a redaction because PR_S attests to β reading खः हा. Now whether the original mantra was supposed to be हा or स्वाहा here is another matter. I find स्वाहा slightly more convincing because in the rest of the list स्वाहा is the final word of the mantra before the *aṅga* is named. Still, I am not confident

to the degree that I would emend against Σ following D_c .

- °9.45ab omission] γ does not have 9.45ab and the line of mantras preceding it. On the one hand, I do not know what the function of this last line of mantras is because it does not list a body part to which the mantra is assigned like the previous mantras. This makes it seem like an interpolation, perhaps β wanted to include this section of the *Mūlamantra*. On the other hand, there is more to the *Mūlamantra* that is not included in β or γ . And if we also excise 9.45ab as interpolation, what would the *Mahāmudrā* be referring to? I think it is more likely that γ 's omission is the result of an eyeskip of one line, in this case 49 *akṣaras*.
- °9.45a em. उत्तानं] I emend for better sense and with the support of the testimonia listed in the apparatus.
- °9.45c एष(त्)] D_A either reads एषो or has a horizontal line over एषां. Usually a horizontal line over a character or over a blank space in the manuscript indicates that the exemplar was nearly or completely illegible. PR_B is perfectly legible here, and we are otherwise quite sure that PR_B is the exemplar of D_A , therefore perhaps we should simply read it as एषो.
- °9.45d var. सर्वविघ्नविनाशिनीं] The *pāda* occurs in the next verse, 9.46d, and like 9.45d, it is preceded by महामुद्रां. γ or a manuscript between Σ and γ most likely conflated the two readings and made एषा accusative for agreement.
- °Line 127 (Mantra) em. कडु २] I emend as before following *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (SĀSTRĪ, G. 1921, vol. II: 306). See note to line number 98.
- °Line 127—8 (Mantra) em. चण्डासिधाराधिपति-रुद्रो ज्ञापयति] I emend on the basis of the *Mūlamantra* given above and its agreement with the other sources such as *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*. As all of the manuscripts disagree about this part, we can conclude that the corruption goes back to Σ .
- °Line 128 (Mantra) ठ ठ] is said to be a code word for स्वाहा, both of which occur frequently in the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*. (PADOUX 2000 Vol. II, p.291)
- °9.48c पूज्य] What appears to have happened here is that Σ read पूज्य with a *daṇḍa* for some reason, and γ faithfully transmitted the *daṇḍa*, while β took it as a long \bar{a} marker.
- °9.50c हृदिना] This is the less common of the two *Aiśa* instrumentals. Both are attested in Śaiva literature. GOUDRIAAN & SCHOTERMAN have *hṛdi* as a nominative singular (1988: 73).

Translation

The Principal Mantra of Khaḍgarāvana

Kārttikeya said:

O Bull-bannered Śiva, graciously reveal to me the mantras and *vidyās* which are sovereign over ghosts,¹ their classification, forms,² and the origin of each of their names,³ as well as their function and veneration according to rank. ॥ 1 ॥

Īśvara said:

There are various mantras my child (वत्स): high, low, and middle. In brief, listen to their function, mode of action, propitiation, and threefold origination⁴ in due order. ॥ 2 ॥

The highest arose from Śiva and Śakti with [their] mantra manuals.⁵ The middling, known as *rudras*, arose in my body. ॥ 3 ॥

There are hundreds of millions of mantras and innumerable *vidyās*.⁶ They all arose as the blazing energy of Śiva and their power is infallible. ॥ 4 ॥

And the innumerable phonemes (स्वराः) are also known as mantras. Each one arose in my body respectively corresponding to their specific functions. ॥ 5 ॥

The middle are said to be good for all ritual acts, O Ṣaṇmukha, and the low for matters concerning the gods. And some⁷ are gods in their own right because they have form. ॥ 6 ॥

¹I take भूताधिपाः as referring to both मन्त्राः and विद्याः

²I take लक्षणरूपं as a *samāhāradvandva*. Normally this type of compound is only for natural pairs, such as *ahinakulam*, but it works here *metri causa*.

³One might also take नामोत्पत्ति as a *samāhāradvandva*, i.e. “Their origins and names,” but in light of verse 9.28, I think taking it as a *tatpuruṣa* is best.

⁴The first and second line of the verse give the *lakṣaṇa* response Kārttikya asked for, and the 3rd begins the *utpatti* section.

⁵For मन्त्रविद्या as “mantra manual,” see note to 9.03b.

⁶Which isn’t to say that there are necessarily more *vidyās* than mantras. दशकोट्यः essentially means अप्रमाणतः.

⁷केचिद् is probably meant to refer to any of the three classes of mantras, whether embodied or bodiless.

Every embodied mantra is taught in its own manual.⁸ Whatever form, rite, and efficacy of [the mantra] is taught [in those various manuals], ॥ 7 ॥

will certainly be given in just that fashion here.⁹ I will tell you their full explanations, listen Śikhivāhana. ॥ 8 ॥

Long ago there existed a being of great power, a king of the Dānava lords known as “Kalaśena,” his valor in battle most eminent. ॥ 9 ॥

Hari and Brahma had come out from the Brahmāṇḍa¹⁰ when he was born, and then a drop of sweat fell from Brahma, remaining in the stage of an embryo.¹¹ ॥ 10 ॥

Therein arose a red-eyed Dānava of terrific strength. He blazed with a boundless energy and was invulnerable to Devas and Dānavas. ॥ 11 ॥

And indeed, in the course of time, he grew to be an enemy of the gods. Then the Devas, along with the Gandharvas, Ṛṣis, Dānavas, and Rākṣasas ॥ 12 ॥

were terrified by that mighty being. The Suras and Asuras, Brahma and the rest, came to my presence and thus informed me: ॥ 13 ॥

“Kalaśena—ruler of the Dānavas and dreadful to behold—is invulnerable to all beings and possesses great strength and prowess. ॥ 14 ॥

He cannot be tolerated by the Devas, Daityas, nor the Ṛṣis of mighty penance. It is not even

⁸I take सिद्धान्त here in the general sense of teaching, perhaps equivalent to the मन्त्रविद्या in verse 9.03. According to Somadeva VASUDEVA, this usage of the word reflects the early date of the text. Later सिद्धान्त came to refer specifically to the Śaiva Siddhānta school.

⁹9.07cd–9.08ab is very difficult to understand, but I think he is simply saying that he will teach precisely the same (तादृशं) form, function, etc. here as was laid down in the individual mantra manuals (स्वसिद्धान्तेषु).

¹⁰This verse is problematic and can be taken several ways. One problem here is that Brahmāṇḍa usually is a kenning for the universe, so what would it mean for Hari and Brahma to come out of it? We also don't have a च्, and we have a plural variant in निर्गताः, among other issues.

¹¹I take the compound *kalalamadhyasthaṃ* adverbially.

possible to disturb him with Apsarases, Siddhas, or Gandharvas.¹² ॥ 15 ॥

O Śaṅkara, lord of gods, [we are] doomed, therefore devise a strategy!” Having looked at those frightened gods with their great heads bowed to the ground, ॥ 16 ॥

the saviour of all the gods ...–corrupt *pāda*–¹³ Then there commenced a great and fearsome battle between us. ॥ 17 ॥

That fierce battle continued for hundreds of divine years or more. Then having grown furious, I released an awful roar. ॥ 18 ॥

I lolled my tongue desiring¹⁴ to drink his blood. My roar terrified the gods and they fell into a stupor. ॥ 19 ॥

As soon as I saw the cruel demon felled before me¹⁵ – Hari and Brahma, with Indra and the rest of the gods and demons were still stunned– ॥ 20 ॥

I addressed them again saying all around: “Have no fear.” Comforted in this way, all those eminent lords looked about. ॥ 21 ॥

The mantras were there, their great bodies blazed with energy like the flames at the end of time. They took various forms and were adorned with various ornaments. ॥ 22 ॥

¹²It is not immediately clear to me how Siddhas would be used to disturb him. Apsarases could try to seduce him to divert his evil activities. Gandharvas could distract him with heavenly music. Perhaps we should take Siddha as an adjective with Gandharvas. Or perhaps Siddhas have some function in the mythology that I am not yet aware of.

¹³17b seems to have been conflated with 18b.

¹⁴लोभं has to be taken adverbially here. One might make the slight emendation to लोभे for clearer syntax if so inclined.

¹⁵In regards to how Kalaśena was killed (पातितं, literally “felled.”), the text is somewhat ambiguous here. It could be taken two ways: he was killed by Īsvara’s roar, or by his gaze. Following the suggestion of Alexander von ROSPATT, I think the former is what we want. This is, after all, the chapter devoted to Khaḍgarāvaṇa and his job is to drive out demons. On the other hand the latter–death by gaze–has some precedence in the literature, particularly by the gaze of Śiva’s third eye. But the text remains ambiguous as to what exactly happened between verse nineteen and twenty.

They held manifold weapons in their hands and their splendor was like the rising sun. With yellow eyes and fearsome mouths, they were devouring this world. ॥ 23 ॥

There were others, thousands of divine women taking any form at will. In their midst were men of great power, also taking any form at will. ॥ 24 ॥

Seeing them the gods were afraid and began to lament. They along with Brahma asked: “What is afflicting [us] in this way? ॥ 25 ॥

They have the splendor of blazing lightning and are causing this world to quake.” They terrified the gods, who trembled with anguished faces. ॥ 26 ॥

Once again I addressed them: “May you gods be steady. These are the mantras along with their *vidyās*. They were created from my own body. ॥ 27 ॥

Origin of the Names

Krodheśvara was born in my anger; Khaḍgarāvaṇa verily in my roar. The Aghora Mantra was born in my bellowing, and Jvareśvara in my shaking limbs. ॥ 28 ॥

And in the lolling of my tongue with the hā hā sound, the Great Mantra Devatrāsa arose like a blaze. ॥ 29 ॥

These five Great Mantras arose from my body and the billions of mantras and *vidyās* arose in the same way as a retinue, a class of obedient servants. ॥ 30 ॥

Brahma said:

The mantras have great and unerring power and they take any form at will. All equal your

potency and have a fiery splendor equal to yours. They protect the world O god, by your command O Śaṅkara. ॥ 31 ॥

Then I commanded those mantras in the form of *rudras*. They protect the entire world, fixed in their appointed task. ॥ 32 ॥

They did not overstep their established boundaries, employed in their own works. Restrained by my command, they did no other works. Then all the gods rejoiced and returned to their own abodes. ॥ 33 ॥

Kārttikeya said:

If these mantras you have spoken of possess great energy and prowess, speak of the respective duties well-enjoined upon them O Spear-Armed god, and the precise nature of their successful propitiation. ॥ 34 ॥

Īśvara said:

Listen Śaṅmukha, these are truthfully the respective functions of each of them. These mantras are my Vīṇās and can naturally take any form at will. ॥ 35 ॥

The mantra whose form was said to be recited according to its form has a form that is to be known in all the tantras O Śaṅmukha.¹⁶ ॥ 36 ॥

Now I will tell you the mantra, secret and supreme, [for the control] of Bhūtas. Hearing it, the Pretas, Rākṣasas, and Guhyakas become inflamed and do not overstep their bounds, even for hundreds of *yojanas*.¹⁷ ॥ 37 ॥

¹⁶The meaning is unclear to me. Note the similar structure of 9.7cd-8ab

¹⁷I take this to mean that the adept who has mastered the mantra would have a sort of enormous “force-field” around him which the spirits cannot penetrate.

They become his servants and they fall at his feet. By the power of that mantra, the Guhyakas release the *jīva*.¹⁸ ॥ 38 ॥

Mantra

ॐ Homage to The Lord of Beasts! Homage to the Sovereign of Ghosts! Homage to Rudra! ALALALALALA Khaḍgarāvaṇa! Take their strength, take! Attack! Attack! Dance Dance! Shake! Shake! Drive them out! Drive them out! [Homage] to the one whose body is smeared with charnel ash! To the one wearing a garland of skulls and bells! To the one clad in a tiger's skin! To the moon-crested one! To the one with a black snake as his sacrificial thread! Make them tremble, Make them tremble! Hurt them, Hurt them! Shake Shake! [Homage] to that steadfast skull-bearer! Strike! Strike! Scare the Ghosts! Scare the Ghosts! Be Severe within the Maṇḍala,¹⁹ Be Severe! Enter the contract with Rudra's goad! Invoke! Invoke!²⁰ O Lord bearing the Fierce Sword,²¹ Rudra commands it.²² This is the principal mantra of Khaḍgarāvaṇa, the king of *vidyās*. It is good for accomplishing all works. “ॐ BHŪTAPATI SVĀHĀ” This is the heart of Khaḍgarāvaṇa, it must be recited constantly to produce the effect.

If it is recited one hundred thousand times, the Bhūtas come under his control. One should [also] practice breath control by [chanting] the *Praṇava*. ॥ 39 ॥

After that, reverence must be paid with [the principal mantra]. Any *Bhūtamantra* or *vidyā* of infallible power ॥ 40 ॥

is mastered by one who is a master himself. Yakṣas, Jvaragrahas, Nāgas, Piśācas, Brahmarākṣasas, ॥ 41 ॥

¹⁸Releasing the *jīva* could refer to releasing their own lives (i.e. they die) or to releasing the person possessed.

¹⁹I think this is intended to remind Khaḍgarāvaṇa to remain within the maṇḍala, his sphere of action, so that his wrath does not overflow onto the world of the living.

²⁰I think some parts of the mantra are meant to coach the patient's behavior and frame of mind. By saying अवाह्य, the healer may be encouraging the patient to accept Khaḍgarāvaṇa into himself in order to drive out the demon. बल also seems to be directed as a command to the patient.

²¹I take चण्डासिधाराधिपति as a vocative despite the correct ending being “e.”

²²My translation of ज्ञापयति follows GOUDRIAAN 1977: 151.

Dākinīs, Hedras, and Vetālas will be driven out even without chanting. Now hear the virtues of this mantra when it is chanted, Ṣaṇmukha. ॥ 42 ॥

Even the Devas come under control, let alone lowly humans. Driving away, attraction, enmity, paralysis, death, ॥ 43 ॥

or staking; by means of the [mantra's] division into limbs, [one would be able to] do [these] by thought alone. One must constantly recite the principal mantra along with chanting, oblations, and adulation. ॥ 44 ॥

The Division of the Limbs of the Principal Mantra

“OM HAḤ SVĀHĀ” is the head. “OM YAḤ SVĀHĀ” is the crown. “OM JŪM SAḤ SVĀHĀ” is the armor. “OM ĪŚVARA PHAṬ” is the eye. “OM” is the weapon. This is the magical consecration of the body. OM ALALA KHAḌGARĀVAṆAM Take! Take! Attack! Attack! Dance! Dance! “KHAḤ HĀ” is the heart. “OM PAŚUPATAYE NAMAḤ” is the head. “OM NAMO BHŪTĀDHIPATAYE SVĀHĀ” is the crown. “OM NAMO RUDRĀYA SVĀHĀ” is the eye. “OM NAMO MĀLĀDHARĀYA BHASMĀRCITAŚARĪRĀYA KHAḌGAGHAṆṬĀKAPĀLAMĀLĀDHARĀYA OM NAMAḤ SVĀHĀ” is the armor. “OM NAMO VYĀGHRACARMAPARIDHĀNAŚAŚĀNKĀNKITAŚEKHARAKṚṢṆASARPAYA-JŅOPAVĪTINE HŪM PHAṬ” is the weapon. OM Make them tremble! Make them tremble! Shake! Shake! [Homage] to that steadfast skull-bearer! Strike! Strike! Scare the Ghosts! Scare the Ghosts! Homage! Hail!

The Great Gesture

One must stretch out the right hand and threaten with the thumb. This is the great gesture (सुद्रा) employed when worshipping Khaḍgarāvaṇa, ॥ 45 ॥

In killing and restraining, as well as rites of possession, one should employ this great gesture, destructive to all obstacles. ॥ 46 ॥

Consecrating All of Khaḍgarāvaṇa's Limbs

ॐ HRĪM Be Severe within the Maṇḍala, Be Severe! Enter the Contract! Enter the Contract! Enter the contract with [Rudra's] goad! Enter! Possess! Possess! Bring Near! Bring near! O Lord bearing the Fierce Sword, Rudra commands it. ॐ Homage! Hail! The Consecration of All the Limbs of Khaḍgarāvaṇa.

Having first completed his own consecration (न्यास) by the prescribed method, the qualified practitioner must then perform a full sacrifice, or else a simple rite and oblation. ॥ 47 ॥

Honoring the heart in the direction of Agni (southeast), [one does so to] the head in the direction of Īśvara (northeast). Honoring the crown of the head in Nairṛti's direction (southwest), the wise man [does so to] the armor in Vāyu's direction (northwest). ॥ 48 ॥

One must pay homage to the weapon in each of the cardinal directions, and to Khaḍgarāvaṇa, the Lord of mantras, [in the center] on the pericarp of a lotus. ॥ 49 ॥

Give perfume powders, flowers, incense, delicacies, and especially meat offerings (बलि).²³ One should faithfully devote²⁴ all rites to the Lord of Ghosts. ॥ 50 ॥

Thus ends the 9th Chapter in the Kriyākālaguṇottara, the Execution of Khaḍgarāvaṇa's Principal Mantra.

²³बलि may have a more general meaning of “offering,” but it is hard to construe in this sense with the एव when we have a list of more specific offerings preceding. In Nepal, giving meat offerings to ghosts and some divinities is a common practice.

²⁴कारयेत्, literally “carry out, have done, do.”

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Abbreviations:

NGMPP Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project Microfilm Number

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