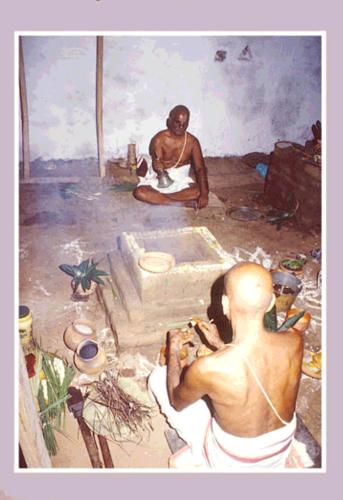
From Material to Deity

Indian Rituals of Consecretion



Edited by Shingo Einoo and Jun Ca**k**ashima

MANOHAR



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From Material to Deity

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Edited by
SHINGO EINOO
JUN TAKASHIMA



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Pratisthā in the Śaiva Āgamas

JUN TAKASHIMA

The Āgamic Śaiva tradition is by far the most important among the various Śaiva traditions. For purposes of this study I use 'Āgamic Śaiva' for those sects which are based on Śaiva Āgamas. In current day Western terminology, this corresponds to the Śaivasiddhānta and the Kashmir Śaivism.¹

The earliest Śaiva Āgamas began to be composed around the seventh century AD and the composition of the oldest parts of the earliest Āgamas (*Kiraṇa*, *Svāyambhuva*, *Raurava*) must have been completed around the eighth century.²

But many of the \bar{A} gamas which deal with $pratisth\bar{a}$ cannot be dated so early. Most of them may be dated around the tenth and the eleventh centuries and some \bar{A} gamas which describe very complex rituals may be dated post-twelfth century.³

In this article, I first propose to give a general scheme of *pratiṣṭhā* according to the *Rauravāgama*, and then with a view to reconstructing the development of the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual, examine the early Āgamas.

¹ For the evidence that the two traditions are offshoots of one basic Āgamic tradition, see my article J. Takashima, 'History of Early Śaiva maṭhas — 8th to 13th Century', *JJASAS*, no. 1, 41-59, in Japanese (1989).

² Svāyambhuva and Raurava are commented upon by Sadyojyotis (alias Kheṭapāla). Kheṭapāla is quoted by Somānanda (Śivadṛṣṭi 3.13-4 and 3.64-65ab) who in turn might be dated around the late ninth century. The same Somānanda mentions Kiraṇa in his Śivadṛṣṭi (3.16ab), so Kiraṇa is earlier than the ninth century yet it must be dated a little later than Svāyambhuva.

³ I think that Āgamic instruction concerning the structure of temples and organization of temple rituals do *not* precede actual temples but follow the real development. So, the *Ajitāgama*, for example, must be later than the eleventh century expansion of big Śaiva temples.

1 Linga pratisthā according to the Rauravāgama

I have chosen *Raurava*'s description as a representative of the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual, because it represents just a middle way situation. Though its doctrinal part ($vidy\bar{a}\ p\bar{a}da$) should be dated before the eighth century, the contents of its $kriy\bar{a}\ p\bar{a}da$ are neither so developed nor so primitive that it may be dated around the tenth century AD.⁴

One peculiarity must be noted in the description of *pratiṣṭhā* in the *Raurava*. It has two portions which describe that ritual. The first consists of Chapters 27 and 28 entitled *bālalingasthāpanavidhi* and *lingasthāpanavidhi* respectively. The second consists of Chapter 30 entitled *kṣetralingapratiṣṭhāvidhi*.

The title of Chapter 30 indicates that its subject is *kṣetralinga*, a *linga* constructed in the open air, such as on a river bank or cremation ground. But, in reality, after brief description of these sites (up to verse 12), it treats a regular temple *pratiṣṭhā*⁵ without the ritual of the *bālalinga*.

The $b\bar{a}lalinga$, literally a 'child-linga', is small sized and is used for worship either while the temple is being constructed or is being repaired. This ritual element is not to be found in most of the \bar{A} gamas, at least during the construction of the temple. My hypothesis is that the original $pratisth\bar{a}$ section was Chapter 30, and Chapters 27 and 28 are the later additions based on Chapter 30, reflecting the architectural enlargement of temple construction.

So, the following description will be based mainly on the ritual process of Chapters 27 and 28, but related materials from Chapter 30 will also be used.

1.1 Synopsis of the *pratisthā* rituals

In the *Raurava*, such items as the selection of the temple site, selection of the stone for the *linga*, etc., are not treated. It simply begins with the principal ritual procedures.⁶

- 1. Installation of bālalinga
 - (a) Necessity of bālalinga (27.1-4)

⁴ Architectural parts (patalas 39-42) might be still later.

⁵ It is clear from 30.38cd (*lingam prāsādamadhye tu kiñcid īśānam āśritam*) that the rituals described between 30.13 and the end of the chapter concern the construction of a temple (*prāsāda*).

⁶ For the details of these rituals, see M.-L. Barazer-Billoret, 'L'installation des linga et images dans les temples selon les āgamas śivaïtes', *Bulletin des Études Indiennes*, Vols. 11-12, 39-69 (1993-94).

It is stated that the construction of the principal $(m\bar{u}la)$ temple without $b\bar{a}lalinga$ brings about death (27.3b).

(b) Temporary temple for *bālalinga* (27.5-8ab)

A temporary temple for *bālalinga* (here called *taruṇālaya*) must be constructed in the east or north-east of the primary temple. Its dimension is three, four, or five *hastas*⁷ wide, in the form of a square, with an antechamber (*agramaṇḍapa*) of the same or three-fourths dimension of it. Its height should be the same, three-fourths or half the width. Made of clay or bricks, and with grass-roof, it is a very simple structure, but has a door with vault.

(c) Size and substance of *bālalinga* (27.8cd-12ab)

As for the size of the temporary linga, it can be one of the following nine: 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23 angulas. These must correspond to the nine sizes of the primary linga given in Chapter 28. The linga is made of wood or stone and the $p\bar{\imath}tha$ of wood or plaster.

(d) Ritual hut (*maṇḍapa*) (27.12cd-15)

The size of the ritual hut is not mentioned. It should have four doors and four *toraṇas*, decorated with *kuśa* grass and flowers, and a high banner. Its central part forms an altar, with a subaltar on it. It has eight fire pits (*agnikunda*) around it in eight directions from the east to north-east.

(e) Adhivāsa (27.16-25)

After completing *paryagnikaraṇa*⁹ and *puṇyāha*, ¹⁰ and making a *sthaṇḍila* (ritual surface made with rice) [on the altar], the *ācārya* worships Śiva with five *brahmamantras*. ¹¹

Then he anoints the *linga* with *andaja* (musk), sprinkles water with *aghoramantra*. ¹² He wipes the *linga* with *pañcagavya* and

⁷ One *hasta* is the length from elbow to the tip of middle finger, about 50 cm.

⁸ One *aṅgula* is the width of a finger, and 1/24 of one *hasta*, about 2 cm.

⁹ See *Raurava* 15.27. This reference must be understood as the end of entire fire preparing ritual (*agnikāryavidhi*).

¹⁰ The ritual speech act of proclaiming 'auspicious day.'

¹¹ The five *brahmamantras* are the *mantras* symbolizing the five faces of Sadāśiva: Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vāmadeva and Sadyojāta. This worship of Śiva at the beginning of rituals is also the ritual act of transforming the *guru* into Śiva incarnate, because any outer worship (*bahiryāga*) is preceded by an inner worship (*antaryāga*). The teacher must have the conviction 'I am Śiva' to perform such a ritual. See, for example, *SP* IV pp. 114-16 (verses 120-25).

¹² The text has ghoramantra, but it is very common that aghora becomes ghora for metric reason. The normal form is: Hum Aghora-hṛdayāya Namah.

kuśa grass by hṛdaya mantra.¹³ Then he wraps the linga with cloth, etc., and lays it down on the ritual bed, with its head directed eastward and face turned upward. To the side of the head, a pot for Śiva is placed. The pot is filled with scented water, and five kinds of jewels. North of this is placed the pot for the Goddess¹⁴ and around these two pots are placed eight pots for the eight Vidyeśvaras.¹⁵ The $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ shows the padma mudrā¹⁶ and the linga mudrā¹⁷ to the pots. Then he meditates upon Śiva, Goddess and Vidyeśvaras in the respective pots and worships them in respective order. The śaiva brahmans recite the four Vedas in the four cardinal directions, and mantras such as pañcabrahma, śiva-aṅga, ¹⁸ kṣurikābīja, ¹⁹ etc., in the four intermediate directions.

(f) Homa (27.26-29)

The $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ executes 11 homas for the six anga-mantras and five brahma-mantras, with different oblations each a hundred times. Then he also performs homas to $vy\bar{a}hrti$, ²⁰ and sprinkles water. For the purification of ritual instruments, he performs 25 homas to each by $ksurik\bar{a}$ mantra. Finally, he performs $p\bar{u}rn\bar{a}huti^{21}$ with kavaca mantra.

(g) Vāstuhoma (27.30-33)

The *vāstuhoma* for the propitiation of the deity of the site is conducted to the east of the temple. A *sthandila* of one *hasta* width

¹³ The normal form is: Om Hām Hṛdayāya Namaḥ. But in this case, only hām, the bīja of hrdaya, may be used. Cf. SP III, p. 30, note 56.

¹⁴ This pot is called *vardhanī*. For the possibility of the notion of *śakti* imposing over that of *weapon* (*astra*), see *SP* II, p. 72, note 2.

¹⁵ The eight Vidyeśvaras are the powers of Śiva who act directly in the impure world. They are: Ananta, Sūkṣma, Śivottama, Ekanetra, Ekarudra, Trimūrti, Śrīkantha and Śikhandin.

¹⁶ See PL. I-11 in *SP* I.

¹⁷ See PL. I-19 in SP I. This imitates the *linga* in the yoni.

¹⁸ Mantras symbolizing five (without netra) or six 'limbs' of Śiva, hrdaya (heart), śiras (head), śikhā (topknot), kavaca (armor), astra (weapon) and netra (eyes).

^{19 &#}x27;Om śim chim ksurikāstrāya phat.' This form is suggested by the editor based on a study of the present day practice, as Raurava, kriyā pāda, 1.15 mentions only the first three syllables.

²⁰ Bhūr, bhuvar, svar.

²¹ Pūrṇāhuti, 'a plenary oblation' is an oblation of a ladleful of ghee offered into the fire while the practitioner is meditating that his soul becomes one with the oblation and is offered to the fire which is one with God. See *Tantrāloka*, xv. 424cd-431 for the meaning of this ritual.

is made of clay and there deities from Brahmā to Pāparākṣā-sikā 22 are worshipped by their respective *mantras* and flowers, etc. This is followed by seven *homas* to each deity, and a $p\bar{u}rn\bar{a}huti$ and paryagnikarana.

(h) Next morning rituals (27.34-36)

After spending the night in wake, at sunrise the master first bathes with water and ashes, and then performs *sakalīkaraṇa*.²³ He then proceeds with the worship of the *liṅga*, the pot and the fire. Next he performs *homa* by *jaya*, *abhyātāna*, and *rāṣṭra-bhṛt*.²⁴ At this moment, the *yajamāna* pays tribute to the *ācār-ya*, the astronomer (*daivajña*) and the assistants (*adhyetṛ*) with ample honoraria.

(i) Installation of the temporary *linga* (27.37-46ab)

In the garbhagrha, after declaring $puny\bar{a}ha$ and sprinkling water, the master deposits gold in the middle of the $p\bar{\imath}tha$, while reciting the hrdaya-mantra. After worshipping the $p\bar{\imath}tha$ with incense, etc., he performs the $ny\bar{a}sa$ of $simh\bar{a}sana$ on it. He must clearly visualize the $\bar{a}sana$ beginning with the $anant\bar{a}sana$ and ending with $yog\bar{a}sana$.

On this $\bar{a}sana$ visualized upon the $p\bar{t}tha$, he installs the linga while reciting the $sadyoj\bar{a}ta$ -mantra. The pots which had earlier been placed on the $vedik\bar{a}$ are brought in front of the linga, the master should worship them with flowers, etc. He anoints the head of the linga with ghee to the accompaniment of the hrdaya-mantra. [God, His Consort and the eight Vidyeśvaras have been residing in the pots after the $adhiv\bar{a}sa$ ritual in their mantric forms] the master extracts God from the pot meditating upon the $m\bar{u}la$ -mantra, and places Him in the centre of the linga with hrdaya-mantra.

Gaurī, in her mantric form, is similarly taken out from the $vardhan\bar{\imath}$ pot, and placed to the left of the $p\bar{\imath}tha$. The eight Vidyeśvaras are also extracted from their pots and placed on the outer circle of the $p\bar{\imath}tha$. Then the master performs the abhiṣeka

 $^{^{23}}$ Ritual placing of *mantras* on the hand and body. See Brunner *Somaśambhupaddhati*, vol. I, Appendix I (pp. 323-25).

²⁴ These are Vedic *mantras*. See Caland's note 7 to *VaikhGS* 1.16-18 on p. 31.

 $^{^{25}}$ For the construction of the throne of Śiva according to the *Raurava*, see *kriyā* $p\bar{a}da$, 10.20-26.

of the *linga* with the water of the main pot and the five *brahma-mantras* and *anga-mantras*. Also Gaurī's *abhiṣeka* is performed with $gaur\bar{\imath}$ - $g\bar{a}yatr\bar{\imath}^{26}$ at the $p\bar{\imath}$ tha and the eight Vidyeśvara's with their respective *mantras*. Encircling deities should also be worshipped as described in the section on arcana.²⁷

(j) *Visarjana* (27.51-53)

Once the temple is constructed, the temporary *linga* should be freed from the divine presence and consigned to the fire (in the case of wooden one) or thrown into the sea. If the temporary one is, however, continued to be used as the main *linga*, it will only lead to the disaster of the kingdom.

2. Installation of the primary *linga*

(a) Size and proportion (28.3-13ab)

The size of the *linga* is classified into three categories each containing three degrees: the best 9, 8 and 7 *hastas*, the middle 6, 5 and 4 *hastas*, the lowest 3, 2 and 1 *hastas*. The *garbhagṛha* should be constructed in nine sizes according to the nine sizes of the *linga*. The size of the *linga* is defined according to the status of the donor (the biggest three sizes are reserved for the brahmins and kings, and so on).

The three parts of the *linga*, starting from bottom are named *brahma*, *viṣṇu* and *īśvara*, and are rectangular, octagonal and circular respectively. If the three parts are equal in length, the *linga* is called *samakhaṇḍa*. The *vardhamāna* type has its three parts in the proportion 9/24, 8/24 and 7/24 in length starting from the top. The *śivādhika* (augmented *śiva*) type's proportion is 6/16, 5/16 and 5/16 from the top. The *svastika* type's is 4/9, 3/9 and 2/9 from the top.

(b) Rounding the top part of the $linga^{28}$ (28.13cd-14) The top part of the linga must be rounded. The width of the linga is one-fourth of its height. The shape which is formed

²⁶ This *mantra* is not given in *Raurava*. *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, kriyā pāda*, 56. 5cd-7 gives, if my interpretation is correct, '*subhagāyai vidmahe kāmamālinyai dhīmahi tan no gaurī pracodayāt*' (*yai* of *subhagāyai* can be understood as *ā* and *i* to have the normal *gāyatrī* metre [I owe the information that such metric construction is frequent in Vedic texts to Prof. Hideaki Nakatani]).

²⁷ Kriyā pāda, 10th paṭala.

²⁸ The process of rounding the top of the *linga* is technically known as *śirovartana*. According to the *l̄śāṇaśivagurudevapaddhati*, *kriyā pāda*, 37.72-83, *śirovartana* is classified in five types: the parasol (*chattra*)-shaped, the cucumber(*trapuṣa*)-shaped, the egg (*kukkutāṇda*)-shaped, the half-moon (*ardhendu*)-shaped and the bubble (*budbuda*)-shaped.

with the length equal to the two-thirds of the *linga's* width, ²⁹ is called *ardhacandra* (half-moon); this type is fit for all *jātis*.

(c) Extraction of features (28.15-22ab)

The ritual called *lakṣaṇoddhāra* (extraction³⁰ of features) consists of ritually drawing—tracing the sculpted lines—the lines which represent the shape of the glans of the linga. Two vertical lines are traced in the front of the *linga*. Their length is 9/16 of the height of the upper *īśvara* part of the *linga*, called 'pūjāpart', and are separated with a distance of 1/24 of the same measure. Starting from near the tops of the vertical lines, two lines, one on either side, are traced sloping down until they reach a distance of 2/16 of the height of the $p\bar{u}i\bar{a}$ -part; they should be continued in a horizontal plane so as to meet each other at the back and make one encircling line. A curved line should be traced to unite the two tops of the central two vertical lines. The teacher traces these lines with a golden pen dipped in ghee, etc. As this ritual corresponds to the eye-opening ritual for the statues, the teacher 'shows' a cow with her calf to the *linga*. Also, brahmins and the assembly of people are shown to the *linga* while reciting different mantras.

(d) Purification of the *linga* (28.22cd-23)

The *linga* is polished with water fortified by the *astramantra*, ash and *pañcagavya*, etc.

(e) *Adhivāsa* of water (28.24-26)

First, the linga and the $pindik\bar{a}$, fully decorated as they should be, are taken to the pradaksina of the village. Then, they are immersed in the water kept in the ritual hut. This is carried out for one, two or three nights.

(f) Mandapa (28.27-33)

The ritual hut for the *adhivāsa* is constructed in front of the temple. Its form is rectangular, with sixteen poles. The space between poles is 2 to 7 *hastas*. The hut is divided into nine

²⁹ Simply interpreted, this passage may mean 'the height of the rounded part is two-thirds of the width'. However, this shape is too protruded to be called 'half-moon' and also the *Īsānaśivagurudevapaddhati, kriyā pāda*, 37.81 says that *ardhacandra* type has the height of one-third of the width. So I propose to interpret the phrase as 'drawing a circle from the centre top of the *liṅga* with a radius equal to the two-thirds of the width', thus one can obtain two crossing points with the outer lines of the *liṅga* which determine the lower limit of the rounded part

 $^{^{30}}$ The word $uddh\bar{a}ra$ can be translated simply as 'tracing'. However, I think there is a notion that this tracing is an extraction of the potentially existing form from the stone.

equal sized squares and the centre square is made into the ritual altar $(vedik\bar{a})$. It is made of red clay and is 1 hasta high. A subaltar $(upavedik\bar{a})$ is also constructed; its height is 5 aksa-seed length. Around the altar 5 kundas (fire-pits) are constructed in different directions: a square-shaped one to the east, one half-moon shaped to the south, one round shaped to the west, one triangle shaped to the north and one lotus shaped to the north-east. The $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ prepares these fire-pits accompanied by necessary rituals. Then, he proclaims $puny\bar{a}ha$ and sprinkles water.

(g) Pit for bathing (28.34-35)
In the northern part of the ritual hut, an elevated pit for bathing should be constructed. It should be square-shaped and should measure one *hasta* in width with three *mekhalās*.³³

(h) Adhivāsa (28.36-41)

On a board placed on the bathing pit, the *linga* taken out of the water is placed. It is bathed as described above (28.22cd-23), and then worshipped. A protective string (*pratisara*) is tied around the neck of the *linga* and clothes are put on.

On the *vedikā*, a ritual area (*sthaṇḍila*), filled with eight bucketfuls of grains of rice, is prepared. Inside this area an eight-petaled lotus is drawn with rice and the lotus is decorated with flowers and grains. Over this lotus, a bed is prepared with separate layers of a skin, feathers, wool, cotton and silk. After worshipping this bed, the *linga* is laid on it with its head pointing eastward and the face downward. It is covered with a red cloth and worshipped. 35

(i) Setting of the pots (28.42-44)

In front of the head of the *linga*, a pot for the worship of Śiva is placed, with a pot for the Goddess in the north and eight pots for the Vidyeśvaras around them. All the pots are filled with

³¹ In the *mahotsava* rite, a sub-altar is used to perform rituals relating to the 8 *maṅgalas* (a mirror, a bull, etc., see 18.78-80). But there is no description of the use of sub-altar in the *pratisthā*.

 $^{^{32}}$ All the rituals which transform the ritual fire to be identical with Siva are described in Chapter 15.

 $^{^{33}}$ Mekhalā is a technical term which denotes encircling parts ('belt' or 'girdle') of a fire pit, the form of which resembles stairs stepping down from the top with two or three steps. See, Einoo [1], 3, and also Planche viii of SP I. In Chapter 30, the bathing is performed on a $sn\bar{a}na-ved\bar{\iota}$ (30.15cd and 18cd).

³⁴ See Brunner's n. 105 in SP IV, pp. 32-34 quoting Suprabheda.

³⁵ Here, only the linga is described, but in fact, the $pindik\bar{a}$ is also set with the linga.

perfumed water and jewels and gold, covered with a white cloth, decorated with *kuśa* grass and bound by white strings.

(j) Dhyāna of Sadāśiva (28.45-50)

The $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ performs the $ny\bar{a}sa$ of the $m\bar{u}lamantra$ upon the pot for Śiva, then practises the $dhy\bar{a}na$ of Śiva as follows:

He whose form is five-headed and five-faced, ten-armed and one body; who holds in the right set of hands a *triśūla*, a hatchet, a sword, a *vajra* and fire, and in the left, a rope, a goad, a snake, a bell and *abhaya*[*mudrā*] (the pose of the hand with the palm exposed and the fingers pointing upwards). He has a reddish complexion and is besmeared with ashes and with a crescent moon on the topknot, etc.

(k) *Dhyāna* of Manonmanī (28.51-54)

In the *vardhanī* pot for the Goddess, the *dhyāna* of Manonmanī is as follows:

She with three eyes and four arms, who in her right hands has a lotus and $varada[mudr\bar{a}]$ (the hand pose with the palm exposed and with the fingers pointing downwards), left hands with a conch-shell and $abhaya[mudr\bar{a}]$, beautifully decorated with a thrice-bended stance $(tribhang\bar{a})$, looking sideways towards the Lord.

(1) *Dhyāna* of Vidyeśvaras (28.55-57)

From east to north-east, the Vidyeśvaras from Ananta to Śikhaṇ-din are meditated upon: with three eyes and four arms, *vara-da* and *abhaya* gestures, hatchet and *triśūla*, and looking at the Lord.

The ācārya worships them till the offering of food. In the four cardinal directions, Vedas are recited, and in the four intermediate directions, *brahmamantras* and *angamantras* are recited.

(m) *Homa* (28.58-61)

The *homas* are performed successively: for 5 *brahmamantras* and 6 *angamantras* should be given oblations such as wood, ghee, *caru*, parched barley, ground wheat, pulse, sesame, mustard seed, beans, cane-sugar, bananas, each respectively 100 oblations. Another 100 oblations with Śiva's *mūlamantra* is performed. At the end, a *homa* with the 50 alphabets is performed and then the *linga* is sprinkled with water. The *ācārya* and the assistants thus pass the night with recitation, etc.

(n) Pūrnāhuti (28.62-64)

At dawn the next day, the $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ and his assistants should take twofold bath with water and ash, applying $sakal\bar{\imath}karana$ on themselves, and the $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ should worship the linga, the pots and the fire with hrdayamantra. Then he performs homa by jaya, $abhy\bar{a}t\bar{a}na$, and $r\bar{a}strabhrt$. Also, ten homas with ghee by $brahm\bar{a}ngamantra$ and $vidy\bar{a}ngamantra^{36}$ are practiced. Finally a $p\bar{u}rn\bar{a}huti$ with svistam $agne^{37}$ is performed.

(o) Veneration of the *ācārya* (28.65)

At this point, the donor should worship the $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ with cows, land, gold, etc. Also, the $m\bar{u}rtipas$ and the astrologer should be honoured.

(p) Bringing the *linga* to the *garbhagrha* (28.66-67)

At the auspicious time, the *linga* should be lifted up from the altar and decorated with ornaments. It is then led to the *pradakṣiṇa* of the temple. At the entrance to the *garbhagṛha* the head of the *linga* is anointed with ghee and the *linga* is brought into the *garbhagṛha*.

- (q) Installation of the foundation stones (28.68)
 In the centre but slightly to the north-east of the *garbhagṛha*, the foundation stone (*ādhāraśilā*) is laid.
- (r) Depositing of jewels, etc. (28.69-70ab) Nine kinds of jewels, medicinal substances, and seeds are placed in the holes of the foundation stone.³⁸ Thereafter the foundation stone is duly worshipped.
- (s) Installation of the *linga* (28.70cd-71)

At an auspicious time, the *linga* is set up facing the entrance. The base of the *linga* is fixed firmly with *nandyāvarta* stones³⁹ and then the *pindikā* is placed over the *linga*.

(t) Forms of the $p\bar{t}ha$ (28.72-81)

The *pīṭha* can be made of stone, bricks and mortar, or of mixed materials (upper part is made of stone and lower part is made of bricks and mortar). The one made of stone offers liberation, the one made of a mixture of materials offers both liberation and

 $^{^{36}}$ The mention of $vidy\bar{a}n\bar{g}amantra$ indicates that the rituals concerning the $p\bar{\eta}ha$ are performed at the same time.

³⁷ This mantra is found in \bar{A} gnive \hat{s} y a grhy a su \bar{u} tra 2.5.3 [81.12]; 4 [82.20].

³⁸ See 30.41-46 for the details of the things put in the foundation stone.

³⁹ Four rectangular stones which fix the four faces of *brahma* part of the *linga*.

enjoyment, and the mortar one enjoyment. Two forms of $p\bar{t}tha$, $padmap\bar{t}tha$ and $bhadrap\bar{t}tha$, are defined. ⁴⁰

- (u) Purification of the *linga* and the *pīṭha* (28.82) The *linga* and the *pīṭha* are purified with the *astramantra*, then *puṇyāha*, *prokṣaṇa* and *snāna* are performed.
- (v) Abhiṣeka with the water of the pots (28.83-89ab)

 After the pradakṣiṇa around the temple, the pots are set in front of the liṅga as was done in the ritual hut. The Śiva in the bāla-liṅga is transferred to the central pot, and he is worshipped together with Manonmanī and the eight Vidyeśvaras in their respective pots. The ācārya takes out the bīja of Śiva from the central pot, and meditating upon him places the mūlamantra in the centre of the liṅga with the hṛd-mantra. The goddess Manonmanī is taken from the vardhanī pot and placed to the left of God in the liṅga. The eight Vidyeśvaras are placed around Śiva and the goddess, taken from the eight Vidyeśvaras' pots. Then each deity thus placed is anointed with the water from their respective pots.

Thereupon the surrounding deities and $mah\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}tha$ ($bali-p\bar{\imath}tha$) are installed.⁴¹ And normal $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ beginning from $\bar{a}sana$ and ending with $t\bar{a}mb\bar{u}la$ is performed.

(w) The merit of *pratiṣṭhā* (28.89cd-90)

If one accomplishes the installation of *linga* with respect and in accordance with the ritual rules, he and his relatives up to 21 generations⁴² obtain liberation in the *Śivaloka*.

From the above description of the *pratisṭhā* rituals, two of them appear to be essential acts of 'divinization' of the material stone *linga*: one the *adhivāsa* and the other the *abhiseka*.

⁴⁰ Those two figure in the *Rauravāgama*'s edition, pp. 26-7 and 28-9 foldouts.

⁴¹ See paṭala 33

⁴² Kulaikaviṃśa should be interpreted as 10 generations before and after him, including himself: evam prayuñjāno daśa pūrvān daśāparān ātmānam caikaviṃśatiṃ paṅktiṃ ca punāti (BodhGŚS 4.4.18). As for other similar expressions in Śaiva texts, Jñānaśambhu's commentary to the Śivapūjāstava cites a passage as from Kāraṇāgama: tatra pūjāpaṭalānte—'evaṃ yah kurute martya ātmārtham ca parārthakam / kulaikaviṃśam uddhṛtya śivaloke mahīyate' iti (p. 94 of the Devakottai edition, 1935). The Pañcārthabhāṣya, commentary to the Pāśupatasūtra cites a text in praise of ash-besmearing: yaḥ snānam ācaren nityam āgneyaṃ saṃyatendriyaḥ / kulaikaviṃśam uddhṛtya sa gacchet paramām gatim // (p. 30, 1. 1-2). For other references, see note 18 of S. Einoo 'Notes on the Inauguration Ceremony of a Water Reservoir' in Kimura Kiyotaka Hakase Kanreki Kinen Ronshu (Volume in Honour of Professor Kiyotaka Kimura on his Sixtieth Birthday): East Asian Buddhism: Its Genesis and Development, Shunjusha, Tokyo 2002, pp. 718-703.

2 Pratisthā in Early Āgamas

Though the *pratiṣṭhā* rituals as described in the *Rauravāgama* are rather simple compared with those in the later texts, they represent a stage of development where a synthesis of various elements is achieved through integration.

I would now like to look into some of the oldest *śaiva* scriptures to discern various elements which contributed to this development.

2.1 Matanga

The *Matangapārameśvarāgama*, an *upāgama* to the *Pārameśvara*, is one of the rare Āgamas that has all the four *pādas* which theoretically are essential features of all the Āgamas. This text is commented upon by Rāmakaṇṭha who can be dated approximately to the second half of the tenth century. Also, Abhinavagupta cites *Matanga* several times and refers in one place to a commentary of *Matanga* by a certain Aniruddha. Hence, it can be assumed that the *Matanga*'s text existed in its present form before the first half of the tenth century. As its four *pāda* construction suggests its relative lateness, it might be situated sometime in the ninth century.

Lingasthāpana is described in Chapter 13 of the *kriyāpāda*. The first two *ślokas* of this chapter are significant.

athātaḥ sarvamantrādau lingasya sthāpanaṃ śubham / yasmin saṃnihitaḥ kṣipraṃ siddhiṃ yacchaty aninditām //1 bhagavān parameśāno mantrāś cāmoghaśaktayaḥ / svarūpārādhanāviṣṭasādhakasya varapradāḥ //2 (Matangapārameśvara-āgama, kriyā-pāda, 13.1-2)

It is auspicious to install *linga* for all the *mantras* etc. The Highest God who is present in it gives complete *siddhi* quickly. The Lord and the *mantras* with their unfailing *śaktis* give grace to the *sādhaka* intent upon the worship of the nature of *mantras*.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Tantrāloka* 13.293cd-294ab.

⁴⁴ See the argument of Goodall in D. Goodall, *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary on the Kiraṇatantra*, no. 86.1 in Publications du Département d'Indologie, Pondichéry (1998) pp. lviii-lxv.

⁴⁵ I translate here 'svarūpa' as 'the nature of mantras' because the Highest God Himself is represented by the form of a mantra.

This shows very clearly that the installation of the linga is intended for the $s\bar{a}dhaka^{46}$ who pursues his personal accomplishment, and not the temple worship by the public.

I skip verses 3 to 9ab as these merely describe how to select the stone for the *linga* and *adhivāsa* to obtain it.

Then verses 9cd to 11ab specify that the *linga* with a size of 3 *hastas* is the best one and that the shape of the *linga* is the normal three partitioned form (square at the base, octagonal in the middle and round at the top). The indication of the size shows that in the time of the *Matanga*, no bigger *lingas* were envisaged. The description of the shape indicates that the three partitioned form was well established. The earliest textual indication of this form is found in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (57.53), which may be dated around the sixth century. Archeological evidences suggest that in the Gupta period the *mukhalinga* form with a round top and a square base was the most prevalent.⁴⁷

Verse 23cd/24ab⁴⁸ says that the form of the *piṇḍikā* is square. As the form of the *piṇḍikā* in the later texts is normally round shaped, this indicates an earlier stage of development in which *liṅga-yoni* representation was not so common.

The temple should be located in a forest (v.26) and its size should be 9 *hastas* with a door to the west (v.27). This stipulation that a temple should be constructed in a forest indicates that such a temple is not meant for the public but is in fact a private temple for the *sādhaka*.

Verses 28 to 33ab describe the *adhivāsa* and *lakṣaṇoddhāra* of the *linga* to be performed in a *maṇḍapa* furnished with a *maṇḍala*.

The most appropriate time for the installation of the linga is the spring equinox (v.33cd). A turtle made of gold should be placed under the foundation stone ($brahmaśil\bar{a}$) and various jewels, various metals and medicinal herbs must be deposited around the turtle (v.34-36ab).

 $^{^{46}}$ In the Āgamic Śaivism the initiates are classified in four categories: the *samayin* who has received the *samaya dīkṣā* and qualified to study the teachings, the *putraka* who has received the *nirvāṇa dīkṣā* and whose liberation at the moment of death is assured, the $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ who has received the $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ abhiṣeka and qualified to teach and to give $d\bar{i}kṣ\bar{a}$, and finally the $s\bar{a}dhaka$. This last one has received the $s\bar{a}dhaka$ abhiṣeka and qualified to practice various rituals including especially *mantric* practices to obtain supernatural powers. See H. Brunner, 'Le sādhaka, personnage oublié du śivaïsme du Sud', JA, pp. 411-43 (1975).

⁴⁷ See, for example, Vidya Prakash, *Khajuraho; A Study in the Cultural Conditions of Chandella Society*, repr. 1982, Bombay: Taraporevala's (1967), p. 136, l. 4-6.

⁴⁸ In the verses skipped, verses 18-19 indicate that the concern of the text is for liberation.

The linga should be installed in the centre, and the $pindik\bar{a}$ should be placed over it (v.36cd-41ab).

Verse 41cd says that 'the *sādhaka* should give *dakṣiṇā* to the *śilpins* as much as he can'. This clearly shows that the *yajamāna* of this installation is the *sādhaka* himself, which means that this section describes the installation of the *liṅga* for the *sādhaka*'s private use and not for public worship.

2.2 Kirana

The *Kiraṇāgama* has sections on *pratiṣṭhā* in its *caryāpāda* (*paṭala* 21-27), 49 and because of its fairly simple description it may be dated a little earlier than the *Raurava*. As there exists a palm-leaf manuscript dated Nepal Samvat 44 (=AD 924), 50 we have here a sure *ante quem* date for this Āgama.

The twenty-first *paṭala* is introduced by the last verse of the preceding chapter on *guruvrata*:

khyātam etat samāsena vidhinā sādhakasya tu // (20.40cd) mantrasiddhis tu tasyāpi kṣipram lingaparigrahāt // (20.40 1/2)

This [guruvrata] was explained concisely. However, for the sādha-ka the realization in mantras can be obtained expeditiously by duly appropriating a linga.

In response to Garuḍa's query as to why is *linga* called thus, Śiva's initial reply is:

layam gacchanti bhūtāni saṃhāre nikhilāny ataḥ / tena lingam iti proktam sūkṣmatvāl lingam ucyate // (21.2)

With the end of the World all the things go (\sqrt{gam}) into dissolution $(laya \text{ from verbal root } \sqrt{li})$, hence, it is called linga, and by its subtleness too it is called linga (sign).

Thereafter the various forms of *avyaktalinga* are described. The size of the *linga* is classified from 1 to 9 *hastas* (21.19-20).

For the *sādhaka* there are instant *lingas* (*kṣipralinga*) made of cowdungs (*gomaya*), flour (*paiṣṭaka*) (21.52) or other substances meant for various purposes such as health, prosperity or *mukti*.

Verse 21.61 says that there is no restriction concerning the size or the form of a *linga* born by itself (*svāyambhuva*), made by *ṛṣis* or made by gods.

 $^{^{49}}$ It is only *Kiraṇa* and *Mṛgendra* which have sections on *pratiṣṭhā* in *caryāpāda*. Also *Siddhāntasārāvali* describes *pratiṣṭhā* in its *caryāpāda*.

⁵⁰ Cf. Goodall (1998), p. lxxxiv

Lingas made by gods should be recognized by their forms: for example, an *aindra linga* has a parasol like shape and it gives sovereignty over the Earth to the *sādhaka* (21.62-3).

The twenty-second *paṭala* (69 verses) deals with *vyakta-lingas*, i.e. normal divine statues.

The twenty-third paṭala (24.1/2 verses) deals with vyakta-avyakta lingas, commonly known as mukhalinga, or linga with faces. The mukha-linga described here should have three or four faces, the east face is that of Bhadreśvara with three eyes, the southern one a fearful face like a black mole (tilakālaka), the western and northern faces are harsh but with youthful ardour (23.9-10).

The latter half of this chapter is devoted to the description of $p\bar{t}ha$. The $p\bar{t}ha$'s size is of the same length as the linga (23.12). The eight forms of the $p\bar{t}ha$ are described in verses 18-24.

Bhadrā is of a square shape with two *mekhalās*, and gives $yoga^{51}$ (23. 19cd and 22ab).

 $Yat\bar{\imath}$ is with three *mekhalās* and gives cows and buffaloes (23.20ab and 22ab).

 $Vajr\bar{\iota}$ is hexagonal (hexagram?) and gives long life (23.20ab and 22cd).

 $Trikon\bar{a}$ is of a triangular shape and is meant for the destruction of enemies (23.20cd and 23cd).

Parimaṇḍalā (or *vedī*) is of a round shape like the full Moon and provides wealth and grain (23.20cd-21ab and 23ab).

Padmā is lotus-shaped and yields happiness (23.21ab and 22cd).

 $Ardhacandr\bar{a}$ is bow-shaped and offers sons (23.21cd and 23ab).

Sthandilā is with two mekhalās and is suitable for all sort of desires (23.21cd and 23cd).

 $Pindik\bar{a}$, which in later texts is the uppermost part of the $p\bar{\imath}tha$, should, according to this text, be situated in its yoni, and is made of red substances ($pindik\bar{a}$ $sy\bar{a}t$ $svayonisth\bar{a}$ $k\bar{a}ry\bar{a}$ $raktai\acute{s}$ ca $dh\bar{a}tubhih$, 24ab). This passage might indicate that $pindik\bar{a}$ was originally something different from its current form. ⁵²

⁵¹ Yogapradā can be interpreted as 'giving success in yoga'.

⁵² Perhaps pindikā was a bulb-like elevation at the centre of the pīṭha as its literal meaning suggests. Cf. pindikā madhyadeśī syāt kūrmapṛṣṭhavad unnatiḥ (Kālottara cited in Jñānaratnāvali (T.231) cited in H. Brunner-Lachaux, Somaśambhupaddhati, rituels dans la tradition sivaïte selon Somaśambhu, quatrième partie, rituels optionnels: pratiṣṭhā, no. 25.4 in Publications du Département d'Indologie, Pondichéry (1998), p. 213 [35f])

The last verse of this chapter says that $p\bar{t}has$ are to be installed in a temple ($pr\bar{a}s\bar{a}da$) and not in a house (mandira).

The twenty-fourth chapter deals with the places which are fit for the construction of temples, the method of removing inconvenient things $(\delta \bar{a}lya)$ from the site, $v\bar{a}stup\bar{u}j\bar{a}$, etc.

The twenty-fifth chapter deals with the features of a temple. It suggests a temple plan with a *garbhagṛha* and a $pr\bar{a}k\bar{a}ra$; its square ground plan is divided into sixteen equal squares, in which the central four parts constitute the *garbhagṛha*, with a *śikhara*, which is twice the height of the wall, standing over it (25.2-3).

The *garbhagṛha's* size is specified to be two and half times (or twice) that of the *linga* (25.10). Hence, say for a *linga* of 6 *hastas*, the size of the *prāsāda* ought to be 24 or 30 *hastas*. In other words, the size of the supposed temple size is not very big.

The rest of the chapter describes different types of *śikhara* and the orientation of a temple in a town or a village, etc.

The twenty-sixth chapter treats the *pratiṣṭhā* proper. The stone for the *linga* is brought in the northern part of the temple and carved into a *linga* in the first *manṭapa*, 53 and *lakṣaṇa* is engraved on it by a whetstone (26.2-4ab).

Verses 4cd to 8 lay down the qualifications of the officiating teacher. Verses 9 to 24 describe four ways of drawing *lakṣaṇa*.

In front of the temple a *maṇṭapa* for the *adhivāsa* is erected (26.25). It is nine or eleven *hastas* wide and furnished with banners of *lokapālas* (26.26ab). It has four entrances with a *toraṇa* in each of the four directions (26.26cd-27).

A pot containing Caṇḍikā and eight pots with Śiva's *mūrtis* beginning with Ananta are made and brought into the *maṇṭapa* accompanied by song and music (26.28cd-30). Then the ritual of offering fire (*agnikārya*) is performed by the teacher with *mūrtipas* (26.31ab). Those *mūrtipas*, whose number may be four or sixteen depending upon the affordability, should be *gṛhasthas* (26.31cd-32ab). They should preferably be *sādhakas* or *putrakas*, but if such persons are not available, then *samayin* or Brahmans with *bhakti* to Śiva may act in their place (26.32cd-33ab).

On the third day or even later,⁵⁴ on an astrologically auspicious day, *homas* with (*pañca-*)*brahma-mantras* are performed starting from the east,

⁵³ Ritual hut; *maṇḍapa* and *maṇṭapa* are interchangeable words.

⁵⁴ This means perhaps that in the normal case, the first day is meant for *lakṣaṇoddhāra* and the second day for *agnikārya* followed by *adhivāsa* proper (wake) in the night.

and in the mid-directions *homas* with *mātṛkās* are performed (26.33cd-35ab).

Near the head of the *linga* the teacher performs the *homa* to Śiva (26.35cd). Then the touching of the *linga* with *kuśa* grass is performed (26.36cd).

After the *homa*, the *linga* is placed in an upright position, and is then covered with red cloth (26.37cd). To the accompaniment of music, the *linga* is taken out of the *manṭapa* with the *aghora* (*bahurūpa*) *mantra* and is brought through the door (of the temple) with the *sadyojāta mantra* (26.38).

The linga is placed and worshipped with the $v\bar{a}madevamantra$ by the $m\bar{u}rtipas$ who take their positions around it and by the teacher with the mantra of the Lord (26.39-40ab).

Then, eight kinds of jewels are deposited from the east to the northeast (26.42).⁵⁵ Various minerals,⁵⁶ grains⁵⁷ and herbs also are deposited (26.43-45ab). In the centre, a tortoise made of gold is installed (26.45cd). Also weapons beginning with *vajra* should be deposited (26.46cd).

In the centre, the $ny\bar{a}sa$ of the $(\bar{a}dh\bar{a}ra)$ śakti is performed slowly (26.47ab).⁵⁸

Then the linga is placed in the vedi (perhaps the $p\bar{i}\eta ha$ without the $pindik\bar{a}$), and the vedi (perhaps the $pindik\bar{a}$) is placed over the linga with the $m\bar{a}trk\bar{a}$ (mantra) (26.47cd).⁵⁹

To the *linga*, the *nyāsa* of the Fifth (*brahmamantra*) is performed, and in the north-east of the $p\bar{\imath}tha$ that of the *śakti* (26.48ab).

In a pot which is conceived as though it was a *linga*, the teacher performs $sakal\bar{\imath}karana$ and transfers its powers to the $linga.^{60}$ The $ny\bar{a}sa$ of the five angas are performed on the linga (26.51cd-52).

Thereafter, the 'invoking' ($\bar{a}v\bar{a}hana$) rituals are performed with the hrd[mantra], and 'placing' the god again [into the linga] with the $sadyoj\bar{a}ta$ mantra, etc., the teacher worships Śiva. Then he performs $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ with food, etc., and recites the japa (26.53-54ab).

⁵⁵ Where to deposit is indicated in 26.40cd-41 (the *garbhagṛha's* side length is divided by four and in one [1/16] part), but the description is not clear.

⁵⁶ Tāla (orpiment), etc.

⁵⁷ Yava (barley), etc.

⁵⁸ This must mean materially the *brahmaśilā*, in which *ādhāraśakti-mantra* is deposited. The word 'slowly' (*śanaih*) indicates that the material depositing is meant here.

⁵⁹ Or, simply the $ny\bar{a}sa$ of $m\bar{a}trk\bar{a}$ is performed on the vedi. In that case, the linga is placed in the $p\bar{u}tha$ which was installed beforehand.

⁶⁰ This may be done with the pouring of the water, though there is no explicit mention (*sakalīkṛtya tacchaktiṃ tatrasthāṃ viniveśayet*).

It is obligatory to perform the japa and $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ everyday (26.54cd). In such a country where the japa and $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ are performed there will be no food shortage, no calamity, no thief, the king will attain victory and wives will bear many children (26.55).

Different kinds of worship using eight kinds of *arghya* water (water, milk, *kuśa* tip, rice, wheat (*sumana*), sesame, barley, mustard) and respective *mantras* should be offered (26.56cd-58ab).

After these $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}s$, the $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ to the teacher with appropriate gifts should be performed (26.58cd).

The twenty-seventh chapter, which ends the $kriy\bar{a}$ - $p\bar{a}da$, describes the statue of a bull and the replacement of an old linga ($j\bar{r}moddh\bar{a}ra$).

For Chapters 21 to 27 which I have described briefly earlier, I propose to distinguish at least three layers of the text. As stated in the introductory verse to Chapter 21 (20.40 1/2), the oldest layer should have been devoted to *lingaparigraha*.

This can be attested to by the passage 26.54cd, which states the necessity of everyday japa and $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$. This mention of $japa^{61}$ reflects a passage of 20.9cd ($sth\bar{a}ne\ krtv\bar{a}\ japah\ k\bar{a}ryah\ krtv\bar{a}\ lingaparigraham$ 'establishing in (a lonely) place, after appropriating a linga, japa should be practiced'). ⁶²

To this stage of *lingaparigraha*, is added a second layer describing a simple form of *linga* installation rituals. This installation is for the $s\bar{a}dhaka$'s or guru's personal use, as the description of different fruits for different shapes of the $p\bar{\imath}tha$ (23.12-23) suggests.

The third and final layer added to the text should be those portions concerning temple construction rituals, which I have only mentioned in passing.

2.3 Svāyambhuva

The printed edition of the *Svāyambhuva* does not have a section on *pratisṭhā*. But it has a passage which describes *liṅgaparigraha*. ⁶⁴ I quote⁶⁵

⁶¹ $P\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ is for the public worship but japa is for personal practice.

⁶² Note that Chapter 20 concerns the guru's personal vrata (guros svārtham vratam, 20 1b).

 $^{^{63}}$ I regret that I could not consult the transcript T. 39 of IFI, which has chapters on *pratisṭhā*. But, Goodall, in his note 111 on page xlix, indicates that those chapters not contained in the 23 chapters of the printed edition are probably an interpolation of later texts.

⁶⁴ Pages 63-4 of printed edition.

⁶⁵ The text quoted is as it is printed (with word-separation added).

and translate full text as the printed edition is not easily accessible:

śuddhakāyah sunaksatranimittopacite dine / sampūjya devadevešam kuryāt lingaparigraham //13 sthāpitam rsibhih pūrvam sarvalaksanalaksitam / āśrayet siddhidam lingam svayam vā parikalpitam //14 kīlitam varjayet viprāh⁶⁶skandavisnvindramātrbhih / uparyupari lingañ ca mukhalingam tathaiva ca //15 athavā laksanair yuktam sthandilam parikalpayet / sthandile 'pi hi mantrānām siddhir āśu pravartate //16 śrestham paścānmukham lingam abhāve prānmukham smṛtam / yāmyakauberavaktram tu na siddhāv isyate budhaih //17 parigrhyepsitam lingam lingakalpoditam śubham / pūjayet satatam mantrī matvā deham aśāśvatam //18 toyabudbudasamkāśam divyaiśvairyavivarjitam / sarvaduḥkhāśrayam puṃsām iti matvā śamam vrajet //19 gajavājirathastrīnām na sprhet tu kadācana / chāyākrīdanasārūpyāh ksanikā bandhahetavah //20 etad rūpam adharmasya yat sprhet sādhakah striyam / tasmāc cittam manau sthāpya cared vai vidhicoditam //21 yady ākrsyeta visayair nāgagandharvayaksinīh / mantrair ākrsya bhuñjīta na bhūstrīś ca balāh⁶⁷sprśet //22 tābhis saha ramet tāvat visayair yadi pīditah / dehapāto bhaved yāvat tato nirvāņam rcchati //23 vādyādisu prasangesu nrttādyesv aparesv api / svalpām api matim mantrī na kuryād aupasargikīm //24 prādur bhavanti siddhasya sarvārthā vimalāsvayam⁶⁸/ tasmāt sarvam parityajya mantrasiddhiparo bhavet //25 (Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha 21.13-25)⁶⁹

On a day with a good *nakṣatra* and omen, with purified body, worshipping the Highest God, he⁷⁰ should perform the appropriating of a *liṅga* (*liṅgaparigraha*).

⁶⁶ Read vipraih.

⁶⁷ Read cābalāḥ.

⁶⁸ Read vimalās svayam.

⁶⁹ Svāyaṃbhuvasūtrasaṃgrahaḥ, ed. by Veṃkaṭasubrahmaṇyaśāstrī (Mysore, 1937). Chapter 21 is entitled 'prāyaścitta-paṭala', as the last part treats that subject. But in fact, this chapter describes mainly vratas for ācāryas and sādhakas (athācāryavrataṃ śreṣṭhaṃ, 21.1a).

⁷⁰ The concerned person is a *sādhaka* or a *deśika*, as is written in verse 21.6cd (*vratagrahaṇakāle ca deśikas sādhakas tathā*), and paraphrased later as *mantra*-practitioner (*mantrin*).

He should have recourse to a *linga* which was founded earlier by rsis and which has all necessary features to give success [in $s\bar{a}dhaka$'s practice], or [if such a *linga* is unavailable then he should have recourse] to a *linga* made by himself. He should always avoid those founded by demi-gods (vipra), Skanda, Viṣṇu, Indra and Mātṛs. A mukhalinga⁷¹ should also be avoided.

Alternatively, he should make a ritual surface (*sthandila*) with necessary features, because accomplishments can be gained quickly also with a *sthandila*.

The best [*linga*] is that which is westward-facing, and if that is not available, the next best is eastward-facing. Those facing north or south are not prescribed by the wise for accomplishment.

After having appropriated a desirable good *linga* as described in [the chapter⁷² on] the fabrication of *linga*, the *mantra*-practitioner should always worship it, meditating at the same time on the corruptible nature of the body. '(The body is) like a bubble, lacking divine sovereignty, and the root of all sort of pains of human beings', thus thinking he should attain tranquility.

He should never long for elephants, horses, chariots and women. (Women are) like shadow play, momentary and also the cause of bondage. A *sādhaka's* longing for a woman is a sign of unrighteousness. So, he should devote his mind on the *mantra* and perform what is prescribed in the rule.

If given to the enjoyment of his senses, he should use *mantras* to attract Nāga, Gandharva and Yakṣa women and enjoy them, but he should not touch feeble (*abala*) terrestrial women. He should enjoy himself with these (celestial) women as long as he is given to the enjoyment of his senses. When he dies, he can attain *nirvāṇa*. The *mantra*-practitioner should not pay any attention to any temptation like music or dance, etc. (Then) he will obtain all the pure objects of a *siddha* in due course. So, he should discard all other things and concentrate upon the perfection of the *mantra*.

These passages indicate the milieux of early Śaivism, in which the sādhaka was predominant.

Linga worship is described for the adept's personal accomplishment. He can construct his own *linga* or he can use an existing one on the condi-

 $^{^{71}}$ This is an indication that $\it mukhalinga$ belongs to other traditions than the Āgamic Śaiva (probably the Pāśupata).

⁷² Or it may be a separate book.

tion that it is not contaminated by lower deities. The *linga* is necessary in support of the worship of a particular *mantra* (which may be a *mantra* of Śiva's particular aspect), and a *sthandila* can also serve the same purpose.

2.4 Mṛgendra

The $Mrgendr\bar{a}gama$ too does not have sections on the $pratisth\bar{a}$ but has passages on the ksetraparigraha (appropriating a place with a linga) in the $cary\bar{a}$ $p\bar{a}da$.⁷³

The $cary\bar{a}$ $p\bar{a}da$ of the Mrgendra is well ordered: it describes general activities of śaivas, the two duties $(d\bar{\imath}ks\bar{\imath}a)$ and teaching) of $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$, duties of putraka and samayin and finally the $s\bar{a}dhaka$'s way of life.

After a general description of the daily rituals of the *sādhaka* and the manner of seeking alms, the text describes the method of securing the place for the practice of worshipping a selected *mantra*:

parigṛhyāthavā kṣetraṃ sallingādhikṛtaṃ vaset / gaṇeśavṛṣabhaskandamātṛlokeśakīlitam // 94 dakṣiṇottaradigdvāraṃ śivadhāmānyarakṣitam / mahājanākulaṃ dūrasamitpuṣpakuśodakam // 95 sopadravaṃ ca saṃtyajya parigrahaṇam ācaret / bāṇe linge svayaṃvyakte munisiddhaniṣevite // 96 svakalpoktena vidhinā svayaṃ vā parikalpite / śuklapakṣe caturdaśyāṃ viśeṣeṇottarāyaṇe // 97 kuryāt parigrahaṃ vidvān aṣṭamyāṃ vā samāhitaḥ / 98ab

Or (the *sādhaka*) should appropriate a place with a good *linga* and live there. Avoiding those *lingas* founded by Gaṇeśa, Vṛṣabha, Skanda, Māṭṛ and Lokeśa; also avoiding Śiva's sanctuary with a gate to the south or north, or already taken by some other [*sādhaka*], frequented by many people, or far away from firewoods (*samidh*), flowers, *kuśa* grass and water, or with fear of calamity, he should perform the appropriating rituals on a *linga* called *bāṇalinga*, or spontaneously born *linga*, or a *linga* which was served formerly by a *muni* or *siddha*, or made by the *sādhaka* himself according to prescriptions defined in the *sādhaka's* own ritual treatise.

On the 14th or 8th *tithi* of the bright fortnight, preferably when the sun is in the *uttarāyaṇa*, i.e. the period of the sun's progress to the north, he, who knows well, should perform the appropriating ritual with an attentive mind.

 $^{^{73}}$ There is a fragment of the section on $\textit{pratisih\bar{a}}$ with two verses. See Appendix I of printed edition.

I skip the verses 98cd-103 which describe how to protect the site by mantric defences.

kṣetre yan nāsti tad dūrāt sahāyopahṛtaṃ bhajet / na siddhikṣetram utsṛjya padam apy anyato vrajet // 104 varṇalakṣajapān mantro homāc ca daśamāṃśataḥ / svaśāstravihitām vrttim āsthitasya prasiddhyati // 105

Those things which are not available on the site should be fetched from far (outside) by an assistant; the *sādhaka* himself should not walk out even a step outside leaving the site for accomplishment. By the *japa* of hundred thousand times multiplied by the number of syllables of the *mantra* and one-tenth of *homa*, the *mantra* will be mastered by him who follows the rules defined in his school.

These passages are very close to those of *Svāyambhuva* quoted above. However, it is only with reference to the *sādhaka* that the *liṅgaparigraha* is stated.

3 Reconstruction of Development of *Pratisthā*

3.1 Analysis of Four Āgamas

From the above descriptions of the *Matanga*, *Kiraṇa*, *Svāyambhuva* and *Mṛgendra*, we can discern a few characteristic features of the *pratiṣṭhā* in the early phase of the development of Śaivism.

The first point which becomes clear is that the *linga* worship mentioned in these texts is not a public temple worship for the common believers, but rather a private worship for the adept (*sādhaka* or *guru*).

The *Svāyambhuva* and the *Mṛgendra* do not tell us about the construction of temples, instead they describe how to appropriate an existing site having a *linga* for the accomplishment of special rituals to help acquire the power of *mantras*.

The *Matariga* has a section on the *lingasthāpana*, in which the temple construction is described. But, from its content, it is clear that the temple in this text is meant only for the personal use of a *sādhaka* who wants to obtain the *siddhis* in *mantra* practices.

The description of *pratiṣṭhā* in the *Kiraṇa* resembles that in the *Rau-rava*, and the temple plan with *prākāra* and *śikhara* represents a simple form of a temple for the public. But the way Chapter 21 is introduced at the end of Chapter 20 suggests that in an earlier version of the *Kiraṇa* there was merely a description of *liṅgaparigraha* as in the *Svāyambhuva* or in the *Mrgendra*.

In the arrangement of these descriptions of the earliest Āgamas from simple to complex, the first stage is the *lingaparigraha* as in the *Svāyambhuva* and *Mrgendra*. The second stage is the *sādhaka's* personal temple as in the *Matanga* and the third stage is the public temple as in the *Kirana*.

Since the *lingaparigraha* presupposes a pre-existent *linga* duly constructed according to the norms of the Āgamic tradition, either the *Matanga* stage is historically an earlier form or that a simpler form of *lingasthāpana* should have existed before the first stage but which was lost in the earliest Āgamas.

The first possibility seems less likely. The *Matanga*'s well ordered composition in four *pādas* appears to reflect a more developed stage of Āgama redaction than the *Svāyambhuva* and the construction of a personal temple must have been preceded by a much simpler *linga* installation.

Then should we say that the oldest and simplest form of linga installation description did exist but is now lost? The answer is both yes and no. There should have been present an elementary oral tradition on the construction of linga, but it appears that the teachers who wrote the earliest \bar{A} gamas were not so keen to write about it.

In the later tradition, $d\bar{\imath}k,\bar{\imath}a$ and $pratisth\bar{a}$ have become the two major tasks of the $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$, as is evident, for example, from the $Varuna-paddhati^{74}$ which deals with only these two subjects. However, in the earlier phases, it was only the $d\bar{\imath}k,\bar{\imath}a$ and the teaching which constituted the main activities of the $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$ as is written in the Mrgendra. $Pratisth\bar{a}$ was in fact a concern of the $s\bar{a}dhaka$ and not of the $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$.

As stated in the $Sv\bar{a}yambhuva$, those rituals which a $s\bar{a}dhaka$ performs on the linga can be also practised on the sthandila. In case he wants to use a linga as the platform of his rituals, there are three possibilities: to use a $b\bar{a}na-linga$, to re-use a pre-existent linga, or to construct a linga by himself.

The second case is that of lingaparigraha which must have been a common practice. If the belief in the efficacy of the naturally born linga was as strong as it is now, it can well be understood why the $sv\bar{a}yambhuva$ linga was preferred. And because the $b\bar{a}na-lingas$ are also naturally born round stones they can be regarded as more powerful than the artificial stone hewn linga.

⁷⁴ T.835 of the French Institute in Pondichery.

⁷⁵ Bāṇa-lingas are specially associated with the river Narmadā (see, for example, Nārā-yaṇakaṇṭha's commentary to the Mṛgendra caryā pāda, 1.96.). This may indicate the place of origin of the Āgamic Śaiva, with the fact that the earliest known maṭhas of this tradition are found in the ancient Kalachuri realm. The legend relating bāṇa-linga to the Asura Bāṇa

For the re-use of man-made *lingas*, the prohibition of the *mukha-lin-gas* may suggest a rival relation with the Pāśupata sect. We know from the archeological evidence⁷⁶ that the Pāśupatas preferred this form of *linga*.

Now let us examine the reason why the third option, which is the construction by the $s\bar{a}dhaka$ himself, was not preferred.

3.2 *Lingapūjā* in the *Tantrāloka*

To understand better the *sādhaka* oriented situation of the early Āgamic Śaiva tradition, I would now like to examine a text of the northern Śaiva tradition, viz., the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta.

I shall first translate a part of the chapter on the worship of the *linga* (the 27th *āhnika*) of the *Tantrāloka*.

Now will the worship of the *linga* according to the *Mālinītantra* be told. (1) The *mantras* which are told in the upper tradition, these *mantras* should not be installed externally, as these give *siddhi* by their secret nature. (2) The *mantras* give *siddhi* as they are impregnated with the power of penetration of their greatness of vigour and felicity, so their externality means the loss of their nature. (3)

And it is also said that Śiva who is full of mutual penetration is by nature an enjoyer, is full of desire for enjoyment, and if the enjoyment is to be curtailed, his nature turns violent. (4) If his body is installed [externally as statue, etc.], it becomes restless and its hunger is increased. So, the person who has established it perishes if it is not fed. (5)

This is told by the Highest God in the *Jñānottara*: (6ab) 'Śiva is fond of sacrifice, especially when he is in the midst of the *Mātṛs*. (6cd) Therefore, the wise should never install the *mantras* belonging to the secret scriptures in external [*linga*] forms, especially in statues'. (7)

So, the $pratisth\bar{a}$ for the dead told in other scriptures should not feature in our scripture. However, common $[pratisth\bar{a}]$ should be performed. (8)

The *putraka* and the *sādhaka* should rely on a *vyakta* or *avyakta* [*linga*]⁷⁷ until the accomplishment of identification [with the *mantra*] and the desired fruit is achieved. (9) The *putraka* should depend upon

⁽Anantaśambhu ad Siddhāntasārāvali 147) might be considered as a later invention.

⁷⁶ See, for example, D.R. Bhandarkar, 'Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II, Gupta Era 61', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 21, 1-9 (1931/32).

⁷⁷ Jayaratha comments that by the prohibition of the external solid *pratisthā*, movable (cala) one should be installed.

the *guru* [for the installation of a *linga*], the *sādhaka* may install it on his own provided he knows the way, otherwise he also should ask the *guru*. (10)

The *guru*, in the fixing (*nirodha*) phase of the ritual, should request the Lord, 'May you stay here, until the accomplishment of the fruit or as long as this one is living.' (11)

The *lingas* may consist of *bāṇa-linga*, jewel, pearl, flowers, rice, cloth, or fragrant powder. But a *linga* fashioned by artisans from stone should not be constructed. Metal made *lingas*, except those made of gold, should be avoided. (12-13)

As for the size of the *linga*, no restriction is imposed, as it gives fruit by the radiance of the great power of *mantra*. (14) For the *linga* also, the purification should be done according to the rituals stipulated for *sthandila*. (15ab)

The *mantra* should be worshipped in the same way. The *nirodha* should be performed as we have just said. (15cd) Then *tarpaṇa* in the fire and *dakṣiṇā* to the *guru* should be specially abundant. (16ab) The rituals of satisfying the poor, etc., and a very elaborate sacrifice may be added. (16cd)

Among all the *avyaktalingas*, the primary ones are those that are not made by human hands. (17ab) Likewise, it is said in many places in the scriptures concerning the manifestations of the Highest Lord that in the $[akṣa-]s\bar{u}tra$, in the vessel, in the flag, in the cloth, in the worshipped naturally born $b\bar{a}na[linga]$ or in the [linga] born by the stream of a river, there is no calling up $(\bar{a}hv\bar{a}na)$, no meditation of the form $(kalpan\bar{a})$, no $p\bar{t}tha$, no temple, ⁷⁸ no partition of *mantra*, no [definite] time is stipulated. (17cd-19ab)

Or, the *guru* should install *vyakta-lingas*, in the form of a picture, plastered statue, pine wood made, or made of gold, by good artisans who have received *dīksā* ritual. (19cd-20ab)

Alternatively, he should use a skull bone⁷⁹ or skull-bone made vessel, which have necessary features such as fivefold lines, circle, $\delta \bar{u} l a$, lotus, etc. (20cd-21ab)

(Tantrāloka 27.1-21ab)

A stone-made *linga* once installed must be worshipped with appropriate offerings everyday, otherwise God will be displeased and give harm to

⁷⁸ Read *prāsāda* for *prasāda*.

⁷⁹ This item must have been favoured by Abhinavagupta, as its description occupies the 8 verses that follow.

the one who installed Him. So, unless an institutional system of worship is assured by a temple patronized by a king or some one else, an ordinary person is advised not to install such a *linga*.

The absolute necessity to continue with daily $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ of the installed *linga* was so evident that in the Āgamas it is only mentioned in passing: 'he should perform $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$ daily' ($p\bar{u}jayet\ pratyaham\ bal\bar{a}t$, $Kiraṇa\ 26.54d$). However, in the inscriptions, the kings insist that his donations of land, etc., to the temple he founded, should be continued forever.⁸⁰

In the *śivalingapratiṣṭhāvidhi* chapter of the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, God is asked to stay as long as the moon, the sun and stars exist (*candrār-katārakaṃ yāvan mantreśair mūrtipaiḥ saha // svecchayaiva tvayā nātha sthātavyam iha mandire /* 42cd-43ab). This should be contrasted with the above statement of Abhinavagupta asking God to stay only 'until the accomplishment of the fruit or as long as this one is living'. Though Abhinavagupta (*c.* 975-1023) appears on the scene much after the eariest Āgamas, his milieu was still that of adepts seeking personal salvation and not that of public temple worship.

The above passage of the $Tantr\bar{a}loka$ also makes clear what is the essential point in the ritual of the $pratisth\bar{a}$.

It is the *nirodha* phase of normal worship in which the worshipper pleads with God to continue to reside in the image until the fulfilment of his vow or until the end of his life, instead of normal request of asking Him to stay on until the end of the $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$.

This is the simplest form of $pratisth\bar{a}$ in the earliest phase of the development of Śaivism. It should also be noted that the material object required for this installation could be of many types, such as the aksasutra, flag or skull-bone made vessel.

The *abhiṣeka* element which becomes prominent in the later phase should have existed concurrently as a non-tantric tradition, as a brahmanic or popular architectural one, like the construction ceremony of a temple described in the Purāṇas, etc. Tsuchiyama's essay in this volume gives abundant evidence of this. It is possible that the *abhiṣeka* element was first introduced to the *abhiṣeka* ritual of the *ācārya* and then transposed to the *pratisthā* ritual.

These two currents, tantric and non-tantric, must have come to form an amalgamated ritual, when, as is seen in the *Matanga*, the *sādhaka* acquired sufficient wealth through rich patronage to be able to construct a temple for personal use.

 $^{^{80}}$ See, for example, 'Gurgi stone inscription of Kokalladeva II' (CII, Vol. 4, pp. 224-33), verse 43.

For the word $pratiṣṭh\bar{a}$, the following five definitions are often given: $pratiṣṭh\bar{a}$, $sth\bar{a}pana$, $sthitasth\bar{a}pana$, $utth\bar{a}pana$ and $\bar{a}sth\bar{a}pana$. In the $pratiṣṭh\bar{a}$ the linga is first installed on the $brahmaśil\bar{a}$ stone and then the $p\bar{\imath}tha$ is put over the linga; in the $sth\bar{a}pana$ the pre-existent linga such as $b\bar{a}na$ -linga is set on the $p\bar{\imath}tha$; in the $sthitasth\bar{a}pana$ the linga and the $p\bar{\imath}tha$ are made from one stone or one metal and are inseparable; in the $utth\bar{a}pana$ the old pre-existent linga is removed first and replaced by a new one; and in the $\bar{a}sth\bar{a}pana$ it is the statues that are installed first and all the rituals follow. 82

Among these, the first $pratiṣṭh\bar{a}$ is considered to be the $pratiṣṭh\bar{a}$ proper, because the sexual symbolism of the union of Śiva with the Goddess is manifest.⁸³

However, this symbolism of sexual union expressed by the ritual of the fourth day⁸⁴ is scarcely visible in the early literature. The square form of the $p\bar{\imath}tha$ in the Matanga, contrary to the round form of the later period, also suggests that the *yoni* symbolism of the $p\bar{\imath}tha$ was not predominant in the earlier stage.⁸⁵

As Śiva is always considered as *śaktimat*, and the adept visualizes the presence of the *śakti* in the form of Śiva's throne in every $p\bar{u}j\bar{a}$, this symbolism might have been always present in the minds of the adepts, but it was not an essential part of the ritual.

The passage following the above quoted passage of the *Tantrāloka* sheds a light on the practice of *linga* worship of the *sādhakas*.

By the *putraka* or the *sādhaka*, when they have accomplished the fruit of identifying oneself with [the desired *mantra*], [the ritual support on which the *mantra* was installed] should be transferred to another [*sādhaka*], then to another. And for him also all these rules apply. When there is no one to transfer, then it should be thrown into deep water after releasing [the *mantra*]. Thus, the ritual rules of the *pratiṣṭhā* for oneself is told by Śiva. (*Tantrāloka* 27.53-55ab)

⁸¹ These definitions appear only in ritual manuals and the earliest one known is the *Somaśambhupaddhati* (Brunner-Lachaux (1998), p. 3, note 4).

⁸² Cf. Brunner-Lachaux (1998), pp. 2-6

⁸³ For example, such a definition of *pratisṭhā* in the *Somaśambhupaddhati: pīṭhaṃ śaktih śivo lingam tadyogah sā (pratiṣṭhā) śivānubhih* (ibid. 1cd).

⁸⁴ In the later texts, on the fourth day after the installation, a special *homa* is performed. This can be compared to the fourth day ceremony after the marriage.

⁸⁵ Note that even in a late literature such as Siddhāntasārāvali, which states that the *linga* is Śiva and the *pīṭha* is *śakti*, the *linga* is identified with *jñānaśakti* and the *pīṭha* with *kriyāśakti* (*paradrkkriyātmakatanuh* 143). See also *SP* IV, 3.39 and n. 99 on p. 220.

Thus, it is attested that an object on which a *mantra* was installed was recommended to be transferred to another *sādhaka*, rather than being thrown into deep water. One reason for this must be the fear of the residual power in such an object, which might still require due worship.

Another possible reason is that such an item which had once led to the successful accomplishment of the desired *siddhi* is also considered suitable for another adept. Be that as it may, the practice of *lingaparigraha* described in the earlier Āgamas is in accordance with such attitudes. This also supports, I think, my hypothesis that the earliest stage of the *pratiṣṭhā* ritual is the *lingaparigraha*.

Bibliography

Note: Cross references in this book are indicated by the contributer's name followed by the chapter number in bracket, with page number or section number, e.g. Einoo [1] (p. 13) or Mori [6] 2.3.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI: Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona)

ALS : The Adyar Library Series (Adyar) ĀSS : Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona)

BEFEO : Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (Paris)

: Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta)

DRT : Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae ('s-Gravenhage / The Hague)

GOS : Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Baroda)

HOS : Harvard Oriental Series (Cambridge, Mass.) : Indo-Iranian Journal (The Hague / Dortrecht) IIJ

JA : Journal Asiatique (Paris)

: Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore) JAOS

JJASAS: Journal of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies

(Tokyo)

: The Kashi Sanskrit Series (Benares) KSS

KSTS: The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (Srinagar)

: Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie (Pondichéry) PIFI

SBE : The Sacred Books of the East (Oxford) : Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik (Reinbek) StII : Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (Trivandrum) TSS

WZKS: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens (Wien)

ZDMG: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

(Wiesbaden)

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- *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*: *Kriyāsamuccaya*, edited by Lokesh Chandra, Vol. 237 of Śata-piṭaka Series (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1977).
- AdB: 'Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa', in SB 5. See also Weber 1859.
- *ĀgnGS*: *Āgniveśyagṛhyasūtra*, edited by L.A. Ravi Varma, no. CXLIV in TSS (Trivandrum: University of Travancore, 1940).
- AgniP: The Agnimahāpurānam (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1985).
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- ĀśvGPA: 'Āśvalāyanagṛhyapariśiṣṭa', see Aithal.
- *ĀśvGPŚ*: *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtram*, edited by Vinayak Ganesha Apte, no. 105 in ĀSS (Poona: Anandashrama Press, 1936).
- ĀśvGS: Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtram with Sanskrit Commentary of Nārāyaṇa, English translation, indtroduction and index by Narendra Nath Sharma (Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1976).
- AV: Atharva Veda Sanhita, Herausgegeben von R. Roth und W.D. Whitney, repr. Bonn: Ferd. Dümmlers Verlag, 1966 (Berlin, 1924).
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- $AV\dot{S}$: 'Saunakasamhitā of the Atharvaveda', see AV.
- BaudhDhS: Das Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra, Zweite, verbesserte Auflage, by E. Hultzsch, no. 16 in Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1922).
- —: The Baudhāyanadharmasūtra, with the Vivaraṇa commentary by Śrī Govinda Svāmī and critical notes by A. Chinnaswāmī Śāstrī, edited with Hindi translation introduction & index by Umeśa Chandra Pāṇḍeya, no. 104 in KSS (Varanasi: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1972).
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- BhavişyaP: The Bhavişyamahāpurāṇam, 2 vols. (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1984).
- BodhGPbhS: 'Bodhāyanagṛhyaparibhāṣāsūtra', in BodhGS, 3rd. edn., pp. 128-86.

- BodhGS: Bodhāyanagṛhyasūtram of Bodhāyanamaharṣi, edited by L. Srinivasachar and R. Shama Sastri, repr. no. 3 in Panini Vaidika Granthamala, New Delhi, Meharchand Lachhmandas, 1982, 3rd. edn., Oriental Research Institute Series no. 141, 1983 (Mysore: Oriental Research Institute, 1920).
- BodhGŚS: 'Bodhāyanagṛhyaśeṣasūtra', in BodhGS, 3rd. edn., pp. 187-400.
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- BrahmaP: Sanskrit Indices and Text of the Brahmapurāṇa by Peter Schreiner and Renate Söhnen, Purāṇa Research Publications, Vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987).
- BrahmavaivartaP: Brahmavaivartapurāṇa of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa (With Introduction in Sanskrit and English in Part I and an Alphabetical Index of Verses in Part II), edited by J.L. Shastri, 2 Parts (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984-85).
- BṛhaddharmaP: Bṛhaddharma Purāṇam, edited by Haraprasad Shastri, no. 18 in Krishnadas Sanskrit Series (Varanasi: Krishnadas Academy, 1974).
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- ChāndogyaU: 'Chāndogyopaniṣat', see Upaniṣatsaṃgraha.
- CII: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. 4, Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era, ed. by V.V. Mirashi, 2 Parts (Ootacamund: Government Epigraphist for India, 1955).
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- GaruḍaP: The Garuḍa Mahāpurāṇam (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1984).
- GautDhS (Gautamadharmasūtra): The Institutes of Gautama, edited with an index of words by Adolf Friedrich Stenzler (London: Trübner & Co., 1876).
- GB: Das Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, herausgegeben von Dieuke Gaastra (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1919).
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- KathaU: 'Kathopanisat', see Upanisatsangraha.
- KāṭhGS: The Kāṭhakagṛhyasūtra with Extracts from three Commentaries, an Appendix and Indexes, edited for the first Time by Dr. Willem Caland (Lahore: The Research Department, D.A.V. College, 1925).
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- *KauṣB*: *Das Kaushîtaki Brâhmaṇa*, I. Text, edited by B. Lindner (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1887).
- KauṣGS: The Kauṣītaka Gṛḥyasūtras, with the Commentary of Bhavatrāta, edited by T.R. Chintamani (New Delhi: Panini, 1982).
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- MNU: La Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, édition critique avec une traduction française, par J. Varenne (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1960).
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- NāradaP: The Nāradīyamahāpurāṇam (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1984).
- NāradīyaS: Nāradīya Saṃhitā, edited by R.P. Chaudary, no. 15 in Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series (Tirupati: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1971).
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- VaikhGS: Vaikhānasasmārtasūtram, The Domestic Rules of the Vaikhānasa School Belonging to the Black Yajurveda critically edited by Dr. W. Caland (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927).
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