Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna

DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN
STORIA, CULTURE, CIVILTÀ
Ciclo XXIX

Settore Concorsuale di afferenza: 10/N3
Settore Scientifico disciplinare: L-OR/17

The Sun-Worshipping Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas.
An Analysis of Their History and Customs from Ancient Times to the Present

Presentata da: Martina Palladino

Coordinatore Dottorato
Massimo Montanari

Relatore
Saverio Marchignoli

Esame finale anno 2017
# Summary

Introduction .................................................................................................................................. 7

1. The Purānic Sections .................................................................................................................. 11
   1.1 The Sanskrit Text .............................................................................................................. 13
   1.2 The Translation .................................................................................................................. 45
   1.3 The Other Purāṇas and Mahābhārata ............................................................................... 68

2. Some Reflections on Topics Presented in the Purāṇas .............................................................. 73
   2.1 The Lexicon ....................................................................................................................... 73
   2.2 Some Reflections on the Sun Cult ..................................................................................... 79
   2.3 The Iconography of the Sun God ...................................................................................... 86
   2.4 Śākadvīpa ........................................................................................................................ 89
   2.5 King Bhoja ........................................................................................................................ 91
   2.6 The Number Twelve ......................................................................................................... 93
   2.7 The Mār Nāmeḥ and the Role of Serpents in Indian and Iranian Culture ......................... 95
   2.8 The Prohibition of Agriculture ......................................................................................... 98

3. Late Poems .................................................................................................................................. 103
   3.1 The Magavyakti ................................................................................................................ 103
   3.1.1 Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas’ Puras ................................................................................. 128
   3.2 Other Two Poems ............................................................................................................. 133
   3.2.1 The Sāmvavijaya ........................................................................................................ 133
   3.2.2 The Khalavaktracapetikā .......................................................................................... 136

4. Some Reflections on the Śākadvīpīya Presence in India ............................................................. 141
   4.1 Epigraphic Evidence ........................................................................................................ 141
   4.2 The Magas in Buddhist sources ....................................................................................... 145
   4.3 The Historical Problem .................................................................................................... 151

5. A Chat and a Chai ...................................................................................................................... 159
   5.1 Interview Results ............................................................................................................. 162
   5.1.1 The Name .................................................................................................................... 162
   5.1.2 Numbers and Surnames .......................................................................................... 162
   5.1.3 Śākadvīpa .................................................................................................................. 163
   5.1.4 Migration to India: Legend and History ................................................................. 164
   5.1.5 The Sacred Text ........................................................................................................ 166
   5.1.6 Nature, Āyurveda and Food ...................................................................................... 167
   5.1.7 Ritual Practices and Festivities .................................................................................. 170
   5.1.8 Waters ......................................................................................................................... 171
   5.1.9 Differences from Other Sun Worshippers and Among the Śākadvīpīya Sub-groups .... 172
   5.1.10 Puras and Gotras ..................................................................................................... 174
   5.1.11 Education and Professions ....................................................................................... 175
   5.1.12 Iranian Elements ...................................................................................................... 176
   5.1.13 Notable Figures ....................................................................................................... 178
   5.2 Visits .................................................................................................................................. 179
ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS

Note that ṛa- and ṛa- are very different; the first corresponds to ऋ, the second to ॠ.

`. = the dot on the top of the vowels stands for the nasalization of them in Hindī.
Av.: Avestan
Bh.: Bhaviṣya-purāṇa
clos.: closing
Hin.: Hindī
MP: Middle Persian
MW: Monier Monier-Williams’ A Sanskrit-English Dictionary
NP: New Persian
n. r.: not recorded
OldIr.: Old Iranian
Pah.: Pahlavi
Pers.: Persian
Prākr.: Prākrit
RORI: Rajasthān Oriental Research Institute
Skṛ.: Sanskrit
SP: Sāṃba-purāṇa
VB: Vetaswankara Press edition of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa
W.: A.F. Weber’s manuscript of the Magavyakti

N.B.: The spelling of the various names is not discriminatory. Due to the fact that various ancient and modern languages are involved, and that spoken language is a component of the present work, names and Sanskrit/Hindī terms can have different spellings according to the context.
Introduction

The Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas have been the subject of many studies since the second half of the nineteenth century. Eminent scholars from all over the world have dealt with the translation of Sanskrit texts regarding their legends, trying to explain their origin and their very unusual religious cult. Each effort has been fundamental to enriching our knowledge about this social group. In spite of the important work of these scholars—particularly that of H. von Stietencron, who in 1966 published an excellent monograph on the Śākdvipīya Brāhmaṇas in which he collected, edited and translated some sections from the Sāmba- and the Bhaviṣya-purāṇas—a complete and updated compendium, exhaustive from a philological, historical and religious point of view, has not yet appeared.

In brief, the legend contained in the Purānic sections recounts that Kr̥ṣṇa’s son Sāmba, having been cursed by his father, contracted leprosy, but was healed by the sun god through his worship of and devotion to him. Sāmba then found a statue of the sun and installed it in a temple; but there were no Brāhmaṇas in India who could properly worship the god. On the sun god’s advice, Sāmba flew to Śākadvīpa (identified with the Iranian lands) on Garuḍa, and brought back to India 18 families of Maga (Śākadvīpiya) Brāhmaṇas to worship the sun’s idol. From that moment on, the Magas, and the Bhojakas, also mentioned in the Purānic texts, have been considered the most expert Brāhmaṇas with respect to the sun cult.

This is the first step. However, the obstacles to undertaking a broad study on the Śākadvīpiyas are several: first, the original material is very scarce, and the sources are limited to some Purānic sections, three late poems and some references found in other works (Varāhamihira, Buddhist sources, epigraphy etc.). Second, the materials we have are not exhaustive and often in contradiction one another; they were composed over centuries and probably in different locations.

From a linguistic point of view, many scholars have pointed to the influence of Iranian languages on sections from Sāmba- and Bhaviṣya-purāṇas, especially with regard to loanwords. Curiously, nobody has investigated the historical importance of the fact that, even if we cannot
establish *a priori* the origin of these loanwords from one Iranian language or another, is undeniable that they belong to different strata of Iranian linguistic history.

The content of these texts has to be analysed more broadly as well: in the last two centuries, speculations on the religious-cultural context have sometimes been reduced to an analysis of their cultural practices and customs, other times to an investigation of the origins of this group, but in any event focusing time after time only on one single aspect.

An update of the previous studies of this group is necessary; new research now allows us to formulate a more accurate analysis than in the past, both in terms of linguistics and onomastics. A broader overview is essential to re-examining the problem from a new perspective, and to exploring the correlation between the linguistic evidence and the contents of the materials we have. A study of the historical context is fundamental as well. The continuous exchange of cultural knowledge and practices in Central Asia in the first centuries A.D. draws a picture of the dynamic between the two areas of influence, Iranian and Indian. This data is iconographical, religious and linguistic, and mutually influenced each aspect of everyday life, underlying the importance of the boundary dialogue.

The aim of this research is to present a broad and comprehensive study on the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas, and to examine all the religious, historical and linguistic evidence related to them. This exposes the first limitation of the present work: in trying to be as exhaustive as possible, the research could possibly turn out desultory and not completely cohesive. Each topic deals with the necessity of understanding the context of Śākdvīpīya culture, and all of the topics discussed are ultimately interconnected and contribute to forming a picture of the problem.

Second, I started my research on the Śākdvīpīyas a long time ago, and much fundamental information is presented in my M.A. thesis, *I Maga Brāhmaṇa tra eredità iranica e sinecismo indiano*, as well as some forthcoming articles. Extensive translations from the pertinent sections of the Śāmbara- and Bhaviṣya-purāṇas appeared in my thesis; I have found it redundant to include those passages again in the present work. When necessary, I have directly quoted the Purāṇic verses in order to provide the appropriate sources and contextualize the topic discussed.

Another important point to stress is the fact that the names Śākdvīpīya, Maga and Bhojaka are almost synonymous. According to the context, i.e. the sources have ‘Magas’ rather than ‘Śākdvīpīyas’, I have adopted the name used in the sources in that particular section. In addition, even the spelling of the different names varies according to the language (Sanskrit of Hindī) and context. Purānic texts mention Magas and Bhojakas; the Magavyakti includes the names of the Magas; later texts and modern communities talk about Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas; epigraphic evidence contains all the appellatives. Nowadays the Śākdvīpīyas have adopted different
surnames, including *Mag* and *Bhojak*, and they have told me explicitly that there is no real difference between these names. Probably, depending on the period in history, and maybe also on their geographical region, they were known by different names. In my opinion, ‘Śākdvīpiya Brāhmaṇas’ is the general category, which subsumes all the sub-divisions to Magas, Bhojakas, Sevaks, etc. ‘Śākdvīpiya’ is clearly the most general name, because it refers to all the people coming from Śakdvīpa whom Sāmba brought to India to worship the sun god.

One major challenge has been presented by the different methodologies I had to adopt in my research. I had to apply different methodological approaches to the different types of analysis; in particular, I’ve employed the philological method in the first and second chapters, an onomastic analysis has been in the third chapter, and I have done my best to propose an ethnographic study in the fifth chapter.

Finally, the most important limitation is probably the linguistic one: research on Śākdvīpiya Brāhmaṇas requires knowledge of Sanskrit and ancient Iranian languages, plus familiarity with Middle Indian and Iranian languages; a basic understanding of Hindī and Fārsī is useful as well. Moreover, my *lingua franca* in interacting with people and conveying my ideas has been English, which is not my mother tongue. For this reason, and for many others, I have to thank all the numerous people who contributed to my research, helping me in this exciting, multifaceted experience.
The Purānic Sections

The analysis of the Purānic texts, in particular the sections from the Śāmba- and the Bhaviṣya-purāṇas, is fundamental to gathering some information about the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas.

The dating of the two works has been discussed in a number of publications, and it is evident that the Śāmba-purāṇa has many passages in common with the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa. Specifically, the latter has drawn passages from the Śāmba-purāṇa (cf. Hazra 1955: 73 ff.), and from this we can deduce the chronology of the contents of these two works. Many chapters and passages of the Śāmba- are common to the Brahma- and the Skanda-purāṇas, too. In his study, Hazra (1952: 99) states that the Brahma-purāṇa generally agrees much more with Śāmba- than with Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, so the Śāmba- must also have been the original source for the Brahma-purāṇa, and in general for the Purānic literature about sun worship. Moreover, the Varāha-purāṇa (ch. 177) refers to the fact that the Śāmba- ‘made the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa as new’, indicating that originally the Bhaviṣya- had no Śāmba- episodes in it, but that they were added later on. Probably, some passages of the Śāmba- were embellished with verses from the Brhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira and then inserted in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa. In fact, we find verses from the Brhat-saṃhitā in the Bhaviṣya-, but not a single line of the Śāmba- is present in the Brhat-saṃhitā. Therefore, we must assume that those verses were intermingled in order to enrich the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa. In turn, the latter has some chapters (especially I. 72–73–78) which are very similar in content to Skanda-purāṇa VII. i. 100–101. Moreover, Srivastava (1996: 6) assumes that the first part of the Śāmba- was composed in Panjāb, whereas the second took its form in Orissa; of these two sections, the first one is completely incorporated into the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, but not a single śloka of the second part is present there. Finally, the Śāṃba-purāṇa figures in all the lists of Upa-purāṇas, without exception; its constant presence testifies to the antiquity and popularity of this text.

Therefore, it is clear how the Purānic materials are rich with interpolations, the mutual exchanges of entire sections and, for these reasons, very difficult to date. Srivastava (2013:

---

1 Hazra 1952: 91 quotes Matsya-purāṇa 53.61 = Skanda.purāṇa: VII. i. 2. 82.
2 Hazra 1938; 1939–40; 1958; Srivastava 1996; 2013. The discussion about the dating of the two Purāṇas has been detailed extensively in my M.A. thesis I Maga Brāhmaṇa tra eredità iranica e sinecismo indiano.
3 See Srivastava 2013: x.
the interesting observation that the Ṣāṃba-purāṇa, as one of the Upa-purāṇas, “being less popular, absorbed lesser developments and hence lesser interpolations”. For this reason, it has probably preserved its original form better, and we have a consistent ancient section of the original work, even if some clearly Tantric lines are present throughout the Purāṇa. From this perspective, the Upa-purāṇas deserve even more importance than the Mahā-purāṇas. For this reason, SRIVASTAVA (1996: 2) rejects the notion that ‘Upa-’ was used with the meaning of low or contemptible, but rather conveyed a sense of ‘nearness’.

In 1966 H. von Stietencron published an anthology of Purānic passages (from the Ṣāṃba- and Bhaviṣya-purāṇas) related to the Śākadvipīya Brāhmaṇas; the following Sankrit texts are drawn from von Stietencron’s edition.

List of von STIETENCRON’s manuscripts:

Sāṃba-purāṇa:
- S.II: Ṣāṃba Purāṇa Ms., India Office Library, No.3619.

Bhaviṣya-purāṇa:

Another important source is SRIVASTAVA’s edition of the Ṣāṃba-Purāṇa (2013). He used the following manuscripts:

- India Office London Library, manuscripts 3619, 3620 (J. Eggeling’s Catalogue)
- Asiatic Society, Bengal Library, manuscripts 4091, 4092, 4093, 4094 (Pt. Har Prasad Shastri, Asiatic Society Catalogue Vol. V. Calcutta, 1928)
- Saraswatī Mahal Library of Tanjore Maharājā Sarfoji, manuscript 10984 (P.P.S Sastri’s catalogue) or 1630 (Burnell’s catalogue).
- India Office Library, manuscript 6836 (A.B. Keith) in Grantha script.
- Library of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, manuscript 214 (Shastri and Gui catalogue)
- Sanskrit College, Benares (description in Gopinatha Kavirājā’s catalogue)
The opportunity to compare the two editions (at least for the Sāmba-purāṇa) has improved the chances of obtaining a correct and comprehensible Sanskrit text.

1.1 The Sanskrit Text

A substantial part of the compared sections edited by von STIETENCRON (1966) was translated into Italian for my M.A. thesis (I Maga Brāhmaṇa tra eredità iranica e sinecismo indiano). In order to complete my translation and the analysis of the Purāṇic passages, the second half is presented and translated into English here.⁴

SP. 3 / Bh. I. 72

vasiṣṭha uvāca

sumantur uvāca

śṛṇusvāvahito rājaṁs tasya tacchāpakāraṇaṁ⁵ / 9a
durvāsā nāma bhagavān
rudrasyāṁśasamudbhavaḥ // 14
aṭamānaḥ sa bhagavāṁs
trīl lokān pracacāra ha /
atha prāpto dvāravatīṁ
madhusanjñocitām purā // 15
tam āgatam ṛṣiṁ drṣṭvā
dsāmo rūpeṇa garvitāḥ /
pimākṣaṁ kṣudhitam⁶ rūkṣaṁ
virūpaṁ sukṛśaṁ tathā // 16
anukārāspadaṁ cakre
darśane gamane tathā /
drṣṭvā tasya mukhaṁ sāmbo
vakrañṭ cakre tathātmanah // 17

⁴ For the Sāmba-purāṇa, I have compared von STIETENCRON’s edition with SRIVASTAVA 2013; for the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, I have compared STIETENCRON with the Venkteswara Press edition of the Bhaviṣya Mahāpurāṇa (VB), Mumbai, 1917.
⁵ Bh: yacchāpakāraṇaṁ
⁶ Var.: jaṭilaṁ
⁷ Vakra
mukhaṃ kurukulaśreṣṭha
garvito yauvanena tu /
atha kruddho mahātejā
durvāśa ṛṣisattamaḥ // 18
sāṃbaṃ covāca bhagavān
vidhunvan mukham ātmanaḥ /
yasmād virūpaṃ māṃ dṛṣṭvā
dvāmarūpaṇa garvitaḥ // 19
gamane darśane mahyam
anukāraṃ samācarah /
tasmāt tu kuṣṭharogitavā
acirāt tvām gamiṣyati //20

Bh. I. 66
sāṃba uvāca
................
mohān mayopahāsito
durvāśāḥ kopito8 muniḥ /
tato 'haṃ tasya śāpena
mahākuṣṭham9 avāptavān // 30
tato 'haṃ pitaraṃ gatvā
duṣṭharogābhīṣṭitaḥ10 /
lajamāno 'tīgarveṇa
idaṃ vākyam athābruvam11 // 31
tāta śīdati me gatram
svaraś ca parihīyate /
ghorarūpo mahāvyādhir
vapur eṣa jighāṃsati // 32
aśeṣavyādhirājñāhaṃ

8 VB: kopano
9 VB: mahākuṣṭham
10 VB: kuṣṭhayogā-
11 VB: athābravam
pīḍitaḥ krūrakarmanā /
vaidyair oṣadhibhiś caiva
na śāmītīr mama vidyate // 33
so 'haṁ tvayā hy anujñātas
tyaktum icchāmi jīvitam /
yādi vāham anugrāhyas
tato 'nujñātum arhasi // 34
ityuktavākyāḥ sa pitā
putraśokābhipiḍitaḥ /
pitā kṣaṇam tato dhyātvā
mām evaṁ vākyam uktavān // 35
dhairyam āśrayatāṁ putra
mā śoke ca manaḥkṛtāḥ /
hāṁti śokārdaṁ vyādhiḥ
śuṣkaṁ tṇam ivānalaḥ // 36
devatārdhanaparo
bhava putraka mā śucaḥ /
ity ukte ca mayā proktō
devam ārādhayāmi kam // 37
kam ārādhya vimucye 'haṁ
tāta rogaiḥ samaṁtataḥ / 38a
..................  

SP. 3 / Bh. I. 73
sāṁbena punar apy evaṁ durvāsāḥ kopito muniḥ /12
bhāvyenārthena cātyarthāṁ pūrvānusmaranena vai // 5113
prāptavān sumahac chāpaṁ sāṁbo vai manujottamaḥ //
tacchāpān musalaṁ jātam kulaṁ yenāsyā pātītān14 // 5215–4416

***

12 VB: 44a
13 SRIVASTAVA 2013: line 52
14 Bh: ghātitaṁ
15 SRIVASTAVA 2013: line 53
16 VB: 44b
STAVARĀJA

SP. 25 / Bh. I. 128

vasiṣṭha uvāca

sumantur uvāca

stuvam tatra\textsuperscript{17} tataḥ sāṁbhaḥ kṛśo dhamanisamātataḥ /

rājan nāmasahasareṇa sahasrāṃśuṃ divākaram // 1 – 1

khidyamānaṃ tu tam\textsuperscript{18} dṛṣṭvā sūryaḥ kṛṣṇatmajaṃ tadā /

svapne ‘smai\textsuperscript{19} darṣanaṃ dattvā punar vacanam abravīt // 2 – 2

sūrya uvāca

śrīsūrya uvāca

sāṁba sāṁba mahābāho śṛṇu jāṃbavatīṣuta /

alam nāmasahasreṇa paṭhasvemaṃ stavaṃ śubham\textsuperscript{20} // 3 – 3

yāni nāmāni guhyāni\textsuperscript{21} pavitrāṇī śubhāni ca /

tāni te kīrtayiṣyāmi śrutvā tvam avadhāraya\textsuperscript{22} // 4 – 4

(oṁ) vikartano\textsuperscript{23} vivasvāṃś ca mārtanḍo\textsuperscript{24} bhāskaro raviḥ /

lokaprakāśakaḥ śrīmāḷ lokacakṣur graheśvāḥ // 5 – 5

lokāsākṣi trilokeśaḥ kartā hartā tamisraḥā /

tapanas tāpanāḥ caiva śucīḥ saptāśvavāhāḥ // 6 – 6

gabhastihasto caiva dhanavr̥ddhiyaśaskaraḥ /

ekaviṃśatir ity eṣa stava iṣṭaḥ sadā mama // 7 – 7

śārīrārogyadaś caiva dhanavr̥ddhiyaśaskaraḥ /

stavarāja iti khyātas triṣu lokeṣu viśrulaḥ // 8 – 8

ya etena mahābāho dve saṃdhye ’stamanodaye /

stauti māṃ praṇato bhūtvā sarvapāpapīḥ pramucyate // 9 – 9

kāyikaṃ vācikaṃ cāpi\textsuperscript{25} mānasāṃ\textsuperscript{26} yac ca duṣṭṛtam /

\textsuperscript{17} Bh: astāvīc ca

\textsuperscript{18} Bh: tato

\textsuperscript{19} SI, SII: tu; SRIVASTAVA 2013: tu; VB: svapnesya

\textsuperscript{20} SI: paṭāṃs tv evam; SII: paṭāsvamaṃ; SS: paṭāsvemaṃ; Bh: paṭa cemaṇaṃ subhaṃ stavaṃ

\textsuperscript{21} VB: guhyāni nāmāni

\textsuperscript{22} SS, SII: śrutvā vatsāvadhāraya; Bh: prayatnād avadhāraya

\textsuperscript{23} Bh: vaikartano

\textsuperscript{24} STIETENCRON 1966: māṛtaṇḍo

\textsuperscript{25} SII, SS: caiva; Bh: vāpi

\textsuperscript{26} Bh: mānasāṃ vācikaṃ…kāyikaṃ
tat sarvam ekajāpyena 27 praṇaśyati mamāgrataḥ // 10 – 10
eṣa jāpyaḥ ca homaḥ ca saṃdhypāsanam28 eva ca /
balimaṇtro29 ṛghyamantraś30 ca dhūpamantras tathaiva ca // 11 – 11
annapradāne snāne ca praṇipāte pradakṣine /
pūjito 'yaṃ mahāmaṇṭraḥ sarvavyādhiharaḥ31 śubhaḥ // 12 – 12
evam utkva tu32 bhagavān bhāskaro jagadīśvaraḥ33 /
āmaṇṭrya kṛṣṇatanayaṃ tatraivāṃtadhiyata34 // 13 – 13
sāmbo 'pi stavarājena stutvā saptāsvāhanam /
pūtātmā35 nirujaḥ śrīmāṃs tasmād rogaḥ vimuktavān // 14 – 14

***

VIŚVAKARMA

SP. 11 / Bh. I. 79

......................
viśvakarmovāca

tavātitejasāviṣṭam36 īdaṃ rūpaṃ suduḥṣaham /37
asahanti tu sā saṃjñā vane vasati38 śādvale // 36 – 47
drakṣyate39 tām bhavān adya svāṃ bhāryāṃ śubhacāriṇīṃ /40
rūpārthaṃ bhavato 'raṇye caraṃtīṃ41 sumahat tapaḥ // 37 – 48
mataṃ me brahmaṇo vākyam rūpaṃ te brahmaṇo vākyād
yadi te deva rocate / yadi vai rocate vibho /42
nirvartayaṁ adya praśātyāmi devendra
tava kāṃṭham ariṁdama // 38 śreyo 'ṛthaṁ jagataḥ prabho // 49
(rūpaṁ vivasvataś cāsit
tiryag ūrdhvam adhaḥ samam /
tenāpi pīḍito devo
rūpeṇa tu divaspatiḥ // 39)
saṃtuṣṭas tasya tad vākyam bahu mene mahātapah //45
tato 'nvajānat tvaṣṭāraṃ rūpanirvartanāya tu46 // 40 – 50
viśvakarmāḥ bhuyanujñātah47 šākadvipe vivasvataḥ //48
bhramin49 āropya tat tejaḥ śātayāmāsa50 tasya vai // 41 – 51
ājānu51 likhitas cāsa nipuṇaṁ viśvakarmanā //52
nābhyanandat tal likhaṇaṁ53 tatas tenāvatāritaḥ // 42 – 52
tat tu nispaḍitāṁ rūpaṁ tatra tad bhāṣitaṁ rūpaṁ
tejasāpahṛṭena tu / tejasā prakṛṭena tu /
kāṁṭat kāṃṭataram bhūtvā adhiṃa55 śuṣubhe tataḥ // 43 – 53
dadarśa yogam āsthāya svāṁ bhāryaṁ vaḍavaṁ tadā56,57
adḥṛṣyām58 sarvabhūtānāṁ tejasā svena saṃvṛtām // 44 – 54
aśvarūpeṇa mārtamḍas tāṁ mukhe samabhāvayaṁ59,60
maithunāya viceṣṭantr61 parapuṣpo viśaṁkayā // 45
sā tadvivasvataḥ62 śukraṇāṁ nāsikābhyaṁ nirāvamaṁ /63,64

43 SII: tenāti
44 SI: te divaspatē
dl: 50
46 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: anujñātas tatas tvaṣṭā rūpanivartanasya tu; SII: ...nirvarta tasya tu
47 Bh: viśvakarmā hy anujñāṭaḥ
48 VB: 51
49 SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhramin
50 SRIVASTAVA 2013: śāstantyāmāsa
51 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: ājñayā
dl: 52
53 Bh: lekhanaṁ nābhyanandaṁ tattu; VB: tu likhanaṁ
dl: 54
54 Bh: tena vivāritaḥ; VB: tena nivāritaḥ
55 Caesura samadhī; SRIVASTAVA 2013: hyadhikaṁ
56 Bh: tathā
dl: 57
58 Bh: adṛṣyāṁ
59 VB: nasamāsadāt
dl: 60
60 VB: 55
61 VB: viceṣṭantr
62 VB: tāṁ vivasvataḥ
63 VB: nāsābhyāṁ samadhārayat
64 VB: 56
devau tasyāmajāyetām aśvinau bhiṣajām varau // 46

SP. 12 / Bh. I. 121

sāṃba uvāca śatānīka uvāca

śarīralikhananā bhanor uktaṃ saṃkṣepatas tvayā /

vistarāc chrotum icchāmi tan mamācakṣva suvrata // 1 – 1

nārada uvāca sumantur uvāca

pitur grhaṇ gatayām tu samjñāyām yadunāṃdana /

bhāskaraś cintayāmāsa samjñā madrūpakāṃkṣini // 2 – 2

yātā pitur grhaṇ yac ca
tapas tepe yaśasvinī /
tasmān maniṣitaṃ tasyāh
pūrayāmi manoratham // 3
etasmin aṅtare bhrahmā tatrāgatya divākaram /

ūcē madhurayā vācā abravīn madhurāṃ vācāṃ

raveḥ prītikarāṃ vacaḥ // 4 raveḥ prītikarāṃ subhāṃ // 3

ādidevo 'si devānāṃ vyāptam etat tvayā jagat70 /

śvaśuro viśvakarmā te rūpaṃ nirvartayiṣyati // 5 – 4
evan uktvā raviṃ brahmā viśvakarmānam abravīt /
nirvartayāsyā rūpaṃ tvāṃ mārtamḍasya tu śobhanam72 // 6 – 5
tato brahmasaṃdeśad bhramim73 aropya bhāskaram /
rūpaṃ nirvartayāṃśa viśvakarmā śanaiḥ śanaiḥ // 7 – 6

---

66 Bh: -lekhaṇam
67 Bh: tu yātāyām
68 Bh: kurunāṃdana; SRIVASTAVA 2013: yadunandana
69 SRIVASTAVA 2013: madrūpakāṃkṣinīṃ; VB: -kārinī
70 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: jñātam etat svayaṃ mayā
71 SRIVASTAVA 2013: viśvakarmānam
72 Bh: nirvartasva mārtaṇḍaṃ svarūpaṃ tatuśobhanam; VB: pravartasvatvaṃ …
73 SI: dhāmin; Bh: bhūmīm
tatas tuṣṭāva taṃ brahmā sarvair devagaccaīḥ
guhyair nānāvidhaiḥ stotrair vedavedamgasammitaiḥ

........................

SP. 14 / Bh. I. 123

sāṃba uvāca

śatānīka uvāca

bhūyo 'pi kathayavemāṃ kathāṃ sūryasamāśritām/
na tṛptim adhigacchāmi kathāṃ śrṇvann imāṃ śubhāṃ

nārada uvāca

sumantur uvāca

ādityasya kathāṃ divyāṃ sarvapāpapraṇāśinīṃ/
vakṣyāmi kathitāṃ pūrvāṃ brahmaṇā lokabhāvinā

ṛṣyaḥ paripṛcchaṃti brahma-loke pitāmaham/
tāpitāḥ sūryakīraṇais tejasā sampramohitāḥ

ṛṣaya ūcuḥ

ko 'yaṃ diptā mahātejā vaḥnirāṃśamaprabhaḥ/
etad veditum icchāmah prabhavo 'syā kutaḥ prabho

brahmovāca

tamobhūteṣu sarvesu naṣṭe sthāvarajamgame/
pravṛtte guṇahetutve pūrvaḥ buddhir ajāyata

74 Bh: sarva-
75 VB: -gapāragaīḥ
76 This narration continues in Bh. I. 123.
77 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: kathaya tvam māṃ
78 Bh: śrṇvann etāṃ kathāṃ mune
79 Bh: bhāskaraśya
80 Bh: punyāṃ
81 Bh: lokakartr̥ṇā
tāpitāḥ sūryakīraṇais tejasā sampramohitāḥ
82 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: -ṛ ṛṣaya jñānamohitāḥ
83 Bh: havīrāśisamaprabhaḥ
84 Bh: praḥāvo
85 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tato bhūteṣu; Bh: tamobhūteṣu lokeṣu
ahaṃkāras tato jāto mahābhūtapravartakaḥ /
vāyvagnijalakhaṃ bhūmis tatas tv anḍam ajāyata // 6 – 6
tasmāms tv anḍaḥ ime lokāḥ sapta vai sampratiśhitāḥ /
prthivī saaptabhīr dvīpaiḥ samudraś caiva saaptabhīḥ // 7 – 7
tatra cāvāsthitā hy āsannāḥ ahaṃ viṣṇur mahēśvarāḥ /
vimūḍhās tapasa sarve pradhyāyann īśvaraṃ param // 8 – 8
tato ‘cintyaṃ mahat tejaḥ prādurbbhūtaṃ tamonudam /
dhyānayogena cāsmābhīr vijnātaḥ savitā // 9 – 9
jñātvā ca paramātmānaṃ sarva eva prthak prthak /
divyābhiḥ stutibhir devāาṃ स tathastotum // 10 – 10
ādidevo ‘śī devānām īśvarānām tvam īśvaraḥ /
ādikartāsi bhūtānām devadevo divākara // 11 – 11
..............
stutaḥ sa bhagavān evam tāijasam rūpam āsthitaḥ /
uvāca vācaṃ kalyāṇīṃ ko varo vaḥ pradīyatām // 26 – 25

brahmovāca
tavātitajasāṃ rūpam na kaścit sōdhum utahet /

86 Bh: vāyvagnir āpaḥ khaṃ
87 Bh: tasmān
88 SRIVASTAVA 2013: anḍe
89 Bh: prthvī ca; SRIVASTAVA 2013: prthivīṃ
90 SRIVASTAVA 2013: saptābhardīpaiḥ
91 Bh: cāpi
92 Bh: tatraśvāvasthitō hy āsam
93 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tāmasā; Bh: pramūḍhās tāmasā
94 SI: pradhīyaṃtisvarāṃ padam; Bh: pradhīyatā īśvaraṃ param; SRIVASTAVA 2013: pradhīyaṃnīśa āvaraṃ param
95 Bh: tato bhidya mahātejaḥ; VB: … bhīṃdya …
96 Bh: vijnātaṃ savitus
97 VB: vijnātum savitus tathā
98 SRIVASTAVA 2013: divyābhīstutibhir
99 Bh: devaṃ samstotum
100 SI, SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: aśvāryāc ca
101 Bh: devadeva saṅkataṃ; SRIVASTAVA 201: devadevo divākaraḥ
102 Continuation of the hymn until SP v. 25, Bh. v. 24.
103 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: śrūtvā
104 SI, SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: deva
105 Bh: tejasaṃ; SRIVASTAVA 2013: tajásam

21
uvāca vāca māṃ kalyāṇīṃ ko varo vaḥ pradīyatām // 26^{106} – 25^{107}

sahāniyaṃ bhavatv etad dhitāya jagataḥ prabho // 27^{108} – 26^{109}
evam astv iti so 'py ukvā bhagavān dinakṛd vibhuḥ /
lokānāṃ kāryasiddhartham gharmavarṣahimapradāḥ // 28^{113} – 27^{114}
ataḥ sāṁkhyaś ca yogāś ca ye cānye mokṣakāṃkṣīnaḥ /
dhyāyanti dhyānino nityaṃ hṛdayastham divākaram // 29^{115} – 28^{116}
sarvalakṣaṇaḥino 'pi yukto vā sarvapātakaḥ /
sarvaṃ tārati vai pāpaṃ devam arkaṃ samāśrita // 30^{119} – 29^{120}
agnihotram ca vedāś ca yajñāś ca bahudakṣīnaḥ /
bhāno bhaktinamaskārāḥ kalāṃ nārhamti śoḍaśīṃ // 31^{123} – 30^{124}
fīrthānāṃ paramaṁ fīrthāṃ maṃgalāṇāṃ ca maṅgalām /
pavitrānāṃ pavitraṃ ca pavitraṃ ca pavitrānāṃ
tapadhye taṃ divākaram // 32^{127} taṃ tapadye divākaram // 31^{128}
brahmādyaiḥ saṃstutaṁ devair ye namasyanti bhāskaram /
sarvakīlbiṣaṇimuktāḥ nirmuktāḥ kilbiṣaiḥ sarvais
sūryalokaṁ vrajanti te // 33^{130} te yānti ravimandirām // 32^{131}

106 In SRIVASTAVA 2013 it is number 27.
107 VB: 27
108 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 28
109 VB: 28
110 Bh: gām statt so 'py
111 Bh: sarvakṛt svayam
112 Bh: -varṣā-
113 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 29
114 VB: 29
115 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 30
116 VB: 30
117 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: sarvam antarate; SII: sarghanṭastarate
118 Bh: daivakarma-
119 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 31
120 VB: 31
121 Bh: bhaktyā namaskāra–; SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhakternamaskārāt-
122 VB: bhaktir namaskārāt nārhati
123 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 32
124 VB: 32
125 SRIVASTAVA 2013: pavitraṃ pavitraṃ ca pavitrānāṃ
126 SI: prapadye ham
127 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 33
128 VB: 33
129 Bh: prapadyanti
130 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 34
131 VB: 34
sāṁba uvāca

śatānīka uvāca

śarīralikhanaṁ bhānoḥ kathaṁ vai pratipāditam

devair vā ṛṣibhir vāpi tan mamākhyātum arhasi // 1 – 34

nārada uvāca

sumantur uvāca

brahmaloke sukhāsīnaṁ brahmāṇaṁ sacsurāsram

ṛṣayaḥ samupāgamya idam ucūḥ samāhitāḥ // 2 – 35

bhagavann aditeḥ putro ya eṣa divi rājate /

mārtamḍa iti vikhyātaḥ tenāṃdhakāro nikṛttāḥ
tigmatejā mahātapāḥ // 3 so 'yam jājvalatīti hi // 36

asya tejobhir akhilam jagat sthāvarajamgamam /

kliṣyamānan anākrandam nāsam āyāti deveśa
upekṣasi katham prabho // 4 yathā kliṣṭaṁ 143 nadītam // 37
vayam apy āhitāsaṃkās 142 vayam ca pīditāḥ sarve
tejasā sampramohitāḥ / tejasā tasya mohitāḥ /

padmaś cāya yathā mlāno

132 Bh: śarīralekhanam śurye
133 SI: kati veditaḥ; SII: pratipāditaḥ; SRIVASTAVA 2013: kati voditaḥ
134 Bh: devaḥ sarśibhir
135 Bh: -ācakṣa suvrata; VB: -ācakṣya
136 VB: 36
137 Bh: brāhmaṇaṁ te surāsurāḥ
138 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: ṛṣayaḥ copasamgamya
139 VB: 37
140 Bh: devatā-; VB: devataḥ
141 VB: 38
142 SII: adhyāhitāḥ śaṃkhās
143 VB: klīnaṁ
144 VB: 39
yo 'yaṃ yonis tava prabho // 38

divi bhuvy antarikṣe ca śarma nopalabhāmahe // 5 –

tathā kuru surajyēṣṭha

yathā tejaḥ praśāmyati // – 39

evam uktas tu bhagavān

evam uktah sa bhagavān

uvāca kamalāsanaḥ /

padmayonih prajāpatiḥ /

uvāca bhagavān brahmā

devān viṣṇupurogamān / – 40

mahādevena sahitā

indreṇa ca mahātmanā //</div

tam eva śaraṇam devaṃ gacchāmah sahitā vayam // 6 – 41

tatas tam udayodagraṃ
tatas te sahitāḥ sarve

śailarājāvataṃsakam /

brahmaviṣṇvādayaḥ surāḥ /
saprajāpatayaḥ sarve
gatvā te śaraṇaṃ sarve

samstotum upacakramuḥ // 7

bhāskaraṃ lokabhāskaram / 42

stotum pracakramuḥ sarve

bhaktinamrāḥ samāntataḥ /

keśādevataḥ sarvāḥ

bhaktībhāvasamanvitāḥ // 43

brahmovāca

brahmaviṣṇvīśā úcuḥ

namo namaḥ suravara tigmatejase // 8a –
namo namaḥ suravara samstutāya vai //
jaḍāmdhamūkān badhirān sakuṣṭhān

saśvītriṇo 'mphān vidhavanaṃvṛtān // 45
kusṣī tān eva punar navān-t-sadā
to mahākārunikāya te namaḥ // 44

................
stutaḥ sa bhagavān evaṁ
prajāpatimukhaidh suraiḥ /
matvā tešām abhiprāyam uvāca bhagavān idam // 15 – 53a
hitam copahitam nityam
gāyatram yad vacah param /
tad vai brūta suraiḥ kṣipraṁ
kim mayā kriyatāṁ svayam // 16 –
viśvakarmā tavādeśāt
karotu tava saumyatām // – 54b

labdhānujñās tatas te tu suraiḥ saṃhṛṣṭamānasāḥ // – 53b
tvaṣṭāram pūjāyāmāsair manovākkāyakarmabhiḥ // 17 – 54a
tatas tam tejasoreśāṁ sarvakarmavidhānavit /
bhramim āropayāmāsai viśvakarmā vibhāvasum // 18 – 55
amṛtenābhiṣiktasya stūyamānasaya cāraṇaiḥ /
tejasaḥ śātanaṁ cakre viśvakarmā śanaṁś śanaṁś // 19 – 56

ājānulikhitasaṁ cāsa
surāsuramahoragaiḥ /
nābhyanandat sa likhanaṁ

labdhānujñās tatas te tu suraiḥ saṃhṛṣṭamānasāḥ // – 53b
tvaṣṭāram pūjāyāmāsair manovākkāyakarmabhiḥ // 17 – 54a
amṛtenābhiṣiktasya stūyamānasaya cāraṇaiḥ /
tejasaḥ śātanaṁ cakre viśvakarmā śanaṁś śanaṁś // 19 – 56

ājānulikhitasaṁ cāsa
surāsuramahoragaiḥ /
nābhyanandat sa likhanaṁ
tatas tenāvataritāṁ // 20

tataḥ prabhūti devasya caraṇau nityasamvṛttau /

ājānulikhitasaṁ cāsa
surāsuramahoragaiḥ /
nābhyanandat sa likhanaṁ
tatas tenāvataritāṁ // 20

tataḥ prabhūti devasya caraṇau nityasamvṛttau /

157 Samādhi
158 Continuation of the hymn.
159 Bh: jñātvā
160 SII: (ra)viḥ; Bh: vacaḥ
161 VB: 56b
162 SRIVASTAVA 2013: coparahitaṁ
163 SII: tam ānandat
164 VB: 60
165 VB: 61a
tāpayan hlādayaṃś
tadā // 21 – 58
śātitaṃ cāsyatena caiva yuktatejo 'bhavat tadā
vinirmitam // 169

yena viṣṇur jaghānogrāṇ dānavān amitaujasah
sātaśaktigadāvajraśarāsanaparaśvadhān

daivatebhyaḥ dadau kṛtvā viśvakarmā mahāmatiḥ

brahmavatrodhvam stotrama
saṃdhuyayor ubhayor

kulaṃ punāti puruṣo vyādhībhir na ca pīḍyate

prajāvān siddhakarmā ca jīvet

putrabhān dhanavāṁś caiva sarvatraivāparājitaḥ

vibhinnapraśānasamghātaḥ

sāvitraṃ lokam āpnyat // 26

hitvā puraṣ bhūtamayaṃ
gacchet sūryamayaṃ puraṃ // 62

sātitaṃ tejas bhāgā ye ca syur dasa pāṃca ca /
tasyaiva tena sarvasya  
kṛtaṃ śūlaṃ mahātmanā // 78

cakṛaṃ viṣṇor vasūnāṃ ca  
śaṃkarasya ca dāruṣam /  
śanmukhasya tathā śaktiḥ  
sibikā dhanadasya ca // 79

anyeśāṃ cāsūrāṛṇāṃ

[Notes and references]

166 SI: hr̥dayam; Bh: glāpayaṃś; SRIVASTAVA 2013: tapaya hr̥dayaṃ
167 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: yuktatejā bhavat tataḥ
168 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: cakṛaṃ caiva
169 VB: 62
170 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tena
171 SI: aitītejasah; Bh: sadā vai dāityadānavān; SRIVASTAVA 2013: amitājasah
172 SI: cakra statt Vajra; SI: śūlaṃ śaktiṃ gaddāṃ cakre:- SRIVASTAVA 2013: śūlaṃ śaktiṃ gaddāṃ cakre
śūlaṃ śaktigadāvajraśarāsanaparaśvadhān
173 VB: 63
174 Bh: devatānāṃ
175 VB: 64
176 SRIVASTAVA 2013: sāgraśaracchatam
177 VB: 65
178 Bh: ca statt eva
179 SRIVASTAVA 2013: pavitraṃ
180 VB: 66
181 Continuation of the hymn.
182 VB: 82
183 VB: 83
śastrāṇy ugraṇī yāṇi vai /
yakṣavidyādharāṇām ca
tāṇi cakre ca viśvākṛt // 80

tataḥ cāṣoḍāṣaṁ bhāgaṁ
bibharti bhagavān raviḥ /
tattejasah paṃcadaśa
śātītā viśvakarmaṇā // 81

tataḥ surūpadṛg bhānur
uttarān agamat kurūn /
dadarśa tatra saṃjñāṁ ca
vaḍavārūpadhāriniṁ // 82


SP. 4 / Bh. I. 74

bhādbala uvāca śatānīka uvāca

sthāpito yadi sāṁbena sūryaś caṁdrasaritattate /
tasmān nādyam187 idaṁ sthānaṁ yathaitad bhāṣitaṁ tvaya188 // 1 – 1

vasiṣṭha uvāca sumantur uvāca

ādyāṁ sthānāṁ idaṁ bhānoḥ paścāt sāṁbena nirmitam189 /
vistareṇāṣya cādyatvaṁ190 kathyamānaṁ nibodha me // 2 – 2
anāyo191 lokanātho 'sau192 raśmimāli193 jagatpatiḥ194 //
mitratve 'vasthito\textsuperscript{195} devas tapas tepe narādhipa\textsuperscript{196} // 3 – 3
anādiniṃhano brahmā nityaś cākṣara\textsuperscript{197} eva ca /
sṛṣṭvā prajāpaṭīn sarvān\textsuperscript{198} sṛṣṭvā ca vividhāḥ prajāh // 4 – 4
sasarja mukhato devaṃ
pūrvaṃ ‘ambujasannibham //
kaṃjajas tam tato devaṃ
vakṣasto nirname nṛpa / 5
lalāṭat kuruśārdūla
nīrajākṣaṃ diṇḍaṃ\textsuperscript{199} /
ṛbhavaḥ pādataḥ\textsuperscript{200} sarve
sṛṣṭās tena mahātmanā // 6
tataḥ sa ca\textsuperscript{201} sahasrāṃśur avyaktaḥ puruṣaḥ svayam /
kṛtvā dvādaśadhātmānam adityāṃ udapadyata / 5 – 7
indro dhātaḥ ca parjanyah pūṣā tvāstaḥ 'ryamā bhagaḥ /
vivasvān viṣṇur anṭuṣ\textsuperscript{202} ca varuṇo mitra eva ca // 6 – 8
ābhīr\textsuperscript{203} dvādaśabhis tena sūryeṇa paramātmanā\textsuperscript{204} /
sarvaṃ\textsuperscript{205} jagad idam vyāptaṃ mūrtibhis tu narādhipa // 7 – 9
tasya yā prathamaḥ mūrtir ādityasyendrasaṃjñīnā /
sthitā sā devarājatve
devānām anuṣāsinī // 8
dānavāsaranāśinī // 10
dvīḍīyārkasya\textsuperscript{206} yā mūrtir nāṃnā dhāteti kīrtītā /
sthitā prajāpatitve sā vividhāḥ\textsuperscript{207} sṛjate prajāh // 9 – 11
trīḍīyārkasya\textsuperscript{208} yā mūrtiḥ parjanya iti viśrutā /

\textsuperscript{195} Bh: ca sthito
\textsuperscript{196} Bh: purā nṛpa; SRIVASTAVA 2013: narādhipaḥ
\textsuperscript{197} Bh: cākṣaya
\textsuperscript{198} Bh: brahmā
\textsuperscript{199} VB: nīrajākṣa-digambaṃ
dvīḍīyārkasya\textsuperscript{206} yā mūrtir nāṃnā dhāteti kīrtītā /

\textsuperscript{200} Bh: śata-
\textsuperscript{201} Bh: śata-
\textsuperscript{202} For ṁṣa. Bh: ṁṣur viṣṇuṣ
dvīḍīyārkasya\textsuperscript{208} yā mūrtiḥ parjanya iti viśrutā /

\textsuperscript{203} Bh: eḥhīr
\textsuperscript{204} Bh: ādityena mahātmanā
\textsuperscript{205} SII, Bh: kṛṣṇaṃ
\textsuperscript{206} Bh: dvīḍīyā cāsya
\textsuperscript{207} Bh: vidhātṛ
dvīḍīyārkasya\textsuperscript{208} yā mūrtiḥ parjanya iti viśrutā /
megheṣv avasthitā sā tu
varṣate ca gabhastibhiḥ // 10
kareṣv eva sthitā sā tu
varṣaty amṛtaṁ eva hi // 12
caturthī tasya yā mūrtir nāmnā pūṣeti viśrutā /
anne vyavasthitā209 sā tu prajāḥ puṣṇāti nityaśaḥ210 // 11 – 13
paṃcamī tasya yā mūrtir211 nāmnā tvāṣṭeti viśrutā /
sthitā vanaspatau212 sā tu
oṣadhiṣu213 ca sarvaśaḥ // 12
mūrtih śaṭṭhī raver yā tu
aryamā iti214 viśrutā /
vāyoḥ saṃcaraṇārthāḥ sā
dheṣv eva samāṣritā // 13
vanaspatiṣu sā nityam
oṣadhiṣu ca vai sthitā // 14
śaṭṭhī mūrtis tu yā tasya
aryameti ca viśrutā /
prajāsaṃvāraṇārtham sā
pureṣv eva sthitā sadā // 15

209 SII: bhāno vyavasthitā; Bh: maṃṭreṣv avasthitā
210 Bh: bhārata
211 Bh: mūrtir yā tasya; VB: mūrtir yā paṃcamī tasya
212 SRIVASTAVA 2013: vanasaptau
213 SI: auṣadhiṣu, Caesura saṃdhi
214 This line is missing in SII.
bhānor yā saptamī mūrtir nāmā bhaga iti śrutā
bhūmau vyavasthitā sā tu
śārīreśu ca dehinām // 14
ksmādhareśu ca bhārata// 16
mūrtir yā cāṣṭamī cāsyā vivasvān iti viṣrutā
agnau vyavasthitā sā tu pacatvā annaṃ śarīrinām // 15 – 17
navamī citrabhānor yā
mūrtir viṣṇuś ca nāmataḥ
prādurbhavati sā nityaṃ
devānām arisūdanī // 16
agnau vyavasthitā sā tu pacatvā annaṃ śarīrinām // 15 – 17
mūrtis tv ekādaśī yā tu bhānor varuṇasaṃjñitā /
sā jīvātavī vā prahādayatī // 17
vāyubhakṣā tapas tepe
sthitā maitreṇa cakṣuṣā
anugṛhaṇā sadā bhaktān varair nānāvidhais tu saḥ
evam ādyam idam śthānaṃ paścāt sāṁbena nirmitaṃ

215 Bh: smṛta
216 SI, SII: cātra; Bh: asṭamī cāsyā yā mūrtir; SRIVASTAVA 2013: vā 'sya
217 Bh: saṃjñīta
218 Bh: pacate '
219 SI: mitrabhānor
220 SII: prahrādayati
221 Rearrangement of the correspondence Viṣṇu – Aṃśu.
222 Bh: jīvāyayati sā
223 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: pratiṣṭhitam; Bh: jagad ḍhi samupāśritā
224 Bh: 'tra
225 Bh: viṛa
226 Bh: hitārthaṃ tu
227 Bh: sadā; VB: -ḥ sadā
228 Bh: punyaṃ mitrapadaṃ smṛtam
229 Bh: mitrapadaṃ
tam ārādhya230 mahābāho
sāṃbenāmitatejasā /
tatprasādāt tadādeśāt
pratiṣṭhā tasya vai kṛtā // 25

evaṁ dvādaśabhis tena
savitṛā paramātmanā / 23
kṛṣṇaṁ jagad idaṁ vyāptaṁ mūrtibhis tu narādhīpa //231 – 26
tasmād vanḍyo namasyaś ca dvādaśasv āsu232 mūrtiṣu /
bhaktimadbhir narair nityaṁ
tadgatenāntarātmanā //

ye namasyaṁti cādityaṁ
nara bhaktisamanvitāḥ / 27
te yāsyāṁti paraṁ sthānaṁ
tiṣṭhed yatraṁbujeśvaraḥ /

ity evaṁ233 dvādaśādityaṁ
jagaj jāśtvā tu mānavah /
nityaṁ śrutvā paṭḥitvā ca
sūryaloke mahīyate // 24

ity evaṁ dvādaśātmānam
ādityaṁ pūjayet tu yaḥ // 28
sa muktaḥ sarvapāpebhya
yāti helisalokatām // 29

SP. 42

vasiṣṭha uvāca

kṛtvā devagrhaṁ sāṁba ānayitvā234 tu yājakān /
ājagāmātha dharmātmā yatra saṁnihito ravīḥ // 1

230 Bh: tayārādhya
231 This and the following two lines are missing in SI.
232 Bh: api
233 SII: etad
234 SRIVASTAVA 2013: hy ānayitvā
ye te mitravanāṃ śrutvāṃ devamānasapannagāṃḥ / 
ṛṣayāḥ saiddhavidyādhrā gaṃḍharvagahuṭhyākāḥ // 2
dikpālā lokapālās ca grahāṃ yaksāś ca dhārmikāḥ /
saprajāpatayaḥ sarve gaṃṭum pratyupacakramuḥ // 3
upavāsaparāḥ kecit kecid ātmanī tatparāḥ /
trivṛtādhvaparāḥ kickey jāpyasamanvitāḥ // 4
dārucāparāḥ kickey kecit sarvārthagāmināḥ /
apare niyatāhārā nirāhārās tathāpare // (5)
tyaktvā dehagatāṃ citām ravidhyānaparāyanāḥ /
māsapatopavāśena kecil laṃghanam ātmanī // 5
acireṇaiva kālena samprāpya lavanōdadhīm /
dṛṣṭvā tapovanaṃ raṃyaṃ lavanōdadhīm āśritam / 
nānāpuṣpaphalopetāṃ devagaṃḍharvasevitam /
ṛṣayāḥ paryupāsante kramāṃ hitvā tataḥ sadā // 8
aparo ravi lokas tu sādṛśyāt kīrtito bhuvi /
sarve te haṃṣaṃ āpannāṃ dṛṣṭvā raṃyaṃ tapovanam /9
raṃyaṃ sarvakāṛyeṣu sarvabhūtopakāraṇam /
sarvaprāṇisukāvāsaṃ nirmitaṃ viśvakaṁṇā // 10

vasiṣṭha uvāca

nārado 'py atha sāstraṃ tat sadā paṭhati buddhimān / 
sādhhu sāṃba mahābhağa bhaktimān asi yādava / 11
yeyeyam idṛṣṭi yā tu kṛtvā tv arcā saṇāti /
tvatprasādeneva saṃvitraṃ yat paśyāmas taptovanam // 12

235 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: ete mitravānāṃ śrutvā; SII: ye te mitravānaśīnā
236 SRIVASTAVA 2013: devamānaṣapannagāṃḥ
237 SI: grāḥ; SII: missing
238 SI: nivṛtā- 
239 SI: -dhārāḥ; SII: dānuceṣṭhaparāḥ
240 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 'nirāhārās
241 SRIVASTAVA 2013: kecit
242 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 6
243 SI: ṛṭavaḥ
244 SRIVASTAVA 2013: haṃṣapannāḥ
245 SI: tāṃ samdāpayati
246 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: kṛtvā
247 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tatprasādeneva
248 SRIVASTAVA 2013: paśyāmaḥ
śrutvā tan nirmalāṃ vākyaṃ sāṃbaḥ paramadharmaṃvān / 
prāṇidhāya śiro bhūmau devaṃ vijñāpayat tataḥ // 13
yat tvayodāḥ tāṃ pūrvaṃ sāṃnidhyāṃ sthānām uttamam / 
mamaivānugrahād evaśpūjānugrahākārīṇā // 14
[asti me kṛpayā kiśiṣcivadya saumya vibhāvasoḥ / 
kṣṇagāntrendriyapraṅo girā cāpyatimandayā // 15]
jñātvā bhaktīyanvitaṃ sāṃbaḥ devo vacanam abrāvīt / 
tyāja kṛtikṛtāṃ cintāṃ matsthāne yadunaṃdana // 16
pūrvadattaṃ mayā vācā prasādaṃ śṛṇu yādava / 
asmīl lavaṇodatīrē tāpāḥ pūrvamānavaḥ // 17
matprasādaṃ ca kāṃkṣantaḥ kliśtvā varṣaṣatān bahūn / 
tān dṛṣtvā tāpasāṃ tatra kṛpā me vi𝑘ṛtā hari // 18
brūta vatsā yathā nyāyaṃ yathāvac cāvalaṃbanam / 
satyadharmaṃthayuktārthaṃ prārthayadhvam anuttamān // (19)
śrutvā tan nirmalāṃ vākyaṃ devavaktrāḥ 
mānavā harṣam āpannāḥ samprahṛṣṭatmānasāḥ // 20
yadi prasanno bhagavān varam dāṭuṃ samudyataḥ / 
avignah āstunāḥ stheyā tvayāḥ bhakti vibhāvaso // 21
evam astv iti so 'py uttvā bhagavān dinakṛd vibhūḥ / 
aparaṃ prārthayadhvāṁ vai varam vadata mānavaḥ // 22
bhūyas tuṣāt tu te sāṃba sarvadharmaṃparāyanāḥ / 
prārthayante varamāṃ śreṣṭhaṃ prahṛṣṭopthullalocanāḥ // 23

249 SRIVASTAVA 2013: mamaivānugrahāḥ deva-
250 SI: dvijānugrahā-
Not present in von STIETENCRO’N’s edition (1966); he reports it in n. 54, p. 68. Added from SRIVASTAVA’s edited text (2013: 145).
252 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhaktīyanvitaṃ; SII: gatvā for jñātvā
253 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: samprahṛṣṭatmānasāḥ; SII: kliśtvā; SRIVASTAVA 2013: kliśtvā
254 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: samprahṛṣṭatmānasāḥ
255 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: kliśtvā
256 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prārthayadhvāṁ vai varam vadata mānavaḥ // 22
257 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: paraṃ prārthayadhvāṁ vai varam vadata mānavaḥ // 22
258 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prārthayadhvāṁ vai varam vadata mānavaḥ // 22
259 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: paraṃ prārthayadhvāṁ vai varam vadata mānavaḥ // 22
260 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prārthayadhvāṁ vai varam vadata mānavaḥ // 22
261 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prārthayadhvāṁ vai varam vadata mānavaḥ // 22
262 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prārthayadhvāṁ vai varam vadata mānavaḥ // 22
263 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prārthayadhvāṁ vai varam vadata mānavaḥ // 22
264 SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prārthayadhvāṁ vai varam vadata mānavaḥ // 22
munaya ūcuḥ

yadi tuṣṭo mahātejā varaṁ dātuṁ samudyataḥ /
tvatprasādena deveṣa sraṣṭāraś ca bhavāmahe

vasiṣṭha uvāca

tatprasanno mahātejāḥ punar vacanam abravīt /
evaṁ bhavatu yūyaṁ vai prajāsargaḥ prakalpsyatha /
anyac chṛṇuta vakṣyāmi kīrtikāraṇahetunā /
idaṁ tapovanaṁ ramyaṁ yad āsthānam anuttamam /
śrūtvā tan nirmalaṁ vākyam te vai prāhur divākaram /
tvatprasādena cāsmākaṁ deva yat pratikāritam /
kīrtyarthaṁ prati lakṣyāmo rocyasva divākara /
idaṁ sthānaṁ samāsādyā vayaṁ tīṁāḥ suraprabho /
prajānāṁ ca hitārthāya (mamaivānugrahāya ca) /
atra kīrtim kariṣyāmaḥ prasādāt tava bhāskara

daṁ uvāca
dattvā yūyaṁ mama sthānaṁ saptadvīpeṣu durlabham /
manvantaram athaikaṁ ca kīrtimanto bhaviṣyathā /
tatra siddhāḥ sagaṁḍharvā ye cānye ca surottamāḥ /
mama sthānaratāḥ sarve tenordhvaṁ naivabhāṣitam /

………………

265 SI: sraṣṭāro ’py abhavāmahe; SRIVASTAVA 2013: strṣāro ’syabhavāmahe
266 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhūyo
267 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prakalpsyatha; SII: prakalpayat
268 SRIVASTAVA 2013: yadā sthānam
269 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tu
270 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prītikārikam
271 SRIVASTAVA 2013: lapsyāmo
272 SII: suraprabhoḥ
273 The compiler forgot to change the word mama.
274 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: maṇtraśiddhās tu ye cânaye munayaś
275 SRIVASTAVA 2013: tenārdhvaṁ
vasiṣṭha uvāca

tasmiṁस। 276 tapovane deśe। 277 tīre tu lāvanodadheḥ /
tiṣṭhaṃti ni ca samprāptā devadarśanakāṁkṣīnaḥ // 1
jecid dhīyāyaṃti pūtātmā। 278 kecit tadgatamānasāḥ /
yajanti havyasampannāś। 279 cintayanti ātmatatparāḥ // 2
gāyanti siddhagaṁdharvā। 280 nṛtyanty apsarasasm। 281 varāḥ /
vīnāhastāŚ। 282 ca ye kecid arghahastās tathāpare // 3
kṛtāṅjali-puṭāḥ kecit kecid ānataṃstakāḥ /
yogino yogacītāś ca munayo yatamānasāḥ। 283 // 4
ṛṣayaṃ kṣāntisāmyuktā। 284 devāḥ stuvaṃti। 285 bhāskaram /
yātudhānas tathā yakṣāḥ siddhaś caiva mahorāgāḥ // 5
dikpālā lokapālāś ca ye ca vighnatināyākāḥ /
sarve bhaktīparā bhūtvā tiṣṭhanti sūryakānane // 6
kṣīṇagātrendriyaprāṇā devārdhanatatparāḥ /
jāgarāṛtipārah klīṣā adhvabhīḥ paripūditāḥ // 7
stūyamānāḥ sthitāḥ sarve bhāskarodhayakāṁkṣīnaḥ /
tataḥ prabhātasamaye padmarāgpuraṇaprabhe // 8
vimalā bhūrdisāḥ sarvāḥ kīrṇaḥ dyotane। 286 raveḥ। 287 9a
ravirāgpuraṇībhūtaṃ sāgarākāśabhūtaṃ /
tatksaṇenaiva sarvaśām ekajvālatvam āgatā। 288 // 10
tasyām udayavelaṃ viśvavamdyaike। 289 āspadam /
vīkṣyamāṇādbhutaṁ rūpaṁ virājantaṁ divākaram // 12

divisthaṁ sāgarasthaṁ ca dvividhaṁ maṇḍalodyatam291 / aparā bhagavānmūrtir jalamadhye virājate // 13

sarve vismayam āpannā drṣṭvā cādbhutadarśanam /
manavo bāhubhāṃvāhair avatūrṇā mahodadhim // 14

bāhubhīḥ saṃgrhītā tu294 ānayitvā295 tapovanam /
sthāpayitvā vidhānena manavo hṛṣṭamānasāḥ // 15

stotrai297 stuvanti te citrailḥ sāṅgopāṅgaiḥ susammitaiḥ /

tvam deva pralayah kālaḥ kṣayaḥ kṣodah298 kṣayānalāḥ // 16

udbhavaḥ sthitisampattih prajās te cāṅgasambhavāḥ300 /
śoṣavarṣahimā301 gharmaprahlādasukhaśītalām // 17

tvam deva śrṣṭikartā303 ca prakṛthīḥ puruṣaḥ prabhuh /
chāyāsaṃjñāpratisthāpi304 nirālaṁbo nirāśrayaḥ // 18

āśrayaḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ nāmas te 'stu sadā mama /

tvam deva sarvataścaksuḥ sarvataḥ sarvadā gatiḥ / 19

sarvadāḥ307 sarvajñaḥ308 sarvagatyaḥ309 tvam ārtihā /

tvam deva dhyānināṃ dhyānaḥ yogināṃ yoga uttamaḥ310 // 20

290 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 11
291 SII: -oddhatam
292 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 12
293 SRIVASTAVA 2013:13
294 SII: vai
295 SRIVASTAVA 2013: hy ānayitvā
296 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 15
297 SII: stotrai
298 SI, SII: kṣaṁtaḥ
299 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 15
300 SII: -saṁbhuvā, SII: prajā tejo gatiḥsaṁma
301 SRIVASTAVA 2013: -himaṁ-
302 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 16
303 SI: ṛṣiṣkartā
304 SII: chāyāsaṃjñānirākarṣo
305 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 17
306 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 18
307 SII: sarvagaḥ
308 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: sarvadā
309 SII: sarvadārtiḥā
310 SI: yogānuttamaḥ
311 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 19
tvam māsa\textsuperscript{312} phaladāḥ sarvah sadyaḥ pāpaharo vibhuhḥ / sarvārtināsāno 'nāśi karaṇām karunā prabhuh \textsuperscript{21}\textsuperscript{313} / dayāsaktiḥ kṣamāvāsah saghñir ghṛṇimūrtimān

tvam deva srṣṭisāṃhāraṣṭhitirūpaḥ surādhīpah \textsuperscript{22}\textsuperscript{314} / varṣakaḥ soṣako dāhi\textsuperscript{315} tuṣāro dahanātmakah / praṇatārtiharah yogī yogamūrte namo 'stu te \textsuperscript{23}\textsuperscript{316}

tvam deva ṭṛdayānaṁda sioratnam\textsuperscript{317} prabhāmanīḥ\textsuperscript{318} / bodhakaḥ pāṭhako dhyāyī\textsuperscript{319} grāhako grahaṇātmakah \textsuperscript{24}\textsuperscript{320} /

tvam deva niyamo nyāyī nyāyako nyāyavadhanaḥ / anityo niyato nityo nyāyamūrte namo 'stu te \textsuperscript{25}\textsuperscript{321}

tvam deva trāyase prāptān\textsuperscript{322} pālayasy arṇavasthitān\textsuperscript{323} / ūrdhvam\textsuperscript{324} trāsārditān\textsuperscript{325} lokān lokacaksur namo 'stu te \textsuperscript{26}\textsuperscript{326}

damano 'si tvam dūrdānto sādhyānāṁ caiva sādhakaḥ / bandhus tvam bandhuhīnānāṁ namas te bandhurūpiṇe \textsuperscript{27}\textsuperscript{327} /

kuru śāntiḥ dayāvāsaḥ\textsuperscript{328}prasīda jagataḥ pate / yad asmābhir hitam vākyam abhīṣṭam kīrtitaḥ prabho \textsuperscript{28}\textsuperscript{329}

\textsuperscript{312} Srivastava 2013: bhāsa-; SI: bhāsā-; SII: māsā-
\textsuperscript{313} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 20
\textsuperscript{314} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 21
\textsuperscript{315} SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: bakaḥ soṣa vyko dāhas
\textsuperscript{316} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 22
\textsuperscript{317} SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: -ratna-
\textsuperscript{318} SRIVASTAVA 2013: prabhāmanīḥ; KHANDELAVĀLA 2012: prabhāmanīḥ (23a); STIETECRON 1966: prabhāmanīḥ.
\textsuperscript{319} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 'dhyāyī
\textsuperscript{320} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 23
\textsuperscript{321} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 24
\textsuperscript{322} STIETECRON 1966: pattrān; SI: trayase prāptān
\textsuperscript{323} SI: apā shaky arnav sthitān
\textsuperscript{324} SI: ārdhaṁ; SII: ārdhā
\textsuperscript{325} SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: trānārditān
\textsuperscript{326} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 25
\textsuperscript{327} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 26
\textsuperscript{328} SI: dayāvāsa; SII: daṇḍayāvāsa
\textsuperscript{329} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 27

37
evaṁ stutvā
tataḥ sarve papracchuh prатimāṁ rvaveḥ /
keneyam nirmitā mūrtih kena tvam pratipāditah / (29) 
kasmād ihāgato deva samśayo 'tra niyaccha nah / 30

deva uvāca

tasmin kāle samādeśān nirmitā viśvakarmaṇā /
sarvalokahitārthāya sā surair arcitā purā // 31

tasmin himavatāḥ prṣtē kalpavṛkṣe nidhāpitā /
tasmāt tu candrabhāgāyāṁ praviṣṭā sthānakāraṇāt // 32

candrabhāgāc335 ca vipāśaṁ336 vipāśae337 ca śatadravam338 /
śatadravāc ca vijñeyā praviṣṭā yamunāṁ nadim // 33

yamunāto jāhnavīṁ ca340 tayānītā śanaiḥ śanaiḥ /
bhāgirathī341 vijñeyā modagaṅgāṁ mahānādīm342 // 34

mamaivānugraḥenāsau344 tirthānāṁ pravaraḥ smṛtāḥ /
tasmād vai modagaṅgāt345 tu praviṣṭā lavannodadhim // 35

sāmpratam ca pravartadhvaṁ sthāpanaṁ me manūttamāḥ /
śrutvā devās tu tad vākyam nirmalam prītivardhanam // 36

prāṇjali-pranatā bhūtāḥ śtūyamāṁ raviṁ sthitāḥ /
tato vaivasvataḥ prājñāḥ sarvadharmapraṇoditāḥ348 / 37

330 SI: śrutvā 
331 Srivastava 2013: 28 
332 SI, Srivastava 2013: sa 
333 Srivastava 2013: 29 
334 Srivastava 2013: 30 
335 SI: cāndrabhāgāc; Srivastava 2013: candrabhāgā yā 
336 SI, Srivastava 2013: vaipāśaṁ; SII: vipāśo 
337 For vipāśaḥ 
338 SI: śatadravam; SII: sātṛtāṁ, sata drujaśc 
339 Srivastava 2013: 31 
340 SII: prāptā- 
341 SII: tā for -ito 
342 SI, Srivastava 2013: modagaṅgāmahānadau; SII: modagaṅgā mahānāmadaṇ ṇ 
343 Srivastava 2013: 32 
344 Srivastava 2013: mamaivānugrahaināsau 
345 Abl. in -a stem; Srivastava 2013: modagaṅgāyāḥ 
346 Srivastava 2013: 33 
347 Srivastava 2013: 34 
348 SII: -pracoditāḥ 
349 Srivastava 2013: 35
kārayāmāsa vipras\textsuperscript{350} tu raver devālayaṃ śubham /
sthāpayitvā raviṃ bhaktyā triḥsthāneṣu surottamāḥ // 38\textsuperscript{351}
nivr̥ ttiṃ yānti sukr̥ to devakāryārthatatparāḥ /
sarve diṅkṣāparo bhūtvā bhāskarād vidhikāṃkṣiṇāḥ\textsuperscript{352} // 39\textsuperscript{353}
yato 'dhimaṇḍalaṃ kuryus\textsuperscript{354} tadgatair antarātmabhiḥ /
likhitam maṇḍalaṃ divyaṃ yathoktam bhāskarena tu // 40\textsuperscript{355}
yathāvidhisumuddiṣṭām kriyāṃ saurisamāśritām\textsuperscript{356} /
viśvakarmābhyanujñāya sarvās tā\textsuperscript{357} mūrdhajāḥ prajāḥ // 41\textsuperscript{358}
tato nāma prakurvänti saṃprahṛṣṭatanūruhāḥ\textsuperscript{359} /
anena muṇḍitāḥ\textsuperscript{360} sarve tena muṇḍīra\textsuperscript{361} ucyate // 42\textsuperscript{362}
atha\textsuperscript{363} kṛt\textsuperscript{364} arthasanujñāś ca nigamajñair udāḥrtāḥ /
muṇḍipramardane dhātuṃ saṃjñāyāṃ ca vidhīyate / (43)
prakarṣād\textsuperscript{365} ardayed yena tena muṇḍīra\textsuperscript{366} ucyate // 367

vasiṣṭha uvāca

evam ādyam idaṃ sthānaṃ kīrtyate\textsuperscript{368} ca yuge yuge /
sarvapāpahārasya sarvātīrthamayaṃ śubham // 44\textsuperscript{369}
ye\textsuperscript{370} tu kecin\textsuperscript{371} narāloke bhaktiyuktārthatvedākāḥ /

\textsuperscript{350} SI: vipan; SII: chipra; SRIVASTAVA 2013: viprattu
\textsuperscript{351} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 36
\textsuperscript{352} SI: bhāskarādīkṣākāṃkṣiṇaḥ
\textsuperscript{353} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 37
\textsuperscript{354} SII: kuryaṃs
\textsuperscript{355} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 38
\textsuperscript{356} SII: saṃrūsamāśritam
\textsuperscript{357} SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: sarvānāṃ; STIETENCRON 1966: sarvā tā
\textsuperscript{358} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 39
\textsuperscript{359} SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: -tarūrūhāḥ
\textsuperscript{360} SII: muṇḍitāḥ
\textsuperscript{361} SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: muṇḍita
\textsuperscript{362} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 40
\textsuperscript{363} SII: atha vā
\textsuperscript{364} STIETENCRON 1966: 72 has kṛtārtha:-; following SRIVASTAVA 2013: 151, I prefer kṛtārtha:-.
\textsuperscript{365} SI, SII: pakarśād
\textsuperscript{366} SI: muṇḍīra; SII: muṇḍara
\textsuperscript{367} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 41
\textsuperscript{368} SI: kīrtyete
\textsuperscript{369} SRIVASTAVA 2013: 42
\textsuperscript{370} STIETENCRON 1966 has yu tu; following SRIVASTAVA 2013, I prefer ye tu.
\textsuperscript{371} SI: kaṃcin; SII: yaṃ tu kecin; SRIVASTAVA 2013: ye tu kecit
tasmin kṣetre372 samāpannāḥ sadyo mucyaṇṭi cārtitāḥ373 // 45374
decit petur mahāmohād375 asmiṃs fīrthe376 vibuddhayāḥ377 /
na teśām sampadām sthairyam yadi prāptaṃ suduṣkaram378 // 46379
yāvat pratapate bhānur yāvac ca lavaṇoḍadhīḥ /
yāvad bhūmidhāra devās tāvat kīrtir vibhāvasoh // 47380
ye ca pāpasamāyuktā jāyante bhuvī mānavāḥ /
teśām eva ravis trātā381 ye tatkṣetrasamāśritāḥ // (48)382
(evamvīdho hy ayaṃ sūryaḥ sadā kāryo vijānatā /
devaḥ383 kīrtidhanākāṃkṣe384 kimpunar bhuvī mānavāḥ //) 6385
etat sthānāṃ suresasya sarvair devair adhiśhitam /
śantiṃ386 puṣṭiṃ sukham kāmaṃ sarvabhūtārtināśanam // 7387
etad eva hi sā kīrtiḥ kīrtitā munibhiḥ purā /
atra paśyanti ye bhānum udyanatam mūrtisamśthitam // 8388
tārayanti389 narā390 pūtā ātmanaṃ gotravardhanam /
yāṃ yāṃ kriyāṃ samāraṃbhet sūryakṣetresu mānavaḥ // 9391
tāṃ tāṃ siddhim avāpnoti iha loke paratra392 ca /
jaṁbūdvīpo mahādvīpaḥ karmabхūmir anuttamaḥ // 10393
yatreyam ādrśi kīrtir devenaiva394 prakīrtitā /
yatra dṛṣyetaḥ śahasrāṃśuḥ nityāśvāsodyatāḥ janaiḥ // 11
ekā mūrtir dvidhā kṛtvā bhūtaleṣv avatāritāḥ /
pratyuṣa caiva munīrām ye paśyanti narāḥ sakṛt // 12
na kadācid bhayaṁ sokaṁ rogaṁ teśāṁ prapadyate / (13)
kālahṛ kālapṛītāḥ ca madhyāhne ye tv avekṣakāḥ //
teśām eva sukhodarko 'cireṇaiva prajāyate / (14)
sāṃbakraṭapure bhānuḥ sāyāhne yair udīkṣitaḥ //
sadyāḥ sampadyate teśāṁ dharmakāmārthasādhanam / (15)
evam yuktīṁ samādhiyā sarvadharmaparāyanāḥ //
kīrtayitvā raveḥ kīrtiṁ jagmuḥ sūryālayam prati // (16)
prajāpatīnām idam ālayaṁ raver
vidhāyitaṁ devavarānukāmpitam /
vighātakās tatra patanty asādhavo
vahneḥ sikhāyāṁ salabhā īva kṣanāt // 17

THE CONCLUDING CHAPTER OF THE SĀMBA-PURĀṆA

SP. 84 (S. I. = 84) / Bh. I. 120

śrīsāṁba uvāca viṣṇur uvāca
bhagavan keśoṁ prāṇinaḥ sarve

---

395 For dṛṣyeta: Middle Indic form (cf. STIETENCRON 1966: 73); SII: dṛṣet
396 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: -aṁśum
397 SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: ity asau śodhyate; SII: nityāśvāsodyate
398 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 52
399 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 53
400 SII: teśāṁ rogaṁ bhayaṁ sokaṁ na kadācit prapadyate; SRIVASTAVA 2013: śoko rogāsteśāṁ
401 SI: kālahṛkālapṛītyā; kālapṛītis stands for kālapṛītya. SRIVASTAVA 2013: kālapṛītya
402 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 54
403 SI: sukhodarkād acireṇaiva jāyate; SRIVASTAVA 2013: hy acireṇaiva jāyate
404 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 55
405 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 56
406 STIETENCRON (1966) has vidhāyitaṁ; I prefer SRIVASTAVA’s (2013) vidhāyitam.
407 SRIVASTAVA 2013: 57
408 SI: bhagavān
409 SI, SII: kuśṭa-
bhagavan prāṇinaḥ sarve
viṣarogādyupadravaiḥ/
duṣṭagrahagātaiś ca
sarvakālam upadrutāḥ/
ābhicārikakṛtyābhīḥ
sparśarogaiś ca dāruṇaiḥ/
sadā sampiḍyamānās te
tsīṭhanti munisattama // 1
tiṣṭhamty aṁbujaṁśaṁbhava\(^{411}\) / 2
yena karmavipākena
viṣarogādyupadravāḥ /
sambhavanti mahāmate /
prabhavaṁ tiṁ nam tan me
tat sarvaṁ śrotum icchāmi
yathāvad vaktum arhasi // 3
tvatto brahmavidyāṁbara\(^{410}\) // 2

nārada uvāca
brahmovāca

vratopavāsair yair bhānur nānyajanmani toṣitaḥ /
te narā yaduśārdula
tiṣṭhamty aṁbujaṁśaṁbhava
te narā devaśārdula
kuṣṭharogādibhāgināḥ // 3
graḥarogādibhāgināḥ // 4
.....\(^{412}\) ......

sāmba uvāca

teṣāṁ rogopāśamanam
jāyate ca katham mune /
tat sarvaṁ śrotum icchāmi
satyaṁ satyaṁ vadasva me // 4

nārada uvāca

śṛṇu sāmba mahābāho
kurvantu ravipūjanam /
yatkṛtvā sarvarogebhyo
mucyate nātra saṁśayaḥ // 5

\(^{410}\) SI, SII: brahmavidāṁbara
\(^{411}\) Viṣṇu speaks to Brahmā.

\(^{412}\) Embellishments of the text.
sāmba uvāca

etat sarvaṃ tvākhyātaṃ
vadhārtham\footnote{Srivastava 2013: bahvartham} āṃ śrutivistaraṃ /
ye śrutvā\footnote{SI, SII: ya chrutvā; Srivastava 2013: yac chrutvā} sarvapāpebhyo
mucyate nātra sanśayaḥ // 6
sūryam uddīṣya kim deyaṃ
pāṭhakāya mahātmane /
yena tuṣyet tu\footnote{SII: tuṣyaṃti} bhagavān
bhāskaraḥ pāpataskaraḥ // 7

nārada uvāca

śṛṇu sāmba mahābāho
kathayāmi tavānagha /
tam eva sūryaṃ viṣṇūya
pūjayitvā yathāvidhi // 8
gandhapuṣpākṣataiś caiva
dhūpapātis tathottamaśca
svarṇālaṃkāravastraśca
śīroraṇavibhūṣaṇaiḥ\footnote{Srivastava 2013: śīroraṇavibhūṣaṇaiḥ} // 9
prapūjya sūryarūpaṃ taṃ
deyā ca kapilā śubhā /
godhūmayavadhāṇyāni
māsamudgāṃs tilāṃs tathā // 10
gajāśvaṇmaihīṃ dadyād
ratnāṇi\footnote{Srivastava 2013: ralāni} vividhāni ca /
hirayaṃ rajataṃ caiva

\footnote{SI, SII: ya chrutvā; Srivastava 2013: yac chrutvā}
kāṃsyatām tāṃrasya⁴¹⁸ bhājanam // 11
dāsadāsī⁴¹⁹ tathā dadyād
bhūnim sasyatām tathā /
pattavastrāṇy anekāṇi
dadyād vai suddhamānasah // 12
nikṣubhā ca tathā rājñī
dve bhārye hi⁴²⁰ vīvasvataḥ /
uddisya te hi⁴²¹ deyāni
vastrālaṃkāraṇāni ca // 13
evaṃ yah kurute bhaktyā
sa martyo 'tra mahītale⁴²² /
putrapautrādīsamyaṅkto
harṣanirbharamānasah // 14
bhūṅktvā⁴²³ tu sakalān bhogān
sūryaloke mahīyate / (14)
aṣṭādaśapuraṇānāṃ
śrāvane yat⁴²⁴ phalam labhet⁴²⁵ /
tat phalam samavāpnoti
satyaṃ satyaṃ vadāmi te⁴²⁶ // 15

---

⁴¹⁸ SRIVASTAVA 2013: kāṃsyatām rasya
⁴¹⁹ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: dāsadāsyau
⁴²⁰ SI: ca
⁴²¹ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tāni
⁴²² SI, SII: evaṃ sa tuṣyate yena pāvako hi mahītale
⁴²³ SI: bhaktvā; SII: bhunktā; SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhuktvā
⁴²⁴ SI: tat
⁴²⁵ SII: bhavet
⁴²⁶ SI: vadāmy aham; SRIVASTAVA 2013: vadāmyam
1.2 The Translation

SP. 3 / Bh. I. 72

Vasiṣṭḥa said:  
Sumantu said:

9a  Hear [the story] about the fallen one, o king, and about the removal [of his curse].

The lord called Durvāsa, known as a descendant of Rudra, being a wandering sage, wandered in the three worlds. Therefore, he reached Dvāratī, formerly known for being ruled by Madhu⁴²⁷. Sāamba, proud of his [beautiful] appearance, having seen the arrival of the R̥ṣī, red-eyed, starved and emaciated, deformed and very thin, did an imitation of his appearance and his gait. Having seen his face, Sāamba, proud of his youth, mimicked the crooked face of that man, o best of the Kurus; so Durvāsa, [he] of great splendour, the best of the R̥ṣis, [was] very angry.

The Bhagavān spoke to Sāamba: ‘Since you have seen my appearance, you, proud of your own appearance, have done the imitation of my gait and demeanour, you will contract leprosy soon.’

Bh. I. 66

Sāamba said:

[…]

The wise Durvāsa is furious that he was mocked by me, [who am] confused⁴²⁸; because of his curse, I have contracted leprosy. I, afflicted by leprosy, ashamed of [my] excessive arrogance, went to my father. I spoke thus: ‘Father, my body is afflicted and my voice abandons [me]. The black leprosy, of frightful appearance, wants to destroy me. I am afflicted by the king of all diseases because of my terrible act, and neither doctors nor herbs can give me any peace. For

₄²⁷ Literally 'pleasant, delightful, charming' (MW: 779, II), referring to Kṛṣṇa, who rules over the city of Dvāratī.
₄²⁸ Confusion is often mentioned as the main cause of happenings, especially in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa.
this reason, I ask your permission to leave this life. If I [am] favoured, you [will] allow me to depart.’ This [was my] speech. [My] father, tormented by the pain of [his] son, having meditated for a while, said these words to me: ‘Son, seek refuge in [your] firmness. Do not set your mind on [your] affliction; do not let the disease, which fixes your mind on pain, destroy [you who are] afflicted by pain, like the fire [destroys] the dry grass. Do not abandon [yourself] to grief, little son, [but] to the highest worship of the divinity.’ Thus he spoke, and I asked: ‘Which god should I worship? Which [one] must I worship so that the disease will abandon me completely?’

…..

SP. 3 / Bh. I. 73

Because of the (excessive) unavoidability of the future⁴²⁹ and the memories of the past, the sage Durvāsa [was] furious. Sāmba, the great man, got [that] great curse, and through this curse was produced the mace⁴³⁰, which made his family fall.

---

⁴²⁹ We find this expression several times in the Bhavisya-purāṇa. It is indeed the Purāṇa of the future (the name Bhavisya indicates the future), but in these sections it is often used to underline the unavoidability of Sāmba’s curse and leprosy, which leads to his worship of the sun god.

⁴³⁰ The story of the club is told in the sixteenth book of the Mahābhārata, the Mausalaparvan (for the printed edition, see Belvālkār 1959: 3–43). “The Sixteenth Parvan of the Great Epic is intended to describe the havoc caused amongst the entire Vṛṣṇi and Bhoja clans by the mischievous attempt of Sāraṇa […] and his Yādava colleagues, to dress up Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa and Jāmbavati, as a woman enceinte, and pose the question to the worthy sages like Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada, who had just come to Dvārakā […] as to the would-be sex of the expected issue. The enraged sages reply that the issue is to be an iron-club (musala*), which is fated to destroy the entire Yādava clan, including Kṛṣṇa and his elder brother Halāyudha ( = Balarāma) […] The ‘Iron-club’ was born, presaging evil luck; and although it was reduced to powder and thrown into the ocean, out of it there was produced, in the near-by sea-water, the Sāveraka ( = Śevarī ) grass which — as it grew — was used by the Yādavas as a handy and fatal weapon […]” Belvālkār 1959 : XXX–XXXI

Anticipating the complete destruction all around, Kṛṣṇa sends his charioteer to summon Arjuna, who, after the tremendous fight and the submersion of Dvārakā itself, looks after the women of the city and leads them to Hastināpurā.

The story of Durvāsa cursing Sāmba to give birth to the mace is mentioned also in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa X. 1. 12ff.; in Mahābhārata XVI.1. 15ff. and in Viśnu-purāṇa V. 37. 6ff. In the different versions, Sāmba is cursed by the sages Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada (cf. Hazra 1952: 104).
STAVARĀJA

SP. 25 / Bh. I. 128

Vasiṣṭha said: Sumantu said:

So there Śāmba, emaciated, having veins strained like cords, celebrates, O king, the bringer of the day, the thousand-rayed with a thousand names. Sūrya, having seen Kuśa’s son mortify himself in that way, gave him another vision during his sleep, in which he spoke thus:

Sūrya said:

‘Śāmba, Śāmba of great strength, listen to [me], son of Jāmbavatī. Recite this beautiful, appropriate praise with a thousand names! The secret names, means of purification and auspicious, I want to recite for you; having heard them, reflect upon them:

Oṃ the Divider431 (Vikartana)
the Brilliant One (Vivasvat)
the Dead Egg (Mārtaṇḍa)
the Light-Making (Bhāskara)
the Roaring One (Ravi)432
the World-Illuminator (Lokaprakāśaka)
the Venerable (Śrīmat)
the Eye of the World (Lokacakṣus)
the Lord of the Planets (Graheśvara)
the Witness of the World (Lokasākṣin)
the Lord of the Three Worlds (Trilokeśa)
the Maker (Kartṛ)
the Destroyer (Hartṛ)
the Destroyer of Darkness (Tamisrahan)

---

432 From the root *ru-* “to roar, bellow, howl, cry” (MW: 881, III), EWA: 439 RAV¹: Gr. ὤρυομαι = „heule, brülle, klage”; Lat. raucus, rūmor. *Ravi* can be also the name of the number twelve (MW: 869, I).
the Shining (Tapana)
the Illuminator (Tāpana)
the Radiant (Śuci)
the Bearer of Seven Horses (Saptāśvāhana)
the One Having Rays for Hands (Gabhastihasta)
the Absolute (Brahman)
the One Venerated by All Gods (Sarvadevanamaskṛta)

[These are] the twenty-one names. I always desire this praise. It heals the body’s diseases, and also increases the property and confers glory. It is called Stavarāja (King of Praises) and it is known in the three worlds. [The person], o strong-armed [one], who humbly praises me at the two points of juncture [of the day], the setting and the rising of the sun, having done [this], he is released from all evils. And an evil action, [committed] with the body, with words or with the mind, is destroyed in my presence, by the muttering [of the Stavarāja] once in its entirety. [The Stavarāja] consists of the muttering of prayers, and the homa433, and also the worship performed at Samdhya434, the mantra of the oblation, the mantra of the reception of a guest, as well as the mantra of incense. This great mantra, splendid, honoured by food offerings, bathing, prostration and pradakṣina (circumambulation), carries away all diseases435. Thus said the Lord Bhāskara, master of the world, having addressed to Kṛṣṇa’s son there, [and then] he disappeared.

So Sāmba, having prayed with the Stavarāja of the seven horses [became] pure-minded, free from sickness, glorious, and from that, freed from disease.

433 This could stand for the sacred juice itself or for the ceremony of the haoma-/soma-, in which it is pressed and offered to the divinity.
434 MW: 1145, II: “the religious acts performed […] at the above three divisions of the day, […] which consists of sipping water, repetition of prayers and mantras, especially the Gāyatrī prayer […]”. It can be also related to the verb sam-dhyai- “to reflect or meditate on, think about” (MW: 1145, III) and it is also the twilight, also personified as the daughter of Brahmā, the consort of the sun (MW: 1145, II).
435 The term vyādhi- especially refers to leprosy (MW: 1037, I).
Viśvakarman said:

This form of yours, filled with too much splendour, [is] quite intolerable. Saṃjñā, incapable of bearing [it], lives in the grassy forest. Today, Lord, you will see your wife, of beautiful movements, who stays in the forest undertaking the highest penance because of your appearance.

I agree with Brahmā’s speech; if you desire, o god, I can shape your beloved form today, o victorious [one].

As Brahmā said, if you desire, o powerful [one], I can break off your form, chief of the gods, for a superior purpose, lord of the earth.

(The form of Vivasvāt was put horizontally, vertically, down and flat. Because of that form, the god Divaspati [was] really squeezed.)

He of Great Splendour was most delighted by his speech; so he allowed Tvaṣṭr to shape [his] form. [When] Viśvakarman [was] authorized by Vivasvāt, in Śākadvīpa, having fixed [him], turning round, he sharpened his splendour. Viśvakarman scratched [the sun’s form] as far as the knee in a delicate manner. [The sun god] did not approve of scratching more than what [Viśvakarman] had [already] removed.

Having achieved that form, through the removal of the splendour, there the wished form, with the expected splendour,

---

436 She is Viśvakarman’s daughter and one of Sūrya’s wives; the story about her retirement to the forest because of the intolerable splendour of her husband is told in the epics and in the Purāṇas. Banerjea (1974: 429–430) connects this legend to the Vedic one (Ṛgveda I. 164) on the marriage between Sarāṇyu, Tvaṣṭar’s daughter, and Vivasvat, the solar god.

437 Literally “shining forth” (MW: 987, I)

438 Literally “lord of the day”; MW: 478, III “sky-lord”.
he made it (the form) the most beautiful among the beautiful ones and [he] embellished [it] much more. Having undertaken yoga, he (the sun god) saw his wife [in the form of] a mare\textsuperscript{439}, surrounded with her own splendour, powerful, invincible for all beings.

Mārtaṇḍa, [having assumed] the form of a horse, approached her with sexual intentions, [touching] her snout. She moved her limbs about the unknown man, fearlessly, [and] she vomited the semen of Vivasvat from her nostrils. [In this way] the two Aśvins, the great physicians, were born.

SP. 12 / Bh. I. 121

Sāmba said: Śatanika said:

1 You have told [the story of] the honing of Bhānu’s form concisely. I wish to listen to the extensive [version]; tell it to me, o virtuous [one].

Nārada said: Sumantu said:

[When] Saṃjñā went to her father’s house, o son of Yadu, Bhāskara thought, ‘Waiting for my form [to be shaped], she the splendid went to her father’s house to undertake the ascesis. For this reason I want to satisfy her wished desire.’

In the meantime, Brahmā, having gone there, [where] Divākara [was], said in a sweet voice, a speech inspiring affection in Ravi:

4 ‘You are the first god among the gods and this world is pervaded by you. Your father-in-law, Viśvakarman, will hone your form.’

Having said this to Ravi, Brahmā spoke to Viśvakarman: ‘Hone the splendid form of Mārtaṇḍa.’

So, [following] Brahmā’s advice, having set Bhāskara on a turner’s lathe, Viśvakarman gradually shaped [his] form. Then Brahmā [was] satisfied, with the troops of gods, the various secret stotras, the Vedas, the Vedāṅgas, and the Saṁmitas.

…………………………

\textsuperscript{439} In Indian imagery, the horse/mare is a symbol of kingship. Here it is even more relevant, because it is linked to the sun god, whose typical attributes are the horses.
Sāmba said: Śatānīka said:

Tell me once again the story related to Sūrya. I have not reached satisfaction in listening to this beautiful story.

Nārada said: Sumantu said:

I will tell you the divine story of Āditya, [a story which] causes the destruction of all evils, and which has formerly been told by Brahmā, the creator of the world. The R̥ṣis heated and bewildered by the brilliance of Sūrya’s rays, asked the Pitāmaha (Brahmā) in Brahmā’s world.

The R̥ṣis said:

Who is this shining [one], of great brilliance, having equal splendour of strings of fire? This we hope to hear. What is his origin, o lord?

Brahmā said:

When everything inanimate and animate [was] covered by darkness and [was] destroyed, thanks to the movement of the guṇas, the buddhi (intellect) was born; then the ahamkāra (self-consciousness), which sets in motion the great elements, was born: the wind, the fire, the water and the earth. After that, the egg was born, and in this egg there were the seven worlds, the earth, the seven dvīpas and the seven oceans. Viṣṇu, Maheśvara and I were standing there, confused by the splendour, all meditating upon the supreme lord. After that, an inconceivable great splendour, the sun\(^440\), appeared; through a profound meditation, we knew Savitṛ. Having each recognized, one by one, the supreme ātman, the gods started to praise with divine prayers: ‘You are the first god among the gods, the lord of the lords; you are the creator of the creatures, the god of gods, Divākara.’

\(^{440}\) Literally tamonudā- means "dispersing darkness" (MW: 438, II).
The praised lord stood in [his] shining form, and said [his] beautiful speech: ‘Which boon do you want me to grant for you?’

Brahmā said:

Nobody would be able to bear your excessively shining form; make it endurable to those desirous, o lord of the world. “Let it be,” said the Bhagavān, the day-maker, the almighty, who causes heat, rain, cold and frost, for the sake of satisfying the world. Because of this, the followers of Saṃkhya, the followers of Yoga and others desirous of liberation meditate, engaged in contemplation, and Divākara is constantly in their hearts. [A person who] has abandoned all virtues, or who has come into contact with all sins, is set free from all evil dwelling by the god Arka. The Agnihotra, the Vedas and the Yajñās [even] marked by many donations, do not deserve a sixteenth part of the devoted adoration of Bhānu. The supreme tūrtha among the tūrthas, the [supreme] welfare among the welfares, the [supreme] mean of purification among the means of purification, I bow down to Divākara. The men who honour Bhāskara, celebrated by Brahmā and the other gods, they are free from all guilt, and proceed to Sūrya’s world.  

SP. 15 / Bh. I. 123

Sāmba said:  
Śatānīka said:

How was the scarification of Bhanu’s body carried out by the gods and the R̥ṣis? Please tell me about this.

Nārada said:  
Sumantu said:

In Brahmā’s world, the R̥ṣis, along with the gods and the Asuras, having approached Brahmā, [who was] comfortably seated, they all said together: ‘O lord, the son of Aditi,

---

441 Kilbiṣa- can also mean “disease” (MW: 284, II); this would bring back once again to the sun as the healer of diseases.
who rules over the sky, [also] known as Mārtanḍa, of intense brilliance, of great splendour, how do you perceive, O Powerful, the complete world, [made of] inanimate and animate things, being distressed by his splendour, without a protector? We are frightened and bewildered by his splendour, too. In the sky, on the earth, in the atmosphere (antarikṣa-) we do not get shelter.’ Thus spoke, the Lord having a lotus as sit said:

[thanks to whom] the darkness was cut off [and] no harm approaches, called Jājvalati\textsuperscript{442}; o lord of the gods, like a 36 damaged river bank, we are all afflicted and confused by his splendour, like this weak lotus, which traces his origin to you, o powerful [one]. So ensure that [his] splendour decreases, o older of the gods (Brahmā).’ Thus spoke and the lotus-born lord Prajāpati.

Lord Brahmā said to the gods led by Viṣṇu, with Mahādeva, Indra and Mahātman:

So all the gods together, with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the others, went to the refuge, Bhāskara, the illuminator of the world. Bowed down together in devotion, let’s all worship the head and the other parts of the divinity, all [of us] living in devotion (bhakti-) [to the god].

Brahmā said:

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Īśa said:

Honour to you, best among the gods, [one who is] truly [the] celebrated [one]. The apathetic ones, the blind, the mute, and deaf ones, the lepers and the affected by white leper, the blind ones,\textsuperscript{444} [those who

\textsuperscript{442} From the verb jval- “to burn, glaze, shine” (MW: 428, II).

\textsuperscript{443} Name of the Indrakīla mountain (see MW: 1090, I).

\textsuperscript{444} Repetition of the term aṃdha-. 

14
In this way the gods, with Prajāpati (Brahmā) at the fore, praised the lord; after having reflected, the lord approached them and said:

‘This hymn [has been] carried out and [well] executed regularly; O gods, tell me immediately the supreme speech: What can I do myself?’

‘Viśvakarman, following your instructions, will make [your form] more gentle.’

Having obtained his approval, the gods [were] really delighted in their minds; they started to pray to Tvaṣṭr, by the actions of their minds, words and body. So Viśvakarman, the one who regulates all the works, placing Vibhāvasu, that mass of splendour, on the lathe, gradually honed the splendour of the disc of the One sprinkled with amṛta and glorified by the celestial singers.

And he was scratched as far as the knee by the gods, the Asuras and the great serpents; [the sun] did not approve the scratching, so he was removed from there.

So, from that moment, the feet of the god [have been] always covered.

Then, the splendour [with which the sun was] endowed, [became] warm and pleasant; and with the surplus of his splendour a discus was built, with which Viṣṇu, [him] of unmeasured strength,

---

445 In the northern iconography of the sun, the god often wears a long tunic, which covers his feet (cf. paragraph 2.3).
[defeated] the terribly cruel Dānavas; and a pin, a spear, a mace, a vajra, a bow, an axe — the great-minded Viśvakarman having built [these weapons], gave them to the gods.

[The person] who mutters the stotra originating from Brahmā’s mouth, at both the times of transition and the times of transition; the great-minded Viśvakarman having built [these weapons], gave them to the gods.

[The person] who mutters the stotra, created by the three gods, at both the times of transition, he purifies [his] family and he is not hurt by any disease.

The person who mutters the stotra, originating from Brahmā’s mouth, at both the times of transition, created by the three gods, at both the times of transition, he purifies [his] family and he is not hurt by any disease.

He will [have] progeny, the fulfilment of his actions, and he would live a hundred years; he [would be] unsurpassed everywhere in children and richness, and once his life breath has left, he would obtain the world of Savitṛ.

and having left the abode of all living beings, he would go to Sūrya’s dwelling.

…………………………

With the surplus of his splendour, which were fifteen parts, the great ātman made a spear for Śarva (= Śiva); the violent discus of Viṣṇu, of the Vasus and of Śaṃkara; the lance of Śaṃmukha (= Skanda) and Dhanada (= Kubera)’s śibikā; and all the other terrible weapons of Asuras’ enemies (= the gods), and of the Yakṣas and the Vidyādhara (= Śiva’s attendants); Viśvakarman made them all. So the Lord Ravi bears sixteen parts; fifteen parts of his splendour were cut off by Viśvakarman. In that way Bhānu, well-formed, went to Uttarakuru, and there he saw Saṃjñā, having the form of a mare.

---

446 Dānava: “a class of demons often identified with the Daityas or Asuras and held to be the implacable enemies of the gods or devas” (MW 474, III).

447 The two times of the day in which the sun must be worshipped are dawn and sunset; in some traditions, devotees also worship the god at midday, at the pinnacle of his splendour.

448 We once again find the remark that the sun removes diseases.

449 This is the particular weapon of Kubera, the god of wealth; it literally means ‘platform’ or ‘palanquin’.

450 One of the nine divisions of the world (MW 178, II).
SECOND GROUP OF TEXTS FROM THE SĀMBA-PURĀṆA

SP. 4 / Bh. I. 74

Bṛhadbala said:                                    Śatānīka said:

If Sūrya was installed by Sāmba on the Candrabhāga’s bank, from that moment is that not the sacred place, as it was told by you?

Vasiṣṭha said:                                           Sumantu said:

That is the first place built by Sāmba in the West. Listen to me, I am telling you [the story] diffusely.

O chief of men, that god, the lord of worlds, the ruler of the earth, who is encircled with rays, the absolute, having no beginning nor end, perpetual and imperishable, having created all the Prajāpatis, and the creatures of various sorts, standing in [his] Mitra form, practiced austerities.

From his mouth, [he] had previously emanated a god similar to a lotus; then Kaṃjaja created a god from his breast, o prince; from his forehead, o tiger of the Kurus, [he created] [the one] having a lotus-eye, dressed with space; the R̥bhus were all produced by that great ātman from his feet.

Then the thousand-rayed, indistinct [one], the Puruṣa himself, the twelve fold being, was born from Aditi: Indra, Dhāṭr, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭr, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Viṣṇu and Aṃśu, Varuṇa and Mitra. With these twelve forms Sūrya, the great ātman, pervaded the entire world.

The first form of Āditya is known as Indra:

---

451 It is not clear whether it is Brahmā or the sun god who creates these gods. Based on the previous lines, in which the sun is undertaking ascesis while Brahmā is creating the creatures, it is plausible to think that, even in this first line, Brahmā is the creator. In the second line of the Bh., the creator is Kaṃjaja, a general epithet of Brahmā.

452 VETTAMMĀNI (1979: 647) defines the R̥bhus as a ‘group of divine beings who attained divinity by performing tapas. Aṅgiras, the son of Brahmā had a son named Sudhanvā. Sudhanvā had three children, R̥bhukṣan, Vibhvan and Vāja. These three persons form the R̥bhus as mentioned in the Rgveda 1st maṇḍala, 16 anuvāka, 111 sūkta.’

452 MW 480, III: f. ‘preparation or consecration for a religious ceremony, undertaking religious observances for a particular purpose and the observances themselves’.
it abides in the divine kingship, it is the ruler of the gods.

The second form of Ārka is celebrated with the name Dāṭr̥:

9 it abides in the kingship over creatures, and it creates the manifold beings.

The third form of Ārka is famous as Parjanya:

it abides in the clouds and it rains with rays of light.

His fourth form is known as Pūṣan:

it is embedded in food and it constantly feeds the creatures.

His fifth form is famous by the name Tvaṣṭr̥:

it abides into the soma plant and in all the plants.

The sixth form of Ravi is celebrated as Aryaman, because it moves the air (vāyu) and it abides in the bodies.

The seventh form of Bhānu is known by the name Bhaga:

it resides on the earth, in the bodies of the living beings.

His eighth form is famous as Vivasvān:

it abides in fire and cooks food for living beings.

The ninth form of Citrabhānu is called Viṣṇu: it constantly becomes manifest, [it is] the destroyer of the foes of the gods.

His tenth form is known as Aṃśumat: it lives in the wind and it refreshes the creatures.

The eleventh form of Bhānu is known as Varuṇa: it supports the entire world and it resides in the waters. (Varuṇa indeed stays in the water; he abides in the ocean; for this reason one ocean is called Varuṇālaya — Varuṇa’s dwelling).

The twelfth form of Bhānu is famous by the name Mitra: for the sake of mankind, it stays on the shore of the river Candrabhāgā;
eating only air, he practices austerity and he stays [there] with [his] Mitraic eye. He always receives devotees with multiform boons.

In this way Sāmba built the first [sacred] place in the west; because Mitra is settled there, it is known as Mitravana — Mitra’s forest.

After having honoured [the god], o long-armed [one], Sāmba, [he] of boundless glory, with his (the god’s) favour and under his instruction, accomplished his installation.

With those twelve forms, Savitṛ of great ātman

Bhāskara of great ātman

pervaded the entire world, o ruler of men. For this reason, devoted men should constantly pray to him in his twelve forms, with their souls directed towards him.

The men, completely possessed by devotion (bhakti), worship Āditya and they will go to the supreme place where the lord of the lotus dwells.

453 In the list of the twelve forms, this is the only case in which the form (mūrti, f.) has a male connotation; the Sāmba-purāṇa (29, 2–3) states that the sun’s statue with a human form is the first example of the sun god not being represented with a circle or a disc (cf. PALLADINO 20?7a).
Mankind, having known the twelforefold Aditya, having constantly prayed and recited, rise to the Sūryaloka — the world of the sun.

The one who worships the twelforefold ātman, he is released from all evils and goes to the same world as the sun.

***

SP. 42

Vasiṣṭha said:

Having built the temple and having taken the Yājakas [there], the virtuous [ones] (dharmātman-) approached [the place] in which Ravi stood. Having heard about Mitavana, the gods, the men, the serpents (pannaga-), the R̥ṣis, the Siddhas, the Vidyādhras, the Gandharvas, the snakes (uraga-) and the Guhyakas, the guardians of a quarter of the sky (dikpāla-), the guardians of the world (lokapāla-), the planets (graha-), the Yakṣas, the virtuous ones (dhārmika-), [along] with the Prajāpatis, all requite [his] favour by going [there]. Some [of them gone] beyond fasting, some following [him] in [their] souls (ātman-); some [of them] following the secret threefold path, some completely possessed by muttering; some [of them] carrying a wooden bow, some directed towards all goals; some having the established food, others having no food [at all]; they went, engaged in the meditation on Ravi, having abandoned the worries of rebirth, some [of them] having fasted half of the month, towards the jump into the ātman. Having reached the salt ocean in short time, and having seen the delightful Tapovana on [the shore of] the salt ocean, bearing various flowers and fruits, visited by gods and Gandharvas, the R̥ṣis approached respectfully, having abandoned the path forever. Having seen the delightful Tapovana, celebrated on Earth for being similar to the unsurpassed world of Ravi, they were all pleased; the agreeable [Tapovana], which assists all creatures in all actions, a joyful dwelling for all living beings, built by Viśvakarman.

454 In the Sāmba-purāṇa the generic term Yājaka- is often preferred to Bhojaka- (see Hazra 1958: 96).
455 H. von STIETENCRON (1966: 162) translates dhārmikāḥ as if it were an attribute of yakṣās: ‘die rechtlichen Yakṣas’.
456 The idea of leaving the path is both literal, because they have just arrived at the sun’s dwelling, and metaphorical, for they have forever abandoned the saṃsāric path in their devotion to the sun god. If we take it in a literal way, it is possible to translate, ‘[…] the R̥ṣis (having reached the sun’s dwelling) sat in a circle, having abandoned the path forever.’
Vasiṣṭha said:

Even the wise Nārada constantly recites this śāstra: ‘You are the virtuous Sāmba, illustrious, accompanied by devotion, Yādava; endowed with such qualities, you have built an eternal image [of the god]. Thanks to Sāvitr̥’s grace, we see Tapovana.’ Having heard that pure speech, the supremely virtuous Sāmba, turning his face towards the ground, thus spoke to the god: ‘I previously mentioned the supreme place, in your vicinity, [which I have] built thanks to you favour to me and [your] conferring benefits [coming from] my worship (pūjā). O excellent Vibhāvasu, tell me, [who am] mourning, something more; my body, my senses and life-breath [have] weakened, with the excessively cheerful pray.’

Having got to know Sāmba, accompanied by devotion (bhakti), the god said: ‘Abandon the anxiety about my place, which confers fame, o son of Yadu! Listen to the benevolence (prasāda) I previously expressed in my speech, o Yādava. Formerly ascetic Manus, on the shore of the salt ocean, suffered pains for over a century, wishing [to have] my favour. Seeing those ascetics, compassion arose in my heart. ‘Say, dear sons, which rule, which speech and which support, connected to the unsurpassed aims of satya, dharma and artha, shall I bestow?’ Having heard such pure speech aroused from Devavaktra457, the men were delighted and with joyful souls and minds [said]: ‘If the pleased lord intends to give us a boon, let us stay firmly in your devotion (bhakti), o shining god!’ ‘Let it be so’ said the Lord, the all-pervading day-maker. ‘Now wish for another boon, o men!’ Once more satisfied, o Sāmba, [the men], having all the dharmas as their final aim, with overjoyed wide-open eyes, longed for the best boon.

The sages said:

If you of great brilliance, pleased, intends to give us a[nother] boon, through your splendour, make us creators.458

Vasiṣṭha said:

---

457 MW 494, II: n. “the mouth of the gods”, N. of Agni as the devouring flame. Here the name clearly refers to the sun god, but in the literature, the names of these two gods are often treated as interchangeable: Agni is also the sun, burning in the sky, and vice versa, the sun is Agni, burning the oblations for the gods.

458 The Manus are the progenitors of the human race.
The great Mahātejas said again, ‘Let it be so. You will create a multitude of people.\(^{459}\) Listen to [what] I say, another cause of glory: [I will make of] this Tapovana a beautiful unsurpassed place.’

Having heard such a pure statement, they said to the Day-maker (Divākara), ‘O god, we are completely surrounded by your splendour, and we obtain the supreme aim of glory; enlighten us, o Day-maker!

Having approached this place, we have crossed [the sea of life], o chief of gods, and for the sake of other creatures’ welfare (and for our own favour), we will bring the glory here through your splendour, o Bhāskara.’

The god said:

‘I gave you my place, which is rare in the seven dvīpas. Now you will be famous for one Manvantara\(^{460}\). There the Siddhas, with the Gandharvas and the other best of the gods [will] all be delighted in my place, a higher place than which has never been spoken about.’

……… ………

**SP. 43**

Vasiṣṭha said:

In that place Tapovana, on the shore of the salt ocean, the ones who arrived stay, longing for a vision of the god. Some [of them] meditate with pure minds, others with [their] minds towards him; they worship [him] with oblations and meditate, having ātman as their highest aim. The Siddhas and the Gandharvas sing [while] the beautiful Apsaras dance. Some have a vinā in their hands, others an offer for the guests\(^{461}\); some do the añjali, and others bow their heads. The Yogins [have] [their] minds on yoga, and the sages [have] restrained minds; the Ṛṣis [are] full of peace (śānti-), the gods praise Bhāskara. The Yātudhānas\(^{462}\), as well as the Yakṣas, the

---

\(^{459}\) The speech has the same structure of the former conversation between Sāmba and the sun (cf. SP. 24, 24–28 / Bh. I. 127, 23–27).

\(^{460}\) MW 786, III: n. “the period or age of a Manu”.

\(^{461}\) *argha* (MW 89, III): m. “respectful reception of a guest (by the offering of rice, dura-grass, flowers, or often only of water)”.

\(^{462}\) MW 849, II: m. “a kind of evil spirit or demon”.

61
Siddhas and the Mahoragas (the Great Serpents), the guardians of a quarter of the sky (dikpāla-), the guardians of the world (lokapāla-), and the destroyers of obstacles, they, having attained the supreme devotion (bhakti-), all stayed in Sūryakānana. Weakened in [their] bodies, senses and life-breaths, [having] the worship of the god [as their] supreme aim, tortured by the ulterior pain of being awake [for a long time], tormented by the journey, they all stayed absorbed in praying, waiting for the rising of the sun. There, early in the morning, with a ruby-red light, all the directions of the earth [became] bright, illuminated by the rays of Ravi; the ocean, the sky and the ground became the reddish colour of Ravi. At the same moment all [the things] came [to be] one flame. At the moment of its rise, one place must be praised by all, [consisting in] the extraordinary shining form of the day-maker. The [solar] disc (maṇḍala-) rose twice, once in the sky and once in the ocean: the other image of the lord shone forth in middle of the waters. All the Manus, set free from pride, having seen the extraordinary appearance, descended to the great ocean, moving their arms; having taken [the image] with [their] arms, having brought [it] to Tapovana, and having installed [it] according to the rules, the Manus, rejoicing in [their] minds, praised [it] with various stotras equally furnished with Āṅgas and Upāṅgas:

'O god, you are annihilation, time, decay, shattering, the fire of destruction, [you are] the origin, sustenance and destruction; the creatures were born from your limbs; [you are] dryness, rain, frost, heat, joy, happiness and coolness; o god, you are the creator, the Praṅkṛtī and the Puruṣa, the lord. [You are] self-supported, supportless, and also Chāyā and Saṃjñā stand by you; [you are] the shelter of all living beings; my devotion will always be to you. O god, with your eye [pointing] in all directions, going everywhere in every moment, all-bestowing, all-knowing, everything, honoured by everyone, you [are] the destroyer of pain. O god, you are the [object of] meditation for the meditators, the highest yoga for the Yogins. You [are] the giver of all the fruits of the month, the daily remover of evil, omnipresent, the destroyer of pain, imperishable, the producer, the compassion, and the powerful. [You have] the skill of compassion, abiding on Earth, full of pity, having the form of the sun. O god, you [have] the form of creation, destruction and conservation [of the world], [you are] the sovereign of the gods; [you are] the rain, the drought, the burnt, the frost, [you have] the nature of fire. [As a]

---

463 The “forest of Sūrya” = Mitravana. Koṅarka?
464 This statement is in contradiction with the first chapters of the Sāmba-purāṇa, in which the story of Sāmba finding the sun’s statue is narrated (cf. HAZRA 1958: 72). This represents the clear exemplification of the composite nature of the Purānic material.
465 The two wives of the sun god.
466 Cf. Mitra’s eye.
Yogin, [you] destroy the pains of the devotees, you are honoured in the form of yoga. O god,
you are the happiness in the heart, the crest-gem, the jewel of splendour; you are the teacher,
the pupil, the [one] absorbed in meditation, the one who eclipses and the nature of eclipse. O
god, you are the fixed rule, the proper behaviour, the one who behaves properly, the increase
of proper behaviour; irregular, regular, fixed, you are honoured in the form of rule (nyāya-). O
god, you protect [the ones who have] attained, and you guard the [ones who] stay in the foaming
ocean, and [you] raise the people tormented with fear. Honour to you, the eye of the world.\footnote{This is a clear reference to Mitra.}
You are tamer and untameable, and the accomplishment of [things that have to] be
accomplished; you, free from relations, [are] the relation [itself], [and you are] celebrated
having the form of Bandhu (Relation).
Grant us peace, [you who are] the abode of compassion, o brilliant lord of the world, if our
speech is convenient and dear [to you], o powerful [one].’
Thus having prayed, they all asked Ravi’s image:
‘By whom was your image constructed? By whom were you established? In which manner did
you come here? O god, remove this doubt from us.’

The god said:

At that time, Viśvakarman, under instruction, made [my form] for the sake of the whole world;
it [was] celebrated by all the gods. On the top of the Himavat, it was carved in the Kalpa tree,
and from there it entered the Candrabhāgā [for] the foundation of the sacred place (sthāna-).
And from the Chandrabhāgā [it moved to] the Vipāśa\footnote{MW 974, III: f. “the Vipāśā or Beas river (one of the five rivers of the Panjāb […]).”}, and from the Vipāśa to the
Šatadrava\footnote{MW 1049, II, śatadru.: f. “flowing in a hundred (or numerous) branches”, N. of a river now called the Sutlej […]”. The five rivers of Panjāb are listed here.}; from the Šatadrava it moved to the famous river Yamunā and from the Yamunā
to the Jāhnavī (= Gaṅgā); it was gradually brought near. From the Bhāgīrathī\footnote{MW 751, III: f. “N. of the Ganges (or of one of the three main streams or branches of it, viz. the great western branch”).} it is known to
[have flown] to the great river Modagaṅga — that is known as the best of the tīrthas for gaining
my favour — in order that the Modagaṅga could flow towards the salt ocean. And now, best of
the Manus, undertake my correct installation!
The gods, having heard the pure speech [which] increases joy, bowed and doing the añjali,
stood as devotees (bhūtāḥ) by Ravi, praying. Thence the wise Vaivasvata\footnote{MW 1026, I: n. “N. of the seventh or present Manv-antara”. He is the son of Vivasvat, the sun.}, who
all the dharma{s}, inspired, built the beautiful residence of the god Ravi. The best of the gods, having placed Ravi in the three [sacred] places with devotion (bhakti), having as [their] only aim service to the god as a meritorious act, went to liberation. They, the virtuous, go to cessation, having their duties to the god as their highest aim, all having nothing beyond dīkṣā\textsuperscript{472}, longing for Bhāskara’s injunction, through which they made the supreme maṇḍala, the divine shaped maṇḍala. All the head-born creatures, with their interior ātmans primed for this [purpose], [performed] the action connected with the sun, according to the rule declared by Bhāskara, after Viśvakarman had given his consent. Then, with the hair on the backs of their necks raised in excessive joy, they had to name it. Since they were all bald, they called it Munḍira. Then, having achieved their purpose, [they were] designated by the knowers of roots; since the source was established in the killing of a bald person (muṇḍi-), [and] since [he] may kill from a long distance, he was called Munḍira.

Vasiṣṭha said:

‘So, in every yuga, this is known as the first [sacred] place, the destroyer of all evils, auspicious, the beautiful [one] among all my tīrthas.’ Men who know the pains of devotion (bhakti-) in this world, who arrived in that place and request [liberation], they are instantly set free. Those unreasonable [people], who fell into this tīrtha in the[ir] great confusion, there is not any stability in these successes, [even] if [the stability], which is difficult to achieve, is obtained.

As long as the sun shines, the salt ocean [exists] and the gods support the earth, the glory of Vibhāvasu [will last]. And the men [who] were born on this earth joined to evil, and come together in that place, Ravi will be their protector. (In this manner, this form of the sun is always honoured by wise men; a god [should] wish for your glory and fortune; what else could people desire on earth?)

All the gods are settled in the place of the lord of gods; it is peace, prosperity, joy and pleasure, and the destroyer of the pain of all beings. This is precisely that fame which has been told of previously by the sages. Those men who see the image of the rising sun placed there, they [become] pure, they set [their] ātman free and [make] their family thrive. Every time a man undertakes an action in the land of Sūrya, he will obtain success, here and elsewhere. The great dvīpa Jambūdvīpa [is the] unsurpassed region of religious actions; there such a glory has been announced by the [sun] god himself; there the thousand-rayed [one] shows the people [how to]

\textsuperscript{472} MW 480, III: f. “preparation or consecration for a religious ceremony, undertaking religious observances for a particular purpose and the observances themselves”.

64
undertake their own recovery. [His] single form, having been made twofold, has been taken down on earth; early in the morning, the men who see Munḍira in [its] first [place], they will never be afflicted by any fear, sorrow or disease. And at midday\textsuperscript{473}, at the [moment of] the sun\textsuperscript{474}'s joy, those who look at Kālahṛt, an instantaneous happiness is born in them. At eventide, those who behold Sūrya, in the city built by Sāmba, at that very moment they succeed in the fulfilment of dharma, kāma and artha.\textsuperscript{475} [Those who want to] achieve this connection, having [the accomplishment] of all dharmas as their final aim, having celebrated the glory of Ravi, they go towards Sūrya’s dwelling. This dwelling of Ravi, which grants [boons] and [represents] the compassion of the supreme god, [is for] the Prajāpatis; the wicked ones who [create] hindrances there, they fall in a moment, like a moth [falls] in the flame of fire.

***

THE CONCLUDING CHAPTER OF THE SĀMBA-PURĀṆA

SP. 84 / Bh. I. 120

The glorious Sāmba said:

O Lord, all living beings are oppressed by leprosy and other [diseases].

They are always tormented, o best of sages, and it occurs because of the ripening of

Viṣṇu said:

O Lord, all living beings are oppressed by sickness from being poisoned and other [diseases], and the weakness [derived] from [the influence of] a malevolent planet, always persecuted by the practice of spells and by contact illness\textsuperscript{476}.

They are always tormented, o lotus-born [one]. The calamities of the sickness

\textsuperscript{473} Midday is one of the three (in some traditions two) moments at which the sun must be worshipped by his devotees. The central part of the day may also be related to the central position of Mit(h)ra, the mediator. For sure, the highest peak of the sunlight represents the moment of the sun god’s maximum power.

\textsuperscript{474} Here the sun is called Kāla, Time; sometimes we also find the name Kālahṛt. The sun-time relation is clearly very close and significant; STIETENCRON (1996: 266) has pointed out a possible relation with Zurvan, the Iranian god of time. On the sun-time relation cf. also CHENET (1993: 339).

\textsuperscript{475} The three aims a Hindu man should pursue in his life.

\textsuperscript{476} Skr. sparśaroga--; I did not find mention of this disease either in FILLIOZAT 1975 or in other works, like for instance JOLLY 1977.
actions [from past lives], o great-minded one. Please tell me about all this.
derived from poison and other [diseases] rule over men, because of the ripening of the actions [of their past lives]. Please tell me [about this] properly.

Nārada said:

O tiger of the Yadus, those men are afflicted by leprosy and other [diseases] because in their life they have not satisfied Bhānu with fasting and religious obligations.

Brahmā said:

O tiger of the gods, those men afflicted by the sickness coming from the planets and other [diseases] …

Sāmba said:

O wise [one], and how is the mitigation of these diseases achievable? I wish to know all about this. Please tell me the entire truth.

Nārada said:

Listen, long-armed Sāmba, let’s worship Ravi! Having done this, one will be set free from all diseases, without any doubt.

Sāmba said:

You have said all this about the way to destroy [evils] with an abundancy of detail. He who has listened to it will be undoubtedly free from all the evils. Which tribute [shall be given], in the name of Sūrya, to the great-souled reciter, with which the lord sun god, thief of sins, will be satisfied?
Nārada said:

Listen to me, long-armed Sāmba, [and what I] tell you, o sinless [one]. One has to know and worship Śūrya by means of fragrant flowers, unhusked barley-corns, as well as the best incense and lights, clothes with golden decorations, head-gems and ornaments. To honour Śūrya’s image, [one should give] gifts and a beautiful Kapilā cow, wheat, barley and corn, beans\(^{477}\) and sesame seeds; elephants, horses and female buffalos are to be given, and manifold gems, gold, silver, white copper and a vessel of red coppery. One should give male and female slaves, as well as a territory bearing a rich crop; many kinds of clothes should be given with a pure mind. Vivasvat has two wives, Nikṣubhā and Rājñī; for their propitiation, [one should give] clothes and ornaments. The one who does this with devotion (bhakti-) here on earth he will be full of sons, grandsons etc. and his mind full of great joy. Having tasted complete enjoyment in the world of Śūrya (Śūryaloka), he will gain the fruit of knowledge coming from the eighteen Purāṇas. He will gain that fruit; I am telling [you] the entire truth.

\(^{477}\) SHASTRI 1969: 265 lists the pulses cultivated in India and names the mudga-, the *Phraseolus Mungus* and the māṣa- (we should note the absence of retroflexion in the text), or *Phraseolus Radiatus*. 
1.3 The Other Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*

In the previous paragraphs, we have dealt with the *Sāmba*- and the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas*, in which we find the principal sections of literature regarding the Śākdvīpya Brāhmaṇas. They are mentioned also in other Purāṇas and in the *Mahābhārata*; in some cases, they are just listed; in others, an explanation of their social status is provided.

- **AGNI-PURĀṆA 119**

  magā magadhamanasyā mandagāśca dvijātayah /  
yajanti sūryyarūpaṃ tu śākah kṣīrābdhinā vṛtal // 21

  20–21. [...] The brahmīns and others are Maga, Magadha, Mānasa and Mandaga. They worship (the lord) in the form of the sun. The Śāka *dvīpa* is surrounded by the Kṣīrābdhi.

  GANGADHADAN 1985: 352

- **BRAHMA-PURĀṆA 20** (Ed. Shastri 18, 71)

  magās ca māgadhāś cauva mānasā mandagās tathā  
magā brāhmaṇabhūīṣṭāḥ māgadhāḥ kṣatriyāḥ tu te // 71  
vaiśyās tu mānasās teṣām śūdrā jñeyās tu mandagāḥ  
śākadvīpe sthitair viṣṇuḥ sūryarūpadharo hariḥ // 72  
yathoktair iyyate samyak karmabhīr niyatātmabhīḥ  
śākadvīpas tato viprāḥ kṣīrodena samantataḥ // 73  
śākadvīpapramāṇena valayeneva veṣṭitaḥ  
kṣīrābdhīḥ sarvato viprāḥ puṣkarākhyena veṣṭitaḥ // 74

  71–74. The four Varṇas are Magas, Māgadhas, Mānasas, and Mandagas. The Magas are brahmīnas [sic!]; Magadhas are Kṣatriyas; Mānasas are Vaiśyas and Mandagas are Śūdras.

  Viṣṇu, who has assumed the form of the sun is worshipped by the residents of Śākadvīpa by performing appropriate holy rites in the manner they are laid down. The residents have perfect control of their souls and minds.
O brahmins, Śākadvīpa is encircled by the ocean of milk of the size of Śākadvīpa. It is as though encircled by a girdle.
O brahmins, the ocean of milk is encircled by Puṣkaradvīpa.

**KŪRMA-PURĀṆA 49**

**Bhattacharya 1972: 277**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{magāśca magadhāścaiva mānasā mandagāstathā} & / \\
brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriya vaiśyāḥ śūdrāscātra krameṇa tu // 37 \\
yajanti satataṁ devaṁ sarvalokaikasākṣiṇaṁ & / \\
vratopāsairvividhairdevaṁ divākaram // 38 \\
teśāṁ sūryena sāyujyam sāmīpyaṁ ca sarupatā & / \\
salokatā ca vipravṛā jāyate tatprasādataḥ // 39 \\
\end{align*}
\]

**Mukhopadhyaya 1890: 421**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mr̥ gāśca} & / \\
magāśca magadhāścaiva mānasā mandagāstathā & / \\
[...] \\
teśāṁ vai sūr(y)yasāyujyam & / \\
[...]
\end{align*}
\]

37–39. The casts there are Magas, Magadhas, Mānavas and Mandagas corresponding respectively to Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatryas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras.
They constantly worship the sun god, the overlord of the divinities, the sole witness to the (affairs of the) entire world, through the observance of various vows and fasts.
By the grace of the sun god, O eminent Brāhmaṇas, they attain the ‘Sāyujya’, ‘Sārūpya’ and ‘Sālokya’ (stages of emancipation) with the Sun god.

**Bhattacharya 1972: 277**

37–39. The Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatryas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras are respectively called Mrga, Magadha, Mānasa and Mandagas.

---

478 In SHASTRI’s translation, it is not chapter 20, but chapter 18; there is the same number of verses.
479 The Sankrit text corresponds to GUPTA 1971: 350.
480 Mukhopadhyaya noted the variation magāśca iti, but decided to adopt the reading mr̥ga-.
481 In this case, like the previous one, the variant is mentioned, but not adopted.
By performing holy rites and observances of various sorts, they perpetually worship Divākara (the sun-god) the lord of Devas, the sole witness of all worlds.

O Brāhmaṇas, thanks to the favour of the Sun, they attain Sāyujya (identity) with the sun, Sāmīpya (nearness), Sarūpatā (similarity in appearance) and Salokatā (residence in the solar region).

TAGARE 1981: 318

- **VIŚṆU-PURĀṆA II. 4** ( = PATHAK 1997 : 195)

magāś ca māgadhāś caiva mānasā mandagās tathā / 
magā brāhmaṇabhāyiṣṭhā māgadhāḥ kṣatriyāḥ tu te / 
vaiśyās tu mānasās teṣāṁ śūdrās teṣāṁ tu mandagāḥ // 69
śākadvīpe tu tair viṣṇuḥ sūryarūpadharo mune / 
yathoktair ijjate samyak karmabhir niyatātmabhiḥ // 70
śākadvīpas tu maitreya kṣīrodena samantataḥ / 
śākadvīpapramāṇena valayeneva veṣṭitaḥ // 71

The caste of Mriga is that of the Brahman; the Māgadha, of the Kṣetriya; the Mānasā, of the Vaiśya; and the Mandaga of the Śūdra: and by these Vishṇu is devoutly worshipped as the sun, with appropriate ceremonies. Śāka-dvīpa is encircled by the sea of milk, as by an armlet, and the sea is of the same breadth as the continent which it embraces.

WILSON 1840: 200

- **MAHĀBHĀRATA VI, 12**

utra pūnyā janapadāścatvāro lokasammatāḥ / 
magaśca maṣakāścaiva mānasā mandagāstathā // 33
magā brāhmaṇabhāyiṣṭhāḥ svakarmanirātā nrpa / 
maṣajeṣu tu rājanyā dhārmikāḥ sarvakāmadāḥ // 34
mānaseṣu mahārāja vaiśyāḥ karmopajīvīnāḥ / 
sarvakāmasamayuktāḥ śūrā dharmārthaniścitāḥ / 
śūdrāstu mandage nityāṇ puruṣā dharmaśīlinaḥ // 35
People believe that there are four pure countries: the countries of the Mangas, the Máshakas, the Mánasas, and the Mándagas. The Mangas are mostly brahmins preoccupied with their duties, Your Majesty. Among the Máshakas are found virtuous Kshatriyas who fulfill \(\text{[sic!]}\) every request. The Mánasas, great king, live in accordance with the duties of vaishyas. With their every wish granted, they are brave and committed to righteousness and commercial endeavor \(\text{[sic!]}\). The Mándagas are shudras of every-virtuous conduct. In those countries, king of kings, there is neither king nor punisher nor punisher. The inhabitants know their duties, and protect one another by fulfilling their respective duties.

CHERNIAK 2008: 91, 93

This section of the Mahābhārata introduces people of different classes related to the countries of Śakadvīpa. This led SHRAVA (1981: 5) to consider them provinces and to relate them to the names of the people listed by Ptolemy: the Mṛga would correspond to the Margiana, the Masaka to the Massagetai and the Mandaga to the Makhaitegoi. The text of the Mahābhārata clearly connects the names with social positions, so we cannot consider them countries, but people; moreover, the term \(\text{janapada-}\) means not only ‘country’, but also ‘community, people’ (MW 410, II). The terms could stand for the names of the populations that inhabited those countries, but not for the names of the provinces themselves. For this reason, the relation between the Magas/Mṛga and Margiana seems inconsistent.

\[482\] In CherniaK’s edition, this section is drawn from Mahābhārata VI. 2, 36–39.
Curiously, the *Mahābhārata* gives the names of the classes of Śākadvīpa only; for the other *dvīpas* no names of classes are presented (cf. CLARK 1919: 224).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Maga-</th>
<th>Magadh-</th>
<th>Mānasa-</th>
<th>Mandaga-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AGNI-P.</strong></td>
<td>Maga-</td>
<td>Magadh-</td>
<td>Mānasa-</td>
<td>Mandaga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BRAHMA-P.</strong></td>
<td>Maga-</td>
<td>Magadh-</td>
<td>Mānasa-</td>
<td>Mandaga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KÜRMA-P.</strong></td>
<td>Maga/-Mṛga-</td>
<td>Magadh-</td>
<td>Mānasa-</td>
<td>Mandaga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VIṢṆU-P.</strong></td>
<td>Maga/-Mṛga-</td>
<td>Māgadha-</td>
<td>Mānasa-</td>
<td>Mandaga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAHĀBHĀRATA</strong></td>
<td>Maga/-Maṅga-/Mṛga-</td>
<td>Maśaka/-Maśaka-</td>
<td>Mānasa-</td>
<td>Mandaga-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *Vāyu*, *Matsya* and *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇas* do not give the names of these classes at all. In the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (5. 20. 28), which follows a different textual tradition, the names are Ṛtavrata, Satyavrata, Dānavrata, and Anuvrata. Al-Bīrūnī, quoting the *Matsya* and *Viṣṇu-purāṇas* as they were known in his time, gives Mṛga, Māgadha, Mānasa, and Mandaga for Gomeda(ka)dvīpa and Aryaka, Kurura, Vivimsa and Bhavin for Śākadvīpa.486

---

483 *Kūrma-purāṇa* 49 has Maga and Magadha in four manuscripts, Mṛga and Magadha in another four (cf. CLARK 1919: 224).
484 *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* 2. 199–200 contains Mṛga, Mārga and Maga in the various manuscripts; the latter is the most common (ibid.).
485 The Calcutta edition of the *Mahābhārata* has Mṛga- for the first class and Maśaka- for the second (cf. CLARK 1919: 224).
486 See SACHAU 1983: 120 f.
2. Some Reflections on Topics Presented in the Purāṇas

2.1 The Lexicon

The lexicon employed in the Purāṇic sections related to the Magas/Bhojakas is very peculiar. Particularly in relation to the ritual sphere, we find certain terms, that seem to be more closely connected to the Iranian environment than the Indian one. Even more interesting, this ‘foreign vocabulary’ appears to be drawn from different strata of Iranian languages, even though we cannot establish precisely which Iranian language each term belongs to. In fact, the terms have been ‘Sanskritized’ for their use in the Purāṇic texts; i.e., they have been rendered in a Sanskrit form.\textsuperscript{487} What is meaningful is that the Iranian loanwords were preferred to their Sanskrit equivalents, showing that the Iranian character of these Brāhmaṇas was very important to the author of the texts (and probably for the group of Magas/Bhojakas itself). Even if these loanwords were inserted in the Purāṇas in later times, the inclination towards Iranian culture (or Iranian roots) is clear. Moreover, it is not important that these words may have been later additions, possibly drawn from Pāršī teachings;\textsuperscript{488} the attempt to maintain a link with the Iranian and Mazdean milieu is evident here. Furthermore, the Iranian connection lies in other aspects of Śākdvīpīyas’ (or the Magas’/Bhojakas’) cult, especially in their calendar, which shows a clear resemblance to the Zoroastrian one, albeit with remarkable Śaiva influences.\textsuperscript{489}

Generally, when loanwords are accepted and integrated into another context, we must consider the fact that they could simply have crystallized ideas and expressions that were already known to the target environment. The geographically close Iranian religious tradition could have reached North India before the Magas’ migration. According to the chronology of the Purāṇic tradition, the most ancient sections of the Sāmba-purāṇa should have been composed before the first Sanskrit translations of the Avestan texts. On the contrary, it is very difficult to date the different parts of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, which are definitely more recent.

An important source for comparing the ‘Sanskritized’ Mazdean terminology with the Purāṇic one is the Sanskrit translation of the Avestan materials made by Něryōsansh Dhaval, a Pāršī mōbēd, around 1200 AD. His translation of the Yasna has been widely studied, especially

\textsuperscript{487} I have discussed this topic extensively in PALLADINO 20??b.
\textsuperscript{488} See HUMBACH 1978: 248.
\textsuperscript{489} On this topic, see PANAINO 1996. Varāhamihira presents the Maga Brāhmaṇas’ calendar in Pañcasiddhāntikā 1, 23–25.
between the 19th and 20th centuries, and translated into other languages, either in whole or in part. Nēryōsangh himself discloses the authorship of his work:

\[ [...] \text{idaṃ ijisnijaṃdapustakaṃ mayā nirīosaṃghena dhavalasutena pahalavījanḍāt sanskr̥tabhāṣāyāmavatāritaṃ // [...] }\]

“[...] Ce volume nommé le livre Idjisni (Izeschné) a été traduit par moi Niriosangha, fils de Dhaval, du livre pahalavi (Pehlvi) en langue Sanscrite [...].” (BURNOUF 1833: XV f.)

Different scholars did not all use the same manuscripts in preparing the translation of Nēryōsangh's text, and the methodologies applied to the analysis are those that were in use at the turn of the 20th century; even the places in which the physical manuscripts were presumably held have changed names. SPIEGEL (1861: 14) points to four different manuscripts: one is preserved at the University Library of Copenhagen, number six in Westergaard's Catalogue (WESTERGAARD 1846); another of Nēryōsangh’s Sanskrit translations is part of the “If fonds d'Anquetil” series, at the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, currently the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. The last two manuscripts used by Spiegel are kept at the Parisian library as well, one known also by Burnouf, but not preserved in good condition, and the other coming directly from Burnouf's private collection. MILLS (1910: XXVIII ff.) lists a different set of manuscripts: one, classified as S', has the name Meher Nawrozji Kutar on it. Another one is marked Oxford E1 or J3, which Destoor Jamaspji Minpcherji Jamasp Asana, the High Priest of the Pārsīs in Mumbai at the time, gave to the library; it was probably the oldest manuscript accompanied by Nēryōsangh’s translation, but it was very damaged with age. The manuscript J*, with the original Yasna and a sentence-by-sentence Sanskrit translation, property of Kai Khosu Destoor Jamasp Asana, a successive High Priest of the Pārsīs in Mumbai, (and son of the donor of the previous manuscript), has been kept at the Bodleian Library since Mills consulted it. Finally, a

\[\begin{align*}
490 & \text{In addition to SPIEGEL (1861) and MILLS (1910; 1912), we also have other editions of the Sanskrit translation of Nēryōsangh: see, for example, UNVALA 1918.} \\
491 & \text{Yasna (cf. BURNOUF 1833: 24).} \\
492 & \text{The text and translation are presented also in SPIEGEL 1861: 2; in BURNOUF’s edition, the Sanskrit text is in devanāgarī, whereas SPIEGEL gives his own transcription. For the Sanskrit text, I have opted for the IAST transcription from Burnouf’s edition.} \\
493 & \text{One of the digitalized manuscripts is also available on the Columbia University Libraries website at http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/cul/texts/ldpd_8886507_003/.} \\
494 & \text{Actually, I do not know if all these manuscripts still exist, especially those that were in bad condition when SPIEGEL and MILLS published their editions. For the purpose of my research, I did not need to check the manuscripts of Nēryōsangh’s translation, but could rely on the edited texts. In the future, it could be a good topic of investigation, in order to update and refresh these commendable, but outdated studies.}
\end{align*}\]
copy of the manuscript J, also donated by Destoor, is preserved at the same library. This is the Khordeh Avestā with a Sanskrit translation, dated by Destoor himself to around the 15th century.

The model for Nēryōsangh’s translation was the Pahlavi version of the Yasna; the Pahlavi text he used was not identical to the one we have nowadays, especially not with regard to certain sections of the text and glosses. Sometimes Nēryōsangh decided to follow the Avestan version instead, but in some sections, the Sanskrit translation is completely different from the Avestan original, because the Gujarati author did not completely understand the Pahlavi version, or he rendered the text in a literal way, sacrificing the Sanskrit syntax and, in some cases, changing the meaning of some sentences.

Probably the most important aim, among the Pārsīs, was to preserve and transmit the tradition, and the accuracy of the translations and knowledge of the languages of transmission took second place. Nēryōsangh tries to adhere to his original text (i.e. the Pahlavi version), even from a syntactical point of view; the word order is as close as possible to the Pahlavi one, ignoring the fact that some of his choices are against the rules of Sanskrit syntax. He neglects the rules of samdhi, too. Harlez (1882: 468) states, ‘Ce qui prouve que Neriosengh a suivi la version pehlevie c’est qu’il en reproduit généralement les erreurs.’

Even his glosses do not correspond to those of the Pahlavi manuscripts; sometimes they are longer, shorter or different altogether. For example, in Yasna XXVIII, we find a long Sanskrit gloss that does not exist in the Pahlavi text.

The Sanskrit terminology is not always appropriate or precise. Nēryōsangh’s language is full of terms drawn from Gujarati, and in some cases Sanskrit terms are used in their Gujarati equivalents; in others, Gujarati words are ‘Sanskritised’. Sometimes the author had to adapt Iranian names to Sanskrit phonology; for example, instead of the voiced alveolar fricative z, absent in Sanskrit, he used the voiced palato-alveolar affricate j [dʒ]: cf. Horomijda, Ahuramajda. Nēryōsangh also appropriated some terms from the Sanskrit cultural milieu, to translate Iranian ones, and in this way, he actually added some new vocabulary to the original

495 He sometimes confuses the instrumental and the locative, or the third person singular, the second plural and the past participle. He sometimes takes the genitive for the nominative or the vocative; he does not understand the compounds and the inflected forms contain many mistakes. This is due to the fact that Nēryōsangh had a mediocre knowledge of Pahlavi, and confused the forms rendered with the same preposition or the same endings (cf. Harlez 1882: 467).

496 „Für z, welchen Laut das Sanskrit nicht besitzt, wird j gesetzt, und so kehrt also auch hier die Schwankung zwischen j und z wieder, die wir schon im Pārsi gefunden haben.” (Spiegel 1861: 6).
Yasna: for instance, he translates Av. X’anirâθa- as Jambudvīpa-, more fitting to the Indian tradition and more comprehensible to Indian readers.498

Finally, SPIEGEL (1861: 12) postulates that different authors, at least two, carried out the translation of the Yasna into Sankrit. The closing of the text exhibits a different style from the rest of it (in particular chapter XLVII), and the Sanskrit restitution of some Iranian terms is different and, in some cases, is closer to the Persian (Middle, but also New Persian) word. Compared to Nēryōsangh, who – even if he did not have an excellent knowledge of the language – was probably able to read Sanskrit works without great difficulty, the second author did not have any familiarity with Sanskrit case system, verbal forms and constructions.

In any case, for the purpose of this research, the lexicon employed is particularly meaningful:499 the comparison of the names of the ritual objects and the divine names could highlight many elements of similarity or dissimilarity between the two traditions. For example, the same nomenclature could suggest that the time-space coordinates of the two works are quite similar. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa mostly contains a ritual lexicon with Iranian elements and we know it is a late text that has been intermingled with many different materials; if the ritual terms had been the same in the Purāṇa and in Nēryōsangh’s translation, we could have postulated that this lexicon was actually produced and used in the same environment within a roughly contemporary period. On the contrary, the terms, especially those in the ritual vocabulary, are spelled differently.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purāṇas</th>
<th>Nēryōsangh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>avyaṅga- (abhyaṅga-)</td>
<td>aiviaṅghana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varśman-</td>
<td>baresmana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūrṇaika-</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patidāna-</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>homa-</td>
<td>hūma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parahoma-</td>
<td>prāhūma-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

497 X’anirâθa- is one of the seven climates (karśvar-; cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1961: 459) of the earth. It is described as a ‘splendid region’, and we find the expression [...] imat karśvaro yat x’anirâθom bāmim [...] in Mihr Yāšt vv. 15, 67 and 133 (cf. GERSCHEVITCH 1967 and HINZE 2014); Rašn Yāšt 15 (cf. DARMESTETER 1883); Yasna 57, 31 (cf. MILLS 1887); Widēwdād 19, 39 (cf. CANNIZZARO 1990); and Hādōxt Nask I, 14.

498 SPIEGEL 1861: 10.

499 For the complete list of the ritual objects and divine names present in Nēryōsangh’s translation, see APPENDIX A.
The Av. aiwyāṇhāna-, called kusti among the Pārsīs, is rendered as avyaṅga- (abhyaṅga-) in the Sāmba- and the Bhaviṣya-purāṇas, whereas Nēryōsangh’s aiviaṅghana- closely follows the Avestan spelling. Probably due to the low competence in Sanskrit language discussed above, Nēryōsangh decided to reshape the Avestan term barǝsman (MP barsom) as an -a stem (baresmana-), which was easier to manage than a consonant stem. In the Purāṇic text, the initial \( b \)- turns into a \( v \)-, a phenomenon typical of Middle Indic languages. Two ritual objects, the pūrṇaika- and the patidāna-, are not present in the translation of the Yasna; the first one was probably a sort of ladle for pouring water, while the latter clearly echoes the Av. paiti.dāna-, the handkerchief used by priests for covering the mouth while officiating.\(^{500}\) The Av. haoma-, MP hōm, Skr. sōma- is given as homa- in the Purāṇas and hūma- in Nēryōsangh’s text; paradoxically, the spelling of the Purāṇic term is closer to the Middle Persian hōm than Nēryōsangh’s one. The same is valid for the parahoma-/prāhūma-, the restitution of Av. parahaoma-, MP prāhōm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purāṇas</th>
<th>Nēryōsangh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mihira</td>
<td>Mihira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raśnu (Rājña, Rājā, Rājīnā)</td>
<td>Rasna (Raśna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saośra (Srauṣa, Stoṣa, Toṣa, Strauṣa, Śroṣa)</td>
<td>Śrośa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaraśastra (Jataśastra, Jaraśabda)</td>
<td>Jarathustra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–</td>
<td>Hormijda – Majda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The names of the divine figures prompt some interesting considerations. The Av. god Miθra-, in both cases, had already adopted the Middle Persian form Mihr. Mihi-ra- could have been derived from the Bactrian version MIIRO (or MIORO), well known from the coins of the Kuśāṇa king Kaniṣka.\(^{501}\) The names of the two attendants of Mithra on his morning crossing, Av. Raśnu- and Sraośa-, MP Raśn and Srōš, are given in various Sanskritic forms in the Purāṇic version; in Nēryōsangh’s translation, the name Rasna- is rendered once again with an -a stem form, while Šrośa- follows the Middle Persian form. For the name Av. Zarathaštra-, MP Žartūš, Nēryōsangh opted for the form Jarathustra-, closer to the Iranian, maintaining the second part of the compound as -ustra-, which is generally spelled uṣṭra- (with retroflection) in

---

\(^{500}\) The purpose of this ritual object is to avoid contaminating the sacred fire with the priest’s involuntary spittings while reciting.

\(^{501}\) About this very interesting topic, see WEBER 1857; THOMAS 1876; HUMBACH 1975; MACDOWALL 1975; idem 1978.
Sanskrit. The absence of the fricative z in Sanskrit, which concerns both Jara[...] and Hormijda/-Majda-, was discussed above.

Finally, Nēryōsangh’s translation contains some other interesting elements. The sun, hvar-, is translated as sūrya-, showing a perfect adaptation of the term to the Indian environment: for example, in VI, 36, we find Skr. [...] sūryamca [...] for Av. [...] hvareca [...]. On the other hand, the word deva- is used for indicating demonic beings, the Iranian Daevas; in this case, the term is completely decontextualized, the Devas being the deities of the Indian pantheon (cf. SPIEGEL 1861: 9). Nēryōsangh seems not to follow any predetermined rule in the process of translation, and the content of his work can be confusing for non-Zoroastrian readers. For this reason, we can assume that this translation was composed for Pārsī Zoroastrians, who were familiar neither Avestan nor Pahlavi any more. The choice of Sankrit, the sacred language of the Hindus, was motivated by its perception as a more solemn and widespread language than the regional Gujarati. Moreover, this option allowed non-Zoroastrian Indians the opportunity to read the sacred texts of the Pārsīs and, in this way, provided them with access to the Avestan corpus.
2.2 Some Reflections on the Sun Cult

 [...] sūrya ātmā jagastasthūṣaśca
“[...] the sun is the soul of movable and immovable things”
Ṛgveda I. 115, 1

hārdaṃ hanti prathamamuditā yā tamaḥ suṣrūtānāṃ [...] - Sāṃbapañcāśikā 17a

The sun god has been praised since Vedic times. He is a visible god, and with his light and heat he creates and preserves life. In the Ṛgveda, we find many glorifications of the sun (cf. for example hymn I. 35 to Savitṛ) and of Mitra (III. 59; VII. 61), the solar deity that comes to be identified with one of the Ādityas. Even in the Avesta, the sun Hvar and the god Miθra (cf. in particular Mihr Yašt, the tenth Yašt) are repeatedly celebrated.

In the Ṛgveda (III. 62, 10), we also have the Gāyatrī mantra⁵⁰² (or Sāvitrī, since it is consecrated to Savitṛ), one of the most sacred mantras of Hinduism in general, and especially meaningful to the sun-worshippers.

Another phenomenon that has been associated with the sun cult until the present day has it roots in the Vedic period: the sun-time relation. We are evidently dealing with an intuitive association, because the presence of the sun divides day from night, and the same is true of the months, seasons etc. The Maitṛī (or Maitṛāṇyīya) Upaniṣad 6, 14 discusses this sun-time relation, stating that before the sun, there was the ‘no-time’, and it was incomplete; the sun gave rise to time, which is complete. Such time consists of the twelve months of the year:

Il Brahman ha due aspetti, il tempo e il non tempo. Quello che è prima del sole è il non tempo, incompleto. Quello che comincia con il sole è il tempo ed è completo.

According to SRIVASTAVA (1996: 21 f.), this relation that dates from the Vedic period is ‘a pointer to the high metaphysical background of the Sun-worship. […] The Sun appears to be

---

⁵⁰² Skr.: om bhūr bhuvah svāḥ
   tat savitur vareṇyam/
   bhargo devasya dhīmahi
   dihiyo yo nah pracoḍayt //

⁵⁰³ BÄUMER (2007: 8) writes, ‘[…] The origin of time is the sun. The forms of time is the year, which consists of twelve months and is composed of moments and other measurement of time … It has been said: As many divisions of time as there are, in all of these moves the yonder sun. […]’
the heart of the mystery of Time, presiding over death and immortality.’ Therefore, since ancient times, this association has had a natural explanation and an elaborate symbology. The same connection exists in the epics and Purāṇas. In the Purāṇic sections related to the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas, the sun is called ‘Kāla’ on various occasions (SP. 24, 15a/Bh. I. 127, 14a: kālo hy eṣa [...]; SP. 43, 16b: tvam deva [...] kālah [...]; Bh. I. 139, 58b: sun devotees are called kālasya yajvinaḥ, ‘time-worshippers’). We will see that, even in sun temples, the representation of time is abundantly present. Finally, we must remark that the connection is not exclusively with the sun, but that time is often conceived in relation to astrology in general (cf. SCHEFTELOWITZ 1929: 13).

Beside Purānic literature, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, which frequently mention the sun god and the prayers addressed to him (cf. for example the story of Karna in the Mahābhārata and the ādityahr̥ dayastotram in the Rāmāyana), in classical Sanskrit literature we also find some works belonging to the Saura culture.

The Sūryaśataka of Mayūra is a poem of one hundred stanzas in praise of the sun god. Sūrya, with all his epithets, his chariot, his disk and his rays, is celebrated as the supreme god of the universe.

We are not sure about the dates of Mayūra, but evidence suggests that he flourished in the first half of the seventh century. Based on a statement from Bāṇa, the famous seventh-century writer, we may conclude that Mayūra was an early friend of his, even though the identification of this figure with the poet of the Sūryaśataka is not certain (cf. QUACKENBOS 1917: 3). Various sources, from 900 A.D. ca. to the seventeenth century, mention the relationship between Mayūra and Bāṇa. Other authors place the poets at the court of king Harṣa, where Mayūra emerged as forerunner in contests of eloquence. Maybe there was a feeling of rivalry between the two poets, who were probably also kin.505 The life of Mayūra is reported in a large number of other authors’ works, as well as in Jaina commentaries. Jaina literature substituted king Harṣa with king Bhoja, who, as we will see, is important in the sun-cult context, especially in relation to the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. In any case, what is particularly meaningful in the biography of Mayūra is that, according to the legend, he contracted leprosy. The different accounts of his life report that the disease was due to a curse by his wife or to the karmic result of his actions in a previous life; another version narrates that he recited illicit verses about his

504 Bāṇa, in his Harṣacarita, includes a list of his friends, and jāṅguliko Māyūrakaha is one of them. The meaning and the importance of the term jāṅgulika- will be discussed later.
505 In the account of Yajñēśvara Śāstri’s (who edited and added his own commentary to the Sūryaśataka), Mayūra’s sister was Bāṇa’s wife, so they were brothers-in-law (cf. QUACKENBOS 1917: 26). In other versions, Mayūra’s daughter was Bāṇa’s wife.
daughter’s charms, and she cursed him. The most significant part is that, like Sāmba, he prayed to the sun for his recovery. In the sixth stanza of the Sūryaśataka, he states, ‘The Hot-rayed one (Sūrya) alone makes anew and cures those/Who, because long rank and with a multitude of sins,/Have shriveled noses, feet and hands […]’ (Ivi: 114). The healing power of the sun is once again the main focus in matters of sun-worship.

The author clearly had a good knowledge of previous literature in praise of Sūrya (Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, the Purāṇas etc.), and we find echoes of this in the stanzas of the Sūryaśātaka.

Another common topic is the presence of snakes: in stanza 81, the sun god is praised by the ‘Lords of the Serpents’ (ahipatibhir, Ivi: 202). Bāṇa refers to Mayūra as jāṅgulika-, ‘snake doctor’ or ‘snake charmer’, possibly someone who prepares antidotes; this is supported by a stanza by Rājaśekhara (from the Sāktimuktāvali; cf. Ivi: 5) that states that of all the poets, it is Mayūra’s voice that has the same effect on snakes that poison does. Whether Mayūra was really a doctor specialized in antidotes or not, the presence of snakes (and maybe of medicine, too!) is very significant with regard to the sun’s devotees and the context of sun worship.

Finally, the topic of water in relation to the sun cult is mentioned in the poem. Sūrya acts as a sort of basin for water, which is drawn up from the earth and afterwards poured down again in the form of rain (cf. stanzas 9, 14, 30, 73, 91 and 93). The sun is generally described as ‘made of water’ or the ‘creator of water’ in the poem, but we also find some peculiar and lyrical images, like in stanza 14: during the rainy season, the rays of the sun, ‘as if [they had been] made sick by excessive drinking, they vomit out [this] water,/And in winter are, [in consequence], feeble […]’ (Ivi: 127). In stanza 30, the sun is depicted as ‘[…] the swift bringer of joy through rain […]’ (Ivi: 145), and in stanza 73, the disk of the sun is described as ‘[…] the reservoir of rain-water, and the mighty drinking-cup/[Full] of the water [that is as] ambrosia to the earth’ (Ivi: 194).

Over the centuries, the Sūryaśātaka has been appreciated by rhetoricians, and has been quoted even by Abhinavagupta and Mammata. The commentaries on it are numerous: Ṭribhuvanapāla, Yagneśvara, [Madhusūdana, Vallabhaḍeva, Jayamangala], Śrīrangaḍeva, [Gangāḍhara, Bālambhatta, Harivamśa], Gopīnātha, [Jagannātha, Rāmabhatta, Anvayamukha], Rāmacandṛa, and some anonymous writers have all authored commentaries on it (cf. KRISHNAMACHARIAR 1987: 328).

We can affirm without a doubt that the Sūryaśātaka is perfectly in line with the Purānic legends of Sāmba, his devotion to the sun and the Śākadvīpīya Brahmans. Furthermore, the poet identifies himself with Sāmba, since he praises the sun for curing him of leprosy. Whether
this biographical element is reliable or not is not important; the episode highlights a deep knowledge of Purāṇic materials, which in turn are directly connected with the migration of the Śākadvīpīyas. Srivastava (1996: 41) states, ‘Indian Sun-cult occupied a unique position among the religious system of India in the sense that it was the only sect which came to be formally associated with a foreign priesthood and developed under its influence in ancient times.’ This is very true because, according to various authors and frequent statements, the Śākadvīpīyas were the only ones who could actually participate in the sun cult, being the leading specialists in matters of sun worship.

Another work certainly connected with Samba’s legend is the Sāmbapañcāśikā, which is traditionally attributed to Samba himself. It is a lyric masterpiece, and among the stotras in praise of Sūrya, ‘Sāmbapañcāśikā ranks supreme’⁵⁰⁶; the reason for this being considered the most important hymn in the Saura context is that it ‘[…] articule l’adoration du Soleil, conçu ici comme l’Être absolu selon une perspective non-dualiste, au Yoga et à la philosophie de la Parole (Vāk)’ (Chenet 1993, 255).

We can determine the terminus ante quem for this text based on the commentary of Kṣemarāja, whom we know lived in the eleventh century.⁵⁰⁷ As it is a Kashmiri text, we should consider it with reference to the spread of the sun cult in Kashmir, the best testimony of which is the temple of Mārtanda⁵⁰⁸ (not far from the city of Anandnāg), dated to the eighth century; we can state with sufficient certainty that the Sāmbapañcāśikā was also composed around the eighth century (cf. Bāumer 2006: 2). Since the style and the expressions employed recall those of Kāliḍāsa and Bhavabhūti, we may suppose that the author drew inspiration from the two poets; therefore, he may also have lived around the ninth century (cf. Krishnamachariar 1987: 329).

The work is a praise poem, and it functions perfectly within the context of Samba’s legend, the story of his disease and healing by the sun god. In verse 46a, it is stated that the sun bestows freedom from disease (ye cārogyam diśyati; Bāumer 2006: 22). Recovery from leprosy is only a secondary aim of reciting this stuti, the primary one purely being spiritual devotion to and worship of the sun.

The topics related to the sun god are basically the same as those of other Saura works. In the first verse, the sun’s seven horses are compared to the seven notes. In the third one, we find a mention of the sun who manifests the world in twelve forms (jagadbhāsayandvādaśātmā; Ivi:

---

⁵⁰⁶ Krishnamachariar 1987: 328.
⁵⁰⁷ For the text of the Sāmbapañcāśikā and the commentary of Kṣemarāja, see Kendārnātha 1910.
⁵⁰⁸ Note the figure of Mārtanda-Bhairava, a composite form of the sun and Śiva that is central to Saura Tantrism.
The natural phenomenon of sunlight and its importance for living beings is underlined in the hymn (cf. for example verse 24; *Ivi*: 16), but in the commentary, Kṣemarāja is interested only in the speculative and esoteric aspects of sun worship: sunlight is the Light of Consciousness. The sun in general is a symbol of light, but in the Kashmiri Śaivite context, it also comes to coincide with the supreme Consciousness (*chit*), identified with Śiva in turn.

The *Sāṃbapañcāśikā* perfectly represents the Tantric Saura tradition, which later disappeared, completely absorbed by Śaiva Tantrism. Although the text testifies to the superimposition of Śaivism on the Saura cult, ‘Śiva is not mentioned at all in this purely Saura hymn’ (*Ivi*: 2). Only Viṣṇu is named (twice), but there is no mention of Śiva at all.

The hymn enumerates the three forms of Sūrya: one is the manifestation of Śiva in eight forms (*aṣṭamūrti*); another is *prāṇa*; and the third is the sun as the visible symbol of the divine. In fact, it is only in Kṣemarāja’s commentary that the identification with Śiva becomes explicit, because the text is a hymn devoted entirely to the sun god.

This Saura Tantrism is attested also in the ‘second’ section of the *Sāṃba-purāṇa*, which is intermingled with the ‘first’ non-Tantric (and definitely more ancient) one. In the second section of the *Sāṃba-purāṇa* (ch. 53–83), some chapters (53–55) are evidently Saura but show a Śaiva influence, whereas the remaining ones are purely in praise of Śiva and the *liṅga*. HAZRA (1955: 84) postulates that the latter part might have been drawn ‘from some works of the Śaivas and adapted to the needs of the Tantrik Sauras with certain modifications.’

The imposition of the Śaiva cult onto the Saura one probably started around the sixth century. Varāhamihira, the famous astrologer and astronomer who himself probably belonged to the Śākadvīpīya group, presented the calendar of the Magas in the first chapter of his *Pañcasiddhāntikā*. The list of the ‘lords of the degrees’ highlights astonishing correspondences with the Zoroastrian calendar, even though the list is ‘[…] strongly arranged according to a Śaiva orientation’ (PANAINO 1996: 577) and ‘[…] also some Viṣṇuitic aspects were endorsed […]’ (*Ivi*: 580). This is perfectly in line with the Saura tendency towards Śaivism, although at this stage, the sun god and his worship are still the central focus. In the sixth century, we also have the temple dedicated to Mihireśvara, built by the hūṇa sovereign Mihirakula; the king himself left an inscription in which he claims to have built a temple for the sun god. We know that, under Mihirakula’s reign, Śaivism was superimposed onto the Saura

---

cult. This testifies to the fact that this tendency had already begun by the sixth century. The Garūḍa-purāṇa, too, identifies Sūrya with Śiva.

In the Sāmba- and Bhavisya-purāṇas, three centres of the sun cult are described. In particular, Bhavisya- I. 72 states:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sthānāni trīṇi devasya dvīpe 'smin bhāskarasya tu /} \\
pūrvam mitravanam nāma tathā munḍīram ucyate // 4 \\
kālapriyam tr̥ṭīyam tu triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam / 5a
\end{align*}
\]

‘Three are indeed the places of the god Bhāskara in this land (dvīpa, referring to Jambudvīpa, generally identified with India). The first is named Mitravana, [the second] is called Munḍīra; the third [place is] Kālapirya, known in the three worlds.’

The three solar places have been identified with North Indian locations: Mitravana or Mūlasthāna with Multān in Punjab; Munḍīra or Sutīra or Ravikṣetra with Koṇārka/Koṇārak in Orissa; and Kālapriya with Kalpi in Uttar Pradesh or Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh.

Multān is considered the first settlement of the Brāhmaṇas coming from Śākadvīpa (cf. chapter 5). We also have the description of Xuánzàng (Hsüan-tsang), who arrived in Mūlasthānapura (Multān) in the seventh century, where he found a sun temple: ‘[...] This country is in dependence of the kingdom of Cheka (Tse-kia). [...] There is a temple dedicated to the sun, very magnificent and profusely decorated. The image of the Sun-deva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems. Its divine insight is mysteriously manifested and its spiritual power made plain to all [...]’ (BEAL 1980: 463).

Four centuries later, al-Bīrūnī stated that Multān was known as ‘Sāmbapurā’ and that people celebrated a solar festivity there: ‘The Hindus of Mūltān have a festival which is called Sāmbapurayātrā; they celebrate it in honour of the sun, and worship him [...]’ (SACHAU 1983: II, 184; cf. also WEBER 1957: 106).

According to SRIVASTAVA (1996: 6), the first section of the Sāmba-purāṇa—the section that is incorporated in the Bhavisya-purāṇa — was actually composed in Punjab. The second part, clearly Tantric in its inspiration, was probably composed in Orissa, where we have

---

512 Cf. SRIVASTAVA 2013: XVII. HUMBACH (1978: 234) proposes a slightly different identification for these places: ‘In a few more recent passages of the SP. and BhP. the story of Sāmba is brought into connection not only with the sanctuary of Mitravana in the West but also with that of Kālapriya at the border of the Yamunā (i.e. Mathurā) and with that of Tapovana or Munḍīra/Suṇḍīra/Sutīra/Puṇḍīra in the east (i.e. Koṇārak in Orissa).’
monumental evidence of the Tantric form of the sun cult in the temple of Koṇārka. The Sūrya temple in the Koṇārka complex was built in the thirteenth century at the behest of king Narasiṁha (1238–1264). It certainly represents one of the most important examples of the magnificent celebration of the sun god. ‘Among these the Sun-temple of Koṇārka had been the greatest, as can be seen even from the impressive surviving ruins. Situated at the east coast of Orissa, near the mouth of the (now dried up) Candrabhāgā river, the Koṇārka Sun-temple […] stands as a witness to the importance of the cult of Sūrya in the ancient and medieval India […]’ (BÄUMER 2007: 3). The name Koṇārka itself seems to be understood as ‘the [eastern] corner (koṇa) sacred to the Sun-God (arka)’ (ibid.). Koṇa- is also the designation of the planet Saturn. The temple tradition is also closely associated with numerology (cf. paragraph 1.5).

The northwestern part of India was an important centre of the sun cult. This was probably also due to the importance of sun worship in the neighbouring lands of the Sīstān-Hilmand region of Afghanistan, in which for instance the temple of Sunagir, Zoon or Zoor, was built (HABIBI 1972; cf. also SRIVASTAVA 1996: 44).

The above-mentioned temples were very important in ancient times, both for sun worship as well as for the Śākadvīpīya communities. Nowadays, Śākadvīpīya people still go to visit these temples, even if they are no longer active. Today they have new cult centres; one example, in Rājasthān, is the Sūrya temple in Rāṇakpur, between the cities of Udaipur and Jodhpur. It was made of white limestone and built in classical Nagara style; its first construction dates back to the thirteenth century. The decoration is intricate and accurate, glorifying the sun god seated on his chariot (cf. paragraph 5.2).
2.3 The Iconography of the Sun God

I have already dealt with the topic of the sun’s iconography in Palladino 20??a. Since it constitutes one of the most peculiar aspects of the North Indian sun cult, it is necessary to add some further details.

In Sāmba-purāṇa 31, the ideal image of the god, based on the one found in the Candrabhāgā river by Sāmba, is described. First, the measurements of its parts are listed; then, we have a description of its attributes. It should have long eyes with thick eyelashes, and be smiling, with red-coloured lips like the Bimba fruit; it should wear the avyaṅga (v. 18), a diadem/crown (mukuta-, v. 17b), and many other ornaments, like bracelets, bangles, a necklace, anklets and earrings. In both hands, the sun god should hold a lotus. 514 The idol is a perfect synthesis of typical Indian elements, like the lotus, and Iranian attributes, like the avyaṅga and perhaps the diadem/crown515, too.

The above-mentioned astronomer and astrologer Varāhamihira, in adhyāya 58 of his Bṛhatṣamhitā, adopts the same structure: he gives the measurements of the sun’s statue and then describes it. The god should be dressed in northern style, and his dress should cover his body from breast to feet; he must wear armour. He should hold a lotus in both hands, and wear a diadem and the girdle around his waist (here the avyaṅga- is called viyadga-); he must have earrings and a necklace. His face should be pleasant, with a smile (vv. 46–48). The similarities between the two descriptions are evident. In Varāhamihira’s text, we have another important Iranian element, the long garment, which recalls the Kuṣāṇa dress or a similar garment. 516 On a statue and relief found in Mathurā, the sun god wears a long, heavy garment and boots, and holds a sword. 517 Pandey (1971: 139) specifies that, also in the Matsya-purāṇa, the sun idol is described as holding a lotus in both hands.

Varāhamihira then adds (adhyāya 60, 19; cf. Sastri 1946: 525) that the priests charged with installing the sun god’s image are the Magas. Chapter 177 of the Varāha-purāṇa also refers to the installation of the sun’s image. First, it narrates the story of Sāmba’s curse and recovery (Iyer 1985: 526–529); in the end, Krṣṇa’s son installs the sun’s image in Mathurā, and the place is named Sāmbapura in honor of him (v. 58; Ivi: 530; cf. also Banerjea 1974: 158).

515 The crown may symbolize the xarənah, the royal power, often depicted as a nimbus or directly as a crown.
516 The long garment is also useful for obscuring Sūrya’s feet. According to the the Purānic legend (SP. 11/Bh. I. 79, but also Matsya-purāṇa, ch.. 32; cf. Pandey 1971: 139 as well as Ivi: 183), Viśvakarman shaped the sun’s form only down to his knees; therefore the feet, with their excessive splendour, must not be exposed.
517 Cf. Chakraberti 1981. These two pieces definitely exhibit typical Kuṣāṇa dress.
The northern iconography of the sun is characterized by this union of Indian and Iranian elements; this perfectly reflects the syncretistic features of the cultures that inhabited the lands between India and Iran (Śakas, Kuṣāṇas, Hūṇas etc.), and who reached North India during the first centuries of the Common Era. In that period, we find a complete identification of Mit(h)ra with the sun god. Already in the first century B.C., with the inscription of Antiochus I at Commagene, we find the ‘Mithra-Helios-Apollo-Hermes’ figure, showing both the identification of Mithra with the sun god (Helios), and their combination with Greek deities. This tendency is also clear from the coinage of the Kuṣāṇa kings, especially the well-known Kaniṣka (Kaniška). On these coins, Mithra is associated with Helios, and the god’s name is MIIRO (or MIORO)\(^{518}\); this is the form of the name that appears in Sanskrit texts as Mihira.

The anthropomorphic form is probably due to Greek influence as well. In India and in Iran, the sun used to be represented as a disk. Particularly from the first centuries A.D., the human appearance of the sun acquired importance in both areas. In India, this anthropomorphic representation was canonized in the Gupta period. In any case, the northern iconography of this god differs from the southern.\(^{519}\) Among the Iranian attributes, the avyaṅga is surely the most important in our perspective, because it shows a prescription directly connected with the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas.

Bh. I. 142:

\[ nāgarājāṅgasambhūto dhṛto yasmāc ca bhānuṇā // 4b \]
\[ tat tasmād dhāryate sūryapṛītyai tadbhaktim icchatā / 5a \]

‘Since it (the avyaṅga), [which is] made of the skin of the Nāga king, is worn by Bhānu, it is worn by Sūrya’s beloved ones, who desire [to participate in] his adoration.’

Leaving aside the very interesting topic of the snakeskin for the moment, the avyaṅga represents a peculiar attribute of the Śākadvīpīyas. PANDEY (1971: 179) argues that this attribute of the sun is a later addition, because it is present only in the Gupta and post-Gupta period. As a matter of fact, it is not possible to date the sections of the Sāmba- and Bhaviṣya-purāṇas that mention this ritual object for the first time. Varāhamihira mentions it as well (though he calls it by another name), and it is perfectly in line with the trend of the first centuries A.D. Furthermore, we have no proof of the presence of the Śākadvīpīyas on Indian soil before the second century A.D. (cf. paragraph 4.3). We may postulate that this peculiar iconography had

\(^{518}\) On this topic, see THOMAS 1876; MACDOWALL 1975; Id. 1978; HUMBACH 1975; SHRAVA 1985.

\(^{519}\) NAGAR (1995: 135) describes all the different types of northern clothing found in the various texts. Cf. also BANERJEA 1952.
its roots in the Śākadvīpīya texts and tradition, or that the Śākadvīpīya tradition adopted this peculiar feature of the sun god, rich in foreign elements, to augment its own specific identity. Thus we risk a ‘chicken and egg’ situation, but I do not think it is necessary to establish whether the Śākadvīpīya cult influenced the iconography or vice versa; the fundamental and undeniable element is that the two entities were deeply connected.

We mentioned the fact that the figure of Mit(h)ra merged with that of the sun god. According to GRENET (2006), ‘the Central Asian type of Mithra as charioteer deeply influenced the iconography of the Indian Sūrya, including the costume.’ Very important is the symbology of the horses that draw the sun’s/Mit(h)ra’s chariot: constituting a group of seven in later times, they represent the seven days of the week and, in classical literature, the seven notes etc. This iconography influenced Bactria and the neighbouring regions, as well. Mit(h)ra, as the sun, has been very popular across Central and South Asia throughout history; moreover, Mithraic cults reached the West as well. From an iconographical, cultural and religious point of view, the influence was bidirectional. A curious example of Indian attributes being exported to Iran is the representation of Mithra, standing on a lotus, on the Sasanian relief at Tāq-e Bustān. The lotus is clearly a solar attribute, but it features a thick stem and its petals completely open, recalling the Indian style. Moreover, this is the only example of this kind of representation in Sasanian art. The lotus has even been interpreted as the RV xvarǝnah, abiding in the waters.

Finally, we must underscore the fact that not only does the sun god/Mit(h)ra have a prescribed iconography, but so do Śāṁba and his family. The Br̥hatasṃhitā (LVIII, 40) describes the characteristic iconography of Śāṁba and his wife, along with that of Pradyumna and his consort.

sāmbaśca gadāhastaḥ pradyumnaścāpabhṛt surūpaśca /
anayoḥ striyau ca kāryhe khetakaniṃśadhārinyaḥ // 40

‘Samba should be made with a mace in his hand; Pradyumna, endowed with a charming body, with a bow in his hand. Their wives also should be made holding swords and shields in their hands’ (SASTRI 1946: 513).

520 Cf. PALLADINO 20??c.
522 Cf. GRENET 2006.
523 See also BANERJEA 1974: 31.
2.4 Śākadvīpa

Śākadvīpa is one of the seven dvīpa or islands, and it is generally conceived as the sixth in the Purānic and epic lists. The island is surrounded by the Milk Ocean. Many scholars have dealt with the real geographical position of Śākadvīpa. On many occasions, it has been identified with the ‘land of the Śakas’, i.e. Iran or the Central Asiatic lands between Iran and India, where these Śaka tribes used to live. The Mahābhārata affirms that all the names of the dvīpas, with the exception of Krauṇca, come from the names of plants and trees. In fact, in the Bhīṣma-parvan (11, 28), it is stated that in the centre of the continent, there is a huge teak (śaka-) tree, a descendant of Kuru. The teak tree is indigenous to both peninsulas of India. Granted an early acquaintance with Indo-China, the tradition which connects the name Śākadvīpa with the Śaka tree and with the east, is more credible than the later tradition which derives the name from that of a tribe in the north-west where there are no Śaka trees’ (Clark 1919: 223).

The island is also described in these paragraphs as a land of ‘rivers full of sacred waters’ (Cherniak 2008: 91), with long-lived people who are honest and respect the social order (cf. ibid.).

In the same parvan (Mahābhārata VI. 6, 55), we also find mention of the term Nāgadvīpa, where the Kumbakonan edition reads Śākadvīpa. This is very interesting with respect to the fact that snakes and especially the nāgas are very important in the Śākadīpya cult (cf. paragraph 2.7).

Many scholars propose to identify Śākadvīpa with Sakastāna, identified in turn with the Drangiana (Zranka) satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire. This region or a part of it probably acquired the name *Sakastān due to a significant immigration of Saka (Śaka) to this land. Medieval Islamic sources mention it as Siğistān, known also to Isidore of Charax in the Greek variant Σαχαστάνη. The first attestation of the term Sakastanē was probably the inscription of Śāhpuhr I (241–272 A.D.) at Naqš-i Rustam.

References: Mahābhārata 6. 7. 20; 6. 11. 27–28; 6. 12. 6–7; Vāyu-purāṇa 35. 32; 49. 27, 34, 45, 61, 132–135; Matsya-purāṇa 114. 75; 122. 27, 81; 123. 36-39; Bhāgavata-purāṇa 5. 20. 2, 8, 13, 18, 24, 30; Viṣṇu-purāṇa 2. 2. 18; 2. 4. 18, 33, 44 (cf. Clark 1919: 223, n. 65).

For the Sanskrit text and the translation, see Cherniak 2008: 90 f.

Clark 1919: 222.

For the Sanskrit text and the translation, see Cherniak 2008: 90 f.

Clark 1919: 222.


Schoff 1976: 9; cf. also Daffinà 1967: 3.

For further information on this topic, see Daffinà 1967: 3 ff.
We have already dealt with the names of social classes on this island (cf. paragraph 1.3). The Maga Brāhmaṇas, flying on Garuḍa, reached India, according to the Purānic legend.

Carter’s theory (1981: 85 ff.) about the migration of the Magas from Śākadvīpa (identified with Iran or this ‘Śaka land’) to India is curious and interesting. During the third century, Kirdīr, a strictly orthodox Zoroastrian high priest, carried out a religious reform, destroying idols, condemning heresies and attacking any other religious cult, like Manicheism, Judaism, Christianism, Brahmanism and Buddhism (cf. Kirdīr’s inscription at Naqš-i Bustān, KNRM; cf. Mackenzie 1989). In the same inscription, Kirdīr mentions Sakastāna twice, at lines 14 and 23,531 as being the place where these events took place. Carter believes that the Zoroastrian reform and the persecution of other cults could have caused the Magas to leave Sakastāna and move to India, firstly to Multān. Probably, the Magas had maintained their peculiar Mit(h)raic-solar cult, and Kirdīr was punishing all the Magi that did not carry out correct Mazdā-worshipping practices. Due to the evidence of the Magas having settled in India before the third century (cf. Ptol. Geog. 123, 19), it is possible that a second wave of Magas, having fled Kirdīr’s reform, could have joined the previously-migrated Magas, who had been in India possibly since Achaemenid times.532

532 Cf. paragraph 4.3.
2.5 King Bhoja

Another very interesting issue in the history of the development of a peculiar type of Hindū sun cult is the name of the king Mihira Bhoja (cf. TRIPATHI 1999: 321 f.; CHAURASIA 2002: 207 ff.; ROTHERMUND 2007: 6, 111) of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, who ruled over Northwest India from 836 to 885 A.D. He was the successor of Rāmabhada and he reigned for half a century. His kingdom was characterized by peace and prosperity, and he respected learned men; Raj Shenkhar was his court poet. The Arab traveller Sulaiman (or Soleiman) al-Tajir wrote about him in 851 A.D.: ‘The king of Gurjars maintains numerous faces and no other Indian prince has so fine cavalry. He has great riches and his camels and horses are numerous. There is no country in India more safe (sic!) from the robbers’ (CHAURASIA 2002: 207). He adopted the title of adivaraha, the primordial boar, avatāra of Viṣṇu, which was also depicted on his coins. Mihira Bhoja was a devotee of Viṣṇu, attesting to the fact that in the ninth century, Saura and Vaiṣṇava elements were deeply intermingled.

In Bhaviṣya-purāṇa I. 140–141, we find some references to women of the Bhoja family; Sāmba made them marry the Magas, and from their union the Bhojakas were born: [...] bhojakanyāsu jātadvād bhojakās tena te smṛtāḥ // ‘Because they were born from Bhoja women, they were known as Bhojakas’ (BH. I. 140, 35a). Obviously, the Bhoja to whom the Purāṇa refers could be the well-known king Bhoja (ca. 1000–1500 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty. He seems to have been an exceptional ruler, fond of learning and literature, and himself the author of a large number of works on grammar, astronomy, yoga and architecture, as well as poetry. He is also associated with the Bhojśālā, the centre of Sanskrit studies, and the foundation of the Bhojpur temple. Moreover, this sovereign is mentioned in relation to the poet Mayūra, the

533 The origin of Gurjara dynasty is uncertain. Probably, they entered India along with the Hephtalites (or White Hūnas) around the fifth century, although most historians now believe that they had an indigenous origin. In any case, the name ‘Gurjara’ does not appear before the end of the sixth century (see s.v. ‘Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty’, in the Encyclopaedia Britannica online, available at https://www.britannica.com/topic/Gurjara-Pratihara-dynasty#ref173884).

534 Bh. I. 140: magānāṃ kāraṇārthena prāṛthitā bhojavamsajāḥ //
vasudevasya pauṭrenā gotrajena mahātmānā //
kanyādānāṃ kṛtaṃ teṣāṃ maṇiṃ bhojakottamaḥ //
savṛṣā tāḥ sahiṣṭhāḥ kanyāḥ pravālamānībhūṣitāḥ //
Bh. I. 141: [...] dattā bhojakulotpannā daśabhuyo daśakanyakāḥ / 6a
dāsakanyakās tu yaś cāṣṭau bhojakanyāś ca ya daśa /
etāśa teṣām kumārānāṁ jñeyās tā daśa cāṣṭa ca // 7
atra te bhojakanyāśa dvijair utpadātāḥ suāḥ /
bhojakās tān gaṇān prāṛhur brāhmaṅanā divyasamjñitān //

535 WILLIS 2012: passim. For further information about king Bhoja I, see for instance the first issue of volume 22 of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland (2012), entirely dedicated to him and his dynasty.
author of the Sūryaśataka, discussed previously; Jaina literature locates the poet at this king’s court (cf. QUACKENBOS 1917: 29, 41–43).

In addition to these historical figures, the name Bhoja is well-known in literature, too, especially in epic and Purānic materials. Two kings in the Mahābhārata are called Bhoja: the king of an ancient country named Mārttrikāvata (Ādi-parvan) and the king of Yaduvaṁśa (Śānti-parvan).536 ‘Bhoja’ is also the name of a clan that takes part in the story of the birth of the mace, as told in the Mausala-parvan. A Bhoja is present in the R̥ gveda, too; he is a follower of Sudās, who helps Viśvāmitra in performing his aśvamedha. Finally, he is known as the king of Kānyakubja in the Skanda-purāṇa.537

Therefore, it is very difficult to decide which historical or mythological figure could be the king Bhoja mentioned in the Bhavisya-purāṇa, though this piece of information is not particularly important. What is meaningful is that the name Bhoja had great resonance, and was associated with great figures, both in history and in mythology. This would have conferred respect and greatness to his offspring, Bhojakas included.

---

537 Ibid. f.
2.6 The Number Twelve

One recurrent element in the materials linked to the Śākdvīpīyas is the presence of the number twelve. The sun himself is *dvadaṣātman*538, ‘the one who has twelve forms’, the twelfefold sun, which clearly includes the twelve Ādityas, twelve hypostases representing the sun during the twelve months of the year (cf. CHENET 1993: 350). The twelve Ādityas, the sons of Aditi, are listed differently in the *Ṛgveda* (in which they appear to be only 78539), in the *Bhagavata-purāṇa*, in the *Liṅga-purāṇa* and in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. In the Sāmba- and Bhavisya-purāṇas, the twelve forms of the sun are listed and their meanings explained (SP. 4, 6–20 / Bh. I. 74, 7–22).540 Among these names of the sun god, Ravi can stand also for the number twelve (cf. MW: 869, I). The importance of this twelfefold aspect of the sun is constantly present in the Saura tradition: Mayūra mentions them also in the 94th stanza of his famous *Sūryaśataka* (seventh century AD).

The predominance of this number is also clear in the previously mentioned temple of Koṇārka (Koṇārak) in Orissa: the Sūrya chariot has twelve double wheels, standing for the twelve months of the year (or the 24 half-months – *pākṣa*), consecrated to the twelve constellations. Moreover, the seven horses symbolize the seven days of the week. For this reason, the sun chariot in Koṇārka can be considered the representation of the universal Time.541 According to tradition, the building of the temple lasted twelve years, and twelve-thousand artisans were engaged in its construction. As BÄUMER (2007: 5) correctly states, ‘[…] the number twelve is symbolic for the entire temple, for Sūrya and the legends associated with it.’

This number also appears in the later tradition of the *Magavyakti* (cf. chapter 3): one of the names of the Maga families is Bāra, related to *dvādaśa*-‘twelve’ (RATNACHANDRAJI 1923-1932; MYLIUS 2003: 471; SUTHAR 2003: 141).

The number twelve is well attested also in the Iranian tradition, especially in relation to the Magi. The Biblical Magi appear to be twelve in number in the ancient tradition of the *Chronicle of Zuqnín*, quoted also in other works. An Ethiopian tradition follows this Syrian one, and both of them show a preponderant Iranian influence (cf. PANAINO 2016b: 68 ff.). Even in this case,

---

538 SP. 3, 3: *dvādasabhāgena mitreṇa*
SP. 4, 5/Bh. I. 74, 7: *dvādaśadhātmānam adityām*
This name of the sun is attested also in the *Amarakośa*, and in the *Sāmbapañcāśikā* 3, where the sun is said to manifest the world in its twelve forms.
539 There is the problem of Mārtāṇḍa, the Dead Egg, caused to die by his mother Aditi, probably because of a ritual error. On this topic, see in particular HOFFMANN 1992 and in PANAINO 2013, chapter 9 (pp. 133–143).
540 On this topic and on the peculiar aspect of the Mitra-form see PALLADINO 20??a.
541 CF. BÄUMER 2007: 11.
the number twelve can symbolize the number of zodiacal constellations, relating to the astronomical knowledge of the Magi. The tribes of Persia also number twelve (just like the tribes of Israel), as do the Babylonian wise astrologers who, according to Pahlavi and Persian texts, supported by Islamic sources, disputed with Zarathuštra at the court of king Wistāšp.\textsuperscript{542}

Therefore, it is evident that the twelve have a strong symbology in connection with the sun god and the Magi: it is related to the months of the year and the astrological constellations, both predominant elements in the astrological knowledge of the sun-worshipping Magas/Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas.

\textsuperscript{542} On this specific topic, see PANAINO 2007.
2.7 The Mār Nāmeh and the Role of Serpents in Indian and Iranian Culture

Snakes are a very important presence in the literature concerning the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. The pertinent sections of the Sāmba- and Bhaviṣya-purāṇas are rich with elements directly or indirectly recalling these reptiles. In Bh. I. 142, 2–5 we find Vāsuki, the Nāga king, famous for having served as a rope in the renowned mythological episode of the churning of the Milk Ocean. In the Purāṇas, he offers the sacred girdle (avyaṅga-) to the sun god. It is made of the Nāga king’s skin and, in consequence, every devotee of the sun should wear an avyaṅga made of snakeskin. Moreover, OLDHAM (2010: 91) points out that Vāsuki is generally represented as holding a discus, which can be identified with the disc of the sun. The sun-serpent relation is abundantly present in Hindū mythology, and snakes are generally linked both with the god Śiva (in relation to the liṅga-) and to time. As we discussed previously, both Śiva and Kāla (the god of time) are inextricably connected with the sun. The figure of Mit(h)ra, the solar god of the Vedas and the Avesta, came to be identified with the sun himself; in Purānic times, Mitra and Mihira were considered two names of the sun god. Mithra as the god of time is described as a huge snake (mahāhis). In the Mit(h)raic cult we have Aion, generally depicted with a snake winding around his body. Moreover, the time-snake relation is present in many religious cosmogonies: for instance, in the Bible, the serpent causes the first man and woman to pass into the linear time of history.

Although the serpentine figures in the Vedas are not positive (like the demon Vṛtra), later Hinduism considers them semi-divine figures, connected with Śiva (as mentioned above) and Kubera; they are the guardians of Kubera’s wealth. Viṣṇu’s vehicle, Śeṣa or Ananta, is a serpent as well.

In Buddhism, the nāgas are preeminent figures. They are described as ‘schlangenartige, aquatisch, d.h. im Wasser oder im Bereich von Wasser lebende Wesen’ (DEEG 2008: 91). These aquatic beings are closely connected with the life of Buddha: for example, the nāga Mucilinda protects the Buddha from a heavy rainfall with his hood. Other important figures are the nāga king Kālika, as well as Elāpattra, who talks to the Buddha in the form of a huge serpent. Even if the nāgas perhaps played a more important role in South India, we have

---

543 This topic has been discussed extensively in PALLADINO 20??a.
544 The sun god is directly connected with snakes; cf. OLDHAM 2010, ‘The Sun and the Serpent’.
545 Cf. SCHEFTELOWITZ 1929: 18.
546 NABARAZ (2006: 5) remarks on the importance of this figure.
547 Ibid.
548 Cf. DEEG 2008: 92.
some evidence that their cult was associated with Buddhist locations in the north, especially in the lands where the Buddha lived. In Rājgīr (Bihār), a vessel with nāgas was found, testifying to the presence of the practice of Nāga worship, along with a fragmentary relief with nāga figures. The term nāga- is present also in association with various lay and monastic names in the Buddhist environment. At the Amarāvatī site, we find mention of two monks, Nāga and Nāgasena, and a nun, Nāgamitra, in the donor inscription. Even the names of the devotees, as recorded in the inscription, contain the term nāga-. These mythological reptiles are ambivalent figures in Buddhism, too. They could be also negative and violent beings, and for this reason, sovereigns cared about them and tried to keep them placated. Xuánzàng narrates two episodes in which a monastery was built by kings for the purpose of honouring of the nāgas. ‘The first was constructed by King Kanīṣka in order to subdue a troublesome nāga who had been causing fierce storms. Xuanzang goes on to mention that this monastery served to pacify the nāga, and if storms ever began to arise the resident monks would beat a drum in the monastery in order to remind the nāga of his vow to behave’ (DECAROLI 2004: 61). The Buddha himself had the assignment of pacifying them, because they could excite the forces of nature. According to Buddhism, the reborn nāgas had accumulated negative karman in the previous life, but decided to adhere to Buddhism, and for this reason they would be freed.

Hence, the features of serpents in Hinduism and Buddhism, such as their connection with the sun, waters and time, all reflect elements we also find in the Purāṇic texts.

The problem is with the alleged Iranian origins. ‘According to the Zadspram, the second of the five obligations prescribed for Zoroastrian priests consisted of distinguishing between beneficial animals and evil ones, and one of their professional implements was the “xrafstar-killer”, called in Middle Persian morgan, or “snake-killer”; it is described as a stick with a piece of leather attached to the end’ (MOAZAMI 2005: 305). The snake is the Ahrimanic symbol par excellence. In the Bundahišn (28.22), as well, it is stated that every Zoroastrian should carry a stick to kill xrafstra- (Av.; Pah. xrafstar) animals. This custom is mentioned in classical sources, too; Plutarch (De Iside et Osiride 46) reports the distinction between ‘good’ and ‘evil’ animals, as well as the Persian custom of celebrating the person who kills the highest number of ‘evil’ animals. Earlier still, Herodotus (His. I, 140) had recounted that the Magi used to kill animals, with the exception of dogs.

---

549 Cf. DECAROLI 2004: 58.
550 Ivi: 144.
551 DEEG 2008: 93.
552 NABARZ 2006: 12.
553 Reptiles, amphibians and insects are generally considered xrafstra- animals.
This custom finds a major exception in the *Mār Nāmeh*, ‘The Book of the Snake’. This is part of the *pārsī Revāyat*, a collection of poetry and prose texts composed between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. It seems that Iranians used the *Mār Nāmeh* to foretell the future; more precisely, it is ‘the book for reading omens from snakes’.\(^{554}\) In fact, the text deals with the effects that an encounter with a snake may have, according to the different days of the month. Some of them are indeed good omens; with reference to the day of the sun (eleventh day), ‘If you see a snake on the day of Khorsheed, happiness will come to you soon’ (NABARZ 2006: 28). Furthermore, the vision of a serpent on Mehr’s (Mithra’s) day (the sixteenth day) means that one will embark on a journey soon (*ibid.*). The good omens in relation to the sun or Mithra confirm the positive connection between these gods and snakes.

Therefore, serpents have not always belonged to the Ahrimanic sphere, even in the Zoroastrian world. Furthermore, in pre-Zoroastrian Iran, these animals were not perceived negatively; probably, their poisonous nature led to the demonization of these reptiles.\(^{555}\)

Finally, we must remark that in the Zurvanite cult, serpents are directly connected with Zurvan\(^{556}\) because, as god of time, he has snakes in his belly.\(^{557}\)

In the end, we have proof of a serpent cult even in the Iranian realm; despite the clear Zoroastrian hatred for these animals, their importance to Indian cults has been preserved in the Šākadvīpīya tradition, supported by the Iranian acceptance of snakes in pre-Zoroastrian and Zurvanite customs, and even within Zoroastrian tradition in the form of the *Mār Nāmeh*. In the end, even Sāmba acts like a snake, exchanging his leprous skin for a new, healthy one (Bh. I. 127, 28b): […] *tan mumoca malam sāmbo dehāt tvacam ivoragah* // ‘Sāmba [was] set free from that impurity [losing his] skin from [his] body like a serpent.’

\(^{554}\) Cf. MODI 1893.

\(^{555}\) Cf. NABARZ 2006: 12.

\(^{556}\) The figure of Zurvan has been connected to the Mithraic Aion (cf. for example F. CUMONT’s works on Mithraism, especially CUMONT 1903).

\(^{557}\) STIETENCRON 1966: 266.
2.8 The Prohibition of Agriculture

One might argue that the practice of owing goods is not appropriate for a Brāhmaṇa. In the Purānic texts, we find a prohibition against possessing property; otherwise, the Bhojakas would become like the devalaka Brāhmaṇas\(^\text{558}\) (cf. Bh. I. 117. 5; 139. 18, 21–22)\(^\text{559}\) and fall into disgrace.\(^\text{560}\) The idea of accepting material goods is considered degrading for a Brāhmaṇa. Even nowadays, Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas tend to underscore the fact that their priests do not accept any kind of material reward for their activity (cf. paragraph 5.1). For this reason, the prohibition of trade is understandable:\(^\text{561}\)\(vāṇijyaṃ krṣisevāṃ tu vedānāṃ nīmndanam ca ye / kurvaṃti bhojakā jñeyāḥ sarve te mama vairiṇah // \)\{‘The sun god said: …\} The Bhojakas who are involved in trade, in agriculture, and who despise the Vedas, they are all known for being my enemies’ (Bh. I. 147, 4). Beside the impropriety of trade (\(vāṇijya\)-), it is stated, here and in other sections of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, that Bhojakas cannot practise agriculture: \( […] karaṇam ye prakurvate […] vijñeyā patitās tu te / […] \)\{‘[Those who] cultivate a land […]', they are known as the fallen [ones] […]\}' (Bh. I. 147, 5). STIETENCRON (1996: 271) highlights the fact that this feature is common to Buddhists: it is forbidden for Buddhist monks to practise trade or agriculture. Buddha expressed his opinion on this activity, judging it inappropriate, because

---

\(^{558}\) ‘The temple priests had long had a low status among the different Brahman subcastes, and were labelled with the pejorative term devalaka’ (HUSKEN 2009: 54). The devalakas used to attend the deity’s service, and because of this activity, they were considered impure. In earlier times, this figure used to carry the divine image, and was a servant of the god’s image, but the term was also used in the wider sense of ‘temple priest’. The Śṃrti texts do not agree on the reason for the low status assigned to these priests: probably, taking care of the temple implied circumstances that polluted their Brāhmaṇical status, or perhaps it was due to their lower level of education.

\(^{559}\) Bh. I. 117: \(devālayeṣu ye viprāḥ prītyā māṃ pūjayaṃti hi / anyāś ca devatāvṛttyā te syur devalakāḥ khaga // \) etasmāt kāraṇān mahāyāna bhojako deyitaḥ sadā // 5

\(^{560}\) Bh. I. 139: \(yadi devārthadānaṃ syāt tato devalakā dvijāḥ // devaravābhilāyaḥ ca brāhmaṇyāṃ tu vimuṃcati / 18 […] \) dvijo devalako yatra paṃktyaṁ bhunkte mahīpate / annāṇy upasṛṣen nicā sā paṃktiḥ pāpam ācaret // 21

dvijo devalako yasya saṃskāraṃ samprayacchati / so ‘dhomukhān pitṝnt sāraṇaṃ yena bhujyate / 14 jātakarmādayo yasya na saṃskārāḥ kṛtā víbho / āruṇeyaiś ca maṃtraśi ca sāvitrīṃ na ca vai paṃkti / tasya gehe dvijo bhuktvā kṛcchrapādena suḥhyati // 15

\(^{561}\) Nowadays, many Śākdvīpīya people, especially in Uttar Pradesh and Rājasthān, are involved in business, demonstrating that this prohibition is no longer valid. In any case, the prohibition in the texts was probably mandatory for Śākdvīpīyas (and, in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, for Bhojakas specifically) who had strict priestly functions.
the acts of ploughing and hoeing imply the deaths of the creatures living in the earth. Moreover, it is considered a violent act towards the ground.

The Purāṇa itself is ambivalent on the topic:

\[ \text{sāṁba uvāca} \]
\[ \text{agrāhyam ced dvijātibhyaḥ kasmai deyam idaṃ mayā} // 27a \]

Sāmba said, ‘If the Brāhmaṇas refuse [the properties], to whom shall I give them?’ […]

\[ \text{gauramukha uvāca} \]
\[ \text{magāya samprayaccha tvam puram etac chubham vibho} / \]
\[ \text{tasyādhikāro devānne devatānāṃ ca pūjane} // 28 \]

Gauramukha said ‘O king, offer this beautiful city to Maga, who is the authority (adhi kāra) on the food of the gods and on their worship.’

(Bh. I. 139)

In addition, we will see that later texts and inscriptions describe the allocation of land and villages to the Śākadvīpīyas. The two versions could have been added to the Bhavisya-purāṇa at two different times. In this text, we also find other unusual prescriptions or claims, like the fact that the Bhojakas’ food is edible. Unfortunately, we do not have enough information to reconstruct the social environment in which this section was composed, but we may postulate that at a certain moment, the Bhojakas lost their status of brāhmaṇas to such an extent that their food was considered inedible, like the śūdras’ (Bh. I. 146). Perhaps they were criticized for owning property, and accused of being devalakas (cf. Hazra 1958: 97).

In any case, even if they are allowed to possess the god’s land and property, the text seems to be clear with regard to agricultural activity: Śākadvīpīyas cannot practise it. Personally, I do not know of any Hindū prescription that prohibits agriculture. On the contrary, on Indian soil, Buddhism and Jainism oppose this activity, mostly for reasons of non-violence.

In Buddhist sources, the Buddha is concerned first for the beings that live in the earth; in the Suttavibhanga, the first book of the Vinaya-piṭaka, the Buddha has a conversation with Moggallāna, who is worried because a nearby village is suffering a famine, and bikṣus cannot go there for alms. He states, ‘Lord, the under surface of this great earth is fertile, even as a flawless honey-comb. Good if were, lord, if I were to invert the earth, so that the monks might
enjoy the nutritive essence of the water-plants’ (HORNER 1948: 14). So Buddha asks about the creatures in the earth and Moggallāṇa replies that he would care for them, letting them pass over the ploughed soil. But Buddha states, ‘Take care, Moggallāṇa, please do not invert the earth, or beings may meet with derangement’ (ibid.), expressing a rule concerning the ploughing of soil. In the Sutta-piṭaka—specifically in the first section of the Sutta-nipāta, called Uravagga—562—the Buddha meets the Brāhmaṇa Kasibhāradvāja, who is ploughing and sowing. He suggests that Buddha do the same, and Gautama replies that he ploughs and sows as well (NORMAN 2001: 10):

76. ‘You say you are a ploughman, but we do not see your ploughing. Being asked, tell us about your ploughing, so that we may know your ploughing.’
77. ‘Faith is the seed, penance is the rain, wisdom is my yoke, and plough; modesty is the pole, mind is the [yoke-]tie, mindfulness is my ploughshare and goad. […]’
80. Thus is this ploughing [of mine] ploughed. It has the death-free as its fruit. Having ploughed this ploughing one is freed from all misery.’

Therefore, the ‘interior ploughing’ is more valuable than the external activity. The Buddha himself is a ploughing man, but the instruments, process and fruits are very different.

Finally, HINÜBER (2002: 82) mentions the casual remark in Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the Saṃyuttanikāya (Spk III 32,25–33,5), namely about a samaña-kuṭimbika who lives as a farmer with the other monks without leaving the order. It is evident that, even within the Buddhist order, there have been many changes over the centuries. Even so, the general rule is that agriculture is forbidden in accordance with the precept of ahiṃsā. The same is obviously valid for Jains, too.

We have already mentioned the fact that Hindū tradition has no problem with agricultural activity. This activity achieved an even higher status in the Iranian-Zoroastrian world: from ancient times, the importance of agriculture in Iranian society was enormous, especially for its role in the transition from nomadic to sedentary life. Agriculture was the economic and social basis of all Persian governments for millennia.563 In Yāsī XIII 89, it is stated that Zarathuṣtra himself was the first priest, the first warrior, the first farmer564 (yō paoiriō āθrauwa yō paoiraō raθaēštā yō paoiraō vāstriiō fṣuiiaš). The Avesta does not offer much information about

562 ‘The chapter of the serpent’. In the name of this section, we find further confirmation of the importance of snakes in Buddhism.
563 Cf. EHLERS 1984: passim.
agriculture. In the Gāthās (XXXIII 3, 4, 6; XLV 4; XLVI 3; XLVII 5; XLIX 2; L 5, 7), the fields are described in relation to pastoralism; in the Wīdēwdād (III, 24-29, 30-33; V 52–53; VI 2, 3, 5–6; VII 32–33, 35; XIV 10–11), agriculture is presented as the chief and most honourable activity for a man.\(^{565}\) In Fargard XIV, the instruments for working the land are listed. Nevertheless, it is in Fargard III that we find the most important description of the benefits of agricultural activity. Paragraphs 24 to 29 are about the duty of the land cultivation; from paragraph 30 to 33, agriculture is described as a praiseworthy activity.\(^{566}\) The statement ‘He who sows corn, sows holiness: he makes the low of Mazda grow higher and higher […]’ (31; cf. DARMESTETER 1992: 29 f.) is emblematic.

Even classical sources (cf. Plb. X. 28; Xen. Cyr. VI, 20, VIII, 6, 16) confirm the importance of agriculture to the Persians (cf. CANNIZZARO 1990: 32 f.). Therefore, agriculture is not only the most important and honest means of profit for men, but also a meritorious act towards Ahura Mazdā.

Juxtaposed with this positive attitude toward cultivation, in the Iranian world we also find examples of this activity being condemned, namely in Manicheism. Buddhism spread to western lands, too, and ‘[…] in east Iranian areas, Buddhism used preexisting Zoroastrian and Hellenic nuances to explain its own particular message’ (SCOTT 1995: 154). Mani was certainly inspired by it in many respects,\(^{567}\) and possibly the prohibition of agriculture in his doctrine is also the result of contact with Buddhism. Respect for natural elements like the earth seems to be the chief motivation for Mani’s refusal. The Dēnkard III, criticizing Mani’s doctrine, indirectly informs us about the Manichaean prohibition of agriculture: ‘[…] il peccatore Mani (farfugliò) una dottrina che nega la coltivazione […]’ (CERETI 2006: 247). The prohibition of agriculture may have been the most important reason for the repression of Manicheism under

\(^{565}\) CANNIZZARO 1990: 30.

\(^{566}\) Ivi: 40 f.: ‘23. – Creatore, ecc. … Signore! Chi in quarto luogo rallegra della massima gioia questa terra? Allora disce Ahura Mazda: Colui, invero, o Spitama Zarathustra, che semina maggiormente e frumenti e pascoli e piante fruttifere e porta acqua a un luogo arido, e porta siccità a un luogo acquitrinoso.

24. – Giacché non è felice la terra che giace lungamente non lavorata, mentre (46) dovrebbe essere lavorata dall’agricoltore. Desiderosa è perciò di un buon abitatore; (47) così una bella ragazza, che si trova a lungo senza figli, è perciò desiderosa di un buon marito.

25. – Chi lavora la terra, o Spitama Zarathustra, col braccio sinistro o col destro, col braccio destro e col sinistro, le arreca un godimento (48), precisamente come l’uomo amato, giacendo sul letto, fornisce alla cara sposa un figlio o un godimento. […]

31. – Colui il quale coltiva il frumento, costui coltiva la fede, costui accresce (54) la Legge Mazdeana di cento residenze, di mille dimore, di diecimila preghiere Yaçns (55).

32. – Quando è maturo il grano, allora i daeva gemono; quando il vaglio è pronto, allora i daeva si smarriscono; quando la molitura è fatta, allora i daeva urano; quando la pasta è pronta allora i daeva spetazzano (56). Rimanendo ancora, i daeva distruggono in casa questa pasta (57). Quando il frumento è copioso, sembrano posti in fuga, come se fossero fortemente bruciati in bocca da un ferro (58).’

\(^{567}\) On this topic, cf. BRYDER 2005.
the Sasanians. In an economic system based on agriculture and a society ruled by landowners, the Manichean condemnation of this activity was very dangerous.\textsuperscript{568} Manicheism arrived in China, and its highest point was reached with the conversion of Moyu (Bogu) Khan of the Uighur Turks in 762. ‘Manicheism continued to flourish and was rewarded with productive agricultural lands which were used for the cultivation of wine-grapes, despite the religion’s rules against intoxication’\textsuperscript{569} and against cultivation as well. This is evidence that the general rule admitted some exceptions.

In \textsc{Srivastava’s} opinion (1996: 60), the reason for the prohibition most probably lay in the wealthy status of the land-owning Bhojakas, whom the other Brāhmaṇas wanted to declass. In my opinion, it is more plausible to think about external influences, especially because we are dealing with the \textit{Bhaviṣya-purāṇa}, which is clearly rich with interpolations. I do not exclude the possibility of Buddhist, Jain or even Manichean influences; in these Purāṇic sections, we find other features, like the shaving of the head, the reddish-brown garments and even the cult of serpents, that could be an echo of Buddhism. After all, the syncretistic atmosphere of northern India is the perfect setting for this kind of influence. Moreover, such scenarios are quite typical of all the territories of the Iranian and Indian world, since they have always been characterized by continuous mutual exchange.\textsuperscript{570}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{568 Cf. \textsc{Panaino} 2016: 44.}
\footnote{569 \textsc{Lieu} 2002.}
\footnote{570 On this topic, see also \textsc{Palladino} 20??c.}
\end{footnotes}
3. Late Poems

3.1 The Magavyakti

In 1879, A.F. Weber published an important article for studies on the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas: ‘Über die Magavyakti des Kṛishṇadāsa Mićra’. It appeared in the Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preussische Akademie des Wissenschaften zu Berlin, and it was the continuation of Weber’s work on the Maga Brāhmaṇas, which he started in 1857 with his Indische Skizzen (pp. 104–106).

In 1877, Weber writes, he received the manuscript of the poem from Oudh (the modern name of Ayodhyā), and edited the text in his paper; the manuscript is now preserved in a group of manuscripts that Weber himself left to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. The Ms.or.oct. 347, containing the text Magavyakti, is the same used by Weber and edited in WEBER 1879.

This late poem must probably be attributed to Kṝṣṇadāsa Miśra, a poet active at the court of Akbar around the 16th century. He is also the author of the Pārasīprakāśa, a grammar of Persian (pārasī), which follows the paradigms of traditional Sanskrit grammar in order to explain the Persian one, and provides a Persian-Sanskrit dictionary. His approach is perfectly in line with the aim of the Moghul court, the enthusiasm towards other philosophies, religions and languages, and the translations of sacred texts, promoted (and maybe directly carried out) by Dārā Šikoh.

We have also a date on the manuscript, saṃvat 1920, with Weber’s annotation ‘1869’: the date is calculated according to the Vikrama era, which starts around 58 B.C., and is in contrast with the Śaka calendar; the name of the era comes from the name of the king Vikrama, who

---

571 The conclusions in this section were reached mostly over the period I spent in Vienna (25 January to 29 February 2016), where I enjoyed very useful consultations about onomastic matters with Doz. Dr. Velizar Sadovski. Furthermore, the opportunity to use the materials at the Insitut für Iranistik, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, and at the Fachbereichsbibliothek Südasien-, Tibet- und Buddhismuskunde, Universität Wien, improved the results of my research.

572 In a note on the text, we read the attribution ‘by Maithila’ (cf. also WEBER 1879: 446), but in the closing of the first section, ff. 10–11, we find the name Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra.


574 We know that the prince Dārā Šikoh (1615–1659) promoted the translation of more than fifty Upaniṣads into Persian. He closely studied the doctrines of Śāṅkara’s Advaita Vedānta and was also the author of some treatises, like the Majma’ al-ba rayn [The Mingling of the Two Oceans], in which he relates some Hindū principles to the Islamic ones; there is also a redaction of the work in Sanskrit, with the title Samudrasaṅgama, for Indian scholars. This work by Dārā Šikoh was also translated into Italian: D’ONOFRIO & SPEZIALE 2011.

Under the pretense that his search for contacts between Induism and Islam constituted blasphemy, but principally for political reasons, Dārā Šikoh was condemned to death for heresy.
initiated it after having defeated the Śakas. Even if the date was 58 B.C., to calculate it in relation to our calendar, we generally subtract 56 to 57 years.\footnote{On this topic, and for a description of the Indian eras in general, see for example FLEET 1888: 16–23; LOHUIZEEN-DE LEEUW 1949: 1–72; DIKSHIT 1952-53.}

The manuscript is a calligraphic masterpiece, very orderly and well written; in nāgarī, the text is very legible and clear. There are very few corrections, by another hand and by Weber himself. A peculiarity of the text is that not a single daṇḍa appears; the subdivision of the verses is marked by a blank space or by a number at the end of each line.

Another manuscript of this text is preserved at the Rājasthān Oriental Research Institute (RORI) in Jodhpur. It is a beautiful example of a late paper manuscript. It carries the date samvat 1954 (i.e., ca. 1900 A.D.). Written in devanāgarī script, it is composed of 15 folios. In the same manuscript, after the Magavyakti, there are 39 more pages about topics related to the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas: 18 folios are probably by the same hand, and deal with the sections of the Sāmba- and Bhāviśya-purāṇas about Bhojakas. The following six pages contain some parts of the Vāyu-purāṇa, and the last 11 contain annotations: we find the list of texts about Bhojakas and Magas (the Sanskritabhāvisya, Debibhagavata, Bhāviśya-, Sāmba-, Brahma-, Shiva- and Matsya-purāṇas), the gotrāvalī and, finally, quotations from the Saura-purāna,\footnote{The presence of this Saura-purāṇa is very interesting; it could have been the core of Saura literature, a text now lost (cf. SANDERSON 2009: 55), or another name for the Sāmba-purāṇa itself.} Agni-purāṇa and Padma-purāṇa. In the sixth folio of annotations, two names are mentioned, Jailāla jī kavi and Vaṃda jī, and the name of the city of Jodhpur is present, too; this suggests that the handwritten annotations could have been later notes by the owner of the manuscript. Whereas Weber’s manuscript features no daṇḍas at all, in this one we consistently find the double daṇḍa, even for semi-verses.

The New Catalogus Catalogorum (DASH 2007: 10) informs us of the presence of two other manuscripts of the Magavyakti. One is part of the Weber Collection at the Library of Congress (No. 5459), in Washington, DC: it is composed of 12 pages in Roman cursive script, and consists of a transcription of Weber’s manuscript, preserved in Berlin. The other, according to the Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. Existing in Oudh (1878), was in the private collection of Rājan Rāmanātha, and for this reason it is difficult to locate nowadays.

The Magavyakti is a glorification of the Magas and their merits (real or supposed) in poetry, medicine and the worship of Kṛṣṇa. Weber postulated that Kṛṣnadāsa was himself a Maga Brāhmaṇa, and that his poem is probably a way to exalt and legitimize this social group within
Indian society. The topic of the work, a list of names, some pseudo-etymologies and observations on the importance of these figures in Indian culture, is quite unusual. Behind the composition of the *Magavyakti* there is probably an agenda, political or social, for the promotion of the Magas within Indian society. Krishnadasa Miśra could indeed have been part of the community, and an indication of this can be found in his name, *Miśra*, which even nowadays is a typical Śākadvīpīya surname. Another possible reason for the composition of this poem may have been the substantial presence of the Magas in the areas where the *Magavyakti* took form, and such a work was useful for legitimizing their presence and their importance as Brahmins.

The language is pleasant and correct, the metre and the versification accurate and refined; the metres employed are ślokas (just a small number), *vasantatilakā* (two verses), *mālinī* (one verse), *sārdūlavikrīḍita* (23), and *sragdharā* (45)⁵⁷⁷.

Even if it is a late poem, it is written in an excellent Sanskrit; the lexicon employed is cultivated, even pompous in some cases. Beyond the beauty of the language, the content is very sparse and simple; the main point is the lists of names in various sections. Every name is accompanied by an exaltation of the Magas and their merits in various disciplines. The same expressions are even repeated throughout the poem, making it almost tedious, and ‘[…] Redewendungen kehren daher wiederholt wieder’ (WEBER 1879: 448).

Here is a new edition of the text, improved by the manuscript found in Jodhpur, in order to illustrate its nature and to provide an analysis of the names it lists.

// śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ //

I.

sūryan-natvā trisandhyaṃ hariharavidhayo yatpadāvjan namanto
rakṣā-saṃvarta-sargān vidadhati jagatām īśvarās te guṇaṃ svaiḥ /
vakṣye vyaktim magānāṃ vividhapurajusāṃ jñānatejonidhīnāṃ
vidvadyaṃbhīvanḍyāṃ nikhilagunamayiṃ candraśubhrāṃ yaśobhiḥ // 1
nāhaṃ kavir nijakavitvagunaiḥ kavīnāṃ
cetoḥaro na ca vudho vudhavargamānyaḥ /
bhaktyaiva kevalam aśeṣamagābhindhāna-
saṃvartanair guṇamayaais svamukham punāmi // 2

---

⁵⁷⁷ For information on the verses, listed according to the metre employed, and the explanation of the structure of the different metres, see WEBER 1879: 448–449.
magapadamahimāvdir mandaras sādhusaṅgaḥ
suraditijasamājaś śiṣṭaduṣṭapralānaḥ
mathanasamaya āśīt kṛṣṇākvyārthacando
magamanasi manojñaḥ modamāviṣ karotu
kṛṣṇaṇāpasamudbhūtaśāmvakusṭāpanuttaye
kṛṣṇājñāya magāṁs tārkṣyaś śākā dvāpādīhānayat
dvāveva ca samārūḍhau tārkṣyaśrṣṭhaṃ sudurgamam
kṛṣṇo vā jagatāṁ nātho mago vā brāhmaṇottamaḥ
caturvimśatisaṁkhyaśa jayanty ārā magais saha
prakhyāta dvādaśādityāmaṇḍalā dvādaśottamaḥ
saptārākṣa vahuso yenye kaṛās te svargamokṣadāh
yathāśrutaḥ yathāvuddhi vaksyate 'tra yathākraman
urūḥ khaṇeṭuḥ cheriś ca makhapā ca kurāyica
devākuli bhalunī ca dumarī padaṛi tathā
adaya ca pavairī ca oṃḍarī pūṭy atah parā
esivaurī saraiś charata bārāvadhya oni jamvu ca
sikaurī madaraṇḍi ca haraḍaḷiśi nāmade
ārās saṁsārasārās te caturvimsatir īritā
urutvād uruvārās te tannāmapurayogataḥ
uruvāra iti khyāto magamanḍalamanḍanaḥ
nyāyoktais tairabhuktā vivadanavidhibhis śādhuvaśaśeśikoktair
gaudīyāś cotkāla ye vivudhakavigaṇaśa tepi mīmāṁsayoktaiḥ
saṁkhyaoktair dākṣaṇātyāś śivasadasi pure dvivaśedāntasūktaḥ
saṁastoṣaṃ ye prāṇītu urupuru ja-magās tārākā te jayanti
vaktraṇīva harasya vodhanilaye lokopacārakṣamaḥ
bhūtānīva vaśīkṛtārasajuṣaṃ kāntavyāvāyā iva

578 RORI: -pratānāḥ
579 RORI: kṛṣṇākvyārthacando; above the text, there is another hand’s annotation: kṛṣṇākvyārthacandro
580 In RORI the sa is not clear.
581 RORI: kṛṣṇaṇāpasamudbhūtaśāmbakusṭāpanuttaye
582 In RORI the symbol which indicates the long a is cancelled: śaκa-
583 RORI: nāthamago
584 In W. the visarga has been cancelled and replaced with long a.
585 RORI: adapa
586 RORI: chatravārāvadhyo
587 RORI: yai
588 RORI: tārākā
589 RORI: lokopacārakṣama

106
kāvyasyaiva⁵⁹⁰ kaver jayāya dharayā samprārthite ca dhruvam dhāvā⁵⁹¹ paṃcamahākule 'tra kavyāḥ sṛṣṭā viśiṣṭā guṇāḥ // 13 khanan yāti girīṃ cāsmāt khanedvāra iti smṛṭå / tannāma purayogena khanṭakārobhidhīyate⁵⁹² // 14 vedān vaktraṁ caturbhis svasadasi caturo 'sārthakān eva vaktā vrahmā yebhyo 'bhyaśūyāṁ vyadhita taditare paṇḍitāḥ ke varākāḥ / ekāyena sputārtham vividhanprapuraḥ sāṅgavedān pathdabhyo⁵⁹³ rejur bhūpālacūḍāmaṇinatacaranāḥ khanṭavārā magās te // 15 cherir nāṃma mahānāras tannāmapurayogataḥ / cheriāra iti śrīṃmā nijavamsāḥjabhāskarāḥ⁵⁹⁴ // 16 devān sṛṣṭavatā vaśiṣṭhamahāsa bhūmātrobhūṣādarād ye sṛṣṭāḥ parameṣṭhīnā⁵⁹⁵ 'vanisuras sac⁵⁹⁶ cheriārānvaye / te trailokyam abhūṣayan nijaguṇās tejobhir āpūritā jñātaṁ tena svabhāvato jagad iyaṁ sṛṣṭir na me yatnātaḥ // 17 svadhiṣṭmyāt⁵⁹⁷ tu sureṇāro makham pāti makhadvishāḥ / makhapāśa tattpuraprāpto makhapāro 'bhidhīyate // 18 śaktya śaktidharopāmāḥ pravacasā vācaspatisparddhino jetāro vivudhān surān iva guṇāḥ pāre parārdhām gataiḥ / vāḷāḥ kāvyakṛto bhavanṇi kim ūto ye 'jñā vayoijnādhikās sattākṝnasamplavavyavasinas⁵⁹⁸ te makhapavārā⁵⁹⁹ magāḥ // 19 dhūṣrīkāmendudevatvāt kurāyica iti smṛṭāḥ / tadvān varauci vāro sau gotrataḥ kila kauśikaḥ // 20 yeśāṁ vidhyā vīvāde 'mvudhir iva viṣāmā khanḍanondṛhadhorāṁ⁶⁰⁰ gaṁbhīrārdhyāpaneṣu śrutiśaranisamākhyātaratnākarātyāḥ / suṇāis satprātravijñāir⁶⁰¹ api vari-kalane śāsvadvaprapta-pārā
vigyāvatpā\textsuperscript{602} vitanḍā bhramiṣu magavarās saṃvabhuḥ kaiśikās te // 21
śāstraughā pravodhamanayāḥ pākhandadaiyoddhatāḥ /
vādārvatamatāḥ pravodhamanayāḥ pākhandadaiyoddhatāḥ /
tīṇā yair nijavuddhipotam atulam saṃśritya vidhyārṇavās
māhātma viśvamānākṣaṃ vātā ca abhyāśāḥ // 22
yeṣāṃ jāśāḥ\textsuperscript{603} sutṛptā yuyāvās sākṣaṭkāraṇaṃ yān vinnayādhibhāva
vydrohitogorātajāḥ\textsuperscript{605} /
vydrohitogorātajāḥ\textsuperscript{605} /
śāstraughā makarādayaḥ śrutijalās tattatkavitvomayo
vādārvatamayāḥ śūryā magāḥ // 23
ye\textsuperscript{606} sadbhīḥ pūrvaganyā yudhi vijayakṛte yān nāmaṃti sma vīrāḥ
ye cakrūḥ kāryyam uccair munibhīr upakṛtair yebhya āśīḥ kṛtā yaiḥ /
yebhya 'chebhyo yathā śīn navarasajananaṃ brahma yeṣāṃ manasthanā
yeṣāṃ cācāras\textsuperscript{607} sthiro 'bhūt puravaraḍumārisambhavās san-magās tē // 24
yasyāṃ āmnāyapāṭhai magamanītanayāḥ paścīmāṃ
pratyūṣa-snānasandhyāvidhiravikiraṇāh bhūṣayantaś ca rejuḥ /
madhyaṃhan nittyakarmadviguṇīsamāha sa sāyam udhaśayantas
daddharmoddhāmadīpāḥ puravarapaḍārāḥ śobhate sa prasastā // 25
ye vedārthapraṇavīṇāḥ praṇamati janatā yān viśiṣṭān guṇaughair
yair dṛṣṭāntās trilokī harir iva praṇīdhau yebhya indroditārthān /
yebhyaṃśān prāpya yaiṇe\textsuperscript{608} vabhur amaraganāḥ śārmaṃ yeṣāṃ
i√aisāṃ saujanyāṃ yeṣāṃ apūrva\textsuperscript{609} pravilasad adāyā satkulās san-magās te // 26
yeṣāṃ eṣā yabheri parīsaravilasadyajñapūpasvarūpā\textsuperscript{610}
dhūmair ādhūtapāpā magahutāха viśaṃ gandhibhir mantrapūtaiḥ /
gānais saṃgītaśānaiḥ pratiḥhatavilasat-sarvagandharva-rajair
girvāṇaika-pravīṇāḥ hariharavidhayas toṣitaś san-magās te // 27
vaidyās sapta prasiddhāḥ pratividhiniyatiḥ pathyabhaisajyogair
ghnanti vyādhiḥ naraṇāṃ śiva-kathitarasair yoginas tv onḍarījaḥ /

\textsuperscript{602} W.: the last -pā is not clear; it may be a -vā as well.
\textsuperscript{603} W.: jaiṇais
\textsuperscript{604} RORI: the -n seems cancelled for a -j.
\textsuperscript{605} RORI: vodgrhiṭogeṃṭajāḥ
\textsuperscript{606} RORI: se
\textsuperscript{607} RORI: only one -s-; acarasthrio
\textsuperscript{608} RORI: jaiṇe
\textsuperscript{609} RORI: upurvaṃ pravilasad
\textsuperscript{610} RORI: parīsaravilāsā
tyaktvā tadvaktrakaṃprākṛḍahana⁶¹¹ iva tṝṇaṃ nirdaheyur magās
te dūraṃ yāte 'ti rogān vadati vahudaro rājarogoparogān // 28
ye vidyāvādadakṣā guṇiṇaṇaśa kunigrāmaviśrāmavṛkṣās
satpakṣasthāpanekṣā kṣaṇam api kudhiyā sthātum evānapekṣāh /
yesāṃ eṣā suveṣa nikhilapuragānair garvitāstrīva pūtīs
vargamesv⁶¹² āḍilekhyāḥ kuśalakavivudhail pūtiārā⁶¹³ magās te // 29
yentaś cit tat dadhānā haripadakalamaḍandvam ānandakandaṃ
vāhyavṛṣāsaktāḥ śrutiniyatapathair indriyair indrakalpāḥ /
śisyair devair ivendo nirkhilagāṇaṣvaryaṃ icchadhīr uccair
aiṅrās sevyamāṇā nṛpasadasi magā bhāgyavanto jayanti // 30
khyātā dikṣu sivairārakulajā vedāntadīrghātāvī-simhā
brāhmanaḥbhāskarā bhavatamonāsollasadvārkarāḥ /
kartuṇ svargasamāṃ dharāṃ api surāḥ srṣṭāḥ kim u brāhmaṇa⁶¹⁴ bhūmyāṃ
bhūrīguṇās tataḥ prabhṛti kim sarve dvijā bhūbhujāḥ // 31
sūte siddhāntacandrān divi yamadhavatas saṃsāyodhe pradoṣe
vāde śrī harṣadhīmaṃ yaramatavaca-sāṃ khaṇḍanāny udbhātānāṃ⁶¹⁵ /
uktīr muktāsya sūkṭfīr iva sati samaye kāpi velāmvurāsēr
yesāṃ vidyā vicitrā vasava iva magās te saraiāraṣaṇjñāḥ // 32
samyak paṃcāgīntātā vahirpuriśīlā⁶¹⁶ vātavarṣātapārtāḥ
prālayaplāvite masy atimaruti niśiśraddhyā kaṇṭhamagnāḥ /
ity evaṃ ye tapasyaṃs trisamayam anīṣān viṣṇum aṃtaṃ⁶¹⁷ smarantaḥ
śaṃṭās te vijñānaviṣṇū munaya iva magās chaturvārā virejuḥ // 33
rejus te 'tithivartakograhalaḥadvāravratasneḥvān
nakṣatraughaḥśivas supātrakaraṇo yogaprakāśo valah /
vāgveṣādhikṛte⁶¹⁸ ṣrāṃvujvāgrhe sūte trikālaṇaṭām
sadvāraṃvaravāra-vaṃśatūṣān⁶¹⁹ jyotiḥ prādipodbhutaḥ // 34
ye gambhirāṃbhās samudrā iva guṇamaṇibhir dyottitaṃtargariṣṭhās
sannīṣṭhābhār varīṣṭhā iva sadasi satām māninoccaikaniṣṭhāḥ /

⁶¹¹ RORI: -prākudahana
⁶¹² RORI: pūtīsvargamiśv
⁶¹³ W.: pūliāra
⁶¹⁴ RORI: vṛāhmanā
⁶¹⁵ W.: udbhātānāṃ
⁶¹⁶ RORI: vahirpuriśīlā
⁶¹⁷ W.: aṃtaḥ; the visarga is a later addition.
⁶¹⁸ RORI: vāgveṣādhikṛte
⁶¹⁹ RORI: vaṃjanuṣān
vidyādānair varisṭhā vasava iva muhus sādhu-datta-praṭiṣṭhās
te yodhyārās suśilāḥ paraḥitamatayas te magā rejur uccaiaḥ // 35
ācāraī 620 munir eva devaguruvad vedādīvīyāgurū 621
yorjair 622 yogam adūduhan nījakṛtā niśkāma-kāmocayān /
soyodhyārakuluṁvudhau vidhur iva śrī harṣāsūnus sudhir
miśraśrī madhusūdanəs samajani śrīkṛṣṇabhaktipriyaḥ // 36
śrīmān viṣṇupādaśrīto ’mṛtamayaḥ pūrṇaḥ kalāsamaṇcayaiś
śaśval lokayaśahprasādasubhago 623 devādhidevapriyaḥ /
sampūrṇo dvijamukhyatām nijatapovidyāsādācārato
rājat putra janārdanosya tanayaḥ candaḥ payodher iva [// 37]
ye rudrā iva vodhato dinakarāḥ prodayatprakāśā dyathā
bhūtāni kṣamayeva devavasavaḥ pāṇḍityadharmaśd iva //
jātā 624 oṇipure magās sucaritaiḥ khyātās satām āṣṭadas
śiṣṭaṃ te bhūvi kena kena mahāsaḥ drṣṭaṃ samudbhāvitāḥ // 38
ganīyās sādhuḥjanaṇena rājanivahair māṇyāḥ vādanyāḥ paraṃ
saujanyāṁrta-pūraṇopunyahṛdayaḥ dhanyā dharanyāṃ iha /
jātā jambupure 625 surarṣaya ivāmārṣātiriktaḥ magā
hutvānekahavīṃṣi varhiṣi haṛeḥ prītyai tapaś cakrire // 39
śīlaṃ sarvagūṇākara-air nijavāsanāṃ lokān nayanto ’niśān
nirdvāmdvāḥ prayatendriyaḥ pratidināṃ bhaktyā bhajaṃto harim /
ādinasahatpatparās sudhanino vidyānavaṇyā vabhus
sadbhāvena sikaurīrakulajāḥ 626 khyātaḥ pravīṇāḥ magāḥ // 40
mātaṅgās tuṅgaśailapratinidhivāpuṣo vājino vāyuvegā
grāmās svarṇānnapūraṃs surabhigaṇakhuṛuddhātadhuṃvīkīṃrāḥ /
vāsuratnair vicitrās subhatapatutarāḥ kiṃ karocāvanīśāt
prāptaḥ yaitiḥ te bhādulaipurasaṃsada magāḥ pāṇḍitaḥ rejur uccaiḥ // 41
khyātaḥ te haradauliārakula-yeṣāṃ magānāṃ makhair
jāyante munayaḥ sādā sumanasaḥ śāntās samastā diṣāḥ /

---

620 W.: ācāraimunir
621 W.: vedādīvīyāguru
622 RORI: yojbair
623 RORI: -prasādaśrubhago
624 RORI: jāto
625 W.: jamvupure
626 W.: sikaurīrakulajās
bhūmira sasyavatī⁶²⁷ drumā vahuphalā gāvo vahuksīradā
rājā nītiparo dvijā gatabhayā lokā na śokāturā // 42
iti śrīman magakulakamalalakikā-prakāśaka⁶²⁸ śrīmat paṇḍitakulamaṇḍitakṛṣnadāsamiśra
viracitāyām magavyaktau caturviṃśatāyāraṃvāṃśanirṇayo nāma prathamās taraṅgaḥ //

II.
atha dvādaśādityāḥ //
dvādaśādityadevās te vāruṇārko vināśavaḥ /
muhurāśir devaḍīho đamarauro⁶²⁹ guṇāśavaḥ // 1
kuṇḍā tathā malaunḍaśa ca gaṇḍāvas sarpaḥāpi ca /
arihāsir dehulāsir jantye ete jaya-pradāḥ // 2
yeṣām ajñām adhijñā maṇim iva śirasā dhārayanti kṣitīśas
sarvajñaṇāṁ purastād adhikaguna tayā svīkrtaṃ sādhu sujnāṇaḥ /
pāṇḍityā⁶³⁰ prauḍhīgurvī nayavindaviddo vedavedāṅgavijñā
vikhayātās te pṛthivyām munaya iva varā vāruṇārka magās te // 3
śaṭṭhpūjānuraktās tadanu vudhavaraṇa vedavedāṅganiṣṭhā
bhānudhyānānuraktā vibhavatanauvāra ḍhyānayogādhipīyāḥ /
sadbhāvās satyaśandhā magavaśravītā gotrateḥ kaṣyapās te
devāḥvākyapurodhibhavā dvijavarās te śaṭṭhahāyā magāḥ // 4
bhūrivyaṇajanaraṇjitorusamayā⁶³¹ nārāyaṇāyārpiṭā
niryānti pratīvāsare ’mṛtanaḍībhaktośvapād⁶³² uccakairā /
nānāratnavato drutam himavato gāṅgeva yanmandiram
vādindrā bhuvī vāruṇārkačakalajās te paṇjahāyā magāḥ // 5
yat proktam paṇcāhāyapratīhitamagakulaṃ śīlavyāviśaḷam
tatrotkrṣṭāḥ prabhāvair dinakararakarasiśānāmabhodhicandrāḥ⁶³³ /
dhunvanto dhvāntātaṃyā hṛdaya rathamitāḥ ṭhakkurāyā⁶³⁴ magās te
rejūḥ pūṝṇāḥ kalābhīr nijakulakamalaṃ bhāsayantāḥ prasādaiḥ // 6
bhōjyaḥ⁶³⁵ sarvarasaṃ dvijān iva surān 1yajñais sadātoṣayan

⁶²⁷ RORI: bhūmiś sasyavatī
⁶²⁸ RORI: makāśaka
⁶²⁹ RORI: đamarauro
⁶³⁰ RORI: pāṇḍitya
⁶³¹ RORI: -rasamayā
⁶³² RORI: ’mṛtanaḍībhaktośvapād
⁶³³ RORI: dinakararakarasiśānāmabhodhicandrāḥ
⁶³⁴ W.: ṭhakkurāyā
⁶³⁵ W.: bhojyaḥ
vidyābhir vivudhān nṛpān iva guṇaṁ vijñān viśiṣṭān vair vair / dhīnān dayyadāvāmalair536 vitarānair jñānair iva jñāninas te dhanyā bhuvi ye vināśavabhavā rājanta ucchāir magāḥ // 7 jāta537 yetra vināśave magavarāś śaśvān538 nṛṣiṁhāśritāḥ prāptāneka-guṇaṁ jānāddhipamano hariṁ samarthā bhuvi / tadvāmsē dhvajavad vabhūva viditaś śrī-śukhāro539 vamśakrd vedajñāḥ kila vājapeyamakhakṛd vidyāvidām agranīḥ // 8 ye jātā muheṣāsīśasana-payorāśīndavas540 san-magā vākyāyāsamayāṁśavaḥ kṛtadhiyām cetoḥarān541 svair guṇaṁ / kurvantotimudā taraṅgataralāṁ proccaiḥ prapūrṇān rasais te bhūpālalasadvisuddhhasadasi prājño-du-purvaṁ vabhūḥ // 9 yat pūrvaṁ muheṣāśivaṁsatilakaṁ śrīman maganāṁ kulaṁ vrahme vātra kule 'janābhakamale 'sau dvaitanāṁpāyabhūt / yo yogāṇadrapadesayā śrutidharo jivandvīryāṇāṁ ganām dhyāyan542 viṣṇupadāmbuṣam543 śivapadāṁ cakrerītivraṁ tapaḥ // 10 vālte vidyāṁ samāpya pratiṣitaṁ akarod yauvane tirthayātrāṁ svānte śāntim544 prayāte vratam iha jagrhe sāṅgasamnyāsaṁ ugram / samprāpto yogināṁ drāk śivaśivadapure mukhyatāṁ pūrṇabodhād545 advaita-dvaitaṁśāt paya546 iva payasā brahmaṁkṣaikyaṁ jagāma // 11 ye vidyāvinayākaraṁ kṣitisurāṁ santuṣṭubur547 yān guṇaṁ kirttīr yair vītāta kṛtā nṛpatayō548 yebhya 'pranemuś śriyaiḥ549 / sabhyā yebhya upādadur nayacayaṁ550 yeśāṁ sthitir mehuse yeṣu jñānam atīndriyaṁ magavarās te devādihodbhavāḥ // 12 jyotiśāstrasudīpādipadītadvṛttaṁ sarva-jñānabhāvaṁ gataṁ

636 RORI: dainyadāvāmalair
637 RORI: yāta
638 RORI: śaśrān
639 RORI: susvaro
640 W.: mahur-
641 RORI: kṛtadhiyācetoḥarān
642 W.: dhyāpan
643 W.: viṣṇupadāmbuṣam
644 RORI: śaṁti
645 W.: pūrṇavodhād
646 RORI: yaya
647 RORI: santuṣṭubur
648 W.: nṛpatayō
649 RORI: śriyai
650 RORI: nayacayaṁ
vedāntodbhavavodhacandramahasā vidhvastatāpatrayāḥ /
āyurvedamahāstrabhagnanikhilaklesōccayās saṃtataṃ
rejus te duṁmaraurvāṃsāja-magā yeṣāṃ yaśodbhīṁ / 13
vālyentaḥ kalikā iva prakāṣṭūṭī vidyā dhiyā dhāritāḥ
kaisore mukulāpitā vikāṣītaḥ sarvārthadhā yauvane /
kāvyodgrāhaphalāḥ kalāṁṛtarasā mokṣapradā vārddhare
yeṣāṃ te subhagā guṇāvabhabhāvā bhūmīṅdravṛṇdraiṁ / 14
mātāṅgās šailatūṅgā galitamadājaṃlānaganaḍāḥ pracaṇḍā
dhārādhillipratānāir anumitagatayo divyāraṅgāḥ turāṅgāḥ /
yeṣāṃ āśīrviśeṣān narapatisadāne sannadannīṃdraśatvāḥ
kunḍāvamsāvaṃtaśāsāṃ śmṛtinīgamāvidās siddhimantos magās te // 15
yeṣāṃ sattapaśā vivṛddhamahasā sāṃtās samās te tapo
desāranyajaleṣu jantunivahā nityaṃ virodhaṃ jahulaḥ /
rājanteī niragnayopī nityaṃ vādhaṇa cakruḥ nṛṇām
te rājanti malaudīrakulajā vedāntapāraṅgamāḥ // 16
śraddhābḥūr vedāvijō dhṛtismatijalas sadvicāralavālāḥ
śrīmān svācāramūlō yamaniyamahāskandaśāṃ vedāṅgaśākhaḥ /
svacchāyō yajñaparṇaḥ śamamukhakusumo mokṣarājaṭphalasrīr
yeṣāṃ dharmadrumosau lasati ṛṇḍi magās te ca gaṇḍārkandrāḥ // 17
vālāḥ kāṃtiṣpravālāḥ pavanavasalasatkākapkoṣāsvamālā
vedān uccaiḥ paṭhantāṁ mahurāṃḍuravair bhūṣitānekaśālāḥ /
śāstrodgrāhair yuvāno vijītavudhagānbhūṭamāṁ ṛṣṭyaḥ yawanto
vṛddhās sarveśāṃ prasiddhāḥ pariṣādi sapahāvamāṣajātā magās te // 18
yeṣāṃ vidyāvitānair vitarāṇapadubhis sindhavas sapta tīrṇās

651 RORI: yaśodbhīṁ
652 W.: 12
653 RORI: kāvyodgāhaphalāḥ
654 RORI: bhūmīṅdravṛṇdraiṁ
655 W.: 13
656 RORI: kunḍāvamsāvaṃtaśāsāṃ
657 W.: 14
658 RORI: desāranyajaleṣha
659 W.: 15
660 RORI: siddhicārālavālāḥ
661 W.: 16
662 RORI: pathanto
663 RORI: vijīnadvihā-
664 RORI: sarvaṃ
665 W.: 17

113
corddhaṃ cādhaḥ prakīrṇair jagad idam akhilam bhāsayadbhir yaśobhiḥ /
tarkāṃśair arkatulyāḥ kṣaṇajitavilasadvādivāndhakārair
dharmaḥ karmārvdhicandrair munaya iva magā dehulāsyudbhavās te // 19

yesāṃ vidyātmasaṃgaḍ vividhagunamayī sarvalokāṃ punīte
gangevotungabhagapratihatavirasatyāpaniśśesapakṣāḥ /
svacchābhhasādhukakṣakṣapitakalimalāḥ prītiniśśesadakṣā
vrahamāvdiṁ pāyayantaḥ śritam arihasiśvamśajātāḥ magās te // 20
ye prāptāś śāstrapāram vivudhanpaganāyān yajanto dhanādhyāḥ
yair dhyāto viśṇur ucçair dadur avanibhujo bhūrivittāni yebhyāḥ /
yebhya vidyā suṣīṣyā sphiṭam jagr̥ huḥ prāpya yeṣāṃ yaśovdiṁ
yeṣvānānāṃ bhuvī dehulasiśvamśajātā magās te // 21
iti magavyaktau dvādaśādyāḥ //

III.

atha dvādaśa-maṇḍalāḥ //
dvādaśaite magāś śiṣṭās sūryamaṇḍaladaivaṅtāḥ /
patiśā caṃḍarotiś ca dīhi katthakapitthakau// 1
syāt terahaparāśiś ca khaṇḍasūpas tathā parāḥ /
pālivāḍhāḥ khajuraīa bhedaṅpākarir ity api // 2
vipuroha-vaḍisārau ca gūrvaṅgā iva pūjitaḥ /
dādate te tu kāmārtan nirvāṇam api sevitaḥ // 3
yeṣāṃ vidyānavadāyā sarasamadalamadagagapadyātiḥṛdyaḥ
vedāntodrekaśaṃdāyā śrutibhir atitārām niścītarthān vivicya /
śrīmatpādo’ghapādye vivudhanpahasame śemukhīva pragalbhā
dādate te tu kāmārtan nirvāṇam api sevitaḥ // 3
yeṣāṃ vidyānavadāyā sarasamadalamadagagapadyātiḥṛdyaḥ
vedāntodrekaśaṃdāyā śrutibhir atitārām niścītarthān vivicya /
śrīmatpādo’ghapādye vivudhanpahasame śemukhīva pragalbhā
dādate te tu kāmārtan nirvāṇam api sevitaḥ // 3
yeṣāṃ vidyānavadāyā sarasamadalamadagagapadyātiḥṛdyaḥ
vedāntodrekaśaṃdāyā śrutibhir atitārām niścītarthān vivicya /
śrīmatpādo’ghapādye vivudhanpahasame śemukhīva pragalbhā
sāchād reje guṇaṅghaiḥ puravaraṃpiṭāsāṁbhavā san-magās te // 4
ye svacchā sādhuḥsimhaḥpuravaraśramaharavivāsa viḍamārgaikapānthā

667 W.: yaśomiḥ
668 W.: 18
669 RORI: satpāpaniśśesapakṣāḥ
670 RORI: svakṣaṁbhas
671 RORI: arihasiśvamśajātā
672 RORI: -gaṇāḥ yān
673 RORI: ānantya
674 RORI: sarasamadalamadagapadyātiḥṛdya
675 RORI: semukhīva
676 W.: sākṣād; W.: sāt jñād (?)
677 RORI: sādhuḥsimhaḥpuravaraśramaharavivāsa
678 RORI: veda-; W.: pānthā(h) – the visarga is added.
śrāntā ye sattapobhir virjitahariharavrahmalokādilokāḥ /
ākalpāntasthirāhās trijagatī yaśasā yerthināṃ kalpavr̥kṣās
te vedāntesu daksā ravaya iva magāś caṇḍarotiprajaṭāḥ // 5

ṛṣṭhāṇodbhavā ye vasava iva magāś sarvavidyāsū dakṣā
dātāro divyarūpā nīgamavidhikṛto dharmakāmārthamokṣān /
vanḍyās sarvatra vanḍyair nīpavaravivudhair viṣṇubhaktipraviṇās
te yogācāramukhyā vigatabhavabhāyā jñānavanto jayanti // 6

ye sevyamte kṣitiśair gurava iva suraiś śatrudaiyopataptais
tanmanṭrāśisprayogaiḥ praśamitarupbhī prāpitaśvāryyasvatvaiḥ //
śaśvat svacchās tapobhir gunīganaganitās sarvasatkāṃtiṃkāṃtāḥ
ekajhagrāmābhijātā nīgamanayavido vītarāgā magās te // 7

ṭīrthāṇvābhya sasnur vidhivad anudinam svargabhūmyamțarikṣān
maṇṭrair ārupadevān ārigamām anugatāḥ pujayantiśi sāksāt /
vedārthan divyavodhais surununipurataḥ śīghram udghātyanto
rejuh kṣiṇās tapobhir munaya-iva magā ye kapithodbhavās te // 8
ācārair dharmasārair munaya iva vabhurdevvasanmnānayoṛyā
mohārais sadvicārair vasava iva lasad dharmakāmārthadaksāḥ /
ākārair nirvikārair narapataya iva svāṃtaśivāravṛkṣā
taṃśā ye yatā jātaḥ prathitamagavāraś terahādiḥ parāśāḥ // 9

sādhūktais vedasūktais sthirataramatayo muktidāṃ viṣṇum ucchair
bhāyanto nirvikalpā viṣayaniyamitair indriyais caksurāghaiḥ /
niśkāṃśamāntarviṃśiṃṭā vahir atithir iva prāptamāṭrhathuṭṣṭāḥ
pūrṇajānoṇoparṣṛṣṭāḥ khanaṣuṣa-sumagā muktibhaḥo vabhūvuh // 10
pālivāṃdhe vasaṃto hariharacaranāṃśi cintyayaṃto manobhir
vidyābhīr vodhayanto dvijanayakulajān śodhayantaḥ svadoṣān /
lokān śaśvad viśokān nikhilarasamayais toṣavaṃto vacobhī
rājante rājakalpāḥ kalīyugakalusāṃ nāsanyantas tapobhiḥ // 11
yeśāṃ dānoddhatānāṃ aniśām abhipataddhastasāṃkalpavāri
proddhūtās tuṅgakulāḥ pratatatidhibrayāḥ puṇyapūrā āradnayāḥ /
sattīrthādānaśeṣaṃhitamaninicyān udvahanto ’nuvelaṃ
vārddhai ratnākaratvaṃ sukulakahjurahāḥ cakrur ucchār magās te // 12
te bhedāpākaritāḥ691 vivudhagunatūtās sanmagā rejur ucchār
kailāsottunghaṅgottamamāṇikhaḥcitastambhaharmyādivāṣāḥ /
bhrājaccandrārdhhabhālā692 vṛṣaśubhagatayo vīṣṇuśriśrāṃṭacittā
divyāṅgaṅgottamāṅgā nigamavidhikṛte jānas tṛtiyākṣibhavyāḥ // 13
yeśāṃ grāmābhīrāmā pariṣaratparikhrāmatopāśapādyais693
ciaiyair dūrābhilaksyaiś ṣakunikulakalārāvarājatkulaiyaiḥ /
blūmir yatraprayātair vividharasamayair bhūṣītās sarvāsasyais
te vedārtheṣu daksā vīpurāpuramagā rājasevā jayanti // 14694
madhyonnatordhahasamāmātṛaviśālāsuddha
vīṣvavsvuvivr̥ttadhanvarnaṅviviktapāṃktiḥ695 /
samyāṅ makhi-kamalapratrajair vireje
yeśāṃ lipir hi vaḍasārabhavā makhās te // 15
yeśāṃ vedārthavijā sarasarāhṛdayabhūṣ cāturīcārumūlā
chando ’nantaprahāṃḍā vividhagunavatī śabdāśāstrārthapatrā696 /
vidvadbhṛṅgopaveyā697 navarasarácanā prasphuratpupapūrṇā
ejñānaughtais satphalāsvā698 prasarati paritaḥ kāpi vidyā lateva // 16
iti śrī magavyaktau dvādaśa-maṇḍalāḥ //

IV.
atha saptārkāḥ //
ullah punḍro mārkaṇḍeyo vālo lolaḥ koṇaś cāṇaḥ /
śākadvīpi-kṣoṇīdevais saptāvanyāṃ pūjyaś cārkāḥ // 1
ye pūjyaś sarvalokai ravaya iva magā yān smarantaḥ kṛtārthā

691 RORI: bhedāpākarīśā
692 RORI: -ārdhabhālā
693 RORI: -oṣapādyais
694 W.: 16
695 WEBER 1880: -suddhi-; W.: -svvi (?) vṛṭtaghana-
696 RORI: śadva-
697 RORI: vidvadbhāṅgopasevyā
698 RORI: satphalādhīyā

116
yair datram bhūri vittaḥ vividhanpragaṇās sannamanti sma yebhyaḥ /
lebhe yebhyaḥ pravodham vividisu-janatā dhāma yeṣāṁ varīṣṭham

varṣevācārayuktā vrata tapasi varaś śrīmaduddārakumālāḥ // 2
ullārkaḥyam idam kulaṁ ca muditaṁ śrīśilavidyākaraṁ
sanjāto 'tra kule 'ṛjunorjuna iva prājno hi śāstrastrayoh /

govindaḥ saḥāyatām ca sakhitām samprāpya mohādīsco
jitvā śaṃśitam-ito raṇe kulavatām yogan dadhe durlabham // 3
dīnam rogabharaṁ vīhānabhiṣajām drṣṭvā dharāmandaṁ
sadyassamkṣayaśaṃkayā 'khilānāṁ samvāditānāṁ śamaīḥ /
svarvaidyopamitā natā nṛpacayaiḥ kim vrahanā nimitā
punḍrārka jagadanti pāṭanapāṭuprajāṇṛ magā dhārmikāḥ // 4
mārkaḍeṇyārkumālā nīgamagh anavannaprājñāsīṁhās
tejorbhīr devakalpaḥ hariharacaranaḥādhyānaniṣṭhā gariṣṭhāḥ /
sattkāraṁ dikṣu yeṣāṁ daśasu vudhavāraṁ nābibhūtā na vādaiḥ
kīrtīṇa karpūrakāntaṁ surabhitabhubanā bhāṃti bhavyā magas te // 5
mālārkā ye magas te nikhalguṇamayās santi tīre sarayvā
jyotirvidyāsamudraprataraṇapāṭavo vaidyavidyāvariṣṭaḥ /
nānādeśāptatāṁ nijakulatilakāḥ kāmakāṁṭhaṁ kalābhīḥ
pūrṇaṁ candrā ivālaṁ vabhur amaranibhaiḥ pūjyamāṇā kṣitiśaiḥ // 6
konārkā ye ca khyātāḥ pracuragunacāya veda vidyāṇidhānas

tejobhīraḥ prajñavalanṭho hutavahasadṛśas svais tapobhir varīṣṭhaiḥ /
śiṣṭacārāṇuraktāḥ suhṛdayasadayā veda vādaṁgasārāḥ
satkārāḥ sindhudhārā ravaya iva lasatākāntikāntaḥ magas te // 7
lōlārkāḥ san-magās te svuṃvalamanasaḥ santi yentassamudram
lōlārkkanāḥ pūjayanto munisuranikarair varddhavudhyārpyamāṇāḥ /
sanmārgās tatvaniṣṭhāḥ svasuhṛdi satataṁ cintyamāṇaṁ ca svāstam


\footnotesize

699 \textit{W.}: varīṣṭam
700 \textit{RORI}: sastrāstrayoh
701 In \textit{W.} it seems -vva-
702 \textit{W.}: devakalyā
703 \textit{RORI}: yeṣā
704 \textit{RORI}: vālārkā
705 \textit{RORI}: hutavahadrśas
706 \textit{RORI}: sākārās
707 \textit{RORI}: lasatākāntikā
deśāstrayoḥ

708 \textit{W.}: lōlārkṣam
709 \textit{RORI}: vaddhavudhyārpyamāṇāḥ
710 \textit{W.}: tatvaniṣṭhāḥ
For the purpose of the present study, the analysis of the names of the Magas is very important. The onomastic analysis can offer some help in tracing their name’s and their community’s Iranian (or Central Asiatic) origins. Furthermore, the investigation into their names allows us to understand some historical and cultural features of this group as seen from the names’ etymologies and their occurrence. To be sure, if the author of this text is indeed Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra, that alone testifies to the importance of the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas in the Moghul Empire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weber</th>
<th>RORI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>samvat 1920</td>
<td>samvat 1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORNER</td>
<td>LIST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 ārāḥ</td>
<td>24 ārāḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Uravāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kaṇṭavāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cheriāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Makhapavāra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

711 W.: candracūḍārghaniṣṭāḥ
712 RORI: -dhānā prajvalantas
713 RORI: satyasandhā
714 RORI: vataharayaḥ
715 RORI: harāvāda-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5</th>
<th>Kuraiāra</th>
<th>Kurāyica</th>
<th>Kurāpica</th>
<th>Kuraiāra</th>
<th>Kurāyica</th>
<th>Kurāyica</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Vedakuliāra</td>
<td>Devaκulī</td>
<td>Devakuliāra</td>
<td>Devaκulī</td>
<td>Devakuliāra</td>
<td>Devaκulī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bhaluniāra</td>
<td>Bhalunī</td>
<td>Bhalunā</td>
<td>Bhaluniāra</td>
<td>Bhalunī</td>
<td>Bhalunī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dumariāra</td>
<td>Ūnari</td>
<td>Padari</td>
<td>Dumariāra</td>
<td>Padari</td>
<td>Padari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Padariāra</td>
<td>Padari</td>
<td>Adarī</td>
<td>Padariāra</td>
<td>Padari</td>
<td>Adarī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Adaiāra</td>
<td>Adarī</td>
<td>Yabheri</td>
<td>Adaiāra</td>
<td>Adarī</td>
<td>Yabheri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Paviāra</td>
<td>Paviāra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Paviāra</td>
<td>Paviāra</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Oṃṇaṇaiāra</td>
<td>Oṃṇari</td>
<td>Oṃṇari</td>
<td>Oṃṇaiāra</td>
<td>Oṃṇari</td>
<td>Oṃṇari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Pūṭāra</td>
<td>Pūṭāra</td>
<td>Pūṭāra</td>
<td>Pūṭāra</td>
<td>Pūṭāra</td>
<td>Pūṭāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ēśaiāra</td>
<td>Ēśaiāra</td>
<td>Āśaiāra</td>
<td>Ēśaiāra</td>
<td>Āśaiāra</td>
<td>Ēśaiāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sivaiāra</td>
<td>Sarai</td>
<td>Sivaiāra</td>
<td>Vairaiāra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sivaiāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Saraīra</td>
<td>Chaitra</td>
<td>Saraīra</td>
<td>Saraai</td>
<td>Saraai</td>
<td>Saraai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Chatravaiāra</td>
<td>Bārā</td>
<td>Chatravaiāra</td>
<td>Chatravaiāra</td>
<td>Chatravaiāra</td>
<td>Chatravaiāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Vāravaiāra</td>
<td>Avadhīya</td>
<td>Yodhiyāra</td>
<td>Vāravaiāra</td>
<td>Avadhīya</td>
<td>Yodhiyāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Avadhiāra</td>
<td>Oni</td>
<td>Avadhiāra</td>
<td>Oni</td>
<td>Oni</td>
<td>Oni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Javuvaiāra</td>
<td>Jamvupura</td>
<td>Jamvuvaiāra</td>
<td>Jamvupura</td>
<td>Jamvupura</td>
<td>Jamvupura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sikaiūriāra</td>
<td>Sikaiūriāra</td>
<td>Sikaiūriāra</td>
<td>Sikaiūriāra</td>
<td>Sikaiūriāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Bhaludaiāra</td>
<td>Bhaudaiāra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bhaudaiāra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Māttaiāra</td>
<td>Madarauḍi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Māttaiāra</td>
<td>Madarauḍi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Rahadaiāra</td>
<td>Haradaiulī</td>
<td>Haradaiūliāra</td>
<td>Rahadaiulī</td>
<td>Haradaiulī</td>
<td>Haradaiulī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 12 ādityāh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Vārunārka</th>
<th>Vārunārka</th>
<th>Vārunārka</th>
<th>Vārunārka</th>
<th>Vārunārka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vinasaiāmā</td>
<td>Vināsaiāmā</td>
<td>Vināsaiāmā</td>
<td>Vināsaiāmā</td>
<td>Vināsaiāmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Muhurasiā</td>
<td>Muhurasiā</td>
<td>Muhurasiā</td>
<td>Muhurasiā</td>
<td>Muhurasiā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Devaḍīha</td>
<td>Devaḍīha</td>
<td>Devaḍīha</td>
<td>Devaḍīha</td>
<td>Devaḍīha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dumαιra</td>
<td>Dumαιra</td>
<td>Dumαιra</td>
<td>Dumαιra</td>
<td>Dumαιra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Guṇasaiāmā</td>
<td>Guṇāsaiāmā</td>
<td>Guṇāsaiāmā</td>
<td>Guṇāsaiāmā</td>
<td>Guṇāsaiāmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kūṇḍā</td>
<td>Kūṇḍā</td>
<td>Kūṇḍā</td>
<td>Kūṇḍā</td>
<td>Kūṇḍā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Malaudā</td>
<td>Malaudā</td>
<td>Malaudā</td>
<td>Malaudā</td>
<td>Malaudā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Gαιnaiā</td>
<td>Gαιnaiā</td>
<td>Gαιnaiā</td>
<td>Gαιnaiā</td>
<td>Gαιnaiā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Saraiā</td>
<td>Saraiā</td>
<td>Saraiā</td>
<td>Saraiā</td>
<td>Saraiā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Aṛhiṣaiā</td>
<td>Aṛhiṣaiā</td>
<td>Aṛhiṣaiā</td>
<td>Aṛhiṣaiā</td>
<td>Aṛhiṣaiā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Devalaiā</td>
<td>Dahaḷaiā</td>
<td>Dahaḷaiā</td>
<td>Dahaḷaiā</td>
<td>Dahaḷaiā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 12 mandaḷāh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Paṭiśāṇri</th>
<th>Paṭiśā</th>
<th>Paṭiśā</th>
<th>Paṭiśā</th>
<th>Paṭiśā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Caṇḍaroti</td>
<td>Caṇḍaroti</td>
<td>Caṇḍaroti</td>
<td>Caṇḍaroti</td>
<td>Caṇḍaroti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dihika</td>
<td>Dihi</td>
<td>Dihi</td>
<td>Dihi</td>
<td>Dihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kajjha</td>
<td>Kajjha</td>
<td>Kajjha</td>
<td>Kajjha</td>
<td>Kajjha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kapiṭṭha</td>
<td>Kapiṭṭha</td>
<td>Kapiṭṭha</td>
<td>Kapiṭṭha</td>
<td>Kapiṭṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Terahaparāsī</td>
<td>Terahaparāsī</td>
<td>Terahaparāsī</td>
<td>Terahaparāsī</td>
<td>Terahaparāsī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Khaṇḍaiṣa</td>
<td>Khaṇḍaiṣa</td>
<td>Khaṇḍaiṣa</td>
<td>Khaṇḍaiṣa</td>
<td>Khaṇḍaiṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Pāḷivaiḍha</td>
<td>Pāḷivaiḍha</td>
<td>Pāḷivaiḍha</td>
<td>Pāḷivaiḍha</td>
<td>Pāḷivaiḍha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Khaṭjuraiā</td>
<td>Khaṭjuraiā</td>
<td>Khaṭjuraiā</td>
<td>Khaṭjuraiā</td>
<td>Khaṭjuraiā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bheḍaiṣpākari</td>
<td>Bheḍaiṣpākari</td>
<td>Bheḍaiṣpākari</td>
<td>Bheḍaiṣpākari</td>
<td>Bheḍaiṣpākari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Vipuraiṣa</td>
<td>Vipura</td>
<td>Vipuraiṣa</td>
<td>Vipuraiṣa</td>
<td>Vipura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Vaiḍaiṣa</td>
<td>Vaiḍaiṣa</td>
<td>Vaiḍaiṣa</td>
<td>Vaiḍaiṣa</td>
<td>Vaiḍaiṣa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7 arkāh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Uḷḷai</th>
<th>Uḷḷai</th>
<th>Uḷḷai</th>
<th>Uḷḷai</th>
<th>Uḷḷai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Punḍra</td>
<td>Punḍrākā</td>
<td>Punḍrākā</td>
<td>Punḍra</td>
<td>Punḍrākā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

716 Not clear whether it is a -ri- or an -i-.
717 It resembles a -ma-.
The names are divided into four different categories, and each chapter of the poem is dedicated to one of them: 24 āras, 12 ādityas, 12 maṇḍalas and 7 arkas, respectively. These names could be subcategories of the systems of gotras and puras, also frequently mentioned in the text, and still used in the present day (cf. paragraph 5.1.10).

In both of the manuscripts I have consulted for this analysis, the names are listed in three different ways: at the beginning of each chapter, there is a list of all the names in the category that the chapter treats; the list is reported also in the corner of the page. Then, every name is discussed within the text of the chapter. An interesting fact is that the orthography of the names varies in each of these three versions. Therefore, we often have three variants of the same name, but the hand seems to be the same in all three cases, excluding the possibility of later additions that could have affected the orthography.\(^\text{718}\)

Even if this text is in Sanskrit—and in good Sanskrit, as we noted before—it belongs to a Middle Indic linguistic environment, and some of the terms, especially the names, could betray the influence Prākrits. For this reason, in the onomastic analysis it is fundamental to take all the possible variants into consideration, with particular focus on the regional languages of the areas in which the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas had settled. For example, a Māgadhan peculiarity is the presence of -d- instead of -t-, and there is some evidence of -k- turning into -g-.\(^\text{719}\) Also very common is the shift from -b- to -v- and vice versa, also due to orthographic reasons, and the interchangeability between -v- and -p-. Even the vowel system exhibits particularities of Middle Indo-Aryan languages: generally, we see the palatalization of the original vowels (\(-a->-i;\) -ā->-e-) in the proximity of a palatal consonant\(^\text{720}\), or the tendency for -r- to become -u- when in contact with a labial consonant (-a/-occasionally \(-i->-u;\) -ā/-occasionally \(-i->-o-) in proximity of a labial consonant.\(^\text{721}\) Therefore, in the analysis of the names, it is fundamental to consider the presence of regionalisms or Prākritisms in the names of the Magas.\(^\text{722}\)

\(^{718}\) The Magavyakti itself states that some names have variants because people perceived them in different ways (cf. for example 1.14). There is a possibility, still valid in the present day, that the names had different spellings in different geographical areas.

\(^{719}\) On this topic, see NORMAN 1991: 56.

\(^{720}\) Ivi, p. 220.

\(^{721}\) Ivi, p. 247.

\(^{722}\) For a complete discussion of the peculiarities of Prākrit languages, see for example WOOLNER 1917; PISCHEL 1981.
My first aim in the analysis of the names was to find out if any of them could have Iranian (especially Old Iranian) roots or etymologies. This could be additional proof of the fact that, in the 16th century (if we assume that the author of the text is Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra), the Magas still maintained a link with their alleged Iranian past. For this reason, I consulted many word lists and Namenbücher of Old and Middle Iranian languages, but I could not find a solid connection with the ancient Iranian world. The only name that can be connected with an Old Iranian stem is that of the fifth āra, in the variant Kurāyica (Mayrhofer 1973: *kuraiča-, 11.1.7.3.8; Zadok 2009: 340 Kyrus; Tavernier 2007: 234, *kuraičā-, with hypocoristic -aiča-). The mention of Cyrus is not a guarantee of Old Persian derivation. In fact, in both Iranian and Indian traditions, we find the name Kuru-; the name is actually identical (with one variant in the nominative case, Kuruš, in Iranian, and another with visarga, Kuruḥ, in Indic). Within the two contexts, the name corresponds to different personalities. In the Iranian context, it is the name of three Persian sovereigns, Cyrus I, Cyrus II and Cyrus III (the Younger). The most important and well-known is Cyrus II, Cyrus the Great (ca. 600–530 B.C.), who founded the Achaemenid Empire. He himself stated (Cyl., I. 20) that Cyrus I (probably 7th century B.C.) was his grandfather, and this piece of information is confirmed by Herodotus (1.111). Cyrus the Great, beyond having been an illustrious conqueror, has been depicted as a tolerant sovereign and a wise statesman (Pl. Lg., 3.694), incarnating the ideal ruler (Xen. Cyr.). Moreover, Cyrus was held in great esteem in the Hebrew tradition (cf. Isaiah) because he promoted the reconstruction of Jerusalem’s Holy Temple.

In the Indian tradition, Kuru is a mythical king, mentioned in the epic Mahābhārata, the progenitor of the Kauravas (Dhṛtarāṣṭra’s hundred sons) and the Pāṇḍavas (the five sons of Pandu, Dhṛtarāṣṭra’s younger brother). Moreover, the epic battle is fought on the plain called Kurukṣetra, the ‘field of the Kurus’. According to the story, Dhṛtarāṣṭra was blind, and interestingly the Persian term for ‘blind’ is kor (کور), MP kār, probably related to the Indo-Aryan root *kaur.

For the etymology, see Eilers (1974: 56 f.) also speculates as to the fact that this mythical battle between the two branches of Kuru’s descendants reflects the ancient separation of the Indian and Iranian populations; thus, Kuru would be the progenitor of both the Indian and Iranian people. In any case, this name does not prove any connection with the ancient Iranian world.

---

725 Isaiah 45, 1–2: ‘Thus says the Lord to Kōreš his anointed, Kōreš whom he has taken by his right hand to subdue nations before him … I will go before you’ (cf. Dandamayev 1993).
726 For the etymology, see Eilers 1974: 57.
Despite the lack of linguistic evidence to relate them to ancient Iranian languages, we will see that some (modern) Iranian elements are recognisable in these names.

As A.F. Weber had postulated previously, the family names presumably belong to the modern Indian sphere, and for this reason, I consulted onomastic materials about Middle Indic languages, especially those on the Prākrits spoken in the North.727

Starting with the names of the subcategories, āra-, āditya-, maṇḍala- and arka-, WEBER (1879: 449, 469) supposed that āra- could be an abbreviation of ārāma, or that it could be derived from Persian yār, ‘friend’; āra- is also the (men’s) world, or worldly existence (cf. RATNACHANDRAJI 1923-1932; CHANDRA 1972; MYLIUS 2003: 135). Āditya- and Ārka- are clearly two names for the sun god, and maṇḍala- is certainly the disc of the sun, but it can also have the meaning ‘district’ (cf. WEBER 1879: 449). Among these subcategories, āra- and arka- are also reflected in the proper names of the Magas. These 55 family names, which are often tripled due to their orthographic variants, form a varied landscape of possible hypotheses. WEBER (1879: passim) postulated that these names are actually modern Indian toponyms, and that their context is geographical in nature. As a matter of fact, many of these terms can be related to geography: āra-, which we have just mentioned, could mean also ‘district’, and it is the termination of the 24 names belonging to this subcategory, indicating that they could each be different districts. Other names feature the ending -pura (urupura, oṇipura, jamvupura, devāhvākhyapura, bhadaulīpura, vipurapura), which is particularly meaningful in this context: the system of puras is very important for Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas nowadays, more than the gotras system, especially in marriage policy (cf. the next paragraph). Pura- has the primary meaning of ‘city, town’ (MW 364, II), so it is plausible that these names were indeed associated with locations. WEBER (1879: 471) states, ‘[…] es sich hier denn eben nicht sowohl um alte iranische Maga-Geschlechts-Namen handelt, sondern um moderne indische Orts-Namen, nach denen entweder erst der Vf. seinerseits die ihm bekannten Maga-Geschlechter benannt hat, oder besser, nach denen sie schon vor ihm factisch benannt waren; tannāmapurayogena, oder ṭogatah, heisst es ja mehrfach im Texte selbst […].’ It is surprising how this scholar, without the sophisticated instruments we have nowadays at our disposal, could present such an accurate


728 ārāma-, MW 150, I: ‘delight, pleasure’, but also ‘a place of delight’, like a ‘garden’, denoting also a locative meaning, which, we will see, is particularly meaningful to Weber.

729 This Persian term is still very much used in contemporary Indian languages, like Hindī.

730 The names are listed in alphabetical order, and associated with conclusions drawn from the dictionaries and Namenbücher in APPENDIX B.
and precise analysis. Taking into account the contemporary system of puras (which, in turn, is related to the first settlement of the legendary migration of the Šākadvīpa to India; cf. chapter 5) and the fact that some names are clearly associated with cities (cf. for example Ayodhyāra), it is certain that, at least in some cases, a connection with geographical areas is present. Weber proposes a list of associations of these names with modern Indian cities. The aforementioned Ayodhāra, without a doubt, refers to the city of Ayodhyā (or Oudh); even today, Šākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas are numerous in this region, and the current king of Ayodhyā, Bimlendra Mohan Prasad Mishra, is himself a member of the community. Ayodhāra refers to the city of Ayodhyā (or Oudh); even today, Šākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas are numerous in this region, and the current king of Ayodhyā, Bimlendra Mohan Prasad Mishra, is himself a member of the community.

Some of the names have been connected with Iranian. For example, Cherīāra could be derived from Pers. sher-yār, ‘Freund der Stadt (emperor)’ (WEBER 1978: 469), or from NP šāhryār (SCHETTELOWITZ 1933: 323). The royal title could also be connected to Paṭiśā, from Pers. pādshāh, ‘emperor, king’ (WEBER 1978: 470). Ṭakkuruṇā, from Pers. paghār (ibid.), corresponds to Skr. thakur (ibid.). Weber notes that this term might also refer to Ptolemy’s Ṭaχοραιοι (VII, 2, 15). SCHETTELOWITZ (1933: 323) points out that even the name Aiāra can be related to the MP ayār and to the above-mentioned NP yār. Weber also states that Makhapā could come from Pers. mughbaca, the son of a worshipper of fire, and Sikaurī from Pers. sakori/sikori, a saucer (1879: 470). One name certainly related to Zoroastrian culture is Terahādiḥ parāśāḥ/Terahaparāśi, i.e. ‘thirteen Pārsīs’. Numbers are well represented in the Magavyakti’s list: Terahādi- or Teraha- is clearly the expression for the

---

731 WEBER 1879: 472 ff. lists Adayī ~ Adooee; Ayodhyā ~ Oudh; Aiāra/Esīāra ~ Esee/Eseepoora; Kuṇḍā ~ Kunda; Kurāpica ~ Kurai; Gaṇḍārka ~ Gonda; Guṇāsava/śaimā ~ Goonass Pass; Caṇḍaroṭi ~ Chandaros; Cheri ~ Chāri; Jamvupura ~ Jambo; Dīhi ~ Dehea; Devakūra ~ Deoleca; Pālīvāṃdha ~ Pāli; Bhaḍaulpura ~ Bālod/Bhalod/Bhalot; Bhaluna ~ Beloonah; Mālaurāsi ~ Murrowli/Marowra/Mora; Mārkaṇḍeyārka ~ Markandi (group of temples and a monastery); Vārvāra/Bāra ~ Barah; and Sikauriāra ~ Sikori.

732 A copy of the Magavyakti was preserved in Oudh.

733 Bundelkhand is a central mountainous region divided between the states of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.


736 JUSTI 1985: 174: ‘*Xšaḥradāra (altpers.), *xšaḥrārdāra (awest.), xšatrdarān (plur., pehl., Inscrh. von Hajjābād), šatdār (oder yār, šateres Pehlewī), Šahrīyār, Šahrīyār (neupers.).’ These are names of mythological and historical figures.

737 MW 340, I: m., ‘[…] man of rank, chief’.
number thirteen; even Dumarī/Dumaraura could be related to Pers. du/Hin. do, the number two. Bāra can have the meaning of twelve (cf. paragraph 2.6).

The case of Sarai/Saraiāra is very interesting: in SCHEFTELOWITZ’s opinion (1933: 323), Saraiāra may be related to OldIr. *sarađāra, ‘leader’ (‘Anführer’), NP sardār, salār. WEBER (1879: 470) thinks the name could be the equivalent of Pers. sarāī738 ‘house, palace, seraglio’ (‘Haus, Palast’). This term is well attested also in Arabic (especially saraya, with a military meaning) and in Turkish. Moreover, both variants, Sarūy or Sarai, are the names of different cities in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey. Once again, Weber’s idea of toponyms or some kind of relation to geographical places seems to find confirmation here. In another late poem, the Sāmvavijaya, the Sarayūpāriṇāḥ are a different group of Brāhmaṇas coming from Śākadvīpa, educated by the Magas and often confused with them (cf. paragraph 3.2.1). Finally, it is similar to the term sāra- (although the vowel length is different), one of the names of the avyaṅga, the most important ritual object of the Śākadvīpīyas: eṣa sārās ca sārmyo vai jīyayo jayanāmabhīḥ, ‘It [the avyaṅga] is known by the victorious names of sāra and sārmya’739 (Bhaviṣya-purāṇa I. 142, 15a).

In the Magavyakti itself, we find a series of pseudo-etymologies that try to explain the family names:

1.14
khanan yāti girīm cāsmāt khanedvāra iti smṛtah /
tannāma purayogena khanṭakārobhidhīyate // 14

[The one] who digs (khan-) the mountain is known as ‘Khanedvāra’; that name, for the combination of puras, is perceived as both, [Khanedvāra and] Khaṇṭavāra.

In this case, the texts highlights the reason for the double (or triple!) spelling: they are known in both variants, probably according to geographical area or matrimonial policies.

1.11
urutvād uruvārās te tannāmapurayogataḥ /
uurvāra iti khyāto magamanḍalamanḍanah //

Because of the wideness, they, surrounding/circumscribing a wide space, [have] this name,

738 STENGASS 1892: 669, Sarāy, ‘a house, palace, grand edifice, king’s court, seraglio’.
739 It is interesting that the name sārmya- could also be connected with an Iranian term, zaranya- ‘golden’ (cf. STIETENCRON 1966: 266).
in accordance with the [system of] puras; ‘Uruvāra’ is thus called [because it] adorns the circle of Magas.

In this case, an etymological explanation of the name is provided; we will return to the meaning of \textit{Uru/Uruvāra} below. A description of this family’s abilities (\textit{Uruvāra}) follows the etymology:

\textit{1.12}

\begin{quote}
\textit{nyāyoktais tairabhuktā vivadanavidhibhis sādhuvaišešikotkair gauḍiyāś cotkalā ye vivudha-kavi-gaṇās te ‘pi mīmāṃsayoktaīḥ / sāṃkhyaoktair dāksinātyāś śivasadasi pure divyavedāntasūktaīḥ santośam ye praṇītā urupuru ja-magās tārrikās te jayanti //}
\end{quote}

The Maga born as ‘Urupuru’, desiring satisfaction, prevail as dialectitians; those [coming from] Tirhu, [prevail] with sentences from the Nyāya, according to the rules of the contest; [those from] Bengal, with the excellent sentences of the Vaiśeṣika; the multitude of very learned poets from Orissa, also with sentences from the Mīmāmsa; the southerners, with sentences of the Sāṃkhya; and in the city that is the residence of Śiva, with the good sentences of the divine Vedānta.

This kind of characterization is proposed again in 1.26:

\begin{quote}
\textit{ye vedārthapraṇāṇaḥ praṇamati janatā yān viśiṣṭān guṇaughair yair drṣṭāntas trilokī harīr iva praṇidhau yebhya indroditārthān / yebhyaṃśān prāpya yaṁye vabhur amaranagaṇaś śarmma yeṣām ivaiśaṃ saujanyāṃ yeṣy apūrva pravilasad adayī satkulās san-magās te // 26//}
\end{quote}

The community defer to them, learned in the meaning of the Vedas, the excellent ones, with a great quantity of qualities, serving as an example like Hari in the three worlds, [having as] aim the rise of Indra in their request. The respectable Magas of the good Adayī family, shining forth\footnote{The verb \textit{pravilas-} also means ‘to appear in full strength or vigour’ (MW: 692, II), but I find that a solar image is more appropriate in this context.}, exerted incomparable benevolence; having managed to obtain a share for themselves in the sacrifice, they go to the assemblage of immortals, their shelter.

The name \textit{Uru/Uruvāra} has the meaning ‘wide space’ in Sankrit (MW 217, III; cf. also Turner 1962–1966: 2353; Mylius 1997: 107; Mylius 2003: 169), but in its variant \textit{Uravāra}
it recalls ura(ga)- ‘serpent, snake’ (MW 217, II)\(^{741}\), which would confirm the important place this animal has in Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas’ cult. According to RATNACHANDRAJI (1923–1932) and MYLIUS (2003: 550), Vāla can also have the meaning ‘serpent’. In the series of 12 ādityas we have Sarpaha, clearly connected to snakes, and the very interesting Sarpahā: in this variant, it could stand for the nominative form of Sarpa-han- (MW 1184, II), the ‘snake-killer’, recalling the Zoroastrian practice of killing the xrafstra- (Av., MP xrafstar) animals previously discussed (cf. paragraph 2.7).

Two other topics particularly dear to the Śākadvīpīyas, even nowadays (cf. chapter 5), are those of plants and of water. Natural medicine and the knowledge of the plants are one of the main interests of this group of Brāhmaṇas; some names in the Magavyakti can be connected to vegetation: Kapittha is the tree Feronia elephantum (cf. EDGERTON 1953: 185; MYLIUS 1997: 129; MYLIUS 2003: 201; TURNER 1962-1966: 2749); in Kuraiāra, kurāi- can correspond to kuṭaja-, ‘the tree Wrightia antidysenterica’ (TURNER 1962–1966: 3229); Khajuraiā may correspond to the date-palm Phoenix sylvestris (TURNER 1962–1966: 3828) or a date fruit (SUTHAR 2003: 41); the gaṇḍa- in Gaṇḍārka can be also the stalk of a plant (EDGERTON 1953: 208); in Dumaraura, dūmara- is the tree Ficus glomerata (TURNER 1962–1966: 1942; cf. also SUTHAR 2003: 77); Pūti might be linked to pūta-, the name of a plant (EDGERTON 1953: 350); Vaḍasāra contains vaḍa-, the Ficus indica (JACOBI 1886: 141) or the Ficus religiosa (MYLIUS 2003: 540), the banyan tree (SUTHAR 2003: 184) or its flower (EDGERTON 1953: 468); finally, the previously discussed Saraiāra contains sara-, which could stand for the Saccharum sara (MYLIUS 2003: 618).

Lake, ponds, oceans and bodies of water in general are very important in the Śākdvīpīya tradition: we have Pālīvaṃdha, meaning ‘a lake, a pond’ (RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932 vol. V 1932: 796); Vāruṇārka, which can denote the Vāruṇa sea (cf. RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932); even Sarai can be related to water and signify ‘lake, pond’ (saras-; cf. TURNER 1962–1966: 13254) or ‘See, Teich’ (MYLIUS 2003: 618).

By analysing the family names contained in the Magavyakti, it is evident that some of them have bizarre meanings, considerably pejorative or linked to infernal regions: āra- itself can describe the abodes of the fourth hell (RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932; CHANDRA 1972; MYLIUS 2003: 135); Adayī, the name discussed in the pseudo-etymologies, is linked to adaya-, meaning

\(^{741}\) Uras means ‘breast, chest’ (MW 217, II; cf. also MYLIUS 1997: 107; MYLIUS 2003: 168), but in this context, uraga- is certainly more fitting.
‘cruel, merciless’ (cf. RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932; MW: 18, I); Kuṇḍā⁷⁴² may indicate a son born in adultery, a cripple or mutilated person (TURNER 1962–1966: 3265; MYLIUS 1997: 142; EDGERTON 1953: 185); the candā- in Candaroṭi can mean ‘passionate’, but also ‘fierce, cruel, wild’ (TURNER 1962–1966: 4584; JACOBI 1886: 108; MYLIUS 1997: 159); Daṇmaraura contains ḍamara-, ‘rebellion, riot’ or also a trouble caused by family quarrels (RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932; MYLIUS 2003: 197); Bhaḍaulīpura has bhaḍa-, which can indicate ‘a barbarian race’, ‘a tribe of mixed cast’ or ‘a demon’ (RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932 vol. V: 468); Lola (/Lolārka⁷⁴³) an abode of the first hell, or has the meaning of ‘gierig, lüstern’ or ‘unruhig’ (CHANDRA 1972: 658; JACOBI 1886: 140; MYLIUS 1997: 301); vāra- in Vāravāra/Varavāra is the fourth abode of hell (RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932); finally, Vinaśaiṃā/Vināśava is linked to vināśa-, ‘destruction, death’ (TURNER 1962–1966: 11770, 11777; MYLIUS 1997: 316). These pejorative names must carry an apotropaic value; otherwise, it is not possible to explain the need for such negative names.

Some of the names are clearly related to a pure Sanskrit context, especially those which recall (or are identical to) proper names: Vāruṇārka, beside being the name of a sea, may be a derivative of the name Varuṇa, the Vedic god generally paired with Mitra, or may stand for the Vāruṇas, a class of deities, followers of Varuṇa (CHANDRA 1972: 691; MALALASEKARA 1983: 854; MYLIUS 2003: 550; RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932); Siṃhārka can be a variant of the name of Śiva, which means ‘auspicious’ in turn (TURNER 1962–1966: 12472; MYLIUS 1997: 364 states that sivā, Skr. śiva-, also means also ‘Schakal’); Mārkāṇḍeya/Mārkāṇḍeyārka, also in SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER’s list (1978: 343), is clearly connected with the figure of the rṣi Mārkāṇḍeya, who, according to Hindū tradition, wrote the Mārkāṇḍeya-purāṇa and was quoted in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa; lastly, Jamvu(-ārā/-āra)/Jambupura once again recalls a place, the mythical dvīpa- called Jambudvīpa, often identified with India.

Some final remarks can be made about the other names: the whole -ārka category features names probably derived from Sanskrit (cf. WEBER 1879: 470), whereas the dehula- of Dehulāsi(ā), can be associated with Prākr. deula- ‘gehört’ (Ivi: 471), or Rahadaliāra/Haradaulī/Haradauliāra can be linked to Prākr. hrada- (ibid.). In addition, WEBER (ibid.) connects the endings in -raura, -rauḍi, -roṭi, -lauḍi, -dauli with Strabo’s Sakarauli (XI. 8, 2).

---
⁷⁴² It is found also in SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER 1978: 581. Interestingly, in SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER we also find kuṇḍārka- (1978: 71), whereas in our text the Kuṇḍā family is part of the 12 ādityas.
⁷⁴³ It is found also in SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER 1978: 71.
3.1.1 Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas’ Puras

The system of puras is very important for the communities of Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas nowadays. According to their tradition, they originally settled in Magadha, where they received 72 principalities or cities (puras). DAVE (2011) confirms that they were identified by their puras rather than by their lineage (gotra). Later they migrated in all directions, but they have maintained the affiliation with the original puras, which are still considered more important than gotras in the Śākdvīpīya tradition. They are also very important for marriages, because these Brāhmīns practice a strict exogamy; a man and a woman belonging to the same pura cannot marry (cf. chapter 5).

In RĀY (1996: 130-138) we find a list of 72 puras related to 16 gotras and sacred texts (Vedas and Upavedas) of the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. We may note that quite a number of them matches with the names in the Magavyakti (the underlined ones). This offers evidence that WEBER (1879: passim) was probably right in relating the names of the Maga families with toponyms; at least, this is what is reported in Rāy’s work. Judging from Rāy’s bibliography, at the time she worked on this topic, she was not aware of Weber’s publication and analysis of the names in the Magavyakti, but she was certainly aware of the subdivisions of puras in modern communities.

| 1. Āspad(a), | 13. Oḍo/Oḍariyārā | Rahadauliyārā |
| Uru/Uruvāra | tathā Pītyārā | |
| 2. Khānetā/ | 14. grāma Pavaī/ | |
| Khānca vārā | Śakunī (Maula)/ | |
| 3. Choriyārā/ | Yotiyārā | |
| Choriyārī | 15. Āyera/Aiāro | |
| 4. Makhayā/ | 16. Āyera/Saraiyārā | |
| Makhapavārā | 17. Verī/Śivauriyārā | |
| 5. Varā/Kuraivārā | 18. Chatiyānā/ | |
| 6. Devakuli/ | 19. Varā/Vāravārā | |
| Devakuliyārā | 20. Bāṇḍhavā/ | |
| 7. Bhaluni/ | Baddhavāra | |
| Bhalunivārā | (Yodhayārā) | |
| Dumariyārā | 22. Sikarora/ | |
| 9. Ṛarā/Padariyārā | 23. pur(a), Malauḍī/ | |
| 10. Adaī/Adaiyārā | Malauḍiyārā | |
| 11. Śyāmaro/ | 24. Rahadauli/ | |
| Śyāmariyārā | | |
| 12. Padaī/Padaiyārā | | |
Some of these names are particularly relevant from a historical perspective: Mr̥gā-Mr̥gahā (73) shows the other spelling of the name Maga, also found in Kūrma-purāṇa 49, 37 Viṣṇu-purāṇa II, 4, 69 and in Mahābhārata VI, 12, 33–34. For Huṇarāhī (77), I would not exclude the possibility that the u was shortened from ū, which would thus suggest a link with Hūṇa people. Saptārka (90) represents one of the categories of the Magavyakti, the seven arkas previously discussed.

The double-underlined names correspond to the list of puras found on the website of a contemporary community in Bīkāner, available at http://www.shakdwipiya.com/gotra.php. The majority of them correlate to the names in the Magavyakti (M) and in Rāy’s work (R).
Pūrva mē gotra\textsuperscript{744} pura

1. Kuraiāra = M.; R.
2. Bhālunīāra ≈ M.; R.
3. Koriāra
4. Chatravānī ≈ M.; R.
5. Yāmuvāra
6. Malauriāra ≈ M.; more similar to R.
7. Vālārka ≈ M.; R.
8. Hyarasiyā
9. Devalasiyā ≈ M.; R.
10. Mallau ra ≈ M.; R.
11. Hudrhīyāra
12. Śvetabhadrā ≈ R.
13. Punarakhyā = R.
14. Mihara (Mihira? R.)
15. Bhedāpākara ≈ M.; R.
16. Parāśāsīn ≈ M.; R.

Additionally, in PĀNDE (*: 21), there is list of 16 gotra-puras, which is almost identical to the website’s list, with the exception of some dissimilarities in numbers 10, 11, 15 and 16.

Pūrva mē gotra (pura)

1. Kuraiāra
2. Bhālunīāra (Mūrtihā)
3. Koriāra
4. Chatravānī
5. Yāmuvāra
6. Malauriāra
7. Vālārka
8. Hyarasiyā
9. Devalasiyā
10. Mallau ra
11. Huṛrhiyāra
12. Śvetabhadrā
13. Punarkhyā (Sarevā)
14. Mihara
15. Bheṛapākara
16. Pārāśīnā

\textsuperscript{744} I do not think that nowadays communities really distinguish between gotras and puras. I met some people belonging to the Śākadvīpya communities who were not (completely) aware of the difference between them. They do need to rely on them just for marriage policies.
In the magazine *Magabandhu* (Janvarī–Jūn 2014: 20–21; cf. chapter 5), the system of *gotras* and *puras* is presented in 56 different combinations. The *puras* appear to be 21 in total, repeated in relation to different *gotras* and families.

**Uraṇa = M.**

**Punyārka = M., R.**

**Uravāra = M.**

**Ḍumaraura = M., R.**

**Adaīāra = M.**

**Pavaiāra ≈ M.**

**Gulasāyā**

**Makapavāra = M., R.**

**Khaṇṭavāra ≈ M.**

**Jamūra = M., R.**

**Pamcahāya ≈ R.**

**Choriyāra ≈ M., = R.**

Maheśvāra

Devahā

Śaraṇāra ≈ M.

Strimauriyāra = R.

Bhaluniyāra ≈ M., = R.

Vinyārka = R.

Bilasaīya

Devakuliyāra ≈ M., = R.

Potiyāra

Moharasivā ≈ M.

All the names of the *puras* found in modern literature have striking parallels in the *Magavyakti* (listed in alphabetical order):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adayī ≈</th>
<th>Cherīāra ≈</th>
<th>Bhaluniāra ≈</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adaiāra ≈ / =</td>
<td>Jauvāra ≈</td>
<td>Bhalunī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arihasiā ≈</td>
<td>Ṭakura ≈</td>
<td>Bhedāpākari ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uraṇa</td>
<td>Taṇkurāya ≈</td>
<td>Makapavāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uru</td>
<td>Ďihī ≈</td>
<td>Malauḍa ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruvaṇa</td>
<td>Ďumaraura</td>
<td>Malauḍiāra ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ullārka</td>
<td>Ďumārī</td>
<td>Muhurāsiā ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aiāra</td>
<td>Ďumariāra</td>
<td>Rahadaliāra ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaṇṭavāra ≈</td>
<td>Devakūṭa</td>
<td>Lolārka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapitthā ≈</td>
<td>Devakulī</td>
<td>Vaḍasāra ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapitthaka</td>
<td>Devaṭiha ≈</td>
<td>Vaḍāsāra ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuraḷāra ≈</td>
<td>Devaṭiḥā ≈</td>
<td>Vaḍavāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koṇa ≈</td>
<td>Devaḷasāi</td>
<td>Vāruṇārka ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koṇārka</td>
<td>Dehulasi ≈</td>
<td>Vāla ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khajurāha ≈</td>
<td>Dehusia ≈</td>
<td>Saraiāra ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khajuraīa ≈</td>
<td>Dehusīa ≈</td>
<td>Sarpaha ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanaṣupa ≈</td>
<td>Paṭisā</td>
<td>Sarpahā ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanētu</td>
<td>Paḍarī</td>
<td>Sikauriā ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganaṇiā</td>
<td>Paḍariāra</td>
<td>Sicauriā ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunasaimā</td>
<td>Parāsāl</td>
<td>Sivāriā ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caṃḍaroṭi ≈</td>
<td>Pavaīri</td>
<td>Sivaurī ≈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caṃḍaroṭi ≈</td>
<td>Pavaīra ≈</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatravāra</td>
<td>Puṇyārka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^745 It is quite possible that *ta-* and *ra-* have been interchanged.
Finally, I would like to briefly discuss the names that are in common to both Rāy’s list and in the website/PĀṆḌE, but that are absent from the Magavkyakti. In particular, we have Svetabhadra/Śvetabhadra and Mihirasīl/Mihara. The first name can be connected with various topics: according to MW (1107, I) Śvetabhadra is the name of one of the Guhyakas, the attendants of the god Kubera and guardians of his treasures; another link can be established with the legendary Śvetadvīpa,746 Viṣṇu’s land, characterized by the whiteness of light (śveta-’s primary meaning is in fact ‘white’). Lastly, I cannot rule out that it is a reference to śvetra-, the ‘white leprosy’747: this is the blessed event that represents the starting point of Sāmba’s devotion to the sun. Mihira is one of the names of the sun; specifically, it seems to be the (Middle-)Iranian version of the god.748

---

746 See CLARK 1919: passim.
747 Herodotus (His. CXXXVIII, 231) speaks of the ‘white disease’; BLOCH (2010: passim) thinks that Sāmba’s leprosy can be related to the Shāh Nāmeh’s story of Sām, who has a son with white hair. For references on leprosy in India and Iran, see PALLADINO 2077a.
748 Cf. paragraph 2.1.
3.2 Two Other Poems

At the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, another manuscript is preserved in A.F. Weber’s collection, under the label Ms.or.oct. 348. It contains two works, the Sāmvavijaya and the Khalavaktracapeṭikā, analysed in WEBER 1880. The hand of the copyist seems to be the same as that of the Magavyakti, and the quality of the paper is the same, too. Like Ms.or.oct. 347, the writing is in nāgarī, and it is clear and orderly. Especially in the Sāmvavijaya, we find numerous corrections, probably by different hands. They are two late texts, and the Sanskrit is good overall, even if there are some grammatical mistakes; the language is not very complicated and quite pleasant. For further information about the manuscript and the orthographic conventions, cf. WEBER 1880: 27. It is important to emphasize that the numeration of this manuscript features numbers on every other folio, so two folios correspond to one number (i.e. ff. 1, 1b, 2, 2b, 3, …etc.).

3.2.1 The Sāmvavijaya

Starting with the title, the aim of the work is clear: to celebrate Sāmba’s victory. This ‘victory’ of Sāmba is rather his recovery from leprosy and the foundation of a worship site for the sun god. The name of the work is the same as that of the stotra proclaimed by Sāmba in praise of the sun in the eleventh adhyāya (v. 57; cf. WEBER 1880: 40). This text, consisting of 129 ff. of 15 lines each, divided in 15 adhyāyas, also has an alternative title, Vainateya-Nārada-saṃvāda, due to its dialogic nature. Many sections of it are the same as in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, and its dialogic form may confirm the fact that it drew some portions of its text from there.

The story of the curse and the healing of Sāmba is essentially the same as that narrated in the Purānic passages, but in this case it is Kr̥ṣṇa who undertakes the procedure for his son’s recovery. After praising the sun, they find the statue in the Candrabhāgā, and upon asking about the best Brāhmaṇas to worship the god, the answer is that, in the sixth dvīpa, there are the Magas, Māgasas, Mānasas and Mandagas; of these Brāhmaṇas, he should bring the Magas to

---

749 In the name, the -b- turns into -v- due to orthographical reasons discussed in the previous paragraph.
750 Cf. WEBER 1880: 28.
the Candrabhāgā shore.\textsuperscript{751} Garuḍa flies there and brings 18 families of Magas to Dvārakā on his back.

Then the story continues, and many interesting details are added. The sacrifice and adoration of the sun god takes place over seven days, at the end of which Sāmba has recovered.\textsuperscript{752} We see that seven is an emblematic number in sun worship: the sun horses are seven in number, and even the contemporary Śākadvīpīya communities celebrate an important festival called Sūrya(or Ratha, or Māgha)-Saptamī (cf. paragraph 5.1.7). Kṛṣṇa himself sings in praise of the Magas and invites them to stay in Dvārakā, but they respectfully refuse and ask Garuḍa to bring them back to their land, Śākadvīpa (adhyāya 5, 15). While they are flying, they hear the lamentation of the prince of Magadhā, Suloman, who is about to kill himself because he has contracted leprosy. The Magas, touched, decide to help him, and in reward, they receive a hundred villages (grāma-). They are fascinated by the city of Gayā\textsuperscript{753} and they decide to settle in its proximity. This move to Magadhā is very interesting, and we cannot rule out the notion that it refers to a historical event. In any case, four\textsuperscript{754} of the 18 families decide to move, to live as ascetics and then go back to Śākadvīpa, while the other 14\textsuperscript{755} decide to remain in Gayā.

In addition to the characters of the Purāṇic texts, the Sāmvavijaya includes other figures who are particularly significant: the heroes of the Mahābhārata; the text features an episode from the great epic. The Paṇḍava Yudhiṣṭhira, wanting to perform a rājasūya sacrifice, asks Kṛṣṇa to defeat the Magadhā king Jarāsandha, on the Kauravas’ side, and free the kings imprisoned by him. Kṛṣṇa, endowed with the power of defeating his enemies in the form of Tridaṇḍin (together with Bhīma and Arjuna), bestowed by the Magas, comes to Gayā. Here he meets the ‘Brāhmaṇas of the sixth dvīpa’ at the temple of Gadādhara\textsuperscript{756} (WEBER 1880: 37). This means that the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas, even in ancient times, or at least at the time of the composition of this text, took care of the temples\textsuperscript{757}, which is one of the fundamental activities they carry out even nowadays. Moreover, it is a Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu temple, which means that the Śākadvīpīyas not only took care of the sun god’s temple, but that they were already devotees and experts in the pūjā of other gods as well (cf. chapter 5).

\textsuperscript{751} Ivi: 32.
\textsuperscript{752} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{753} The city of Magadhā (today Bihār) is very famous in the Indian tradition: it is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and in the Ramāyana, and it is the place of Buddha’s enlightenment. In the sixth adhyāya of the Sāmvavijaya, we find an encomium of Gayā (cf. WEBER 1880: 34).
\textsuperscript{754} Their names are Śrutikīrti, Śrutāyu, Sudharman and Sumati (cf. Ibid.).
\textsuperscript{755} They are called Mihirāṅ śu, Sudhāṅ śu, Bharadvāja, Vasu, Parāsara, Kauṇḍinya, Kaśyapa, Garga, Bhīrgu, Bhavyamati, Sūryyadatta, Nala, Arkadatta and Kauśila (Ibid.). It is interesting to note that in this case, one of the names, Mihirāṅ śu, contains an Iranian term, mihira-, probably the Bactrian form of the MP mihr-.
\textsuperscript{756} Literally ‘bearing a club’ (MW 344, III), it is an epithet of Kṛṣṇa.
\textsuperscript{757} I have discussed above the controversial activity of taking care of temples (cf. paragraph 2.8).
Then the battle against Magadha begins. This episode is described in the *Mahābhārata*, ch. 34, although there are some minor differences. The *Sāmvavijaya* states that, after 27 days of battle, on the twenty-eighth day Bhīma defeated and killed the Magadha sovereign Jarāsandha. At this point, the Magas do not want to go back to Magadha; they decide to stay with Kr̥ṣṇa and perform the ritual for Jarāsandha’s death.

The twelfth *adhyāya* contains the myth of Viśvakarman shaping the form of the sun, after his wife Saṃjñā has moved to the forest because she cannot stand the intensity of her husband’s splendour. This story is an echo of the legend narrated in *Ṛgveda* I, 164, and it is told in different *Purāṇas*, including *Sāmba-purāṇa* 11 and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* I. 79 (cf. chapter 1). In the *Sāmbavijaya*, the chips left over from shaping the sun’s form are thrown in the wind, and they reach the sixth *dvīpa*, generating the 18 families of Magas upon contact with the earth (v. 73, cf. WEBER 1880: 40). *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* I. 117, 23b–24 describes the birth of the Magas as their having emerged from the sun’s body as a group of eight.758 This story, in theory, justifies the superiority of the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas among sun worshippers: according to the texts, they were born directly from the body of the god; this gives them the highest status and legitimacy in performing the sun’s pūjā.

The thirteenth *adhyāya* recounts the previous status of the Magas, before they were called on by Kr̥ṣṇa in the *Dvāpara* era. During the *Treta yuga*, Daśaratha, the father of the famous hero Rāma, summoned four Magas for his rituals under the instruction of the sun god. Rāmacandra imitates his father’s example, and wanted four Magas (Sudhāṅśu, Sudharman, Sumati and Vasu; v. 61) from Śākadvīpa to attend his *aśvamedha*. No other Gauḍa or Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas agree to take part to the ritual. Therefore, following the sun’s advice, Hānuman brought 16 young Brāhmaṇa boys, belonging to the Kānyakuvja family, to Ayodhyā, offering them delicacies. Once in Ayodhyā, the boys are blessed by Vaśiṣṭha, and the four Magas teach them the Vedas; in this way the children become Brāhmaṇas in the full sense. Thanks to them, Vaśiṣṭha and the four Magas, Rāma can celebrate his *aśvamedha*. After that, the Magas go back to the sixth *dvīpa*, and the 16 Brāhmaṇas receive Rāma’s lands east of Ayodhyā, on the northern shore of the river Sarayū; they are known as *Sarayū-pārīṇaḥ*759, and they identified completely with the Magas, by whom they were educated, and for this reason, celebrated and

758 Bh. I. 117: *atha me cintayānasya maccharīrād vinīḥṣṭāḥ // 23b
dsāśikundemudsamkāśāh samkhyayāṣtavau mahābalāḥ /
paiḥantī caturu vedān-t-sāmgoṇapaniṣṭadah khaga // 24
759 The names of the 16 families are given in the text (vv. 95–96): Garga, Gautama, Śaṅḍilya, Parāśara, Sāvarṇya, Kaśyapa, Atri, Bharadvāja, Gālava, Kauśika (according to the *Magavyakti*, I, 20, this is the name of one of the Magas’ *gotras*), Bhārgava, Kasya, Kātyāyana, Anāgiras, Saṃkrṣṭ(y)a and Yāmadagnya (WEBER 1880: 44).
respected. They indeed have the same knowledge as the Śākadvīpīyas, and they settled in the Ayodhyā region. In the Magavyakti, we have the name Sara/Sarai, but it is recorded that the Vākal/Māla family stayed on the shore of the Sarayū (IV, 6: v/mālārkā ye magās te nikhilaguṇamayās santi tīre sarayvā (-m !) [...]).

The importance of the Sāmbavijaya lays in its attempt at a complete legitimation and justification of the presence of the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas in India, both during the present era and in previous ones. They were invited to come and settle in northern India, and they were respected by and helpful to the heroes of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. They bear the names of the R̥ ṣis and were created from the sun god’s body, according to a myth narrated since Vedic times. This also shows that the author of this text indeed had a good knowledge of the epics and sacred literature in general.

3.2.2 The Khalavaktracapeṭikā

The second part of manuscript Ms.or.oct. 348 contains the Khalavaktracapeṭika, which is probably not the only text included in it.

The first folio begins with śrī rādhāvallabhāśritaśāstrī yadunāthamiśra-panḍitavaryo hi vijayaty-tarāṃ, and on f. 26 we find iti śrīmad rādhāvallabhacaranāsaraṇāsrayāpannamayunāthaśāstrinām samgrhītā sarvārthāvabhāsikā nirṇayadipikā samāptim aphāṇit [...] samvat 1908. It seems that this Paṇḍit Yadunāthamiśra collected (samgṛ-) several different works in a compendium named Nirṇayadipikā. Nirṇaya is a specific term meaning ‘deduction’ in logic and ‘narration of events’ in rhetoric; maybe the latter meaning should be preferred in this case. It may come from the root nirnī-, in the meaning ‘take away’ (perhaps a malevolent insinuation about the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas?) or ‘investigate’. This Paṇḍit was probably a devotee of the god Kṛṣṇa (rādhā-vallabha-, ‘Rādhā’s lover’), who assembled various texts about the Magas and their legend.

From folio 1, we have the real Khalavaktracapeṭikā, ending in folio 19 with [...] śrīmām rājavallabhāśrita-panḍita-viracitā khalavaktracapeṭikā-samāptā [...]. Therefore, we have another declaration of authorship. The name of the text itself, Khalavaktracapeṭikā, which Weber translates as ‘Maulschelle für die Bösen’, is actually open to various interpretations;

760 Ivi: 46 f.
761 WEBER (Ivi: 50) quoting the passage from the manuscript, reads samvat 1900, even though the last digit is clearly an eight, written in the same way throughout the manuscript.

136
capeṭikā- is ‘a slap’ and vaktra- is ‘face’, and so the work claims to be a ‘slap in the face’, without any doubt. Khala- is a more controversial term, because it can mean ‘place, earth’, ‘battle, contest’ or ‘mischievous man’; it can also stand for ‘the sun’ (cf. MW 338, I). Maybe it is a slap in the faces of those mischievous men, who do not recognize the greatness of the Śākadvīpīyas. On the other hand, it could be the final word (a metaphorical slap) in a rhetorical contest. In any case, the text itself explicitly declares to have a purpose, probably consisting of the customary defence and legitimization of this class coming from Śākadvīpa.

The Khalavaktracapeṭikā consists of two parts: from ff. 1–10, we find the description of the seven dvīpas and of the classes of each of them. Interestingly, following a variant also adopted in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa (V. 20, 28), the text lists the castes of Śākadvīpa as Rtavrata, Satyavrata, Dānavrata and Anuvrata, and locates the Magas, Masakas, Mānasas and Mandagas in Plakṣadvīpa (f. 4; cf. WEBER 1880: 53; CLARK 1919: 224). Moreover, the god worshipped in Śākadvīpa is not Sūrya, but Vāyu. Then, in ff. 5–7b, we find a long quotation from the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, on the story of Sāmba’s healing. It is also stated that they were brought to Dvārakā by the will of Kṛṣṇa, who summoned them, learned in Āyurveda, to cure his son; they had the opportunity to attend Rāma’s aśvamedha in Ayodhyā, too. Folios 7b–8 are taken from the Viṣṇu-purāṇa (II. 4), precisely the description of Śākadvīpa and its four classes, Maga, Māgadha, Mānasa and Mandaga; the sun is worshipped in the form of Viṣṇu there. The phrase magā vrāhmaṇa-bhūyiṣṭāḥ762 (°ḥ) is also added, highlighting the importance of these Brāhmaṇas.

The second part is an investigation into the nature of the Brāhmaṇa; the text also provides an etymological and lexical explanation of the word itself, as well as synonyms (cf. WEBER 1880: 56). Even in this second part, the Magas are the Brāhmaṇas of Śākadvīpa. The core of this section consists in the affirmation that all Brāhmaṇas are notable and deserve to be honoured. An etymology of the name Maga is presented in f. 15: the explanation ends in defining them as vedasvarūpiṇaḥ sūryyarūpā vā, i.e. they embody the Veda or have the form of the sun.

In ff. 15b–16, the Bhojakas are mentioned in relation to food; quoting the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, it is stated that they keep silent while eating, like the Ērṣis (cf. Bh. I. 140), and that they are called Bhojakas because they feed the sun god (cf. Bh. I. 144). Then the author returns to the subject of the Magas, and explains their name as being śākadvīpīvo brāhmaṇah, even though in the first section he had asserted that the Brāhmaṇas of Śākadvīpa were called Rtavrata.

762 Bhūyiṣṭha- (MW 763, III): ‘[…] most important, in the highest degree.’
Quotations from the Sāmba-purāṇa follow, but the main source seems to be the Bhavisya-purāṇa.

Another interesting piece of information is in f. 18b: the śāmvā(s) are mentioned here. The explanation of this name is magā muṣṭikā mallāḥ, i.e. despised people. In fact, these Magas, who are clearly different from the Brāhmaṇas, are raw flesh-eaters, who abide in the forests east of the Gaṅgāsāgara, near the sea. In any case, this association is one of the most condemning, and may lead to misunderstandings.

We have already stated that the Khalavaktacapeṭikā ends in f. 19 with the declaration of its authorship. In the closing (f. 18b), it is stated that this Rājavallabhamiśra (once again we have Miśra linked to the Śākadvīpya context) stayed in Kāśi;663 (Varanasi). Then he mentions 14 other names, presumably those of the Paṇḍitas in the city, probably with the intent to inflate the importance of his work and to underline the fact that he was actually part of the Varanasi intelligentsia. From this perspective, the previously discussed rhetorical meaning of khala- would be suitable. Rājavallabha is labelling his work as being an argumentative text.664 The identification of this author and the other scholars is far beyond our knowledge; a Rājavallabha is mentioned in the Muhūrtadīpaka by Mahādeva in 1661.665

After the Khalavaktacapeṭikā, in the manuscript we find a discussion of the gotras and the marriage policies in Mahārāṣṭra and Gurjara.

Finally, in ff. 26–26b, we once again find the names of the Maga families in the Magavyakti:

uruḥ khaṭenuḥ kṣeriś ca makhapā ca kurāya ca dekulī bhalunī caiva ḍumvarī (add. padarī) tathā // 5

adayē ca (add. pabh)eṛṣyād oṇḍarī puty atah param / e sivārī sarai kṣatra vārā vadhy oni jambu ca // 6

sikārī madaḍārī ca rahadaulīti nāmataḥ / [...] 7
dvādaśādityā devas te vāsuṇārko vināśavah mahurāśir devadīho ḍuvarauro gunāśavah // 8

kuṇḍā tathā maḷaunuḍāś ca gaṇḍāvah sapahāpi ca arihāsir dehulāsir jayanty ete jayapradaḥ / [...] 9

[...] paṭśā caṇḍaroṭiś ca dihī kajha kapitthakau // 10

syā teraha-parāso ’ṭi khaṇḍasūpas tathā paraḥ / pālivāḍhaḥ khajurahā bheḍāpākarir ity api // 11

vipuro vaḍasāraḥ ca gūrvāṇa iva pūjitāḥ / [...] 12

663 F. 18b: [...] kāśistha- [...] Rājavallabhamiśrācāryya- [...] // 1

664 Cf. WEBER 1880: 67.

665 Ibid.

138
The ending, at f. 27, is // iti magavyaktāu saptārkāḥ //.

Some of the names of the families differ from those listed in the *Magavyakti*. The most plausible hypothesis is that the author of this sort of anthology of different works and quotations could not directly consult the text of the *Magavyakti*, making some mistakes, like the insertion of *Vasuṇārka*- in the series of the 12 ādityas. Another possibility is that the author took into account the regional variants of these names, discussed in paragraph 3.1. As a matter of fact, the presence of the list here is the confirmation of a connection between these texts, which probably belonged to the same (or a similar) environment.

The importance of the *Magavyakti*, the *Sāmvavijaya* and the *Khalavaktracapeṭikā* lays in the objective they share. It is evident that they were written for certain reasons, linked to the legitimation of the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas within Indian society. Unfortunately, it is not possible to establish whether this was a reaction and, in a certain sense, a vindication, to counteract the accusation of not being Brāhmaṇas. In fact, it is easy to imagine how a group coming from outside (maybe from Iranian lands) could have had problems being accepted in a closed caste society like the Brāhmaṇical one. For this reason, authors belonging to the Śākadvīpīya group (cf. Miśra name) could have recounted their origins and mythical invitation to come to India to the public, thus claiming to deserve a high status, previously bestowed by Kṛṣṇa and Rāma.

Another reason for the production of these texts, also of social nature, could have been the fact that there was a huge concentration of Śākadvīpīya people, in those northern areas, and they needed the other Brāmaṇas to know about their history and their families. In the end, the purpose in both cases was to be recognized and approved by Hindū society. Moreover, if these works are indeed the product of the sixteenth-century court environment, presenting the Śākadvīpīyas as coming from the outside, with a connection to the Persian world, may have helped them improve their reputation.

Thus it is clear that the three texts presented here are of different natures. In Weber’s opinion (1880: 70), *‘Die Magavyakti ist für die Maga, so zu sagen, ihr hohes Lied aus der Gegenwart (der Abfassungzeit), der Sāmvavijaya bringt in epischer Breite die Begründung ihrer Ansprüche aus der Vergangenheit durch Anknüpfung an die epische, ja vedische Legende, – die khalavaktracap. endlich summirt kurz und bündig alle dem Vf. Zur Hand seienenden Citate*

766 On this topic, see Palladino 20??d.
über sie aus den Purāṇa.’ Especially in the other two poems, the association with the heroes of the Mahābhārata and with Rāma, and the fact that the Magas have names of the Ṙṣis’ families, testify to the importance and the wide presence of this group at the time. Furthermore, their presence was required by the gods themselves (the sun, Kṛṣṇa …), who respect and honour them, too.

Beyond their social and ‘political’ value, these three works are very interesting for their content and the topics they deal with; we will see that many elements are still very much present in the knowledge and tradition of modern Śākadvīpīyas, drawing a line that connects the ancient Śākadvīpīyas communities to the contemporary ones.
4. Some Reflections on the Śākadvīpīya Presence in India

4.1 Epigraphic Evidence

Epigraphy is a fundamental source in investigating historical scenarios. Unfortunately, the inscriptions concerning or simply mentioning the Śākadvīpīyas are few in number, but they provide some important information.

Dating to the eighth century, the pillar inscription of Jīvagupta II, one of the Guptas of Magadha, informs us that he and his predecessor Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya, who ruled over Magadha in the fifth century, held the Bhojakas in high esteem and donated lands to them (cf. HAZRA 952: 109). This inscription is in Deo-Baraṇārk, ancient Vāruṇīkā, and concerns the granting of the village Vāruṇīkā to the sun, called Varuṇavāsin. The name of the village recalls one of the families in the Magavyakti, Vāruṇīkā, and this village seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Arrah (Hindi name Ārā) in the Bhojpur district, the present-day state of Bihār. Furthermore, the granting of villages to the Śākadvīpīyas echoes the granting of lands in the mythological accounts (cf. for example the Sāmvavijaya, paragraph 3.2.1). The previously discussed ownership of property does not seem to worry the Bhojakas, at least not in the fifth to eighth centuries.

The inscription states (FLEET 1888: 216):

\[\text{12 […] …… vijñāpita-śrī-Varuṇavāsi-bhatṭāraka-prativa(ba)ddha-bhôjaka-Sûryamitratreṇa upari-likhi-}
\[\text{13 [ta] ………. grām-ādi-samyutaṁ paramēśvara-śrī-Vā(bâ)lādityadēvēna sva-śāsanēna bhagava-śrī- Varuṇavāsī-}
\[\text{14 ………… ka …… va-parivā(?)haka ………. bhôjaka-İansa-mittrasya samāpat[ly]ā yathākāl-ādhyāsiḥsiḥ-cha ēvaṁ paramēśvara-}
\[\text{15 śrī-Śarvvavarmma ……………. bhôjaka-Rishimittra ………. yatakaṁ ēvaṁ paramēśvara-śrī[ma]d-Avantivarmanmaṇā pūrvva-dattakam-avala-}
\[\text{17 [dita] …. […]’}

767 This inscription is mentioned also by PANDEY (1971: 213).
768 FLEET (1888: 214) locates it in the Bengal Presidency.
769 I have maintained Fleet’s method of transcription, because I have quoted his text directly.
By the Bhôjaka Sûryamitra, belonging to (the establishment of) the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varuṇavâsin, who was requested ............... the above-mentioned [village] ................. together with .............. and the village, &c., was formerly bestowed by the Paramēśvara, the glorious Bálâdityadêva, by (his) own charter ................. the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varuṇavâsin ........... by restoration to the Bhôjaka Haṅsamittra, and by those who presided at different times, vis. the Paramēśvara, the glorious Śarvavarman ............ [to] the Bhôjaka Rishimitra ................. by the Paramēśvara Avantivarman. In accordance to this practice ...................... assent to its enjoyment by the Bhôjaka Durdharamittra was given, by the grant of a charter, by the Mahârâjâdhirâja and Paramēśvara .................; and it is now enjoyed by him.’

In the ninth century, we also have the Ghaṭīyâḷā inscription of Kakkura, near Jodhpur. The date on the inscription is Saṁvat 918 (= 861 A.D.). The second part of it (N II) contains 11 lines, of which the tenth states, ‘[...] likhitam mage[n]a Mâtrâvina [...]’,770 so we know that the inscription was commissioned by the Maga Mâtrâvi. This points to the fact that Magas were well known in V.E. 918, at least in Râjputânâ, the ancient Rajput kingdom, whose area corresponded approximately to modern Râjasthân. SCHEFTELÔWITZ (1933: 231 f.) states, ‘Im 9. Jhdt ist der Mihira = Sûrya-Kult auch in Râjputâna belegt.’

HAZRÁ (1952: 109) ARORA (1971: 59) and HUMBACH (1978: 234, n. 17) refer to a stone inscription in Govindpur (Gayâ district, Bihâr) by the poet Gaṅgâdhara. It is composed of 39 verses in 35 lines. The date at the end of the inscription is Śâka 1059 (= 1137–38 A.D.). In the first stanza, the Magas are mentioned (KIÈLHORN 1892: 33):771

devo joyât triloko maṇîrayam aruṇo yan nivâsena puṇyaḥ
śâkadvâpas sa dugdhâmvingunidhivalayito yatra vipre maṅâkhyâ /
vanâs tatra dvijânâm bhrami-liktita-tanorvâhavâtâh svâṅga -----
śâmvo yânânînîya svayam iha mahitâs te jagatâyâm jayânti // --- 2

---

771 Kielhorn presents the inscription in devanâgarî. I have transcribed it according to IAST standards.
‘(2.) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruṇa, whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmans are named Magas!
There a race of twice-born [sprung] from the sun’s own body, grazed by the lathe, whom Śâmba himself brought hither. Glorious they are, honoured in the world!’

The Magas are mentioned in verse 3, as well (Ivi: 333 Skr., 339 transl.). The author himself was a Maga/Śākadvīpīya. According to this text, the first Maga was Bhāradvāja, and ‘his family had a hundred branches’ (ibid.). A certain Dāmodara belonged to his family, and he had a son, Chakrapāṇi, who in turn had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha (ibid.). We are informed that Manoratha’s mind was ‘purified by the most sacred texts of Śaiva doctrine […]’ (v. 13, ibid.). This Manoratha was a poet at the king of Magadha’s court, celebrated ‘as a modern Kālidāsa’ (v. 15, Ivi: 340). This man had two sons, our author Gaṅgādhara and his brother Mahīdhara. The names of the cousins, Daśaratha’s sons, are also mentioned: Harihara and Puroshottama (Ivi: 341).

This stone inscription contains various elements of significance: first, its richness of detail is useful in establishing historical context; the date at the end of the poem and the mention of the name of the king of Magadha clearly show the historical setting. Moreover, we have the names of many Magas/Śākadvīpīyas—the author and his father, for example—who were renowned court poets. Finally, yet importantly, we again find much information about the Śākadvīpīya legend and cult: according to the Purāṇic texts, the Magas are said to have been born from the body of the sun. The inscription, moreover, does not only state that the Magas were brought to India by Śâmba, but also alludes to the story of Viśvakarman shaping the rays of the sun god (cf. also Banerjea 1974: 144; Pandey 1971: 83). Furthermore, the Śaivite nature of the text is clear, proving that at the beginning of the twelfth century, Śākadvīpīyas were involved in Śiva worship, an indication that the Śaiva branch had prevailed over the Saura one, merging together with it.

Based on the fact that they were called ‘Bhojakas’ in the eighth century, whereas in the twelfth they were called ‘Magas’ or ‘Śākadvīpīyas’, Hazra (1952: 109) suggests that this could be a consequence of the Bhojakas having been socially demoted, maybe indeed due to the
possession of land. According to Hazra, this goes hand in hand with the fact that, in the Śāṃba-purāṇa, the term ‘Bhojaka’ has been replaced with ‘Yājaka’ (Ivi: 110; we will discuss this topic later).

For the moment, I think it is enough to note these two elements, which are indeed interesting: first, we have clear evidence of the power the Śākadvīpīya group had in the fifth, eighth and at the beginning of the twelfth centuries. Their legend was well known and they were actually part of the royal court. A second remarkable element is that their ancient settlements can also be confirmed by the epigraphic record; the regions of the Rājputs in the Northwest (today’s Rājasthān) and Magadha (today’s Bihār) have seen the constant presence of Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. This testimony surpasses any possible speculation, because from these inscriptions it is clear that the Śākadvīpīya tradition, which once reached the North Indian courts thanks to its greatness, is in line with the texts and has been cultivated throughout the centuries (cf. also paragraph 5.1.4).

---

772 Hazra 1952: 109: ‘[...] But from the tenth century A.D. the descendants of the Brahmins from Śāka-dvīpa called their ancestors “Magas” or “Śākadvīpī” Brahmins but not “Bhojakas” at least in Magadha and Bengal.’
4.2 The Magas in Buddhist Sources

The reputation of the Maga/Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas in Indian society also led Buddhists to take an interest in them. Buddhist sources appear to suggest knowledge of this group since the early centuries of the Common Era. The scholastic Abhidharma treatise *Karmaprajñapti*, which belongs to the Sarvāstivāda school and unfortunately is now preserved only in Tibetan translation, states that in the West there are the Maga Brāhmaṇas, and that in their belief, ‘No sin comes about from the practice of perverted lustful behaviour towards a mother, a daughter, a sister, or a friend, a kinsman or the aged’ (cf. SILK 2008: 346 f.). The reason lies in the fact that they do not make any distinction between different kinds of persons, so even incestuous intercourse carries no consequence for them (*Ivi*: 347). We cannot be sure about the date of composition of this text, but it has been suggested that it could have been composed in the early centuries A.D. This is significant firstly for the historical evidence that Magas were present on Indian soil during that period; secondly, the text also reveals the geographical location of this community, (North)West India.

Another later Abhidharma text, *Abhidharma Mahā-vibhāṣā*, preserved only in the Chinese version, states that in the West there are *mlecchas* called Magas, who believe that it is not a sin to have intercourse ‘with one’s mother, daughter, elder or younger sister, daughter-in-law or the like’ (*Ivi*: 438). This is due to their custom of sharing everything, from food and drink to roads and boats, and the same custom is adopted also with women (*ibid.*). This later text adds another piece of historical information: these Magas were actually foreigners, *mlecchas*, who came from outside, not Indians. Moreover, if we consider that the Abhidharma scholars generally resided in Gandhāra and Kashmir, they should instead have located the Magas in their south; the Persian Empire was to their west.

---

773 SILK (2008: 346, n.6) reports the Tibetan version of their name, *bram ze mchu skyes*.
774 *Ivi*: 440. Silk’s statement is pertinent because, as we will discuss later, the incestuous practice attributed to the Magas is clearly associated with the Iranian custom of close-kin relationships. Nevertheless, I would not rule out the possibility that by ‘the West’, Abhidharma scholars meant their own territories, in Northwest India, especially the Gandhāra region, and the nearby area of modern Mathurā, the ancient settlement of the Maga Brāhmaṇas according to the Purāṇas.
Finally, in another Buddhist text, Bhāvaviveka’s commentary on his own Madhyamaka-hṛdayā-kārikā—called the Tarkajvāla and only available in the Tibetan version—we find some very interesting information about the Magas. First, they are explicitly associated with Persians, ‘who live in the land of barbarians’ (cf. KAWASAKI 1975: 1103), thus confirming that in the fifth century, the idea of the Magas coming from a foreign land, in particular Iran, was still widespread. Then, we find a list of their teachings, which includes some peculiar elements:

- ‘[…] killing of ants and others does not go against morality’ (KAWASAKI 1975: 1102).

The custom of killing xrafstra- (Av.; MP xrafstar) animals, the evil animals, identified in Young Avestan and Middle Persian sources especially with reptiles and amphibians, is well attested (cf. 2.7).

- ‘The doctrines of Maga […] have many points fairly common to the teaching of the Vedas’ (Ivi: 1102).

In SP 26, 46a/Bh I. 139, 90a, it is stated that the Magas are learned in the Vedas; similarly, in SP. 24, 7/Bh. I. 127, 8 the Vedas are accepted completely.

- ‘By killing bulls […] one can hope to reach heaven’ (ibid.). This could be a reference to Mithraism and the slaying of the bull. We should presume that the Magas were not only associated with Persians, but also with Mithraism. In the seventh century, although it had vanished from the Western environment, Mithraism was still widespread in Sasanian Iran. We cannot exclude that the bull of Zoroastrian cosmogony, Gāw ī Ėwagdād, the progenitor of all beneficial animals, could also have been a could also have been the referent here.

- ‘There an incestuous marriage is also spoken out. It is taught in the sacrificial rite of the bull-observance […]. He should […] have a sexual relation with his mother, with his aunts, with his own offspring like a bull’ (Ivi: 1101).

Again, incestuous relationships are presented as a peculiar feature of the Maga Brāhmaṇas. Probably, the association of the Magas with Iranian Magi led to the direct association with the

775 Bhāvaviveka (or Bhavya, Bhāviveka) was an Indian Buddhist philosopher who followed the Mādhyamika school of Nāgārjuna, but founded what is called the Svātantrika (svatantra, ‘independent’) tradition of Mādhyamika philosophy, which played a very important role in the development of Buddhism in Tibet (cf. TORELLA 2008: 123). He was quoted by Dharmapāla and Candrakīrti; he in turn mentioned Dharmakīrti and Candrakīrti in his for work. For this reason, we may assume that he was almost their contemporary, and that he lived around the seventh century (cf. LINDTNER 2001). Bhavya would have acquired his knowledge of the Magas from an Abhidharma work.

776 Here the name Maga is rendered as ma ga (cf. KAWASAKI 1975: 1102 n. 2; SILK 2008: 346 n. 6).

777 Cf. also KAWASAKI 1975: 1100, 1099.

778 For further information about this topic, see MALANDRA 2001.
very peculiar Iranian-Zoroastrian custom of close-kin intercourse and marriage. In later Buddhist philosophers, like Dharmakīrti, Durvekamiśra or Śāntarakṣita, Persians (pārasīka-) are associated with the custom of sleeping with their own mothers and marrying them.779

The Av. *xvaētuuadāθa, Pah. xwēdōdah, is the marital union between father and daughter, mother and son or brother and sister, the most pious action in Zoroastrianism. For the etymology of the Avestan term, SKJÆRVO (2013) states, ‘The first part of this compound appears to be *xvaētu “family” (or similar), commonly thought to be derived from *xvaē- “own” with the suffix -tu-[…]. The second part, -vadāθa-, is today commonly thought to be derived from a verb *vada- (from *vadh-) “lead into marriage”, related to words in other Iranian and Indo-European languages denoting marriage or a marriage partner.’ In Pahlavi we have both the forms xwēdōdah and xwēdūdah. The close-kin marriage is modelled on Zoroastrian (Middle Persian) cosmogony, which contains a precedent for each of the three kinds of intercourse mentioned above: Ohrmazd himself started this practice, with his daughter Spandarmad, producing Gayōmard; then Gayōmard and his mother Spandarmad had the first human couple, Mašē and Mašyānē; finally, sister and brother had further pairs of sons,780 who inhabited the different regions of the Earth. In a Zurvanite version of the cosmogony, we find speculation about Ohrmazd’s intercourse with his mother, too. Bhāvaviveka states that according to Magas’ ideas, ‘it is not right to say that one’s mother, sisters, daughters, and so forth are improper as one’s object of sexual intercourse’ (KAWASAKI 1975: 1102); this reflects precisely the three kinds of Zoroastrian close-kin interaction: son and birth mother, father and daughter, sister and brother.

It seems that the practice of next-to-kin marriage was also very common among the members of royal or noble families, especially under the Sasanians (third to seventh centuries), although we have even earlier traces of this practice, in Achaemenid and Parthian times. One of the arguments Zoroastrians priests used to justify this practice was that good human qualities were maintained and improved in marriages between close relatives. Particularly for royal and noble families, this religious explanation was probably a pretext for an economical reason, namely to maintain their family’s property. The peculiarity of this Iranian custom had a certain resonance, and some classical authors also mention it: Ctesias of Cnidus, for example, who was

779 Cf. SILK 2006: 442 f.
780 Actually, Mašē and Mašyānē ingested their first set of twins, who were born after a long period of celibacy because of Ahriman’s negative influence; this probably shows a kind of mental disturbance, with a regression to an ‘oral’ phase, and an attempt of ‘re-introject[ing …] a new life, tearing and subsuming it (oralsadistische Stufe)’ (PANAİNO 2009: 154f). After Ohrmazd’s intervention, they were able to have seven more sets of twins, who populated the earth.
a doctor at the Persian court around the fifth to fourth century B.C., reports a brother-sister marriage. Herodotus (3.31) informs us that Cambyses lived with his sister, and that Persians had never lived with their sisters before him. Catullus (ca. 84–54 B.C.), in his Carmen 90, writes:

\[\text{
Nascatur magus ex Gelli matrisque nefando
coniugio et discat Persicum aruspicium:
}
\[\text{nam magus ex matre et gnato gignatur oportet,}
\]
\[\text{si vera est Persarum impia religio,}
\]
\[\text{gratus ut accepto veneretur carmine divos}
\]
\[\text{omentum in flamma pingue liquefaciens.}^{781}\]

Catullus’s poem is very significant, not only because of line 3, in which mentions mother-son intercourse, but also because he was apparently aware that this custom was part of the Persian cult.\(^{782}\) Ovid (43 B.C.–17 A.D.), in his Metamorphoses, narrates the story of Myrrha, the daughter of Cinyas, king of Cyprus, who was consumed with love for her father; she states that, in certain tribes, sons couple with their mothers and daughter with their fathers, and she wishes that she were part of those tribes (SILK 2008: 447 n. 42; SKJÆRVØ 2013). She does not specify that this custom is characteristic of Iranian peoples, but we may presume this because other, roughly contemporary authors are aware of this practice. Ovid’s story is quoted in turn in (pseudo-)Plutarch’s Parallela Graeca et Romana 22. Quintus Curtius Rufus (first to second century A.D.), in his History of Alexander (8.2.19), states that the Sogdian governor Sisimitthes married his mother and had two sons with her, because ‘among [the Persians] it is considered right for parents to have incestuous intercourse with their children’ (SILK 2008: 448). Tatian (around 170 A.D.) affirms that the Magians in Persia consider it honourable to have intercourse with one’s mother. Clement of Alexandria (second to third century A.D.), in Stromata 3.2.11.1, asserts that the Magi have intercourse with their mothers, daughter and sisters, because women are considered common property; this is mentioned also by Xanthus of Lydia (fifth century

---

\(^{781}\) ‘Let a magus be born from the execrable union between Gellius and his mother, and learn the Persian art of divination: as a matter of fact, it is appropriate that a magus is generated by a mother and her own generation (her son), if the sacrilegious cult of the Persians is true. [May he obtain] the favour with [his] invocations for worshipping benevolently the gods, liquefying in the fire omentum and grease.’ The omentum is a fold of the peritoneum; here we find a reference to animal sacrifice.

\(^{782}\) The term religio, in line 4, generally does not indicate the modern idea of religion, but encompasses a wide range of meanings, from ‘superstition’ to ‘customs’; Roman religion was based on social customs, and gods were part of the Romans’ everyday life. Here, Catullus seems to be aware that this kind of intercourse (which he defines nefando) was part of Persians’ cultural and sacrificial life, which in turn is related to magi.
A.D.) in *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum* F31. Moreover, the idea of Persians having intercourse with their close relatives has influenced the European imagination for millennia; in Montesquieu’s *Lettres Persanes* (1721, *Lettre LXVII*), we find the claim that Zoroastrians have practised brother-sister marriage ever since Cambyses had introduced the custom.\(^{783}\)

In Arabic sources, the custom of close-kin marriage practiced by the *majiūs*, a term for Zoroastrians in general, is deeply despised.

Non-Buddhist Indian texts generally do not report this Persian custom. Only the tenth-century Jain text *Yaśastilaka*, by Somadeva Sūri, states that Persians have intercourse with their own mothers, and the thirteenth-century *Smṛticandrīkā* by Devaṇābhaṭṭa confirms this practice (cf. SILK 2008: 446). Therefore, this interest in the Magas’ and Persians’ incestuous customs was peculiar to Buddhist sources in the Indian world. After the persecution of Buddhists, Christians, Manicheans and other cults\(^{784}\) that followed Kirdīr’s reform\(^{785}\) in third-century Iran, it is conceivable that Buddhists (and not only Buddhists!) would be biased against Magians and Persians. Moreover, we are aware of the fact that there were not only commercial, but also cultural ties between the ancient Iranian and Buddhist worlds, and therefore it is understandable that Buddhist texts would show a good knowledge of Iranian customs.\(^{786}\)

Finally, there is one last point to discuss. Bhāvaviveka, in the ninth chapter of the *Madhyamaka-hṛdayā-kārikā*, refers to the ‘book of Maga’ (*maga-śāstra*).\(^{787}\) It seems that, exactly like the Vaiṣṇavas or the Śaivas, the Sauras also had their own canon of scriptures, which consisted of *Saṃhitās*. Unfortunately there is no remaining trace of any manuscript of this canon. Probably, the superimposition of Śaivism onto the sun cult was due to the fact that the latter progressively lost its patronage and could no longer maintain a separate identity. References to this *Sūrya*- or *Saura-purāṇa* are numerous.\(^{788}\) We have one *Saurasaṃhitā* preserved, with instructions for the worshipping of the sun, but it claims to be part of the Śaiva

---

\(^{783}\) Montesquieu, in letter LXVII, tells the story of Apheridon and Astarté, in which the protagonist falls in love with his sister: ‘Mon père, étonné d’une si forte sympathie, aurait bien souhaité de nous marier ensemble, selon l’ancien usage des guèbres, introduit par Cambyse; mais la crainte des mahométans, sous le joug desquels nous vivons, empêche ceux de notre nation de penser à ces alliances saintes, que notre religion ordonne plutôt qu’elle ne permet, et qui sont des images si naïves de l’union déjà formée par la nature.’ (LABOULAYE 1875 : 153) The term *guèbres* was used to indicate the Zoroastrians who escaped from Iran after the Islamic conquest (i.e. Pārsīs).

\(^{784}\) MACKENZIE 1989, §11 – text: p. 42, transcription: p. 54, translation: p. 58: ‘[…] And Jews and Buddhists and Hindus and Nazarens and Christians and Baptists, and Manicheans were smitten in the empire, and idols were destroyed and the abodes of the emons disrupted and made into thrones and seats of the gods.’

\(^{785}\) On Kirdēr’s reform, see for example Ivi: 35–38 and PANAINO 2016a: 44, 82.

\(^{786}\) For further information on the exchanges between Buddhist and Iranian culture, see PALLADINO 20??c.

\(^{787}\) See KAWASAKI 1975: 1103.

\(^{788}\) CHENET 1993: 354: ‘C’est ainsi que D.R. Bhandarkar recueillit parmi des Śākadvīpa Brāhmaṇa de la région de Jodhpur l’écho d’un Sūrya Purāṇa, ouvrage perdu (à situer vers 800), auquel font cependant référence le Tithinirṇaya de Caṇḍēśvara et le manuscrit de Berlin du Bhaviṣyottara […]’
Vāthula/Kālottara. Under this analysis, even the Sāmba-purāṇa ultimately seems to be a product of the Śaiva environment.

---

4.3 The Historical Problem

Many scholars have dealt with the possible origins of the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas and have tried to account historically for their presence on Indian soil. We have already discussed the scarcity of the sources on them and the ahistorical nature of Indian texts. In fact, there is no real historical or historiographical tradition in India, but the narratives, myths and events continuously intermingle. External sources, like epigraphy or other outsider accounts of the Śākadvīpīyas, are scarce. Moreover, scholars have tried to advance many theories about their migratory waves and the relationship of different groups with Iranian and Indian culture. I will try to present a sort of timetable of the evidence and conjectures about the Śākadvīpīyas’ history.

- Achaemenid times: We have the evidence of contact between the Achaemenid Empire and India. Srivastava (1972: 246) affirms that some peculiar elements (like the iconography of the sun god or references in Purānic texts) takes time to become popular. The same is valid for mentions in other authors’ works. Since we have the first mention of them in the very first centuries A.D., we must presume that they had come to India earlier, during Achaemenid times (sixth to fourth centuries B.C.). Another proof of contact with the Achaemenids may be embedded in the very name of the Maga Brāhmaṇas: ‘Maga’ may be related to the Old Persian magu-, even though the shift from -a- to -u- is not clear. Sche夫tełowitz (1933: 294) had already posited the same theory: in his opinion, a first migratory wave came to India in Achaemenid times, while others settled in the Drangiana lands (called Sakastāna) and reached Indian soil in the first centuries A.D.

- Śakas and Kuśaṇas: The most widespread idea is that at least the Magas arrived in India with the Śaka tribes in the first century A.D. Actually, according to the Purāṇas, they came from Śāka-dvīpa, i.e. ‘Śaka land’ (cf. ch. 2.4), and it is plausible to consider an etymology connected with the Śaka people. Moreover, the syncretistic cult of the Śakas, and later of the Kuśaṇas, around the second century has many features in

---

90 A brief discussion of some historical problems related to the Śākadvīpīyas is contained in Palladino 20??a.
93 For more information on these populations, cf. for example Sche夫tełowitz 1933; Junge 1939; Dikshit 1952 and 1953; Emmerick 1968; Chakraberti 1981; Bailey 1985; Mukherjee 1988 and 2004; Greten 2015.
94 Cf. Stietencron 1966: passim; the scholar postulates that the Magas did not have Zoroastrian origins, because in the texts they are presented as Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas. According to him, the Bhojakas, who reached India in a second wave, were probably real Zoroastrian priests.
common with the Śākadvīpīya cult. The above-mentioned Kuśāṇa coinage with the figure of Mihira is only one of the many examples we can cite. All the foreign populations that reached North India in the first centuries A.D. deeply influenced northern culture.

In the first centuries A.D., North India flourished, and amid such a scenario, ‘migrating groups tend to claim high status or to invent links with high status groups where migration involves assimilation with existing populations.’\footnote{THAPAR 2000: 729.} In fact, foreign rulers, who were actually mlechas, were able to carry out changes in the political and religious spheres. Those foreign invaders married into local families, promoted the use of Sanskrit and integrated perfectly into Indian society. This change in the ruling class naturally went hand in hand with a change in the people’s rules and customs. This is probably the reason for the transformation of many aspects of the northern Indian society during the first centuries A.D.

- In the second century A.D., there is the first mention of the Maga Brāhmaṇas, in Ptolemy’s Geography (123, 19): ‘74. In like manner the parts under Mount Bêtigô are occupied by the Brahmanoi Magoi as far as the Batai with this city [...]’.\footnote{MCCRINDLE 1974: 167.} This is the first testimony of their existence and settlement by external authors. Furthermore, Ptolemy’s description seems fairly reliable for North India, and finds confirmation in the Purāṇas (at least in the sections set at the Candrabhāgā river).\footnote{Cf. KOSAMBI 1964: 36.}

- In the first centuries A.D., the Abhidharma literature deals with the Magas’ incestuous customs (cf. paragraph 4.2).

- Although we cannot date the Mahābhārata and the Purānic materials with precision—because they essentially belong to an oral tradition that took its written form over centuries—it is not easy to establish a chronology for their various references to the Magas, the Bhojakas etc. For the Mahābhārata, scholars generally agree on a period of composition between the third century B.C. and the third A.D.; the Purāṇas definitely evince a more extended time frame. We have already discussed the problem of dating the Purānic material; in general, it is believed that the central core of this literature was established between the third and fifth centuries A.D. (cf. HAZRA 1958: passim). Even the relatively recent Bhavisya-purāṇa contains one section, the Brāhma-parvan, which
probably dates to the sixth century A.D. (*ibid.*). We have seen that other Purāṇas sometimes mention the names of the classes of Śākdvīpa, while in others they simply narrate the legend without mentioning these names (or other names). According to Srivastava (1996: 45), the ‘[…] Skanda Purāṇa testifies that these Magas were brought from the Śākdvīpa twice, once in connection with the Sāmba-legend and the next time with the sacrifice of Brahmā in Bodh Gaya. It is also stated that they migrated to Magadha (Patna region of India) at the invitation of king Vasu.’ The *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* (3.13.52) tells of a *devala(k)a* who was brought from Śākdvīpa by Garuḍa and called *śākdvipī vipra* (*brāhmaṇa*).\(^{798}\) This is very interesting in light of the accusation of the Śākdvīpīyas being *devalakas* for taking care of the sun god’s property. Even nowadays, they are not always considered Brāhmaṇas as having an equal status as other Brāhmaṇas (cf. chapter 5.1).

- In the fifth century A.D., the sovereign Narasimhagupta Bālāditya ruled over Magadha. It is written in the Deo-Baranārk inscription (cf. 4.1) that this king granted some land to the Bhojakas.

- During the fifth century, other foreigners arrived in India, namely the Hūṇas. By the time they reached North India, the population was already accustomed to *mleccha* rulers. They adopted Sanskrit as the official language and transformed the Gangetic plain into a region of different religious streams and new cults as well.

  The Brāhmaṇical class also had to update their ritual practices and cultural habits under the new ruling class. During this period, we witness a monotheistic turn in Brāhmaṇical religion, and many different branches of Hinduism many new branches of Hinduism emerged amid this trend.\(^{799}\) This kind of open and variegated religious (and social!) reality probably attracted foreign rulers.\(^{800}\)

- During the Gupta period (ca. third to sixth century A.D.), ‘[…] the Saura-cult which was popularised by the priests like the Magas and the Bhojakas as well, met with wonderful success and the whole region of India got studded with beautiful sun-icons and temples. In fact the period falling in between the Gupta age and the 13th Century A.D. can reasonably be described as the classical age of Sun-worship in India’ (PanDEY

\(^{798}\) Bronkhorst 2007: 12.

\(^{799}\) ThAPAR (2000: 971 f.) states, ‘The evolution of Hinduism is not a linear progression from a founder through an organizational system, with sects branching off. It is rather the mosaic of distinct cults, deities, sects and ideas and the adjusting, juxtaposing or distancing of these to existing ones, the placement drawing not only on belief and ideas but also on the socioeconomic reality.’

\(^{800}\) Idem. 1984: 177.
Furthermore, it is during Gupta age that the iconography of the sun god assumed its peculiar features in North India (cf. 4.3).

- The Hūṇas, as we discussed before, allowed North India to harbor a variety of religious streams. These rulers are remembered for having been especially devoted to the sun god. In the first half of the sixth century, there ruled the previously mentioned Hūṇa king Mihirakula, who built a temple consecrated to Mihireśvara (cf. 2.3).

- In the sixth century A.D., we also find the important figure of Varāhamihira. We have discussed the information on the Magas contained in his Pañcasiddhāntikā and Bhṛatsaṁhitā. Banerjea (1974: 143) recalls that in the Bhṛatsaṁhitā (II, 13, on Śāṅvatsarasūtra), Varāhamihira alludes to the fact that the Bhojakas have this name because they prepare the food for offerings.

- Bhāvaviveka mentioned the Magas and their customs in the seventh century (cf. 4.2), equating them with the Persians.

- In the seventh century, we have also the Śūryaśataka by Mayūra, who celebrates the sun god and compares himself, who had contracted leprosy, with Śāmba.

- Also in the seventh century, we have Bāṇabhaṭṭa’s Harṣacarita, in which it is stated that Tāraka, the astrologer at king Prabhākaraavarðhana’s court (second half of the seventh century) was a Bhojaka. Based on the fact that the Bhojakas were never mentioned before the sixth century, Humbach (1969; 1978: passim) believes they may have reached India around the sixth century, in a subsequent migratory wave.

  According to Hazra (1958: 98), another migratory wave, this time of fire-worshipping Zoroastrian people, arrived in India around the seventh century, after the Islamic conquest of the Iranian lands. These people may have added the Zoroastrian ritual elements to the Bhavisya-purāṇa (ibid.).

- Further testimony from the seventh century comes from the Chinese pilgrim Xuánzàng, who states that Multān is known as Sāmbapura, and that people there celebrate a festival called Sāmbapurayātrā (cf. 2.1)

- The Sāmbapañcāśikā was probably composed in the eighth century A.D. (its terminus ante quem is the appearance of Kṣemarāja’s commentary in the eleventh century). The text exhibits a tendency to identify the sun god with Śiva, even though the latter is never explicitly mentioned in the poem (cf. 2.1).
Jīvagupta II’s inscription (cf. 4.1), which also dates back to the eighth century, confirms a grant of land to the Bhojakas. In fact, this is the last mention of the Bhojakas in an inscription or in other authors’ works. Previously we discussed the supposition that Bhojakas were not mentioned from that moment on because they lost their status (cf. 4.1). HUMBACH (1978: 245) states, ‘In the BhP. the term Bhojaka alternates with Maga, whereas in the SP. it is usually replaced by Yājaka, “sacrificer”. Hence one may infer that the Bhojakas considered themselves Magas but were not recognized by the latter.’ He indeed endorses HAZRA’s theory (1952: 109 f.; 1958: 96) that the Bhojakas were held in high esteem until the eighth to ninth centuries, then progressively lost their status due to their owning of property and the accusation of their being devalakas. The Bhavisya-purāṇa contains a defense in support of the Bhojakas’ status. In parvan I. 117, 5b it is directly stated that they are different from the devalaka priests. In the Bhavisya-purāṇa (I. 146, 1–11), the story of the Ṛṣis Nārada and Parvata is narrated. They go to the celestial dwelling of the Bhojaka Ādityakarman to prove that Bhojakas’ food is edible and that their hospitality must be accepted. Only corrupt Bhojakas must becondemned. These statements might indeed suggest a real social accusation and a lowering of the Bhojakas’ status. On this point, THAPAR (1984: 135 f.) writes:

The process of the assimilation of the Maga brāhmans, who practised cults deeply influenced by sun-worship, is characteristic of the acquiring of brāhmaṇa status by rather similar groups. So low was their position within the brāhmaṇ hierarchy that the brāhmans are contemptuously described as associated with the mlecchavamśa, although in the Bhavisya Purāṇa they acquire respectability. It could be argued that every tribe or occupational group has its own priests to minister to its religious needs, and as the tribe or the group moved up in the social scale and improved its ritual status, the priests likewise moved into and up in the brāhmaṇ hierarchy. […] A religious movement could also become a mechanism for social mobility. Furthermore, in the ninth/tenth century, the Bhojakas were also mentioned in the Manubhāṣya by Medhātithi; the author listed ‘all those outside [the Veda]’ (SANDERSON 2015: 160). Like the Jainas, the Buddhists, and other Hindū communities (especially Tantric ones), the Bhojakas ‘do not claim that their religious practices derive […] from the […] Veda; and indeed their teachings contain doctrines that directly

---

802 Erudite commentary on the Manusmṛti (cf. SANDERSON 2015: 159).
contradict it’ (ibid.)803. This is particularly meaningful in relation to different issues:
first, we have a break with the Maga Brāhmaṇas ‘versed in the Vedas’ (cf. the above-men
tioned SP 26, 46a/Bh I. 139, 90a; SP. 24, 7/Bh. I. 127, 8; Sānvāvijaya, adhyāya 13; even
temporary communities rely on the Vedas). Moreover, Medhātithi associated
the Bhojakas with the Tantric groups like the followers of the Pañcarātra. We discussed
the importance of Tantric elements in the Saura tradition, and it is possible that the
Bhojakas were considered expert in the matters of Tantric sun worship. The fact that
they were placed outside Vedic orthodoxy may be due to their lower social status, their
alleged association with devalakas and their exclusion from the brāhmaṇa class.

- In ninth century, we have the Ghaṭīyāḷā inscription of Kakkura, in which the name of a
  Maga is mentioned (cf. 4.1).
- During the tenth century, al-Bīrūnī wrote his account on India, and stated: ‘[…]
  There are some Magians up to the present time in India, where they are called Maga’
  (SACHAU 1983: I, 21; it is also quoted in BRONKHORST 2015: 471).
- In the twelfth century, we find Gaṅgādharas’s inscription in Govindpur, in which many
  particulars of Sāmba’s legend are cited (cf. 4.1).
- Koṇārka’s sun temple was built in the thirteenth century. It is clearly one of the most
  majestic examples of Tantric art. In fact, during the medieval period, even the sun cult
  spread in its Tantric version (PANDEY 1971: 189; on Tantric sun cult, cf. SRIVASTAVA
- Finally, we cannot date the later poems Magavyakti, Sānvāvijaya and
  Khalavakrtracapeṭika with precision. According to its declaration of authorship, the
  Magvyakti can at least be traced to court of Akbar in the sixteenth century (cf. 3.1).
  Since the other two texts seem to be the product of the same environment, because they
  deal with very similar topics, they may be roughly contemporaneous with the
  Magavyakti. As for the Khalavakrtracapeṭikā, the self-avowed author places himself in
  Vārāṇaśī. In the same manuscript, the text is followed by a list of the names of the
  Magavyakti; for this reason, we may presume that it is almost contemporary, or maybe
  slightly later than the other one.

803 SANDERSON’s translation is based on the Manubhāṣya contained in the Gangānātha Jhā. Bibliotheca Indica
This chronology highlights the constant presence of the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas in northern India. Even though it is not possible to trace a real history of this group and the sources are too scarce to admit certainties, it is undeniable that Śākadvīpīyas were indeed influential at a social level and probably at court, too. In fact, the presence of foreign rulers must have fostered this peculiar sun cult. Moreover, the people from Śākadvīpa have all the syncretistic features that characterized the cultures of the populations that settled in between India and Iran.
5. A Chat And A Chai

This chapter is the result of the period I spent in India from 10th September to 20th December, at Shiv Nadar University in Greater Noida (Delhi), Udaipur (20th to 26th October), Jodhpur (26th October to 2nd November), Bīkāner (2nd to 5th November) and Patna (30th November to 5th December).

I left for India with my own ideas on the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas, influenced especially by what I had read in books and papers by other scholars. With the help of professors and colleagues, I had prepared an interview that was focused on historical problems and connected with my knowledge of Purāṇic texts. The aim of this semi-open interview was to investigate the link that the modern communities of Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas maintain with their own past and history, and the way they perceive this. What I was looking for was a connection with the material I had collected, reflected in their own emic perspective.

Many scholars, who have grappled with the postulated Iranian origin of the Śākadvīpīyas have stressed the possibility of their having invented their own tradition, inspired by some basic notions of Zoroastrianism drawn from contemporary Pārsī communities. Even if they had borrowed some technical terms from the religious objects from the Pārsī tradition, there must have been a link with the Iranian world; otherwise, we cannot explain some of the deep-rooted Iranian-Central Asiatic traits of the Śākadvīpīyas in the past and in the present — above all the religious practices, which I had not intended to investigate in this research. The purpose of the study was rather to let living communities talk about their own ancestors, and to understand whether their link with the Iranian world still existed, especially since ‘[…] oral narrative is an important source of alternative visions of the past’ (HERZFELD 2001: 61).

This was my purpose when leaving for India. Thanks to the E-Qual project, a project on e-learning which involves the University of Bologna as well as Shiv Nadar University in Delhi, I had the opportunity to be introduced to some exponents of the Śākadvīpīya communities in Delhi, Rājasthān (Udaipur, Jodhpur and Bīkāner) and Bihār (Patna).

The first obstacle to my work was to find a target group who could at least understand English and who are versed in the history of their community. I was advised to verify the reliability of the people I consulted because, especially in Rājasthān, Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas are not learned men, and they are not aware of their past or even their ritual practices. They belong to traditional Śākadvīpīya families and they worship the gods in the temple with mantras and pūjā, like their fathers and grandfathers did before them, but they do not know Sanskrit, for
example; they have learned the traditional mantras by heart, but they cannot translate them properly.

What I did not expect, upon arriving in India, was the fact that communities could in turn be so interested in me. Suddenly my field research became a mutual exchange of questions and information. What they always wanted to know, before answering my questions, was the story of how I became interested in this topic, why I had chosen to study Sanskrit at university, and how many years I have spent on my research. Especially in Bīkāner, they also congratulated me and declared themselves very impressed by the fact that I had left Italy to come to India just to improve and complete my studies. They welcomed me into their houses and offered me gifts and food; moreover, they never allowed me enough time to finish my interview before moving on to other activities. They honoured me by gathering groups of people just to meet me. They allowed me to do the pūjā for the sun god in their small home worshipping places, explaining their everyday cultural practices to me. They invited me for lunch and dinner and took me to visit many mandirs. In some sense, my interviews unexpectedly became a sort of participant observation. They shared their customs and religious practices with me, letting me practice with them and join in these communal moments.

Visits to the members of the communities in Bīkāner and in Delhi.
On the left: with Dr. Bharti Bhojaj
On the right: with Mr. Kumar Manish Mishra
‘Non v’è dubbio che le parole costituiscano il principio (nel doppio senso di inizio e di precetto) dell’impresa etnografica ma anche uno dei suoi fini (sottoforma di testi etnografici), dei suoi mezzi (in termini di comunicazione) e dei suoi metodi (in termini di conoscenza) […]’ (Cuturi 2011: 125). For this reason, direct contact and interaction with contemporary Śākadvīpiya communities was very useful also in rethinking my own etic perspective. The members of these communities, as actors of the social drama and ‘[…] agents of a process that draws in circular fashion on historical precedent in order to legitimate the present […]’804, could provide me with the correct idea of their own identity, drawn from the reading of history. The traditional literature about their past is in Sanskrit, and very few members of contemporary communities can read it; however, we will see that the majority of their practices and knowledge of their history is drawn directly from the texts previously discussed. First, we have to take into account that traditional Indian knowledge is generally oral, and it is ‘[…] an assumption of western European historical discourse that history must be textual.’805 They cannot read the texts, but the content of these texts was probably part of a tradition that has been preserved and transmitted for generations. Moreover, the peculiarity of Indian history is that historical texts in a strict sense are lacking, and historical events must be adduced from mythological and sacred literature.806 Finally, the modern communities’ knowledge of their history is based on other people’s historical narrative, which in turn could be the result of ancient communities’ invention of the past. Therefore, we have before us a sort of historical metanarrative.

In any case, to better understand the Śākadvīpīyas’ own idea of their past, also in relation to ancient texts, it is necessary to discuss separately every topic they informed me about during the interviews (cf. Appendix C).

804 Herzfeld 2001: 59.
805 Ivi: 63.
806 On this topic, see also Palladino 20??d.
5.1 Interview Results

5.1.1 The Name

It is evident, that the name of the community is related to its land of origin, Śākadvīpa — a fact that was repeated to me in every interview. In Uttar Pradesh (Delhi), the most common spelling of the general name of these Brāhmaṇas seems to be ‘Śākdvīpī’, attested also as surname in the Anglicized form Shakdwipee (cf. INT. 1), maybe due to significant immigration from Rājasthān. In Rājasthān, next to ‘Śākdvipī’ we also find the form ‘Śākdvipīya’ (Engl. Shakdweepiya), which is definitely a typical secondary derivative form. On the contrary, in Bihār they call themselves ‘Śākaldvipī’ Brāhmaṇs; the origin of the lateral consonant -l- is not clear to me.

5.1.2 Numbers and Surnames

According to their testimony, Śākadvīpīya people are present all over India, and especially in Rājasthān and Bihār, the most ancient places of settlement. One of my interviewees, Mr. C. Shakdweepiya from Udaipur, prepared a catalogue of the names, addresses, contacts and family history of every Śākadvīpīya family in Rājasthān (year 2003/04). In the Mārvāṛ and Mevāṛ regions alone, there are 400 Śākadvīpīya families (INT. 3, 11.23). In Bīkāner, they are around 25,000 in number, and in Rājasthān they seem to be around one 100,000 (INT. 5, 3.35). My interlocutor added that Bīkāner is the city with the densest concentration of Śākadvīpīyas, and that they are numerous in the Magadha-Bihār region, too. In Jodhpur, Rājasthān, they represent the eight percent of the total population (INT. 4, 0.19).

They have also adopted typical surnames, some of which are particularly meaningful; these will be discussed later. The surnames differ according to the state, too. For example, Sevak is still used only in Jodhpur and Bīkāner (INT. 5, n. r. information). The most common surnames are (all given in English spelling): Mishra, Bhojak, Mag, Pathak, Sharma, Pande, Sevak, Upadhyay, Vyās, Maharshi, Davera, and naturally Shakdweepe and Shakadveepiya.
5.1.3 Śākadvīpa

We have dealt with the possible coordinates of the mythical Śākadvīpa in the second chapter. What emerged from the interviews is that people have different ideas about this legendary island: all the interviewees in Bihār (INT. 6, 7, 8) told me that Śākadvīpa was coextensive with Iran, without a doubt. My hosts in Patna, who did not want to be interviewed because they claimed not to have a good knowledge of the topic, even though they were part of the community, stated that the ancient Śākadvīpa was part of the Iranian lands. Moreover, my first interlocutor in INT. 6, added that for this reason, contemporary communities still have some Iranian features. I asked for more information about this topic, but he did not reply.

In Uttar Pradesh and Rājasthān, people were generally more cautious in their claims: ‘Śākdvīpā’ is one of the ancient dvīpas ... Some people think that it can be identified with Persia’ (INT. 1, 5.38); ‘I do not know exactly where is Śākadvīpa. There are some theories about that, it’s near Iran ... It’s near ... Śākdvip ... I learned in ... Atlantic Sagar. Exactly I don’t know where ... Exactly I am not having any proof of this, from where we have come’ (INT. 5, 2.29). Only in one case did the interviewee deny a possible link with Iranian lands, connecting the etymology of the name Śākadvīpa with the Śāka tree: ‘From the śak tree. Some thinks it is related to Sakas ... like Kūṣāns, Hūṇas ... But that’s not true. It is the śak tree, a tree that has constantly various fragrances ...’ (INT. 3, 0.23).

Therefore, the general tendency of identifying Śākadvīpa with Iran is present, or at least the people belonging to these communities claim to have foreign origins. Śākadvīpa is, above all, a mythical island, and they are proud of having this peculiarity in their tradition. In the end, origins do legitimate; and distant origins, in terms of time or space, legitimate even more fully, because they are in a certain sense inaccessible. For this reason, the Śākadvīpiyas let their being foreigners to become their peculiarity and their cohesive point; this is reflected in their name, too. On the other hand, for this reason they still have problems being accepted as Brāhmaṇas: ‘But we are not considered Brahmins from a great part of Indian society ... [...] Because we are foreigners’ (INT. 7, 14.43, 14.51).

807 The modern pronunciation of the island’s name is ‘Śākdvip’. I have decided to adopt it in transcribing the interviews.
5.1.4 Migration to India: Legend and History

The Sāmba- and Bhaviṣya-purāṇas deal with the legend of Sāmba contracting leprosy and praying to the sun god for his recovery; then he finds a statue of the sun in human appearance in the river Candrabhāgā and brings 18 families of Magas, the Brāhmaṇas of Śākadvīpa, to properly worship the idol of the sun. Having considered the version of the legend transmitted in the later poems (cf. paragraph 3.2), we notice that the Magas/Śākadvīpīyas are brought to India from Śākadvīpa not only to pray to the sun, but also to directly heal Sāmba (and not only him) from leprosy. In fact, over the centuries, this group must have specialized in Āyurvedic medicine, and they have come to be directly associated with the ability of healing. In a certain sense, the ancient power of the sun to cure all diseases has been transferred to the Śākadvīpīyas.

Generally, my interviewees were all aware of the Purānic legend of Sāmba’s disease and his recovery. In their stories, it is the sun god who cures Sāmba, thanks to the intervention of the Śākadvīpīyas, specialists in sun worship (INT. 2, 0.25; 5, 0.41; 7, 13.41). Those priests came to India and settled first in Multān (cf. INT. 5, 0.41), the first of the three sun dwellings mentioned in the Purāṇas. This place has become associated with the name Mathurā, also adopted as a family name in the Magavyakti (Mahurā > Mahurāśi). Then, they spread out all over India, especially to Magadha-Bihār, which is probably one of the most ancient settlements, and to Rājasthān, Tamil Nadu and every other part of India (cf. INT. 5, 0.45). Therefore, even the mythological journey from Śākadvīpīya had its stages. On a historic note, one of my interlocutors told me that, after the Partition in 1947, many Śākadvīpīyas who were settled in Punjab moved to the Sindh region (INT. 1, 13.17). It is interesting to note that many people in this group were actually living in north-western India/Pakistan until the middle of the twentieth century. This may be a confirmation of their having come from the west, and that the legend of the migration may underlie a historical truth. If we also consider the current king of Ayodhyā is a Śākadvīpīya and that, according to the Śāmvavijaya and the Khalavakracapeṭikā the Magas/Śākadvīpīyas were brought to Ayodhyā to help Rāma and Rāma’s father, it is impossible not to think about a connection between myth and history. Moreover, one of the names in the Magavyakti is Ayodhyāra, which means that those people should at least have come from that

809 One of the interviewees told me that the sun did not heal Sāmba, he cured him; a cure is permanent, while healing is not (cf. INT. 7, 14.02).

810 Some communities believe that, even in ancient times, some Śākdvīpīya people moved outside India, to Australia, America and Mongolia. They postulated also that ‘Mongolia’ [mɒŋˈɡoʊliə] might have taken its name from ‘Mag’ (cf. INT. 3, 7.42).
city, as the name testifies to their social presence there. A similar circumstance obtains for their legendary settlement in Gayā, another mythological settlement, again in Magadha-Bihār, in which we find epigraphic evidence of the presence of this group. In this case, my opinion is that the myth and history merged, influencing each other continuously. This, I think, is the peculiarity of historical chronicles in India, or rather, the peculiarity of Purāṇic chronicles. The Purāṇas, being ‘histories of ancient times’, narrate stories of real and mythological kings, and historical facts, confirmed by other sources, which are enriched by the presence of gods and heroes.

In any case, the story of the migration represents a common heritage of all the contemporary Śākadvīpīya communities, a peculiarity of their identity. Some of the versions of this legend have further implications. According to my seventh interviewee, the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas refused to come to India to help Sāmba in his recovery, so Kṛṣṇa devised a plan: ‘He sent Garuḍa to a field in which the children of these doctors used to play. The bird stayed there and then he flew away; sixteen children hung to Garuḍa’s body and flew to Dvārakā with him. […] Those sixteen children then married local girls and they settled first in Bihār, Gayā region, then to Jodhpur/Jaipur region and all over India. They gave names to sixteen purs. They are related to cities. It is said also that they gave names to the cities in relation to the parts of Garuḍa’s body they were attached while flying to India’ (INT. 6, first interlocutor). This story is clearly very similar to the one contained in the Sāmvavijaya. The number of the boys coincides and the deceptive way in which Garuḍa attracts them, even though it is different (in the Sāmvavijaya he offers them delicacies), has the same purpose.

In another version, Kṛṣṇa offers the Śākadvīpīyas the opportunity to stay in India, but they refuse (cf. Sāmvavijaya 5). Again, he cheats them, feeding Garuḍa with apples containing some gold, which impede Garuḍa from flying and forces the priests to remain in India (cf. INT. 7, 14.15). I could not find any trace of this story in the ancient literature.

Further questions can be raised about Garuḍa, the mythological vehicle of Kṛṣṇa, probably a huge bird. If the myth really represents a historical event, of which contemporary Śākadvīpīyas are convinced, Garuḍa may have been a ship, which in reality sailed from Iran to India in reality. I have heard also about the possibility of a prototype of a plane, which is perfectly in line with the mounting Indian belief that the ancient sacred texts already contained all the ideas about technology and progress.
5.1.5 The Sacred Text

Like all the other Hindūs, the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas rely on the Vedas as their primary source. The importance and centrality of these texts to Hinduism, and the fact that people from Śākadvīpa rely on them as well, is the first point of unity with other Brāhmaṇas. Their peculiar identity must not clash with the social need to be accepted and legitimated. They are indeed part of Hinduism, and the Vedas are the most ancient scriptures, the utmost in terms of wisdom and sacredness. The most interesting piece of information came from the oldest member of the Śākadvīpīya community in Patna: he told me that the existing Vedas are four, but that the ‘Śākaldvīpis had another one, but it was destroyed’ (INT. 8, 2.18). I tried to ask more about this fifth Veda, but he told me they did not know its name. They just knew it existed and then it was destroyed. This is incredibly meaningful, and can be connected with two points: in the Bhavisya-purāṇa (I. 140, 37), some ‘reversed’ Vedas are mentioned; these Vedas, which are defined as viparīta-, had been proclaimed by Brahmā in ancient times, like the other Vedas (Bh. I. 140, 36). Moreover, in this remark we find a trace of the Saura-purāṇa, probably identified with ‘the book of the Magas’ mentioned by Bhāvaviveka, which does not exist anymore. Even in the RORI manuscript of the Magavyakti, I found a mention of this work in the annotations, testifying to the fact that people at the end of the nineteenth/beginning of the twentieth century still had knowledge of this text. We cannot rule out that this Saura-purāṇa may simply have changed its name, or that people employed this expression to indicate another text. In any case, the reference to a specific work, now lost, sounds too familiar to be a coincidence. Furthermore, the fact that only the 95-year-old Bihari member informed me about this point, may indicate that middle-aged Śākadvīpīya people are no longer aware of this information.

The legend of their migration and the description of their practices, as we have repeatedly seen, is mainly contained in the Purāṇic literature, in particular the Sāmba- and Bhavisya-purāṇas. Generally, my interlocutors stated that Purāṇas are the texts in which the history of their community is narrated, and their content is reliable; they all accepted their authority except for one interviewee, who affirmed that the Vedas are the only source, because the Purāṇas are late texts, and for this reason, they are not reliable.812

811 Skr: ta eva viparītās tu tēṣām vedāḥ prakīrtitaḥ / vedo viśvavadaśa caiva vidud angirasas tathā //

812 INT. 4, 7.20: ‘[...] Purāṇs are ... about the Śākdvīpī Brāhmaṇs. But ... I do not like the Purāṇs’ literature, I do not. Because the Purāṇs are written in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries.’ This is not completely true; not all the Purāṇas are so recent, but he tried to discredit them. Even if some of them can be judged almost modern works, because they are very recent, the central core of some Purāṇic literature can be dated back to the fourth to fifth century A.D.; citing the Vedas, which were revealed thousands of years B.C., probably confers more prestige.
Beside the Vedas and the Purāṇas, the epics also serve as works of reference; the Mahābhārata was frequently quoted during the interviews. During the seventh interview, my learned interlocutor, Professor of English at the University of Patna, mentioned the references to the classes of Śākadvīpa in book 6 of the Mahābhārata (15.51); he said that the number of the puras, which we will discuss later, is 72, like the 72 Brāhmaṇas in the Mahābhārata (10.27). Then, in Bīkāner my interviewees told me the story of Barbarika, the grandson of Bhīma, a very peculiar character in the Mahābhārata, who had a power that can be compared to the efficacy of Āyurvedic treatments (cf. INT. 5, especially 39.05). Therefore, Mahābhārata is also a focal text for Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas, and they are even mentioned in it. The Śāṃvavijaya also associates their history with the vicissitudes of the epic’s heroes, and they were present at the battle fought by Kṛṣṇa, Bhīma and Arjuna against the king of Magadha (cf. paragraph 3. 2. 1).

During the interviews, nobody mentioned the Rāmāyana, but during lunch at my hosts’ parents’ house in Bīkāner, they showed me their domestic altar and gave me a small book in which was contained, according to them, their most important prayer, the ādityahr̥ dayastotram. This stotra is part of the Yuddha Kānda (105) of the Rāmāyana, and it is pronounced by the sage Agatsya when Rāma’s battle against Rāvana is about to begin. In the Śāṃvavijaya, the Magas are invited to Ayodhyā to celebrate Rāma’s aśvamedha.

Therefore, the central texts of Hinduism are indeed the fundamental texts of the Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas, since they are actually Hindūs. Moreover, they have tried to connect their own history with the great heroes of the epics, and even to the Vedic texts, in order to be fully legitimized.

5.1.6 Nature, Āyurveda and Food

The Śākadvīpiyas ‘[…] have always been interested in natural sciences. The sun god is the only visible god. You can see him’ (INT. 2, 0.06); ‘[…] even if people do not worship him, he stays still’ (INT. 6, first interlocutor). This is a central point in the Śākadvīpiya cult: they worship the sun for its visibility. In the Sāmba-purāṇa (2, 19), it is defined as pratyakṣa-. His seven horses are considered the seven colours of the rainbow.813 Therefore, nature and the biology are very important to their cult. Traditionally, it seems that the Magadhan area, also called Greater

813 ‘Do you know why Lord sun has seven horses? They are the colours of the rainbow. You see? Once again a natural reason for a religious matter’ (INT. 5, n. r.).
Magadha (cf. BRONKHORST 2007), had another style of natural observation and medicinal practices, different from the Vedic ones. Strabo, in his Geography (15. 1. 70), states that in this area the Brāhmaṇas (Brachmanes) used to practice natural philosophy and astrology.814 Āyurvedic medicine was probably founded in the Magadhan environment, enriched by non-Brāhmaṇical cults. This parallel non-Vedic tradition of healing placed emphasis on the direct observation of phenomena; in particular, it is the disequilibrium of the bodily elements that produces disease.815

Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas have always had a particular interest in Āyurvedic treatments and in the knowledge of natural medicine. For example, in Rājasthān they are not only strict vegetarians, but they also avoid foods like garlic and onions, categorized as tamasic food. On the other hand, they use many plants for cooking. Particularly beloved is the tulsī/tulasi plant, the holy basil (*Ocimum tenuiflorum*), which is generally held most sacred by the Hindūs, especially Viṣṇu worshippers. In fact, it is believed that this plant consists in the hair of the goddess Lakṣmī, one of Viṣṇu’s wives, who was reborn as Tulasī, daughter of king Dharmadhvaja.816

This Śākadvīpīya interest in medicine has its roots, according to my interlocutors’ opinion, in the Purānic texts: the sun healed Sāmba from leprosy, and they followed his example. In the *Sāmba-purāṇa* (11, 46), the Aśvins are qualified as physicians. Saṃjñā, having the form of a mare, was in the forest; the sun god, as a horse, approached her, but she refused him, probably because she had not recognized her husband. Then ‘she vomited the semen of Vivasvat from her nostrils. In this way the two Aśvins, the great physicians, were born.’ According to the legend, Āyurveda was created by Svayambhū, ‘l’Être existant par lui-même’818, i. e. Brahman. Since men were not able to understand it in that form, Svayambhū recomposed it and taught it to Prajāpati, who, in turn, transmitted it to the Aśvins.819 Therefore, in the sun’s family, this curative ability is a common trait. The Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas being part of the sun themselves (we will discuss this point later), they share this interest in healing diseases.

One interviewee (INT. 5, 9.07) told me, ‘Our ancestors were doctors and we learned how to make medicines with the use of some leaves. And before one thousand year we can say that all

---

814 See BRONKHORST 2007: 57.
815 Ivī: 59 f.
816 The Devī-Bhāgavata-purāṇa, skanda 9, narrates the myth of Tulsī (cf. VETTAMMĀNI 1978: 797 F.).
817 Skr. (SP 11, 46): sā tadvivasvataḥ śukram nāsikābhhyāṁ nirāvamat / devau tasyāmajāvetāṁ aśvinau bhīṣajāṁ varau //
818 FILLIOZAT 1975: 2.
819 Then the Aśvins taught the Āyurveda to Indra, who himself taught it to Dhanvantari in the form of Divodāsa, king of Kāśi (ibid.).
community members, all community population was spread all over India, then they are not doing really anything, they have fallen down all these things, and Āyurvedic doctors are limited nowadays. One or two know these things. But our ancestors were perfect doctors, Āyurved doctors.’ In the Magavyakti (II, 13) too, we find mention of their ancient skills:

āyurvedamahāstrabhagnanikhilakleśoccayās saṃtataṃ
rejus te ṅumauraravāṃśaja-magā yeśāṁ yaśobdhīn yayau //

‘The Magas born in the family Dumaraura, with the multitude of pains completely defeated with the powerful bow of Āyurveda, are continuously resplendent, and their fame rises.’

The power of Āyurvedic treatments, according to my fifth interviewees, had been described already in the Mahābhārata, with the character Barbarika.\(^{820}\) He was the grandson of Bhīma and Hidimbā, and received his education partly from his grandmother, who was born rakṣas, and partly from a Śākadvīpīya teacher, Nija Sid Singh. He acquired the power to target, to destroy and, if he wants, to regenerate\(^{821}\); this is clearly the most powerful weapon on the battlefield of the Mahābhārata and, in this way, one single man can easily exterminate his enemies. Kr̥ṣṇa asks him for a demonstration of his powers, in which Barbarika uses the leaves of the pīpal tree. This procedure, in three steps, is associated with Āyurvedic treatments (INT. 5, 41.30): ‘Now, Āyurvedic persons prepare their medicines with such kind of things. […] But first part of the treatment is target only the ill part, like the leaves of the pīpal tree. Then destroy only this and if anyhow there is destroy of the regular cells, the third part must be regenerating. Then we have complete treatment. Such kind of treatment comes from the ancient system. […]’

Śākadvīpīyas are very interested in natural science, and this is the reason why they have always been considered good doctors.\(^{822}\) Even nowadays, in Bihār, many Śākadvīpīyas still enter the medical profession.

Finally, Prof. K. Bhojak, in Bīkāner, provided me with a list of famous Āyurvedic doctors who were Śākadvīpīyas.\(^{823}\) They were all active in the nineteenth century, or at least before 1950:

- Dr. Atma Ram Sharma: He worked in Jaipur, and had a medical laboratory at the court of Jaipur, because he worked for the king. He was learned in Āyurveda.
- Paṇḍit J.T. Bhojak: He was an astrologist and also prepared some medicines with gold and silver.

\(^{820}\) For the complete story of Barbarika see INT. 5 (my interlocutor’s version) or VETTAMMĀNI 1978: 107 f.

\(^{821}\) ‘He had three weapons: one was for targeting, other one for destroying, and third weapon was for regeneration […]’ (INT. 5, 39.05).

\(^{822}\) Cf. also INT. 7, 14.51 and INT. 8, 4.31.

\(^{823}\) I took notes while Prof. Bhojak was speaking. He provided me with this list on 5 November 2016.
- Śrī Gaṅganagar: He was from Bīkāner. He was learned in astrological medicine and in the preparation of Shankā.\(^{824}\)
- Paṇḍit Bhram Bhat Sharma: He was in Delhi, in Kamla Nagar; he was a priest, a preacher and a teacher. He gave also medicine to people.
- Dr. Rameshwar Sharma: He worked in Bīkāner and in Jodhpur.

### 5.1.7 Ritual Practices and Festivities

The most important religious activity for a Śākadvīpīya is the pūjā honouring the sun god. According to one of my interlocutors (INT. 3, 0.54), they perform the havana pūjā, which is the offering in the fire.\(^{825}\) In any case, they have to pray the sun god with mantras twice a day, at dawn and at sunset, the two turning points (INT. 5, n. r.). We find an indication of the importance of these two moments of the day also in the Sāmba- (15) and Bhaviṣya-purāṇas (I. 123). I had the opportunity to attend a sunset pūjā, in which the Śākadvīpīya community of Bīkāner gathered to light seven sticks of incense, like the seven horses, for worshipping the sun’s statue; then they offered water. The offering of water is the main ritual action, and that is the reason why water is so important to the Śākadvīpīyas. They also have to look at the sun in the early morning because it is very good for the eyes (cf. INT. 5, n. r.). I was also informed that ‘it is scientifically proved, that looking at Lord sun for three to four minutes is good for health. When the sun rises, we can look straight to it. We also teach our children to look at it. Then, during the day, you can look at it with your hands like this … Crossed fingers. This is very important for health, very good for eyes’ (INT. 3, 4.01). Once again, the biological/healing aspect is present here, and the visibility of the sun is a health matter.

These daily cultual practices reach their apex during the two Hindū festivities in honour of the sun god. One of these is Sūrya (or Ratha) Saptamī, seven days in the bright half of the month of Māgha (around the beginning of February), during which the birth of the sun god is celebrated and the sun statue is adorned and carried around the city in procession (cf. INT. 3, 0.54). The fast in honour of the sun, called Ratha Saptamī Vrata is described in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (I. 50). In the Varāha-purāṇa (177, 59–60) it is stated: ‘59. He [Sāmba] arranged there (the festival of) Rathayātrā suggested by the sun. 60. On the Saptamī day in the month Māgha

---

\(^{824}\) According to my knowledge, it is an Āyurvedic medicine prepared with conch shells.

\(^{825}\) Generally havana is the offering in fire. In Vedic times, it was the first sacrifice of the day, which let the sun rise. Cf. chapter 39 of the Sāmba-purāṇa (SRIVASTAVA 2013: 129).
people conduct Rathayātrā there […]’ (IYER 1985: 530). For the Rājasthāni Śākadvīpīyas, Sūrya Saptamī is definitely the most important festivity of the year. People gather in the main temples to observe the sunrise. On the contrary, in Bihār the most important festivity is Chhath, celebrated on the sixth day of the month of Kārtik (end of October/beginning of November). This festivity, which generally lasts four days, consists of fasting and praying of the sun; people generally gather for the morning pūjā near ponds or other bodies of water. My host family in Patna told me that it is the most important event of the year. Beside the ritual practices, they also have a big party while waiting for the sunrise, adding a festive dimension to the religious ceremony. In Bīkāner I was informed that they do not celebrate Chhath, which is celebrated in Bihār and is the only occasion on which women can look straight at the sun, even in the morning. This piece of information was not confirmed by the Bihāri Śākadvīpīyas I met.

Finally, they told me about their most relevant cultic centres. Koṇārak (Konārka) used to be very important in ancient times, but according to my fifth interlocutor, it is not relevant nowadays because it is no longer active (INT. 5, 16.55). On the contrary, my hosts in Patna spoke enthusiastically about Koṇārak: I was informed that there is no sun idol in the temple there, but that when the sun rises, passing along the temple’s structure, the ray of sunlight illuminates the idol’s place. My interlocutor told me that admiring this phenomenon was one of the best experiences of her life.

5.1.8 Waters

We have already mentioned the fact that waters are particularly meaningful for Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. Water offerings are the core of their ritual practices, both in everyday life and especially during religious festivities. For this reason, particularly near Śākadvīpīya temples, we can always find a pond. Some Śākadvīpīya families also have their private basin; my hosts in Patna had their own on the top of their building, and use it for celebrating Chhath.

Waters, ponds, rivers and even the ocean are mentioned frequently in the Purāṇas; in Sāmba- 26 / Bhaviṣya- I. 129, we find the story of the idol of the sun found in the Candrabhāgā river by Sāmba. Waters are important also because they reflect the sun, which takes its terrestrial form in this way. I think there is a strong double symbology in Sāmba-purāṇa 43, when the sun’s statue is found by the Manus: when the sun rises over the ocean, it is possible

826 The episode is repeated in Sāmba-purāṇa 43, but the Manus find the sun’s idol in the ocean.
to see his double form, one in the sky, the other in the water; at that very moment, the sun’s idol emerges from the waters. In this sense, through the presence of water, we can see a solar image on Earth, i.e. the reflection of the sun, every day.

The god Mitra, who has become one form of the sun in Purānic literature, is often mentioned in relation to waters. The nāgas, who are very prominent in association with the sun cult and the Śākadvīpīya repertoire of legends, are also strongly connected with water.

5.1.9 Differences from Other Sun Worshippers and Among the Śākadvīpīya Sub-Groups

Śākadvīpīyas were pandits of every cult, but after Sāmba brought them to India for worshipping the sun god, they specialized in the sun cult. They spread sun cult all over India, they brought the sun cult to India’ (INT. 3, 1.14). The Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas have been considered the sun worshippers par excellence since the ancient texts were composed. The Purāṇas present them as the only Brāhmaṇas able to properly worship the sun god. According to Varāhamihira, they are the group in charge of the sun’s idol installation and care (cf. paragraph 2.3). They are clearly endowed with a special qualification in matters of sun worshipping. In my second interlocutor’s opinion, their superior qualification lies in the fact that Śākadvīpīyas were part of the sun themselves: ‘[…] The sun generated the Śākadvīpīyas from his own body. The descendants are the other sun worshippers’ (INT. 2, 5.53). This piece of information clearly echoes the Purānic material (cf. Bhaviṣya-purāṇa I, 117) and the story contained in the Sāmvavijaya (twelfth ādhyāya). Their consideration may also derive from the fact that ‘Śākadvīpīyas brought to India sun cult. They were the first to build in India Sūrya mandirs; then they left and other worshippers took their place. Other priests do the worshipping part. The mantras are the same and they do pūjā in the same way. They serve water to the sun’ (INT. 3, 3.32). According to others, ‘Śākaldvīpis are not part of Sūrya family, but they are experts in Sūrya pūjā’ (INT. 8, 4.31). Their priests seem to have specialized in matters of worship over the centuries, and for this reason, ‘[…] in ancient times the king had only Śākaldvīpis around him, no other purohita’ (INT. 8, 4.40). I do not think that these differences form part of the regional dissimilarities that characterize the communities in Rājasthān and

827 For some references on this topic, see for example THIEME 1957/1995.
Bihār, which are probably rather due to the geographical environment. Their different opinions are based probably on the different materials they have read about their past and mythology.

Another peculiarity of Śākdvīpīya priests is that they cannot accept any reward for their religious actions. My interlocutor for the fifth interview explained that they live to worship the gods, and they do not accept any money for their ‘job’ (INT. 5, 6.00, n. r.). This feature was also noted during the seventh interview: ‘Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs think that you cannot accept not even a drop of water when, for example, one helps you’ (INT. 7, 12.07; repeated in 12.26 and 15.51). This is a very important feature, which recalls the theme of Śākadvīpīyas having been vindicated as devalakas; the issue of owning property, as discussed above, probably had a social resonance, and generated the accusation of their being corrupt and not deserving Brāhmaṇical status. The contemporary Śākadvīpīyas’ statements seem to have an apologetic value; their priests do not accept even a drop of water and are a model of integrity and religious behaviour.

Among the various Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇa communities settled all over India, some minor differences subsist even nowadays among the members of each sub-group, created on the basis of what today are the various surnames. Actually, there is no difference in terms of being one of the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas; they told me they are all the same in terms of membership. Nonetheless, every surname has its own story, and some of them possess characteristic features. ‘They have different names according to their function in ancient times. (2.24) […] They were called Bhojakas because they feed the Lord sun. And Sevakas, they only put on the clothes’ (INT. 3, 2.31). Therefore, some of them are typical surnames, or shared with other Brāhmaṇas (cf. for example Sharma, widely diffused in the Brāhmaṇical caste), while others are linked to the ancient texts: above all, Mag and Bhojak are very peculiar and directly connected to the Purānic environment. In one of my interlocutors’ opinion, ‘Mag’ is equivalent to ‘Brāhmaṇ’: ‘”Mag” means “Brāhmaṇ”; so you can say “Śākdvīpīya Mag” or “Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ”. It’s the same’ (INT. 3, 2.05). The name ‘Bhojak’ can be also connected with king Bhoja, and this etymology is already proposed in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (I. 140, 35a). My interlocutor, a Bhojak herself, told me their name is related to ‘the great king Bhoja’ (INT. 5, n. r.). Moreover, she informed me that, among the Śākadvīpīyas, the Bhojakas must follow 25 rules specific to their sub-group (INT. 5, n. r.). I wanted to know more about this topic; she promised she would send me more information, but I have not received anything as yet.

The same person also explained to me the meaning of ‘Sevak’: ‘Also Sevaks have their own story. In Jaina temples, only in Jodhpur and Bīkāner, there were no priests; so Śākdvīpīya priests, who are specialized in worshipping, all over the world, went there and did the pūjā.'
From that moment on, they were called Sevak, because they served the god at the temple. But this surname could sound derogatory, like servants, so people preferred not to adopt this name’ (INT. 5, n. r.). The etymology of the name is clear: in Sankrit sevaka- means “servant, attendant” (MW: 1247, II), from the root sev-, “to serve” (MW: 1247, I). According to Pande (*: 34–36), those people used take care of crops and practise agriculture in medieval feudal society; for this reason, they were called ‘servants’. Moreover, in Jaisalmer, around the thirteenth century, the sizable Bhojaka community there was linked to the Jaina temples; the confusion between ‘Bhojaks’ and ‘Sevaks’ arose especially after 20 November 1931, when the Mārvār government decided to change the surname ‘Sevak’, which they considered derogatory, to ‘Śākdvīpīya Bhojak’. Nowadays, Bhojakas are sometimes associated with Jainas for this reason.

Some surnames are connected with the Vedic Ṛṣis and sages, like ‘Maharshi’ or ‘Vyās’; others are also attested in the past, like Miśra (cf. Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra or Rājavallabha Miśra). In any case, no real distinction is made between the different groups of Śākadvīpīyas. They rely on the system of puras and gotras only in their marriage policies.

5.1.10 Puras and Gotras

We have already discussed the similarities between the names listed in the Magavyakti and the contemporary list of puras. To better understand the dynamics of this system, I have asked my interviewees for more information about it. The rule for marriage, which is strictly endogamous, is that the couple cannot belong to the same gotra. There is no other reason, neither surnames (my hosts in Bīkāner were both ‘Bhojak’, but did not belong to the same gotra) nor regional origins (in INT. 1, 1.25 my interlocutor declared ‘[…] I would not have any problem in letting my daughter marry a men from Śākdvīpīya community in Bihār’). Generally, it is the bride who changes her gotra and becomes part of the husband’s (cf. INT. 3, 17.23 and INT. 5, n. r.). The gotras are related to the gurus, and in Śākdvīpīya tradition, there are sixteen of them. The puras, on the other hand, are connected with cities (cf. INT. 6, second interlocutor), and defined as ‘branches of the tree’, ‘[…] subdivisions of our community’ (INT. 5, n. r.). In general, they are traditionally 72 in number (cf. INT. 7, 10.27; INT. 8, 1.38), but in one case there was a mention of 16 puras, linked to the legend of the 16 Śākdvīpīya boys who came to

---

828 Cf. also INT. 4, 24.06: सेवक ब्रह्मण है, ईश्वर की सेवा।
India holding Garuḍa’s body (cf. INT. 6, first interlocutor). In my opinion, based on looking at websites and the latest magazine publications, the systems of gotras and puras have intermingled and influenced each other. As the utility of this system derives from its preservation of the non-incestuous exogamy practiced by these communities, the complete list of gotras and puras is no longer useful once it is verified that the two potential spouses belong to different groups.

5.1.11 Education and Professions

Based on their skills and specializations, the Śākdvīpiya Brāhmaṇas are traditionally associated with certain professions. Nonetheless, these differ somewhat based on the precise the geographical area and environment.

Being Brāhmaṇas, they should be involved in literary matters (cf. INT. 1, 0.39), but in Rājasthān some of them are involved in business or work for the government. In this region, they used to be very good doctors and learned men, but nowadays the great majority of them are priests who take care of the temple and the gods’ statues. In Bīkāner, almost every temple priest is a Śākdvīpiya, but there is only one university professor in the community (namely one of my interlocutors, professor of chemistry at Dungar College). In my interviewee’s opinion, the problem lies in education: whereas Śākdvīpiya people in Bihār are still well educated, in Rājasthān the lack of education has led them to the vocation of temple priests (INT. 5, 4.31). In any case, they have preserved their inclination towards astrology: even nowadays, they are very good astrologers (INT. 5, 6.10; INT. 8, 4.31). In Bihār, the situation appears to be different: many Śākdvīpiyas are indeed involved in education (generally as university professors), but they are especially prominent in the medical profession. In fact, almost all the members of my host family in Patna were doctors, both men and women. They also told me that some of their ancestors were astrologers, and the grandfather of the middle-aged sisters, in particular, had a reputation in Patna for being able to foretell the future with striking precision.
5.1.12 Iranian Elements

One of the most satisfactory parts of the interviews consisted in the spontaneous reference to Iranian (or perhaps indeed Zoroastrians) influences by my interviewees. In particular, they told me that ‘[…] Zoroastrians are considered to be part of the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs. They worship fire, no? The other visible god, like sun. You know Pārśīs? They are Zoroastrians. I read they are Śākdvīpīyas, too. Also the two gods, sun and fire, are close’ (INT. 2, 2.48). I tried to ask him about any textual evidence for this identification, but he did not reply. In any case, this claim is based on logical associations: since the two gods, sun and fire, who are the only two visible gods, are very close and sometimes even identified with each other, the Fire worshippers (i.e., the Zoroastrians) must be part of the Śākdvīpīyas. Another interviewee told me ‘also Jarathuṣtra came from Śākdvīpīya community’ (INT. 3, 1.14); I asked about the source of this information, and he replied that according to Nathamal PĀṆḌE*, Jarathuṣtra belonged to the community. Actually, I was not able to find this information in the works of that they gave me. The spelling of the name of Zaraθuštra in their version is almost identical to the original. In the Bhavisya-purāṇa (I. 129, 43), we find the figure of Jaraśastra (also spelled ‘Jataśastra’ and ‘Jaraśabda’), son of Agni, the god of fire, and the goddess Nikṣubhā. Jaraśastra is presented as the progenitor of the Mihira race; the name clearly recalls that of Zaraθuštra.829 The contemporary Śākdvīpīya version adheres to the original, but given that the -z- is not preserved in Indian languages, they render it as -j-; the fricative -θ- becomes the retroflex -ṣ-. The attempt to link the two traditions is clear.

On the contrary, a very peculiar feature, attributable to the Iranian world, was described with precision, but not linked to Iranian origins. One of my interlocutors in Bīkāner casually mentioned the avyaṅga. I have previously discussed the importance of this sacred girdle, an icon of the Śākdvīpīyas (Magas and Bhojakas) in ancient times (cf. Purāṇic literature and paragraph 2.7). Showing me the sacred Brāhmaṇical cordon of a priest (cf. 5.2), my host told me that Śākdvīpīyas should also wear another girdle, a feature that characterizes their community: ‘[…] avyaṅga is found only in the Śākdvīpīya community. (2.00) What is the difference between avyaṅga and yajñobhogi? Avyaṅga now is the point that now scientifically as well as biologically the kid brings as develops. This is why avyaṅga-samskār has a fixed date. It is the eight year of the child. Avyaṅga is always done in the eight year. Once

829 Cf. also PALLADINO 20??b.
830 Brāhmaṇical common sacrificial cordon, worn on the right shoulder.
you have completed the eight year, the *avyaṅga* is done, but this was only in the ancient times. Now very few people are worried about that, even the Śākdvīpīyas today are not worried about that. So they are not going for that. And secondly, *avyaṅga* is a hidden *samskār*; you are really not going for the party, or for that, but the *yajñobhogi* you use party, you celebrate it. But *avyaṅga* is only between the kid and the sun. (3:17) The kid and the sun, only that two celebrate. And thirdly is that *avyaṅga*, when we get ten … around their waist, when they are ten around their waist. Then the *yajñobhogi* will be … around … *[he points to his shoulder]* […]’ (INT. 5, *Addendum on the Avyaṅga*). This biological and ritual step in the child’s life exhibits some interesting features: first, the name *avyaṅga* refers both to the girdle and to the ceremony during which the girdle is conferred. Moreover, the sun god bestows the qualification of wearing this peculiar ritual object in a private ceremony; this denotes an intimate relation between the sun god and his favourite Brāhmaṇas, the Śākdvīpīyas. Finally, the manner of wearing it, namely around the waist, is the same as that described in the Purāṇas and shown in the iconography of the sun in the fifth to sixth centuries. I asked my interlocutor if he knew where this ceremony came from; I told him that, in the *Avesta*, a ritual object with a very similar name is mentioned, which then I spelled in Avestan. My impression is that Śākdvīpīya people do not have any information about Iranian customs and religious practices, but they claim to have Iranian origins just for the sake of defining their own identity or in an attempt to justify their peculiar features. In any case, this is an astonishing example of the continuation of a tradition from ancient times. The Purānic texts mention and describe it, and some members of the contemporary communities still celebrate it, even if fewer Śākdvīpīyas people are aware of this tradition nowadays.

I also tried to ask directly about other peculiar ritual actions and objects described in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, like the *patidāna* or the *varśman* (probably linked to Av. *paiti.dāna* and *barǝsman*), but I received no feedback, which suggested that the ritual objects described in the Purānic texts are generally unknown. INT. 3: (15.06) ‘Do you have any other practice? I mean, ritual practices .. For example, in ancient times, did the priests cover their mouths while reciting or did they hold something in their hands?’ (15.21) ‘No, they didn’t. According to my knowledge, only Jains cover their mouths in India.’
5.1.13 Notable Figures

Finally, I would like to briefly discuss some notable figures from the Śākdvīpīya community who are held in great esteem by contemporary members.

Among the historical figures, Cāṇakya, the administrator, poet, and charismatic figure, was a Śākdvīpīya according to my interlocutors (INT. 1, 15.41; INT. 2, 3.56; INT. 3, 11.51). Varāhamihira, the famous astrologer and astronomer, belonged to the community as well (cf. INT. 1, 15.41; INT. 2, 4.07; INT. 3, 11.51; INT. 5, 10.11). According to one of my interviewees, even the great mathematician Āryabhaṭa was a Śākdvīpīya (INT. 2, 3.38).

These are the well-known personalities of the past. In Udaipur, my hosts informed me of other persons who have been very important to their community; some of them are mythological, others are historical figures. (INT. 3: 5.02): ‘Here is written the story of Parthdhwan (?). He was a Śākdvīpīya. There was a time in which people wanted to go and live in Sūrya-loka. Parthdhwan longed to enter Lord Sūrya’s world, too. For this reason, the practiced austerities for 300 years. The sun, satisfied with his worship, closed his eyes and suddenly seven Brahmins came out, who could perform perfectly. Each one had two daughters and two sons. […] Then, Sūryadvij. […] (7.27) Then there was Viśvamitr, who went to Australia and started the community over there. […] (11.51) You asked about the personalities … Here they are written. There was Mahaṛṣi Vasiṣt, who was son of Lord sun. Then Cāṇakya, Varhāhamihir, Mahākāvi Magh, Mahākāvi Vrand, Mongol Paṇḍi … Do you know him? He was a freedom fighter. He was part of the army but he decided to rebel to the fact that they used pigs and cows grass for the guns. After having left the army, he became a freedom fighter. And then Maharaja Sindh Badhur.’ Apparently, all these figures were involved in political activism, intellectual life and royal power. They informed me that even nowadays the ruler of Ayodhya is a Śākdvīpīya (INT. 3, 0.23). Therefore, the glory of the Śākdvīpīyas, asserted in various disciplines since the Magavyakti, is still present in the form of some contemporary personalities, who are the pride of today’s communities. One example is the poet Śīlayrāta Sharma, from Udaipur, affectionately called Śīlva jī (cf. INT. 3, 5.48 and paragraph 5.3).

831 They relied on PĀṆḌE*’s material.
5.2 Visits

I travelled around Rājasthān from 20 October to 5 November. I visited the cities of Udaipur, Jodhpur and Bīkāner, meeting people from the local Śākadvīpīya communities who could help me find new information. I was welcomed in every house, and I am still very grateful to all the people I had the opportunity to meet during my stay. Moreover, in Bīkāner I had the opportunity to get acquainted with the Śākadvīpīya community for three entire days. Dr. B. Bhojak and her husband took me to visit many temples and introduced me to many Śākadvīpīya priests. As she said (INT. 5, 3.35), in Bīkāner there is a huge concentration of Śākadvīpīya people; in the neighbourhood of Kasauṭī Nath Śiv Mandir, a temple once visited by Emperor Humayun832, the 70% of the population is composed of Śākadvīpīyas, and 90% of them are priests. They all have a very good knowledge of astrology, and some of them are even professional astrologers.

On 4 and 5 November 2016 they took me to visit some temples. There are 51 temples in Bīkāner, most of them managed by Śākadvīpīya priests. They are not only sun temples, but also Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples. Śākadvīpīya priests are considered the best in matters of worship, and in Bīkāner they are particularly famous for their care of the mandirs and their pūjā.

First, they took me to visit Devi Kuṇḍ cemetery, where all the Rājputs and queens of Bīkāner have been buried. Formerly, it was the property of Śākadvīpīya community. Śākadvīpīya priests used to be a constant presence at the court of Bīkāner’s rulers. When we went to visit the mandir nearby, my hosts showed me the Nandi Kuṇḍ Sagar, a pond near the temple, pointing out the fact that it had been built artificially by Śākadvīpīya community. In the mandir, dedicated to Śiva and Kālī, we met Mr. Sharma, a Śākadvīpīya priest; his family has taken care of this temple for 400 years. He showed me the pūjā and recited the mantras for Śiva.

The next day we visited Nanajī-Niśājī temple, dedicated to Mātājī. It is the most ancient temple in Bīkāner. There I had the opportunity to meet two other priests, Mr. Rajesh Sharma and Mr. Suraj Sharma, whose family has looked after the mandir for 500 years. They are Śākadvīpīyas. We also went to Lakhṣmī-Nathjī Mandir; it is a complex of temples, 15 of which belong to Śākadvīpīya priests. There is also a small temple of the sun, which is actually the oldest sun temple in Bīkāner.

In any case, the most interesting place they took me was Sūrya Mandir, a temple that the Śākadvīpīya community is building for Lord sun. It is in the ‘Śākadvīpīya area’ of the city and

---

832 Humayun (1508–1566) was the second Moghul emperor. He ruled over the present territories of North India, Pakistan and Afghanistan from 1531–1540 and again from 1555–1556.
many priests live nearby. Inside, there is a statue of the sun god with seven horses. On the top of the cupola stands the sun symbol with a moustache, which is the typical icon of the sun I found in Rājasthān. I asked Dr. B. Bhojak the reason why the sun is always represented with a moustache in Rājasthān, but she was not able to answer.

On the way from Udaipur to Jodhpur, there is a very important sun temple for Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas, the Sūrya Mandir in Rāṇakpur. This temple was first built in the thirteenth century and then, after its destruction, rebuilt in the fifteenth century. It is a masterpiece of sculpture and ornamentation. The central part is surrounded by a big śikhara; in front of the sun idol’s abode, there is an octagonal maṇḍapa, with carved pillars and sculpted toraṇas (arches). The exterior of the mandir is decorated with sculptures of the sun god, seated on his chariot with his seven rearing horses.
Showing me an article about this temple in the magazine *Brahmāṇḍ Cetnā*, my interlocutor said, ‘This is Sūrya Mandir, and the priest of this temple is also Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ. This is temple, this is stadium; in festival time, people used to sit here and sun rose always from here’ (INT. 5, 13.09). In fact, in front of the *mandir*, there is a big stadium, which can accommodate many people during festivals.
Today’s Śākadvīpīya communities are very active and productive, at least those in Rājasthān and Bihār. Middle-aged people in particular are doing their best to keep their tradition alive. My hosts in Bīkāner have published the international magazine *Brahmāṇḍ Cetnā* since 2010, and Dr. Bharti Bhojak is especially active in editing the issues. She got her Ph.D. in Computational Mathematics and, being interested in astronomical calculation, she chanced upon Varāhamihira (cf. INT. 5, 13.09). From that moment on, she decided to cultivate the knowledge of the past and traditions of her community, and founded the magazine. It is a monthly magazine and its contents are varied; in each issue, there are some articles about the Śākadvīpīya tradition, as well as news and communications about the Bīkāneri community, wedding ads and obituaries. Some space is also given to letters, poems and messages. The content of the articles is varied, and ranges from recipes to the value of the Sanskrit language. For my purpose, it was useful to examine the topics of these articles to find out if they deal with some topics unknown to me. Based on the period of the year, they contain information about festivities and explain the history of some notable figures. I found articles on food items (allowed and not allowed), on plants, on the *nāgas*, on the Magas and the Sāmba legend, on Varāhamira, on astrology and the planets, on Bhojakas, on sun temples and *mantras*. Therefore, the topics were not new to me, even if they were obviously enriched with their own perspective; in particular, the papers on Varāhamihira and on historical matters have scientific value, and they are furnished with a bibliography. This magazine is primary addressed to Śākadvīpīya people, with the purpose of teaching them about their own tradition and informing them of the news about the Bīkāneri community; however, being an international magazine, it has the aim of spreading Śākadvīpīya culture all over the world.

Other magazines are the *Magabandhu*, edited in Rāmći (Jhārkhaṇḍa), where there is a high concentration of Śākadvīpīya people (cf. INT. 5, 3.35), and the *Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ Bandhu*, edited in Bīkāner as well. I do not know of the existence of any Bihāri publications.
Finally, yet importantly, new Sanskrit works have been born in the Śākadvīpīya environment. The previously mentioned Śīlavrata Sharma, ‘Śīla ji’, is the author of the poem Śrī Śūryāṣṭakam, a praise in honour of the sun god. The 85-year-old poet composed his work in Sanskrit, and provided a Hindī translation as well. Such examples are significant firstly in demonstrating that the Sanskrit lyric tradition is still alive, and secondly in highlighting the fact that Śākadvīpīyas are actually part of this living tradition.

To take stock of the results of this ethnographic experience, I would like to quote HERZFELD again: ‘[…] The circularity of this process […] is the key to understanding history, not as a set of referential data, but as something that people use to buttress their identity against the corrosive flow of time’ (2001: 59). I think that this is the point of the Śākdvīpīyas’ reinterpretation of their past: they zealously try to preserve the peculiarities that lie in their history. They indeed want be part of Hinduism, but they have different characteristics than other Brāhmaṇas; they are justified by ancient texts, legitimized by later poems and have enduring Iranian elements in their cult. The continuation of their tradition is undeniable, and I think this preservation of their traditional features is mostly due to their endogamous marriages. They had the opportunity to transmit stories and ritual practices from one generation to the next, even if younger generations are no longer interested in them. According to one of my interlocutors, ‘Young people are not interested in these things. That’s why many people, also belonging to the community, they don’t know anything and their information are not correct’ (INT. 6, first interlocutor). He thinks that even middle-aged Śākdvīpīya people are not reliable when it comes to traditional matters. In
any case, it is the natural tendency of traditions to slowly modify and maybe be replaced with new ones, but the unusual feature, in this case, is that the traditions have been transmitted with accuracy, with references to different textual sources, and completely forgotten by the new generations. If this study had been carried out only 50 years ago, the details of the tradition would have been even better preserved, and each person would have been able to tell the past of their community. This is apparent from the stories my interlocutors told about their grandfathers’ knowledge. Probably, in several generations, everything will be forgotten and they will simply become Hindū Brāhmaṇas; the mark of their peculiar past will be retained only in their name.

Another interesting fact is that the members’ knowledge of their past depends on their level of education and not on the nature of their activities: the learned members of the communities in Rājasthān and Bihār actually know more about their tradition than the Rājasthāni priests, who are completely involved in religious matters, but have scant education. The only respect in which the priests seem to adhere to tradition is their interest in and knowledge of astrology. The divinatory art is generally the prerogative of the priests of ancient cults, but Śākdvīpiyas have specialized in this art, becoming the best in the field of astrology.

Finally, I would like to briefly discuss the differences between the communities in Rājasthān and Bihār. They have different habits based on their geographic location; obviously, the communities’ traditional customs have merged with regional ones. For example, Brāhmaṇas should be strictly vegetarian: in Rājasthān, as mentioned previously, they also avoid tamasic food; in Bihār, they are not even vegetarian. The names change based on geography and the local languages. In Bīkāner, Rājasthān the majority of Śākdvīpiyas are priests without any education; in Bihār they are mostly doctors or professors. In this variegated scenario, different versions of their history and customs merge. After all, ‘[…] truth claims are filtered through differing interpretations of key cultural categories’\(^{833}\), and this can happen according to the regional origin of the speakers. My question: is it possible that these dissimilarities characterized the different textual traditions on their origins even in ancient times? I think this is also a good point of departure in rethinking our approach to their history. Our tendency is to try to find their unifying aspects and to collect the common data. Naturally, there are some prominent features, nowadays and in the past, which have characterized the Śākdvīpiya tradition and identity; these features emerge against a landscape of incongruous traits, which are as important as the shared ones. Moreover, the nature of Purānic literature, for example,

---

\(^{833}\) HERZFELD 2001: 67.
may have allowed much integration over the centuries, and even if the Sāṃba- and the Bhaviṣya-purāṇas are generally considered northern works, they may have absorbed different traits and textual traditions of the different northern areas. Therefore, when the narratives do not agree, it does not necessary mean that there have been some errors in the transmission of the data; moreover, this is valid for ancient times, too.
Conclusion

This research has pointed out some new features of the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. Even if it is not possible to trace a complete historical profile of this group, we have proof of their constant presence on Indian soil over the centuries. Despite the lack of concrete evidence before the second century A.D. (since we cannot put a date on when the mention of the Magas was inserted into the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas), and no real proof that the Śākadvīpīyas actually came from the Iranian world, they were and still are convinced that they possess peculiar Iranian features—to the extent that other sources, like the Buddhist ones, equate them with the Persians. In fact, beside their association with Iran, there is no other indication of close-kin relationships among the Magas in literature; for this reason, I think that this group, who pretended to come from Iranian lands, simply assimilated to the Persians who were in rule at that time, i.e. the Sasanians. In any case, this is very important for the affirmation and maintenance of the Śākadvīpīya tradition, i.e. that they have founded their identity on their Iranian peculiarities. We cannot establish whether the Iranian and Mazdean features mentioned and described in the Purāṇas came directly from Iranian culture, but they have certainly survived in the Śākadvīpīya tradition until the present day. The *avyaṅga*, which is probably their most distinctive element, has characterized various aspects of their tradition (iconographical, ritual, linguistic, mythological etc.), and let them maintain their unique identity, although they have assimilated perfectly to Hinduism.

They clearly consider themselves Hindūs, and they actually have almost no knowledge of Iranian religious and cultural practices, even though they claim to possess Iranian features and to come from Iranian lands. Furthermore, the contemporary communities define Zoroastrians as a sub-group of the Śākadvīpīyas, even though they have only superficial knowledge about the Zoroastrian cult (e.g., they know the name of Zarathuṣtra and that Zoroastrians worship fire).

Due to their avowed status as foreigners, and probably because of their ownership of land given to them by northern rulers, they have not been universally recognized as Brāhmaṇas. Obviously, they do not consider themselves different from other Brāhmaṇas in terms of their main ritual practices, sacred knowledge and Hindū habits, but they have based their identity on being outsiders. This is extraordinary, especially in the context of the Indian Brāhmaṇical social system, which is closed and rigidly linked to caste status.
Śākadvīpīyas are strictly endogamic and adhere to the gotra system for their marriage policies. They indeed follow the typical rules of the Brāhmanical class. In fact, even in the Purānic myth, it is stated that in Śākadvīpa, people were divided into four classes, which had never mixed together (cf. SP. 26, 31b/Bh. I. 139, 74b: [...] na teṣāṃ saṃkaraḥ kaścid varṇāśramakṛtaḥ kvacit //). Probably, this clarification was inserted into the text in order to legitimize the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas within Indian society. Especially in later poems, the attempts to bestow (even divine!) legitimacy on these Brāhmaṇas is evident. There could have been various reasons for this; in any case, we have a definite attestation of their presence in northern India. We do not know their precise historical and geographical coordinates, but we can presume that at a certain period, they were socially prominent and perhaps even influential at court, to the extent that they had to justify their presence in India. Furthermore, as stated previously, they were also believed to come from outside, probably from Iranian lands, exactly like the northern rulers of India in the first centuries A.D.: the Śakas, Kuṣāṇas, Hūṇas, and later the Persians themselves.

This is the answer to the first question I posed to myself at the beginning of my research on the Śākadvīpīyas: as a foreign cult, do they exhibit peculiar features, or have they been totally absorbed by Hinduism over the centuries? Both answers are actually correct. Even though they have completely integrated as Hindūs—and perhaps were even the protagonists of the Saura branch of Hinduism, at least so long as the sun cult survived independently in North India—they still maintain their uniqueness. Today they are still the main sun-worshippers in the northern regions, but they also specialize in the pūjā of other divinities (especially Śiva and Durgā). They have normalized their peculiarity, lending their distinctive features to the sun cult as well.

The second question addressed their origin: did they really come from outside India, perhaps from Iranian lands? Everything—from their calendar, explained by Varāhamihira, to the lexical elements contained in the Purāṇas—suggests that they had genuine connections with Iranian lands in the past. In any case, nowadays the Śākadvīpīyas, or at least the majority of them, are convinced that they have Iranian origins. Even if this is a case of invention of tradition, we may presume that the process had already taken place in ancient times, since this ‘invention’ dates back at least to the first centuries A.D. (taking into account that Ptolemy mentions the Magas—and that the name ‘Maga’ itself recalls Iranian roots—in the second century). We have discussed the fact that, even in later texts like the Magavyakti, even if there is no clear etymological connection with Old Iranian roots, there is still a strong connection with the modern Iranian world. Their origin, their sun worship and peculiar objects like the ayana īga are
the core of their identity; in this sense, even if they are not historically accurate, they actually do represent their past.

My third question centered on the possibility of establishing the historical background of their alleged migration and their presence on Indian soil. We have already anticipated the complexity of reconstructing their history, especially because of the scarcity of sources. Moreover, we cannot be sure about the dating of the Purānic texts; even the late poems containing declarations of authorship are not completely reliable. We have very little information for establishing a historical context, and even the sources we have offer insufficient content for reconstructing the contemporary historical events. For this reason, if no new information or evidence emerges, I fear that we will never be able to obtain a complete historical profile of this community. Nevertheless, their continuous presence throughout the centuries is documented and undeniable. Perhaps it is more appropriate to talk about a history of Śākadvīpīya religious tradition and customs that have been preserved since ancient times. Unfortunately, new generations of Śākadvīpīyas are no longer interested in their customs, and they have no knowledge of their history; the risk is that, in fifty years, the only remnant of their tradition will be their names.

A general overview of the Śākadvīpīya cult and its history, including all the sources, may distract us from paying due attention to the details and context of each text. On the other hand, adopting a multi-faceted approach focused on details means risking an overarching purpose and cohesion—like the well-known Buddhist story of the blind men touching the elephant (Sutta-piṭaka, Udana VI, 4, 66–69), each of whom imagine the animal’s complete appearance based solely on the one part of his body they were touching. These opposing, but valid approaches can be reconciled if the research remains focused on the continuity of the elements of the Śākadvīpīya tradition. Working on all the sources that mention the Śākadvīpīyas, even if we cannot date them with precision, maintains the continuity and the traces of their presence over the centuries; moreover, the analysis of the details reinforce how the central elements of their cult and legendary migration have been transmitted up to the present day. Operating simultaneously on both a general and a specific level allows us to draw a complete picture of their customs, which—while it is perhaps not historically precise, even if we are able to roughly establish the historical context of the various sources—speaks to a long-term continuity.

The results of this research reveal a nuanced tradition, rich in diverse elements, from Mit(h)raic cult to traditional Hindū features intermingled with Iranian elements. Perhaps
because of these peculiarities, the fascinating Śākadvīpīya tradition has survived until the present; the hope is that, propelled by its unique features, it can last into the future.
APPENDIX A

List of Names and Ritual Objects in Nēryōsangh’s Sanskrit Translation of the *Yasna* (based on SPIEGEL 1861)\(^{834}\)

I

2: hormijdāt / 43: hormijdasya
6: agniṃ hormijdasya (12)
9: nimantrayāmi sampūrṇayāmi // mihirāṃ nivāsitāranyām sahasrakarṇam dasasahasralocanaṃ uktanāmānaṃ iajdam / kila nāma anayā dīnya uktamāste // ānandaṃ nirbhayatvaṃ āsvādamaṃ / sa iajdasya ye manuṣyā khādyasya svādāṃ jānati //
17: jarathustrotimanāmīṃcā punyātmāṃ punyagurvīṃ 19: vijayāṃca hormijdadattaṃ
33: ye santi punyasya yat utkriṣṭatarāṃ hormijdēna śiksāpītāḥ / jarathuṣṭrāya // jarathuṣṭrenaca proktāḥ / antar asmin jagati //
34: hormijdēna śṛṣṭāḥ //
majdadattāḥ (39) / majdadattān (39, 41) / majdadattaṃ (41, 43) / majdadattāṃ (42)
40: jarathuṣṭriyāṃ
65: prabravīṃi mājdaśinīṃ jarathuṣṭrīyāṃ vibhinnadevāṃ hormijdasya nyāyavatīṃ /

II

baresmanam śaṃśi ijsnau (2) / prāṇam saṃsam baresmananā samāṃ ijsnau (4) / baresmanam samāṃ prāṇaṃ samāṃ ijsnau (5) / enaṃ prāṇam enaṃca baresmanam samāṃ ijsnau (6) / taṃ baresmanam enaṃca prāṇaṃ samāṃ ijsnau (7) / samāṃ prāṇena enaṃca baresmanam samāṃ ijsnau (8) / enaṃ baresmaṃ samāṃ prāṇaṃ samāṃ aībāngheṇa punyena parigrathitaṃ samāṃ ijsnau (9) / anena prāṇena baresmananacā svāmīnaṃ mahājīnānaṃ punyātmānaṃ punyagurum samāṃ ijsnau (10) /
15: anena prāṇena baresmananacā mihirāṃ nivāsitāranyām sahasrakarṇam dasasahasralocanaṃ uktanāmānaṃ iajdam samāṃ ijsnau /
anena prāṇena baresmananacā... (16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 31, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62)
majdadattāḥ (22, 49) / majdadattān (49, 54) / majdadattaṃ (54, 57) / majdadattāṃ (55, 56, 57)
24: jarathuṣṭrotemanāṃcā punyātmānaṃ punyagurvīṃ samāṃ ijsnau
25: hormijdēdattaṃ
dl: hormijdēna... / jarathuṣṭrāya // jarathuṣṭrenaca proktāḥ /
44: anena prāṇena baresmananacā svāmīnaṃ mihirāṃ mahātattaraṃ anāśvaram punyātmānaṃ samāṃ ijsnau //
45: tārāśe ca candramā ca sūryaṃ ca // vanaspatīn ye upari baresmane mihirāṃ sarveṣaṃ grāmaṇām rājanaṃ samāṃ ijsnau //
52: jarathuṣṭriyāṃ
59: hormijdēmaṃ

III

1: baresmanena upari saṃnīhitena samāṃ prāṇena hauanasamsdhyāyāḥ gurutayā / saṃmitena baresmadānopari //
4: śrośa- ... (61: śrośasya)
5: hūmaṃ ca prāhūmaṃ ca samāṃ ijsnau (= in 62) / hūmaṃ prāhūmiyamityarthaḥ //
6: jarathuṣṭrasya spitāmaputrasya (jarathuṣtrasya / spitama) (= 62)
9: hūmaṃ samāṃ ijsnau //

\(^{834}\) I did not follow SPIEGEL’s transcription; I adopted the IAST one.
10: apāṃ […] majdadattānāṃ (14)
11: udakaṃ hūṃiḥyaṃ samīhe ijisnau //
15: enaṃ baresmanoḥ samaṃ prāṇena samaṃ aiviaṅghanena puṇyena parigrhaḥitaṃ samīhe
ijisnau //
68 – 70: prabravīṃ mājdaisnīṃ / […] yathā ahuramajdābijilāṣaḥ / […] ahuramajdasya /

IV
2: enaṃ hūmaṃca […] // baresmanoḥca […] // hūmaṃca prāhūmaṃca / hūmaṃ
prāhūmiyāmityarthah
4: śrośasya ca […] (= 50) // ageneśca hormijdasya
51: jarathustrasya aspatamaputrasya
56: […] hormijdasyārthe // […] hormijdo

V
6: […] mitritamāste

VI
6: mihiraṃ nivāśitārayaṃ sahasrakarnaṃ daśasahasralocanaṃ uktanāmānaṃ iajadaṃ /
14: […] majdadattām […]
16: jarathustrotemanāmīṃca […]
17: hormijdadattāmca
20: śroṇaṃ
21: rasnaṃ sūddhaṃ a // satyapatim asya rasna iti nāmatā sūddhatāca satyatāca //
35: …hormijdena […] jarathustreṇaṃca
36: svāmaṇaṃ mihiraṃ mahattaraṃ anaśvaram puṇyātmānaṃ ā // tārāśca candram(cca)
sūryaṃca // vanaspatiḥ ye upari baresmane mihiraṃ sarvesaṃ grāmānaṃ rājānaṃ ā//
40: majdadattāḥ (x 2) / majdadattān (= 45)
43: nyāyam jarathustrīyaṃ ā /
44: mājdaisnīṃ
45: majdadattām (= 47)
46: majdadattām (x 2) (= 47)
49: hormijdāṃca
51: śroṇaṃ
52: hūmaṃca prāhūmaṃca ā // jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya […]

VII
1: śroṇasya (= 52)
2: puṇyena dadāmi hūmaṃca prāhūmaṃca (= 53) / hūmaṃ prāhūmiyāmityarthathā //
sanmānakṛtyājarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya puṇyātmakavṛiddheḥ (= 53) //
4: puṇyena dadāmi hūmaṃ // majdadattāṃ (= 7)
5: puṇyena dadāmi apaḥ hūmiḥyaḥ //
8: puṇyena dadāmi enaṃca baresmanoḥ samaṃ prāṇena samaṃ aiviaṅghanena puṇyena
parigrhaḥitaṃ
58: hormijdasya
59: ahuramajdā
68: hūmaṃca prāhūmaṃca ā //

VIII
1: hūmaṃca prāhūmaṃca samidhaṃca gandhaṃca //
3: hūmaṃca // […] puṇyātmānaśca jarathustrasya //
IX hūmastūmasya mūlaṃ

(hūmasya …)
1: […] hūmaḥ upeyivān jaranthustrāṃ /
3: …jarathustrah... / aho iastau na prāk babhūva purahprakaṭatvāt asau pariṃjātavān yat hūmo 'yaṃ sameti yadica samāgato 'bhūt enaṃ prāṣṭuṃ samāhata mithro zayāt zarathustrem tat parisphuṭameva yadyenaṃ samāryavān iti hetoh yat samayaḥ samaṃ iajadaiḥ prabhūtairāsīt
tasya iajadāśca prakaṭatarā āsan iyaṃ prakritiśca komalābhūt asau ābhīpsitavāt samaṃ hūmena
gucairbabhāṣe //
5: hūmo … hūmena
6: ahaṃ asmi jarathustra hūmo muktimiṃ dūramṝityuḥ //
7: spitama
9: taṃ abhāṣata jarathustro namo hūmāya //
10: hūmā (21, 28, 40, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 78, 83, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 103)
11: hūmā (22, 29, 41) 72: hūmaḥ (73)
27: ...ahurem mazdaṃ... ...hormijdasya..
43: ...jarathusta...(44, 46) ...hormijdanyāyī..
48: taṃ abhāṣata jarathustro namo hūmāya //
49: uttam o hūmaḥ sudānaṃ / […] hūmaḥ satyadānaḥ /
71: hūmastēṣāṃ […]
74: hūmastēbhyaścit […]
75: hūmastēṃścit […]
80: hormijdāḥ
81: prakṛṣṭam idaṃ tubhyaṃ hormijdo 'dāt prāktanāṃ aivāṅgahanatāṃ tārācitaṃ
paralokaghaṭitāṃ uttamām dīnīṃ mājdaisnīṃ / asya aivāṅgahanatvaṃ idaṃ yat yathā kustī
samaṃ manusyaṇaṃ aikikṛītā dinīṣca evaṃ samaṃ hūmena aikikṛītā asyaḥ aikikṛitavān idaṃ
tyāvat hūmaṃ na khādati dīnīṃ suniścito na bhavati hūmakhaḍanakāryaṃ antarijinsnau āste //
X
2: śrośo
3: antarasmin grihe yat hormijdiyaṃ yat hūmasya muktijananeḥ /
7: huma
8: hūma (= 10, 14 x 2, 23, 31-32, 38, 41, 56)
13: hūmaḥ (= 22)
16: hūmaṃ (= 21)
19: hūmasya (= 20, 44)
25: prakṛṣṭam te pratikaromi mitratvaṃ stutikṛitīṃca / kila te mitraṃ bhavāmi staumica / yataḥ
mitraṃ stutikaram uttamam adadāṃ ityabhāṣāta svāṃ mahājñānñi yaṃ puṇyāt utkṛṣṭataraṃ /
kilāhaṃ dinivāhakasya sāktā bhavituṃ //
35: namo hūmāya (= 36)
43: hūmīyaṃca
44: hūmadṛṇam
52: taṃ abhāṣata jaranthustro yat namo hūmāya majdadattāya uttam o hūmo majdadatto namo
hūmāya / […]
53: hūmān
Hūmān suvarṇābhaṃ unnataṃ ā // hūmān phṛśmeṃ vṛiddhidan bhūsamabhūteḥ ā // hūmān dūramṛtyum ā // viśvān hūmān ā // jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya iha puṇyātmano puṇyaṃca vṛiddhiṃca ā //

XI
2: gauśca aśvaśca hūmaśca //
11: hūmaḥ (= 15)
16: hūma (= 20, 25, 26, 27)… ahurmajdaṃ
17: ahuramajdaḥ
20: … hūmotsavaḥ
21: hūmo
23: taṃ abhāṣata jarathustro yat namo hūmāya uttamo hūmo majdadatto namo hūmāya (= 26) //

XIII
1: […] prabravīmi mājdaśaṃṣṭī jarathustrīyāṃ vibhinnadevāṃ hormijdanyāyavatīṃ / […]
3: hormijdasya
8: mājdaśaṃṇāṃ (= 12)
18: jarathustrāṃ
19 .. hormijdaḥ jarathustrāḥ (= 21) /
20: jarathusto
22: … mājdaśaṃṇo (= 25) jarathustrīya.h .. jarathustrāḥ /
24: jarathustrasya
25: mājdaśaṃṇāṃ (= 27) jarathustrīyāṃ prakāśayāmi /
28: … hormijdīyā jarathustrīyā /
29: hormijdasya // … mājdaśaṃṇā …

XIV
2: … mājdaśaṃṇā …
4: mitraṃ niveditataṃ guruṃ bravīmi agnau svāmino mahājñāninaḥ / yo hormijdamitro taṃ guruṃ agnau bravīmi yataḥ tasya vapuṣṭi abhyāgaḥ 'sti //
7: … mājdaśaṃṇāḥ … (-ḥ: 9)
19: jarathustrasya spitāmapatrasya […]
… mājdaśaṃṇāḥ //

XV
5: … baresmanenaca …

XVI
3: … uttamāyāḥ mājdaśaṃṇāḥ //

XVII
1: ahuramajdaṃ puṇyātmaṃ puṇyaguruṃ ā //
3: jarathustrāṃ puṇyātmaṃ puṇyaguruṃ ā //
7: jarathustrasya puṇyāmano vṛiddhiṃ ā //
8: jarathustrasya uktīṃ ā //
9: jarathustrasya dīniṃ ā //
10: jarathustrasya abhilāṣāṃ nyāyaṃca ā //
21: … majdadattāḥ …
22: sūryaṃ …
27: mihiraṃ nivāsitāraṇyaṃ ā / maitrīpatiṃ //
28: śrośaṃ puṇyātmakaṃ ā / ādeśapatiṃ //
29: raśnaṃ śuddhaṃ ā / satyapatiṃ //
31: … hormijdadattaṃ …
34: …ahuramajdaṃ …
35: mājdaiasnīṃ …
46: … devadattasya …
54: … ahuramajda //
63: … hormijdasya …
69: … majdadattaṃ …
72: … jarathustrotimānāṃca //

XIX
1: apr̥ icchat jarathustraḥ ahuramajdāt // ahuramajda… ahuramajdaḥ … ahuramajdatā … ahuramajdasthānaṃ … ahuramajdasya …
2: kiṃcīt vacaḥ āṣīt ahuramajda // […]
3: … majdadattāyāḥ …
4: taṃ abravīt ahuramajdaḥ // … spitama jarathustra (= 6, 9, 12) […]
20: … sūryasya …
23: … hormijdāya / (x 2, = 35)
29: … hormijdasya / … hormijdamanah … //
31: yah hormijdāya sujīvaniḥ / … hormijdasya … (= 34 x 2, 37)
34: … hormijdah … (= 35, 38)
36: yathā mītraṃ spitamāya pañcanyāyībhūtaḥ / kila pañcasu nyāyesu madhye bhūtaḥ //
44: etacca vaco majdoktaṃ /
50: … jarathustraḥ … (= 52)
51: … jarathustrīyāt // … jarathustrīye //

XX
1: … hormijdasya // (= 7)

XXI
1: … jarathustrasya …
4: taṃ uvāca hormijdāḥ // […]
8: … hormijdah …

XXII
1: baresmanena …
2: imaṃ hūmaṃ puṇyena uccairdattaṃ / […]
5: … hūmamataḥ …
6: apāṃ uttamānāṃ apaḥ hūmīyāḥ // […]
8: … baresmanīṃ … / …mājdaiasnyāḥ //
11: … majdadattāḥ …
12: … śrośāsya / …
13–14: hūmaṃ… // …majdadattāḥ… / … śrośadrūṇena… // imaṃ hūmaṃ puṇyena uccairdattaṃ /
23: …majdadattāḥ… (= 31)
25: mihiro nivāsitāraṇyaḥ / […]
26: sūryo ‘marah tejasvi vegavadaśvah //
28: ...majdadattā... mājdaiasnī
29: ...jarathustrīyaṃ / ...mājdaiasnāmiṃ / […]

XXIV
1: svāminānaṃ mahājñāninaṃ hūme abhimantrayāmi
2: imaṃ hūmanca majdaṃca / bhajanadānaṃ // […] baresmanāṃca puṇyena parigrathitaṃ // […]
5: ...hūmamataḥ …
6: apāṃ uttamānāṃ apaṣca hūmīyāḥ
8: ...baresmanināṃ... uttamāyāḥ mājdaiasnyāḥ
10: […] viśvāśca vibhūtiḥ majdadattāḥ puṇyat prakataḥ
12: śrośasya puṇyatmanah // […] agneśca hormijdasya // […]
13: […] jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya puṇyātmamo vṛiddheḥ… //
15–23: imaṃ hūmanca majdaṃca (yāvat) viśvāśca vibhūtiḥ majdadattāḥ puṇyat prakataḥ
30: … śrośadrūne...

XXV
2: imaṃ hūman puṇyena uccairdattaṃ ā // […]
5: ...hūmamataḥ…
6: apāṃ uttamānāṃ apaṣca hūmīyāḥ ā
9: ...baresmanināṃ... // …mājdaiasnyāḥ /
11: …majdadattāḥ...

XXVI
2: …jarathuṣtrotim(ān)āṃca //
3: …ahurmajdāt //
6: …hormijdāt…
10: …jarathustrasya…
15: jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya…
17: jarathustraputrasya…

XVIII
...jarathustraḥ(ḥ) /
1: …hormijdasya… (= 4b)
5b: …śrośanaparijñeyaṃ /
6b: …jarathustro…
8: …saha mitrayāmaḥ /

XXIX
2: …hormijda…
5: …hormijdasya…
5b: …hormijdāya…
8: …jarathustraḥ spitāmaputraḥ //
9b: …jarathustrāya… (= 9c)
10c: […] jarathustro / […]

MILLS 1912: v. 6: āsuraḥ(-o), mahādeāḥ (= Ahura Mazda)
v. 8b: jarateuštraḥ(-s), spitāmaḥ(-ós) (= Zarathuštra)
XXX
1b: hormijdasya / […] (= 4c, 8c)
3: […] hormijdah… (= 3c, 4b)
5c: hormijdāya... (x 2)
10c: hormijdeca dharmeca / […]

XXXI
2b: hormijdasya... (x 2; = 6b)
2c: hormijdāt... hormijdācca...
6c: hormijdīyaṃ... (= 19)
14b: hormijdāya…
21c: […] yo nijasya adriṣyamūrteḥ kamrāṇaḥ mitraṃ //
22c: sa te mahājñānānān svāmin mitraṃ asti niveditatānuḥ / […]

XXXII
2c: mitrāyāmi...
4b: vadatāṃ devamitratvaṃ uttamaṃ sīdayati manah / […]
5b: -deva-…
12c: mitratarā…

XXXIII
2c: mitratayā... (=10b)
5: śroṣa...
10c: mitratayā...
13b: ahuramajdasya..
14: jarathustro …
14b: ahuramajdāya...

XXXIV
4: ahuramajda...
4c: ahuramajdah...

XXXVI
16: tatra yatra sūrya uktaḥ / […]

XXXIX
1: … hormijdāḥ //

XLI
12: ahuramajda // (= 14)
22: […] mihiraṃ iajdaṃ //
23: hormijdāmaḥ jarathuṣtraṃca ā…
24: …majjadattaṃ...
30: hūmāmaḥ...
31: hūmaṃ...
32: hūmaṃ dūramṛityuṃ ā //

XLII
…hormijdasya… jarathuṣtrasya… (= 1e, 3e, 8e, 9e, 11e, 14e, 16e)
2e: …jarathuṣtrasya… (= 4e, 5e, 6e, 7e, 10e, 12e, 13e, 15e)
3d: [...] hormijdāḥ // (= 9c, 10e)
8 : ...jarathustro... (= 16)
8c: ...hormijdasya...
12d: śrośaḥ puṇyātmā gustāspaḥ mahādātraḥ jarathustrena saṃmiśrāḥ //
14: yo narāya mitrāya viśiṣṭajñānine lābhaṃ dadāti / […]
14d: ...hormijda jarathustraṃ…
16: ...mitrayāmi // (x 2, = 16b, c)

XLIII
1c: ...mitro…
1d: evaṃ vayaṃ puṇyena mitraṃ dadāmah sahakartāraṃ / […]
1e, clos.: ... jarathustrasya...hormijdasya... jarathustrasya... clos.ura (= 8e clos., 9e clos.)
2e: […] bhuvanadvaye 'pi mitro mahājñānānah /
2e clos.: ... jarathustrasya (= 3e, 4e clos., 5e clos., 6e clos., 7e clos., 10d clos., 11e clos., 12e clos., 13e clos., 14e clos., 15e clos., 17e clos., 19e clos.)
3c: (kaḥ) sūrasya tārakāṇāṃca dadau padāvīṃ / […] -candra
5c: ...śrośiosah...
9d: ...hormijdasya...
16d: ...śrośasya...
16e: ...śaośiosasya…
16e clos.: ... jarathustrasya... hormijdasya
18d: ...majda..
19b: […] jarathustrapratimāya //
20d clos.: ...hormijdasya // (= 20e clos.)

XLIV
1c: ...hormijdo... (= 4b)
1e clos.: ...jarathustrasia... hormijdasya (= 6e clos.)
2b: ...hormijdah...
2e clos.: ... jarathustrasya // (= 3e clos., 4e clos., 5e clos., 7e clos., 8e clos., 9e clos., 10e clos., 11e clos.)
3: ...hormijdasya... (= 4, 6b, 7, 8d)
4e: sarvajñānīnī hormijdīyā / […]
5c: ...śrośāya... (x2)
5e: ...hormijde /
8b: ...hormijdāt // (= 9b)
9c: hormijdarājyaṃ samācarabdhiḥ asmabhyaṃ dehi hormijda //
11e: mitro bhrātā pitā vā hormijdah //

XLV
1: [...] hormijdah śiṣyaiḥ / […] (= 8e)
1e clos.: ...jarathustrasya // (= 2e clos., 3e clos., 4e clos., 6e clos., 7e clos., 8e clos., 9e clos., 10e, 10e clos., 11e clos., 12e clos., 13e clos. x2, 14e clos., 16e clos., 17e clos.)
5b: ...mitratayā … …maitrīvān //
5e clos.: ... jarathustrasya... hormijdasya //
6e: ...hormijdasya/ ...śaośiosah... (= 15d clos., 18e clos.)
10c: […] mahyaṃ jarathustrāya // […]
13: ...spitamānvayāya jarathustrāya...
14a.b.: jarathustra kaste muktātmā mitro mahatā mahattvena / […]
14e: …spitamāt…
15: ...śpitamāyāh //
15d: ...hormijdaḥ //
17c: ...śrośadakṣinādānena //
19b: ...jarathustrasya... (x2)

XLVI
1d clos.: ...hormijdasya //
2d clos.: ...jarathustrasya //
3d clos.: ...jarathustrasya...hormijdasya // (= 4d clos., 5d clos.)

XLVII
1c: ...devānāṃ...
4c: ...mitratvaṃ...
5d: ...jarathustro...
7d: ...hormijdasya //

XLVIII
3d: ...mitratāṃ...
5d: ...hormija /
12: ...jarathustro...

XLIX
6b: mitratāṃ... jarathustro...
7: [...] mitrasya...
10c: ...sūryaḥ...
11d: ...jarathustro...

L
11: ko mitraḥ spitamajarathustrasya naraṇaṃ madhye svāmin //
12b: yat jarathustraḥ spitamāno 'haṃ pramudito 'smi //
12c: ayaṃ me jātiśātakāle pracarati mitratāṃ //
14: ...mitrasya...
15: ...jarathustro...
17: mitro...
19: ...spitamānasyaca...
20: ...mitratvaṃ...

LI
14: ...ahuramajdasya...

LII
1: ...jarathustrasya / [...] 
1b: spitamānasya...
2c: ...jarathustraspitamānasya... 
3b: ...jarathustrēṇa //
7d: ...mitratvaṃ...

LIII
1: ...jarathustrīyābhyaḥ //
LVI
śrośasya... yathāhūramajdābhilāṣaḥ / [...] jārathustrīyāṃ... hormijdanyāyavatīm / [...]  
1: śrośaḥ...  
5: [...] śrośāt //  
7: ...śrośa...  
8: śrośaḥ... (= 10)  
9: ...śrośāt //  
10: ...hormijdāṃ...  
12: ...jārathustrasya...  

ADDENDA

2  
2: ...bāresma...  

3  
2: ...spitamaputro...jārathustra //  

6  
3: ...majdāṇasnānāṃ...  
5: ...śrośaḥ...  

8  
2: ...hūmaṃ...  
5: ...hūmaḥ //  

10  
2: [...] śrośaḥ pracaret / [...]  
3: ...śrośaḥ... (= 8)  
4: ...hormijdasya...  

13  
5: ...śrośaḥ... (= 6 x 2, 7)
APPENDIX B

Names in the Magavyakti (alphabetical order)

āditya –Edgerton: p. 93, m., the gotra name of Śākyamuni’s family
S–P 355: ādit(i)yá-

āra – T. Prakrit: āra–, oā, 1295 : ārā–, pronominal stem in ārā́t ‘from a distance’;
[T. Oriya: āra- 189, 643, 644, 2330; T. Dameli: āra 14060; T. Shumashti: āra 1111; T. Kashmiri:
āra 14059; T. Sindhi: āra 1313;]
Prakrit Proper Names: pag 88: Āra: one of the six Mahāṇiraya abodes of the fourth hell.
Pischel: āra, 165
ardha-māgadhī koṣa: āra 1. this world 2. world, worldly existence 3. householdership 4. a
certain division of the 4th hell-region
ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: p 177: āra 1. Of the first 2. The planet Mars
Stätte in der vierten Höllenregion
Edgerton: āra, p. 102, nt., the hither or nearer side or part.
V.: āra, ara 523; ārā np; M. npb: Arah- 18;

arka: S–P p 71: arká-

maṇḍala – T.Pali: maṇḍala- 9742; T. Oriya: maṇḍala 9742 : ‘circle, disc of sun or moon’.
Mylius P: pag. 278 Kreis, Ring
S–P 452: māṇḍala-

A

adayī – ardha-māgadhī koṣa: adaya ‘cruel, hard-hearted, merciless’
adaiāra – T.Prakrit: adaī 232 : *adati ‘eats’;

ayodhyāra – P1: Ayojjhā (Ayodhya) pag. 165;
Prakrit Proper Names, pag. 58: Ayojjhā (Ayodhyā) see Aojjhā: Principal city of Kosala.
Mylius P: pag. 60 ayojjha (ayodhya) adj unbekämpfbar, unbezwinglich

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: ariha ‘price, cost, value’
Mylius: ariha pag. 98 1. <arh>: arihai, arihati fähig sein, wert sein, würdig sein, taugen 2. Adj
<arha: moralisch verdienen, würdig 3. m <argha: Wert, Preis

avadhiāra: Mylius P: pag. 64: 3 ps aor von vadhati
avadhy – Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 67: Avajjhā (Avadhyā) Capital of the Garāndhila district
in the Mahāvideha (Śthānāga 637, Jambūdvipaprajñapti 102).
Edgerton: avadhya, p.72: adj., ep. of śilpa, art
uravāra / uruvāra – T. Lahnda: urvār 810: *avarapāra- ‘on this side of the river’
Mylius: ura pag. 168 n <uras: Brust
Mylius P: pag. 107 m n ved. uras Brust
V.: ūra, uwra, Scharz, 515
Ta: p 128 ura
VV: uru pag. 53
ardha-māgadhī kosa: uru ‘extensive vast’
Mylius: uru pag. 169 adj <uru: groß, breit, weit
S–P: 781: urū-
Pischel: ulla, 111
ardha-māgadhī kosa: ulla ‘wet, damp’
ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 699 ulla ‘debt’
Mylius: ulla pag. 169 adj 1. feucht, nass 2. Pflanze - grün
Edgerton: pag. 148: adj., wet; fresh, new.
S–P 473: ulla-
ullārka
E

e – T. Bengali: e 2530 : : ēsā ‘this’ ; T. Oriya: e [2462], 2530; T. Gujarati: 2530, (10391 : yā-nom.pl.m); T. Lahnda: e 2530; T. Panjabi: e 2530
ardha-māgadhī kosa: e 1. A vocative interjection 2. This, in this way.
Guj: pag. 30: adj. that
S–P 792: e
(P1: Esikā: A country in Jambudīpa, pag 459)
Mylius: esi pag. 186 adj <eśin: suchend, wünschend

AI

aiāra – Wörterbuch: pag. 87: ai° - ati, sehr
Mylius: aiāra pag. 15: m <aticāra: Jin (unabsichtliches) Vergehen, Übertretung

O

oṇi: Mylius P: pag. 115 m <vgl ved oṇi: anvertrautes Gut
S–P 666: oṇi-
oṇipura

oṃṇaniāra
oṇḍarī

K

kajjha – T. Pali: khaṭṭa (ka)-, 3872 : khādya- ‘solid food’; kajjala-, 2622; – T. Prakrit: kajja-
3078 : kārya- ‘action, duty’
artha-māgadhī kosa: kajja ‘a deed, an action, an aim, a purpose, a duty’
Mylius: kajja pag. 196 <kārya:

‘wood’; katthati- 2700; – T. Prakrit: katthaï 2700, kaṭṭha-2978, 3120, 3449;
Wörterbuch: pag. 101: kattha, kva wo, wohin?
Pischel: kattha, 293: kurta.
artha-māgadhī kosa: kattha ‘to say, to tell’ / where, on what side / (Nāva and other scriptures)
including stories and historical matter
(I) <kath:, katthai sagen, erzählen
Mylius P: pag. 126 wo? wohin?

kapattha

kapittha – T. Pali: kapittha-, 2749 : kapittha- ‘the tree Feronia elephantum’;
P1: Kapiṭṭha: a village near Cittalapabbata-vihāra, the residence of Phussadeva.
artha-māgadhī kosa: kapittha ‘the wood-apple tree’
Mylius: kapittha pag. 201 n <kapittha: Name des Baumes Feronia elephantum
Mylius P: = kapittha pag. 129 l. Bot Feronia elephantum 2. n Frucht von Feronia elephantum
Edgerton: pag. 167: m., the wood-apple tree and nt. its fruits.
S–P 202: kapittha-

kurā 'a particular region in Akarma bhumi'

kurāyica – Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 191: Kurā see Kuru: two sub-regions of this name in
Mahāvideha of Jambuddīva, Uttarakuru and Devakuru, situated on the north and south of mount
Mamḍara respectively.
artha-māgadhī kosa: kurā ‘a particular region in Akarma bhumi’
kurāyica – M.o: *kuraića- 11.1.7.3.8;
Z: 340: Kyrus
Ta: p 234, *kuraićā-
kuraiāra – T.Oriya: kūra 3229 : kuṭaja- ‘the tree Wrightia antidysenterica’
koṇārka – T. Bengali: koṇā 3504; T. Oriya: =; T. Panjabi: =
ardha-māgadhī kosa: koṇa ‘the key-note of a musical instrument’
ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 724: koṇa 1. Dark, black 2. A stick
Mylius P: pag. 146 1. Ecke 2. Stock
S–P 71: koṇārka-

KH

khajuraha – T. Pali: khaju- 3827; T. Prakrit: khajjūra-,°rī, 3828; T. Oriya: khajura / khajurā 3828; T. Gujarati: khajur 3828; T. Marathi: khajūrā 3829; T. Panjabi: =
ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 729: koṇa ‘the key-note of a musical instrument’
Mylius P: pag. 146 1. Ecke 2. Stock
S–P 71: koṇārka-

G

Mylius P: gaṇḍa pag. 151 skr = bes Med Schwellung, Beule, Knoten, Kropf
Edgerton: pag. 208 gaṇḍa: stalk of a plant; piece, part, portion;
gan(/ṃ)dāva – [T. Prakrit: garṇdhavva- 4017 : garnharvā-, 4132]
ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 267: ganna1. One deserving the respect 2. Counting
guṇasainā – Wörterbuch: pag. 107: guṇa

guṇāsava – T. Marathi: guṇā 4226; T. Panjabi: guṇā 4190; T. West Pahari: guṇā 4288; T. Assamese: guṇā 4190;
ardha-māgadhī kośa: guṇa ‘a quality ecc.’
Mylius: guṇā pag. 251
Mylius P: guṇa pag. 156
Edgerton: guṇa pag. 212: advantage; cluster, garland;
Gui: pag. 49 <gu.ɳə>: masc. quality

C

cañḍaroṭi / cañḍaroṭi – T. Pali: caṇḍa(k)a- 4584 : caṇḍa- ‘passionate, fierce, cruel’;
Wörterbuch: pag. 108: caṇḍa, ts. heftig, grimmig, scharf
Mylius P: caṇḍa pag. 159 adj ved caṇḍa heftig, wild, ungestüm

cāṇa – T. Bengali: cāṇā 4579 : caṇa- ‘a small variety of chickpea’

CH

Mylius: chatta pag. 276 n <chitra: Sonnenschirm
ardha-māgadhī kośa V: pag. 289 chatta (chatra) ‘a student, a scholar’
Gui: pag. 62 <cha.trii>: fem. an umbrella
chatravāra – T. Lahnda: chattrāra 4973;

S–P: 704: bheri
cherīāra

J

jamvu – T. Hindi: jambũ 5132; T. Gujarati: jamvũ 5126; jámati ‘eats’; 5267 jēmati ‘eats’;
S–P 778: jambu-
jamvupura
javūra

Ț


ardha-māgadhī kośa V: pag. 304: ṭakka 1. A name of a country 2. Pertaining to the country Takka

Ḍ


ardha-māgadhī kośa: ḍamara 1. Trouble caused by quarrel among princes of the same royal family 2. rebellion, commotion, riot

Mylius: ḍamara pag. 95: m <ḍamara: Aufruhr, Streit, Tumult
Guj: pag. 77 <ḍ.m.ro>: masc. a kind of fragrant plant
S–P 427: raura-


Guj: pag. 79 <ḍ.m.ro>: masc. suffocation caused by sobbing

ḍumari – T. Bhojpuri: dūmari 1942
S–P 750: dhūmarī-

ḍumariāra

T

G.: p’lsy, Pārs; S: *Pārsa- 235; Ta: p. 62, 265;

terahaparāśi – T. Prakrit: tērāha 6001; T. Bengali: tera 6001;

Mylius: terasa pag. 356 adj num <trayodaśan: dreizehn

D

devakūra – Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 382: devakūra 1. = devakuru, a sub-region of Mahāvideha; 2. a place situated on the north-eastern Raikararaga mountain.

ardha-māgadhī kośa: devakūra ‘ a region of Jugaliyās situated in the Mahāvideha to the south of Meru’ / devakuru ‘ a region of Jugaliyās in Mahāvideha of Jāmbūdvīpa’

devakuli – ardha-māgadhī kośa V: pag. 368: devakuliya ‘a worshiper’

devaḍīha

devaḍīhā

206
ardha-māgadhī kośa: devala ‘a Ṛiṣi of this name of another creed’

devāhvākhyapura
dehulāsi
dehulasia
dehulāsia

pāṭisā – ardhā-māgadhī kośa: pāṭisa ‘a kind of missile’
paṭhiśāṃī

paḍariāra

parāśāḥ - Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 442: Parāśara (Parāśara) A Brahmin mendicant and his followers.
pavairī – V V: pag. 37: Pavamāna e Pāvaka (two names of Agni)
pavaiāra – T. Prakrit: pava 9024 : plāvatē ‘swims’

Mylius: pāli p 447 f <pāli: Ecke, Rand, Kante
pālivāḍha - Edgerton: pag. 344, pālevata: a kind of tree
S-P 223: paribāḍha-
pālivāṃdha – ardha-māgadhī kośa V: pag. 796 pālivāṃdha ‘a lake, a pond’
puṇḍra – S-P 430: puṇḍra-
puṇḍrārka
puṇyārka

ardha-māgadhī kośa: pūti ‘stench, foul-smell’
Mylius P: pūti pag. 260 faulig, stinkend
Edgerton: pag. 350 pūta: n. of some plant
S-P: 678: pūti-
pūṭiāra


Pischel: bāra 300: bāra = dvāra.

ardha-māgadhī kośa: bāra ‘twelve’ - bāra-muhutta ‘the 12 muhuratas (a measure of time)’

Mylius: bāra pag. 471 n Num <dvādaśan>: zwölf

Guj: pag. 141 <ba.ro> adj twelve

S–P 414: bāra-

BH


ardha-māgadhī kośa: bhaḍa ‘a warrior, a soldier’


Mylius: bhaḍa pag. 477 m <bhaṭa: 1. Soldat 2. Held

S–P 702: pākāri - bheḍāpākarīśa

Makhapā – T. Prakrit: makhα- 9696 : mákṣā- f ‘fly, bee’
makhaṇāra

makhapāra


Mylius: mada pag. 496 m <mada: 1. Hochmut, Dünkel 2. Rausch

S–P 662: rauḍi-
malaudiāra
malaunḍa - Edgerton: pag. 420 maluda: m., a high number

mahurāśi – T. Prakrit: mahurā- 9770; T. Hindi: mahura 9770: mathurā
Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 589: Mahurā (Mathurā)
Wörterbuch: pag. 136: mahura, madh” lieblich, freundlich.
ardha-māgadhī koṣa: mahura 1. Sweet, savoury 2. Sweet to the ear 3. a non-aryan country so named, an inhabitant of that country
Mylius: pag. 504 1. mahura m <mahura: Name eines Barbarenlandes 2. mahura adj <madhura: süß, lieblich, zart / mahur-ā ~ī f <mathurā: Name eines Stadt am rechten Ufer der Yamunā

[mātampāra]

mārkaṇḍeya – S–P 343: mārkaṇḍeya-
mārkaṇḍeyārka

mālārka – T. Prakrit: mālā- 9996,10088; māḷā- 10092; T. Bihari: mālā 9909; T. Sindhi: mālā 10095; T. West Pahari: māḷā 10095;
ardha-māgadhī koṣa: mālā ‘a garland / a row / a collection / an upper deck or storey on a ship’
ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 43
Mylius: mālā pag. 507 m <māla: Dachterrasse, Flachdach
Mylius P: mālā pag. 284 skr = Kranz, Girland
Edgerton: pag. 431 mālā: upper part, top; garland (also the goddess personification of the garland)
Guj: p 161 <ma.lǝ>: masc. goods

muhurāsiā

Y

yabherī – S–P 754: jayabherī

R

rahadaliāra – T. Pali: rahada- 14183: hrada- ‘deep pond’
ardha-māgadhī koṣa: raha ‘zeal, enthusiasm’
Mylius: raha pag. 520
Mylius P: rahada pag. 295 ved hráda See, Teich
Hinuber: rahado 246
S–P 472: lōla-

lōlārka – T. Hindi: lōlā 11136; T. Assamese: =
VV: lōlā pag. 67
Wörterbuch: pag. 140: lōla, ts. gierig, lü stern.
ardha-māgadhī koṣa: lōla ‘√ to roll, to rub, to roast, parch’ ‘lively, active / greedy, attached / a hell-abode of the first hell’
Mylius: lōla pag. 534 1. (I) <luṭ, lōlai a. rollen intr. sich bewegen b. bewegen, schütteln 2. (II) <luṭh caus.: lōlei bewegen, schütteln 3. <lōla: I. adj a. gierig, begehrlich, verlangend 2. Beweglich, lebhaft; II. m Jin Name einer Stätte in der ersten Hölle
Mylius P: lōla pag. 301 skr = adj 1. unruhig, unstet; 2 gierig, begehrlich, verlangend S–P 71: lōlārka-

V

Mylius: vaḍa pag. 540 <vaṭa: 1. Fischart 2. bot Ficus religiosa, Feigenbaum
Edgerton: pag. 468 vaḍa: banyan, in a list of flowers
Gui: pag. 184 <vaḍ>: masc. a banyan tree
vaḍāsāra – T. Marathi: vaḍā 11213 : vaṭa- ‘cake or fried pulse’
vaḍisāra – T. Marathi: vaḍī 11213;
Edgerton: pag. 468 vaḍi: n. of a Yakṣa

P1: Varavāraṇā: a class of long-lived deities, pag. 835
VV: vara pag. 61
Wörterbuch: pag. 142, vara, ts. vorzüglich / Freier, Gatte / Wahlgabe
ardha-māgadhī koṣa: vara ‘excellent ecc.’
Mylius P: vara pag. 307 ved vára 1. Adj hervorragend, vorzüglich, besser 2. Wunsch, Gefallen
vaṛavāra – T. Pali: vāra- 11547 : vāra- ‘appointed time, one’s turn’, ‘a day of the week’; – T. Prakrit: =
ardha-māgadhī koṣa: vāra ‘the fourth hell-abode / time / a small pot’ ‘√ to check, to stop’ ‘a kind of tree, a kind of fruit’
ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 536 vāra 1. Collection, multitude 2. A day of the week 3. Time, turn
Mylius P: vāra pag. 310 m <ved vāra: 1. Reihe, Mal 2. Gelegenheit S–P 415: vaṛavāra-

vāruṇārka – P.1: Vāruṇā: a class of deities, followers of Varuṇa, who were present at the preaching of the Mahāsamaya Sutta, pag. 854
Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 691 Vāruṇa
ardha-māgadhī koṣa: vāruṇa ‘an aerial disturbance in some constellation / name of the god Varuṇa samudra / a sea named Vāruṇa / name of the 5th of the 30 muhūrtas’
Mylius: vāruṇa pag. 550 adj <vāruṇa: Myth auf Varuṇa bezüglich


Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 692: Vāla: one of the seven branches of Kāsava lineage.

vālārka – T. Panjabi: vālā 11573;


ardha-māgadhī koṣa: vāla 1. A serpent; a wild beast 2. Hair / The branch of the Kāśyapa family-origin; a man born in that branch

Guj: pag. 191 <va.lǝ>: masc. a kind of pulse
S–P 464: vāla-

vinaśaiṃā – T. Old Gujarati: viṇasaï 11770 : viṇasaï ‘dies’
vīnāśava – T. Old Gujarati: viṇāsa 11777 : viṇāśa ‘destruction, death’

Mylius P: vināsa pag. 316 skr vināśa : Schwund, Verlust, Untergang

vipurapura
vipuroha
vipurohā
vedakuliāra

S

ṣaṭṭhahāya – B: šast
ṣaṭṭhahāyā

S

S–P: 792: surai-
4. Schall, Ton / Stimme / Akzent
Edgerton: p 582 sara: going, course
saraiāra

sarpha / sarphā – (P1: Sappa Sutta, pag 1029)
M.Sk: sarpā-, sarpārājñī-, ved. 3.9.1

sikauriāra
sikaurī
sicauriāra

sivāriāra – T. Panjabi: sivā 12356 : śáva- ‘burnt corpse, funeral pyre’
Mylius P: sivā pag. 364 skr śivā Schakal

H

haradauli – T. Hindi: harad 13992 : haridrā- ‘Curcuma longa, turmeric’; T. Lahnda: hardal 13992
Mylius: hara pag. 658 (I) <hṛ:, harai 1. nehmen, wegnnehmen, rauben 2. entzü cken, hinreißen
haradauliāra

ardha-māgadhī kośa: RATNACHANDRAJI 1923-1932
ardha-māgadhī kośa V: RATNACHANDRAJI 1923-1932 (vol. V)
B: BOYCE 1977
Edgerton: EDGERTON 1953
G.: GIGNOUX 1972
Guj: SUTHAR 2003
Hinüber: HINU/BER 1986
J.: JUSTI 1895
M. o: MAYRHOFER 1973
M. Sk.: MAYRHOFER 2006
Mylius: MYLIUS 2003
Mylius P: MYLIUS 1997
P1: MALALASEKARA 1983
Pischel: PISCHEL 1900
Prakrit Proper Names: CHANDRA 1972
S: SCHMITT 2011
S–P: SCHWARZ 1978, PFEIFFER 1978
S.W.: SIMS-WILLIAMS 2010
T: TURNER 1962-1966
Ta: TAVERNIER 2007
V.: Verzeichnis in JUSTI 1895
VV: VELZE 1938
Wörterbuch: JACOBI 1886
Z: ZADOK 2009
APPENDIX C

INTERVIEWS

N.B.: The proper names of people and places are transcribed as they were pronounced.

INTERVIEW 1

On 8 October 2016, I was invited to meet some members of the Śākdvīpīya community in Delhi. First, Mr. K. C. Shakdwipee and his beautiful family, hailing from Rājasthān, welcomed me. He is the father of a student who attends Shiv Nadar University; I had previously met the daughter of Mr. Shawkwpee on the campus, and she subsequently put me in contact with her family.

M.: (0.00) Are you part of the Śākdvīpīya community here in Delhi?
Mr. S.: (0.07) Yes, but we are originally from Rājasthān. My wife and I, we are originally from that state. I am from Udaipur, she comes from the Mārvāṛ region.
M.: (0.23) Is your community part of a religious trend?
Mr. S.: (0.26) We are sun worshippers.
M.: (0.30) And from a social point of view, do the members of Śākdvīpīya community have a particular role?
Mr. S.: (0.39) Being Brahmins, we are generally literary people. But especially in Rājasthān (Jodhpur and Bīkāner), we work also for the Government and we are involved in business.
M.: (0.55) Are there other communities like yours in India?
Mr. S.: (1.03) Yes, there are many communities of Śākdvīpī Brahmanś all over India. But they are settled especially in Rājasthān and Bihār.
M.: (1.14) Are there any differences in the communities from different states? Are they in contact?
Mr. S.: (1.25) There are some minor differences ... For example, Śākdvīpī in Rājasthān are strictly vegetarian, in Bihār they sometimes eat meat. There are differences because they are different states and the way of living for people is different. The communities are constantly in contact and there are also marriages between members of different communities. For example, a Rājasthāni man can marry a Bihārī woman. Or I would not have any problem in letting my daughter marry a man from Śākdvīpīya community in Bihār.

...
M.: (5.23) You are called Śākdvīpīya … Why?
Mr. S.: (5.29) Because we came from Śākdvīp.
M.: (5.34) And where is Śākdvīp?
Mr. S.: (5.38) Śākdvīp is one of the ancient dvīpas … Some people think that it can be identified with Persia.
M.: (5.49) What can you tell me about Magas and Bhojakas? Are they Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs as well?
Mr. S.: (6.00) Yes, actually my wife is a Bhojak. They are Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs. You know, in Delhi there is a Śākdvīpīya Association. I used to be very active in the community and I had collected all the surnames of the Śākdvīpīyas who live in Delhi. They are Mishra, Pathak, Sharma, Upadhyay, Pandi, Bhojak, Sevak, Davera, and naturally Shakdweepe.\(^{835}\)

[...] We talk about my studies and my knowledge of the topic.

Mr. S.: (13.17) Actually, after the Partition in 1947, many Śākdvīpīyas, who were settled in Punjab, moved to Sindh region.
[...]
M.: (15.35) Are there any personalities in the history of your community?
Mr. S.: (15.41) Yes, Cāṇakya was a Śākdvīpī. He was a great personality, poet, administrator, ecc. And also Varāhamihir, the famous astrologer.

He shows me Dr. Gitā Rāy's Ph.D. thesis about the history of Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs.

DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: K. C. Shakd weavee
GENDER: Male
AGE: 50
PLACE OF BIRTH: Udaipur
PROFESSION: Handicrafts and Handlooms Exports Corporation of India Limited
PLACE OF RESIDENCE: New Delhi, Uttar Pradesh
DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 8 October 2016
PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: New Delhi, Uttar Pradesh

\(^{835}\) All the surnames were provided in their Romanised form.
On the same day, Mr. K. C. Shakdwipee introduced me to Mr. Kumar Manish Mishra. We went to visit him at his government residence, as he works for the Parliament of India. Mr. Shakdwipee and his wife were present while we spoke. The opportunity to have a double interview with people coming from different states, both extremely important to the Śākdvīpīyas’ history, gave me the chance to compare different approaches to their religious cult and the history of their community. The two men are active members of the Śākadvīpīya community, but they admitted that they do not possess a good knowledge of the history of their cultural practices. Nevertheless, they provided me with some very interesting information.

[...]

M.: (0.00) Which are the main interests of Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs?
Mr. M.: (0.06) They are very interested in Āyurveda. They have always been interested in natural sciences. The sun god is the only visible god. You can see him. And then they are learned in natural medicine: according to the Purāṇas, the sun god himself healed Kṛṣṇa’s son, Sāmba, from leprosy. (0.33)

(1.32) According to my knowledge, Śākdvīpī have always been the bridge between gods and human beings. In particular, we worship the sun god because He is the only visible god, the only source of energy.

M.: (1.51) Do you have any particular sacred text?
Mr. M.: (1.57) Our knowledge is in the Vedas.
M.: (2.02) So, there are no other texts except Vedas?
Mr. S.: (2.10) No.

M.: (2.12) I have read in Purāṇas that there are some foreign elements in your cult. Kṛṣṇa’s son, Sāmba, brought the first Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs to India from Śākdvīpa. Where was it?
Mr. M.: (2.30) According to my knowledge, Śākdvīp was an island.
Mr. S.: (2.36) She knows that many people identify it with Persia.
M.: (2.42) And what about Zoroastrians? Do you know them?
Mr. M.: (2.48) According to my knowledge, Zoroastrians are considered to be part of the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs. They worship fire, no? The other visible god, like sun. You know Pārsīs?
They are Zoroastrians. I read they are Śākdvīpīyas, too. Also the two gods, sun and fire, are close.

M.: (3.12) Why do you say Zoroastrians are part of Śākdvīpīya community? Are there any proofs or written evidence?

Mr. M.: (3.21) It is based on documentary evidence.

M.: (3.24) Which documents?

Mr. M.: (3.27) Documentary evidence.

M.: (3.32) Are there any personalities in the history of your community?

Mr. M.: (3.38) Do you know the great mathematician who introduced the number zero? You know that numbers were invented in India ... The great Indian mathematician who invented number zero was Āryabhaṭa. He was Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ.

Mr. S.: (3.56) I have read that also Cāṇakya was a Śākdvīpī ... 

Mr. M.: (4.01) Yes ... 

Mr. S.: (4.03) And Varāhamihir of course ...

Mr. M.: (4.07) Yes, Varāhamihir ...

[...]

M.: (5.38) So, are you the only sun worshippers in India?

Mr. M.: (5.44) No

M.: (5.46) And why are you different from the other Hindū sun worshippers?

Mr. M.: (5.53) According to my knowledge, Śākdvīpīyas are the bridge between gods and humans. Śākdvīpīyas originated from the sun, they are part of the Sun. While ... The other Sun worshippers are not ... The Sun generated the Śākdvīpīyas from his own body. The descendants are the other sun worshippers.

M.: (6.23) Now I would like to ask you both: are there any differences between the communities in Rājasthān and Bihār? I don’t know, about rituals, pūjā ...

Mr. M.: (6.35) I don’t know if there are differences in pūjā ... I don’t know exactly. You will probably see some priests doing pūjā during your travel to Rājasthān and Bihār.

Mr. S.: (6.47) I think the rituals are the same, but I don’t know ...

M.: (6.53) And for other customs?

Mr. S.: (6.56) I told you, living in two different states, there are small differences ... Due to the environment. For example we are strictly vegetarian ...

Mr. M.: (7.11) We need to eat meat sometimes. Not very much, but we can’t be strictly vegetarian, due to the climate.
DATA CARD

NAME AND Surname: Kumar Manish Mishra
GENDER: Male
PLACE OF BIRTH: Darbhanga
PROFESSION: Work for the Parliament of India (he did not specify the position)
PLACE OF RESIDENCE: New Delhi, Uttar Pradesh
DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 8th November 2016
PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: New Delhi, Uttar Pradesh

Mr. K. C. Shakdwipee (INTERVIEW 1) and his wife were present at the time of the interview.

INTERVIEW 3

On October 23, Mr. Chetan Shakdweepiya’s beautiful family welcomed me in Udaipur. Mr. Shakdweepiya is a very active member of the Śākdvīpīya community, and in 2003/04 he prepared a catalogue of the names, addresses, contacts and family history of every Śākdvīpīya family in Rājasthān.

[...] He asked me about my research and how I became interested in the topic.
His children asked me my name, about my family, and told me about their schools.

In replying to my questions, he read from Nathamal Pāṇḍe’s शाकद्वीपीय मग ब्राह्मण इतिहास एक विवेचन (Śākdvīpīya Mag Brāhmaṇ Hihāsa Ek Vivecana).

Me: (0.00) You are part of the Śākdvīpīya community here in Udaipur. The name Śākdvīpīya, where does it come from?
Mr. S.: (0.09) We came originally from Śākdvīp, an island, like Jambudvīp, Śvetadvīp..
M.: (0.19) And the name of the island, where does it come from?
Mr. S.: (0.23) From the śāk tree. Some thinks it is related to Sakas.. like Kūşāns, Hūṇās … But that’s not true. It is the śāk tree, a tree that has constantly various fragrances … The first community settled in Bihār and then they spread all over India, particularly Rājasthān. You know, also the present king of Ayodhyā is Śākdvīpīya.

M.: (0.48) Do you have particular rituals or festivities?

Mr. S.’s wife: (0.54) The most important festivity is Sūrya Saptamī. It has no fixed date, but it is generally in February. During the festival, we decorate Sūrya’s image and carry it to the city. About rituals … We do pūjā, we do havana pūjā for the Sun.

Mr. S.: (1.14) Śākdvīpīyas were pandits of every cult, but after Sāmba brought them to India for worshipping the sun god, they specialized in the sun cult. They spread sun cult all over India, they brought the sun cult to India … Also Jarathuṣtra came from Śākdvīpīya community.

M.: (1.45) Jarathuṣtra? How do you know it?

Mr. S.: (1.49) According to Nathamal Pāṇḍe, also Jarathuṣtra was a Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ. 

M.: (1.56) Are there any differences between Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas, Maga Brāhmaṇas and Bhojakas?

Mr. S.: (2.05) ‘Mag’ means ‘Brāhmaṇ’; so you can say ‘Śākdvīpīya Mag’ or ‘Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ’. It’s the same. There are also other names …

M.: (2.20) Are they different?

Mr. S.: (2.24) They have different names according to their function in ancient times.

Mr. S.’s wife: (2.31) Here says that they were called Bhojakas because they feed the Lord sun. And Sevaks, they only put on the clothes.

Mr. S.: (2.44) They also have different names in different regions. But we are all Śākdvīpīya. And Śākdvīp, we don’t know where it was.

M.: (3.01) Which are your sacred texts?

Mr. S.: (3.05) The Vedas, our sacred texts are the Vedas.

Mr. S.’s wife: (3.10) In R̥gveda … Here there is also a reference to Śākdvīp in the R̥gveda 6, 244. Also Viṣṇu-purāṇa.

M.: (3.24) Are there any other sun worshippers in India? Are there differences between them and the Śākdvīpīyas?

Mr. S.: (3.32) Śākdvīpīyas brought to India sun cult. They were the first to build in India Sūrya mandirs; then they left and other worshippers took their place. Other priests do the worshipping part. The mantras are the same and they do pūjā in the same way. They serve water to the un.

Mr. S.’s wife: (4.01) It is scientifically proved, that looking at Lord sun for three to four minutes is good for health. When the sun rises, we can look straight to it. We also teach our children to
look at it. Then, during the day, you can look at it with your hands like this. Crossed fingers. This is very important for health, very good for eyes.

M.: (4.26) Are there differences in the practices of Śākdvīpīyas coming from different parts of India?

Mr. S.: (4.37) There are differences in food and language. And names. For example, ‘Pāṇḍe’ is a typical surname of Bihār and Uttar Pradesh.

M.: (4.51) Are there any personalities in the history of your community?

Mr. S.’s wife: (5.02) Here is written the story of Parthdhwan (?). He was a Śākdvīpīya. There was a time in which people wanted to go and live in Sūrya-loka. Parthdhwan longed to enter Lord Sūrya’s world, too. For this reason, the practiced austerities for 300 years. The sun, satisfied with his worship, closed his eyes and suddenly seven Brahmans came out, who could perform perfectly. Each one had two daughters and two sons. This story is told in Sāmba-purāṇa, chapter 38. Then, Sūryadvij.

Mr. S.: (5.48) We have also a very important poet. Now he is very old, 85 years old. He is from Udaipur. Śīlva jī. He writes poetry about Lord Sūrya in Sanskrit. [They showed me the paper with the poem Śrī Sūryāṣṭakam, by Śīlavrata Sharma ‘Śīl’]

Mr. S.’s wife: (7.27) Then there was Viśvamitr, who went to Australia and started the community over there.

M.: (7.36) Are there any Śākdvīpīya communities outside India?

Mr. S.’s wife: (7.42) Yes. In Australia, in America and also Mongolia. I have read that probably ‘Mongolia’ [mɒŋˈɡoʊliə] was named like that after ‘Mag’.

…

Mr. Shadwaveepiya shows me his book, in which he collected the names and addresses of all the Śākdvīpīyas living in Rājasthān.

Mr. S.: (11.23) You see, I went to ring to the doors ... And I have collected all the names of the Śākdvīpīyas. Only in the Mārvār and in the Mevār regions there are four-hundred families of Śākdvīpīyas. Vyās is one typical surname ... and then Sharma, Maharshi, Pande, Bhojak, Sevak, Mishra. They are different according to the state.

Mr. S.’s wife: (11.51) You asked about the personalities ... Here they are written. There was Mahārṣi Vasiṣṭ, who was son of Lord sun. Then Cāṇakya, Varhāhamihir, Mahākāvi Magh, Mahākāvi Vrand, Mongol Paṇḍi ... Do you know him? He was a freedom fighter. He was part

836 These are written in their English spelling.
of the army but he decided to rebel to the fact that they used pigs and cows grass for the guns. After having left the army, he became a freedom fighter. And then Maharaja Sindh Badhur.

…

M.: (15.06) Do you have any other practice? I mean, ritual practices ... For example, in ancient times, did the priests cover their mouths while reciting or did they hold something in their hands?

Mr. S.’s wife: (15.21) No, they didn’t. According to my knowledge, only Jains cover their mouths in India.

…

M.: (17.18) Do you have a system of gotras and puras, isn’t it?

Mr. S.’s wife: (17.23) Yes. We have 16 gotras coming from 16 different priests. We are part of the haṭīla gotra, because my husband belongs to it. Generally in marriages the bride becomes part of the husband’s gotra.

At the end of the interview, Mr. Shakdweepiya asked me to speak for a few minutes about my studies and research on the Śākvīpīyas, and he filmed me in order to show my work to the community.

DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: Mr. Chetan Shakdweepiya
GENDER: Male
PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Udaipur, Rājasthān
DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 23 October
PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: 44e Panchwati, Udaipur, Rājasthān

His wife, whose name I unfortunately have not recorded, took an active part in our talk.
INTERVIEW 4

On 1 November, Mr. Devraj Sharma, President of the Śākdvīpīya community in Jodhpur, came to visit me at the place where I was staying. He was accompanied by an old man, Mr. L. N. Sharma, an eminent member of the community. Unfortunately, none of them spoke good English, so the interview was carried out mainly in Hindī.

M.: (0.04) So, is there a big community of Śākdvīpī here in Jodhpur?
Mr. D.: (0.12) Yes. I’m the president of the Śākdvīpī community.
M.: (0.17) Ok.
Mr. D.: (0.19) We are 8% from the community.
M.: (0.25) Ok, I see. Are there, of course, many other communities, in India, of Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas?
Mr. D.: (0.34) Mmmm ... [He moves his head in assent.]
M.: (0.36) Yes ... They are all over India, but especially in Rājasthān and Bihār. Can you tell me why your communities are especially in Rājasthān and Bihār?
Mr. D.: (0.55) Why our community is in Rājasthān?
M.: (1.03) Yes, yes. Why are there so many Śākdvīpīya people in Rājasthān?
Mr. L: (1.15) This is a question? ...yes. Śākdvīpī. It is a word, Śākdvīpī. Listen, I would tell you. Your question was about the Brāhmaṇas. Śākdvīpīyas are Brāhmaṇas. We are Brāhmaṇas..now..We Śākdvīpī. Very well. But we have concept about Śākdvīp ... Śākdvīpīya. Next question.
Mr. D.: (2.11) What is the meaning of Śākdvīpīya..
Mr. D.: (2.18) You don’t know what is Śākdvīpī?
M.: (2.23) Maybe it’s because you come from Śākdvīpī?
[They speak Hindī to each other.]
Mr. D.: (2.39) You are also in Śākdvīpī?
M.: (2.41) Me? No, no, no ... I am Italian ...
Mr. D.: (2.51) You want to research in Śākdvīpī Brāhmaṇ Samaj, it’s that.
[I tell them about my academic studies: I explain the purpose of my research and the aim of the interview to them. Mr. L. asks me how I came to learn about the topic, and then about my Ph.D., my professors and my university. During ‘my’ interview, the two men speak Hindī to each other.]
Mr. L.: (7.20) Now, we are the Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs [with a solemn inflection in his voice, nearly theatrical]. Now ... अच्छ ... Purāṇs are ... about the Śākdvīpī Brāhmaṇs. But ... I do not like the Purāṇs’ literature, I do not. Because the Purāṇs are written in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries.

M.: (8.21) Yes, quite late texts ...

Mr. L.: (8.29) According to literature, India had ancient civilization, ancient culture.

M.: (8.41) Mmm, yes, definitely.

Mr. L.: (8.49) तौ ... When these are born ... First India personality, ऋṣi ... called ऋषिस्सस [he again assumes the theatrical inflection]. They thoughts, worships about Brāhm.

M.: (9.27) Yes, sure.

Mr. L.: (9.34) Who did anciently base his life in god Brāhm? ...Because Brāhmaṇs. Brāhm plus ‘-an’ is Brāhman. Past we were Brāhmaṇs... we are ऋषिस्सस.

Mr. D.: (10.06) Are ऋṣis born from god? Because I think... [He switches to Hindī. They talk to each other.]

Mr. L.: (11.15) ब्राह्मणास्मिः [Sanskrit] ... मग ब्राह्मण अस्मिः | [He repeats in Hindī that they are ऋषis and that Purāṇas are not reliable texts.]

M.: (13.55) Ok, yes ... More or less ... I got it.

L.: (14.00) Answer?

M.: (14.02) Yes...

L.: (14.06) Next question.

M.: (14.09) Where is Śākadvīp? I know the legend about the rising of all dvīpas, but where was it?

Mr. D.: (14.25) Where is the born from Śākadvīpi.

L.: (14.32)837 अच्छा. (He laughs) अरे यार! हमारे हिंदुस्तान, भारत में भानवत व्यवस्था नहीं थी, राजस्थान में ब्राह्मण शक्ति क्यों है, अभग क्यों है, मानवता व्यवस्था ना होने की वजह से पहाँ पर ब्राह्मण शक्ति का पूर्ण हुआ | शक्ति का नाक से ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रीय, वैश्य, शुद्र थर भागों में फारी गई | साथ में दूसरे देवता की आपे शिव, गणेश, माँ क्ये देव में सूर्य आता है | दूसरे तरफ से सूर्य की ओर चले सोर, शिव की और चले सैन सेम्प्रदाप बना जैन की ओर चले जैन सेम्प्रदाप

837 Mrs Narinder Kaur helped me with the transcription.
बना बोध की और चले बोधीक बना। वो राजाओं का राज क्या। दिव्य ब्रह्मण की और चले। सूर्य को हम नमसकार करते है जल चढ़ाते है और पूजा करते है, सेवा में भगवन से सेवक भोजन का गृहण करता है वो भोजक है उतपत्ती दूर । पूर्णा में लिखा है जो भक्ति करे उसे परलोक प्राप्त होता है, उसे मुक्ति प्राप्त होता है, भक्ति करने से आत्म स्वर्ग होती है, मुक्ति प्राप्त होती है। इस मुक्ति हम उधार कहते है मोहक कहते है। वो आप्को भक्ति की तपस्या करने से कल प्राप्त होता है फल पकता है। भक्ति को किसी के खनो पीने की चिंता नहीं, स्त्री पूर्ण की चिंता नहीं। स्त्री पूर्ण मैथुन से एक दूसरे में चले जाते है। कृपा में हमसो साफ-लिखा है। उसी श्रृंखला के हस्तें हमने जल पाया है। दूसरे में हम उपासना है। सूयणों में हम उपासना करने वाले हैं। जिसमें सूर्य वेषी सूर्य की भक्ति और चंद्र वेषी चंद्रमा की उपासना करते थे। हमने तीन बार थे। [He talks about Purāṇas.]

(22.31) 1. ज्योतिष 2. भूज ब्रह्मण 3. (अभिधार) ब्रह्मण ब्रह्मण पूर्णों में भक्ति को भक्ति शम्हार है नहीं। ज्योतिष में जो मृह चमकते है जन्म थे गुरु से, जन्म कुप्तकोर्थीक बनती है किताब बनती है ज्योतिष विध्या बनती है। ये हमारी ये कृपा है।

(24.06) दूसरी विध्या में हमारे भक्त्व है शास्त्र में कई किसमें है 32 ब्रह्मण है आपने एक ब्रह्मण को पकड़ तीसरे में अलग पेगेम्बर बैठे है, ध्यान हो, मोहन्मद साहिब हो, जैन हो। जाति में बर गम है सारे हमारे पूर्ण है हमारे सेवक ब्रह्मण है। ईश्वर की सेवा, सूर्य की सेवा, हर ब्रह्मण हर में होती है। कोई भी धर्म पा एक अपने एक ईश्वर की सेवा भक्ति करती है तो भूली आती है सभी के जीवन में अभाव होता है हिंदू धर्म में कृप्त दूर है होने का अभाव विध्या होती है।

ईसान अपने लक्ष्य की और जाता है उसका उपयोग सही नहीं किया तो अपने सूखे के लिए किया। तो उसका पूर्ण जन्म हो जाता है, आप इटली में है तो आप इटलीयन है अमेरिका वाला अमेरिकन है में भारत का भारतिय हूँ, हर ईसान अपना कर्म करता है इस संसार में अच्छी बूढ़ा भी आप मेरी हम 83 साल की है। I am 83 years old, today.

M.: (29.12) Today?
Mr. L.: (29.14) हाँ! Today. ते ...मुझे खुशी है कि आप पहा भारत में आ कर मुझे ब्रह्मण से वारतालाप कर रही है। मैं सूर्य का प्रतिलिपि हूँ उपस्ना करता हूँ। हमारी विशदरी पा दूसरी विशदरी में क्या फर्क है आपका सवाल है।

Mr. D.: (29.42) Are you satisfied with the subject? Any more questions?

M.: (29.49) Yes, yes. One short question please. Are you the only sun-worshippers in India? Or not? Of course... You worship the sun as the main god, no? Are you the only sun-worshippers in India? I think there are other people who worship the sun, like you do. But in what are you different?

[They speak to each other.]

Mr. L.: (31.07) अरे यार! बोध, जैन, इस्लाम, सभ स्वकित है बोध का बौधक धर्म वाला, सूर्य का सूर्यबाबी, जैन का जैनी, इस्लाम का ईसा सब ही व्यक्ति है। सूर्य की अराधना करने वाले सूर्य के पूत्र हैं। संस्कृत का श्लोक है।

मरा ब्राह्मण भूषण।

सादगी भी ब्राह्मण।

सादगी पसंद ब्राह्मण है प्यार काला है, प्यार चाहता है, प्यार बारता है। सारे मेरे बहन-भई हैं। प्यार पर विश्वास रखने वाले हैं।

इस्लाम धर्म मार-धार करता है। लेकिन ब्राह्मण धर्म में मेरे लिए सब को मां-बहन-भई का रिश्ता दिया जाता है। आप मेरी मां है।

बाकी ये सेसार है इसी तरह चलता है। चलता रहेगा। कई धर्म, कई जात, कई पेथ जो हैं। भारत में। जो देवी देवताओं के बल पर प्रार्थना करने से चल रहे हैं।

हर धर्म आपने धर्म में आस्था रखता है प्रार्थना करता है। चार धर्म ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रीय, वैश्य, शुद्ध में बारा है। है ब्राह्मण धर्म। ईश्वर की सेवा सूर्य की सेवा हमारे पूत्र सूर्य पूत्र और हम सूर्य के पूत्र हैं।
After the interview, Mr. L. asked me if I wanted to give a contribution for the community.

DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: Laxmi Narayan Sharma
GENDER: Male
AGE: 83
PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Jodhpur, Rājasthān
DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 1 November 2016
PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: Royal Heritage Guest House, Jodhpur, Rājasthān

During the interview, Mr. Devraj Sharma was also present.

INTERVIEW 5

I was invited to visit the place in Bīkāner where, since 2010, the magazine Brahmāṇḍ Cetnā – ब्रह्माण्ड चेतना (https://www.facebook.com/sbchetna) has been edited by Dr. Bharti Bhojak. She obtained her Ph.D. in Computational Mathematics, but being part of the community, she became more and more interested in its history, and subsequently founded this international magazine. She and her husband, Prof. Kharanshu Bhojak, introduced me to the Śākdvīpīya community in Bīkāner.

Dr. B.: (0.00) I can call my husband if you want to know something about Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs … He will tell you something about Āyurveda.
M.: (0.18) Yes, sure, but later, if you don’t mind. Now I would like to ask you some questions about the history of the community. Are there other Śākdvīpīya communities all over India, I can imagine ...

Dr. B.: (0.41) Yes, but it basically from Magadh. In Purāṇs there is written that Śākdvīpīya community was … Kṛṣṇa’s son Sām brought them from Śākdvīp. Then he made a temple of sun in Multān. You know it? I read in the Purāṇs all these things. And … he made a temple for them, in Multān. Ok? And then, he decided that Śākdvīpī community Brāhmaṇs are the sons of sun. So they have the right to pray sun. They are mainly … today their work is mainly to pray sun … and we have learnt very well how to pray sun.

M.: (2.14) Are you the only sun worshippers in India?

Dr. B.: (2.17) Yes, we are the only sun worshippers. And for this only Sām brought us from Śākdvīp.

M.: (2.25) And where was Śākdvīp?

Dr. B.: (2.29) It’s very … It’s not … I do not know exactly where is Śākdvīp. There are some theories about that, it’s near Iran … It’s near … Śākdvīp … I learned in … Atlantic Sagar. Exactly I don’t know where … Exactly I am not having any proof of this, from where we have come.

M.: (3.03) Ok. But the first community, the first Śākdvīpīyas, were brought to Magadh …

Dr. B.: (3.11) No, brought to Multān. And from there they spread all over India. Mainly their start was in Bihār-Magadh … and some in Rājasthān, in Tamil Nadu …

M.: (3.33) Also Tamil Nadu?

Dr. B.: (3.35) Right, but very little. Population rise Bīkāner. In Bīkāner Śākdvīpīya community extent is about 25 thousand. In Rājasthān we have an extent of a lakh persons, in Rājasthān. But all over India, maximum extent is in Bīkāner, and in Bihār-Magadh. And in Rāṁcī838. But in Rājasthān, also Śākdvīpīya community, they are priests only, they are not well educated.

M.: (4.25) Ah, that’s a good point to discuss. So, from a social point of view …

Dr. B.: (4.31) Social point of view, yes, they are having a lack of education, and I think in Rājasthān we can count Śākdvīpīya doctors, we can count Śākdvīpīya engineers, on the tips … they’re less. But in Bihār, they are well educated. Reason of that is that all these Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs are not having so much education. They are very simple persons. And they don’t want that somebody gives them some money. How can I tell you that … They are having not so money. They are just priests, only worship, and they realized that we should not take any money from our … ehm ...

838 This is the capital city of Jārkhanḍa.
M.: (6.00) Yes, ok, that’s a very interesting point. Many priests cannot accept money.

Dr. B.: (6.10) No, no, they do not accept money. They are not beggars. They are not beggars, like they will not say ‘Give me some money’, they will not say you. And they are not having so much knowledge, because there is a problem of education, the main problem is their education. In this whole Bīkāner, you can count five professors are only there, in colleges, five professors, one of them is in Jodhpur, two ladies are in Jodhpur, my husband is one of the professors. He is in Dungar College, and Dungar College is largest college in Bīkāner region. Its extent is 10 thousands students, 10 thousands students are studying there, and only one professor from the community is there. The problem is education.

M.: (7.35) But are they (the priests) learned in your sacred texts, in your rituals, pūjā …

Dr. B.: (7.44) No, no … Her mobile rings.

M.: (7.58) … I don’t know exactly how the pūjā is carried on, which are your rituals …

Dr. B.: (8.08) We look at the sun, then we offer water, and after that, we pray with our mantra, with a mantra.

M.: (8.23) And this mantra, where it does come from?

Dr. B.: (8.26) From Vedas.

M.: (8.28) Of course, they are the sacred texts of Hinduism. But do you have also … [any other reference text?]

Dr. B.: (8.37) We are worshippers of the sun, we pray it, that ‘You are God’, or … Her mobile rings.

M.: (8.50) … so you only worship sun …

Dr. B.: (8.54) Sun. That’s why our ancestors were that persons, means Āyurvedic doctors.

M.: (9.03) Yes, that’s a very interesting point.

Dr. B.: (9.07) Our ancestors were doctors and we learned how to make medicines with the use of some leaves. And before one-thousand year we can say that all community members, all community population was spread all over India, then they are not doing really anything, they have fallen down all these things, and Āyurved doctors are limited nowadays. One or two know these things. But our ancestors were perfect doctors, Āyurved doctors.

M.: (10.02) So you had also great personalities in the past.

Dr. B.: (10.11) Yes … one article is this [she shows me one issue of the magazine], Varāhamihir. This is professor Paṇḍe, associated with this group. He is in Benares, he is head of Department.

---

839 I was referring particularly to the fact that, in the Purānic texts, the Bhojakas are exonerated from the charge of being devalakas, fallen priests who desire money. An accusation was probably made against the Bhojakas in ancient times, and they had to redeem themselves.
at Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya, Varanasi. And he wrote about Varāhamihir. This is professor Sudhīndra Mohan Mishra, in Devendra Vihar. He is a chemistry professor, but he is writing about our ancestors. And he wrote about Varāhamihir and his calculations about sun, movement of sun. He wrote a very good article. He is a very scholar person. He is saying that Varāhamihir was part of our community. But some others are claiming he was not from our community. We don’t have evidence to prove it.

[We chatted about non-relevant topics for some minutes.]

Dr. B.: (13.09) I got my Ph.D. in Computational Mathematics, and I was interested in astronomy; and I have learned about Varāhamihir from that paper. And Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs are also very good astrologers, they have a very good knowledge of astrology. Many things are written in these books. [She shows me all the issues of their magazine.]

This ... You went also to Jodhpur. If you go from Jodhpur to Udaipur, in the way you will get Rāṇkapur. This is the sun temple of Rāṇakpur. There are many articles about sun temples. This is Sūrya Mandir, and the priest of this temple is also Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ. This is temple, this is stadium; in festival time, people used to sit here and sun rose always from here. And ...

[Some people entered the room.]

Dr. B.: (16.48) There are many temples which are Śākdvīpīya temples …
M.: (16.51) Is the temple of Koṇārak important for your community?
Dr. B.: (16.55) It was, it is ancient temple. It is not active any more.

Dr. Bharti Bhojak’s husband enters the room with his Ph.D. students, and shows me a short presentation on the topic that they are working on. It deals with the relation between ancient literature and the chemical and biological phenomena of nature: the link between reality and its explanation through ancient legends. In particular, he is presently working on the relation between food, plants and medicine.

[...]

Particularly interesting is the story of Barbarik:

Prof. K.: (30.0) Do you know about Mahābhārata? Do you know about Gītā? You know that the fight, or the real war, was between Paṇḍavas and Kauravas. At the time, Kṛṣṇa was there and we believe he delivered the message of the Gītā. So, what happened ... There was a person known as Barbarik. This Barbarik. Barbarik was a unique character in the Mahābhārata. He studied the ancient literature, he was learned this person. He was the grandson of Bhīm, you know him? Bhīm and his wife, Hidimbā. Their son was Ghaṭotkac, and he was the son of Ghaṭotkac. So he was the son of the son, the grandson of Bhīm. He went for typical training. First by her grandmother, Hidimbā, she was born rakṣās. So what is the story? The story is that
after Hidimbā was able to teach him a lot of things within 9 months, at 49 he started and he could able to finish by 50 years. Then he asked some other priests and some other teachers, he completed. Finally Hidimbā said ‘Nobody can teach you, other than Śrī Kṛṣṇa. So go to Kṛṣṇa.’ Kṛṣṇa said ‘Now I don’t have time to teach you. But I accept you as my student, but I tell you the name of the teacher you going, and where from.’ So he went to Assam, that is in the North-east part of India. So what happened there? The teacher name was Nija Sid Singh. Nija Sid Singh taught him different kinds of chemical weapons and different kinds of Āyurvedic treatments. This is what he wanted to teach. So what was the Āyurvedic treatment? He went for the weapon of Brahmputra. And Nija Sid Singh said that ‘When you have completed your training, you would be able to destroy.’ So what was his capacity in knowledge? By the bless of Cāṇakya Devī and of Nija Sid Singh, he was able to get three weapons. Now you know, one very interesting thing for you, Nija Sid Singh was not Brāhmaṇ. Sorry, Nija Sid Singh was a Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ. But Cāṇakya Devī not Brāhmaṇ. She was from the family tree which is continued in the tales, vegetables and like this. Barbarik, he was also not from the vegetables, he was from the family of Bhīm. That way combination starts. And Cāṇakya Devī blessed him from three different types of weapons. First weapon, he can target. He can target at the same time more than one lakh, one million, one billion enemies; he will just target. Then, by using the second weapon, he can destroy enemies. Then the use of the third weapon, he can regenerate, if he wants. This are the story. So after that he was having so much power that comes from that arrows, he can target one billion, one million, so, and then ha can destroy, if he wants, he can regenerate. He was the grandson of Bhīm. Then Mahābhārata started. He came to Kurukṣetra. He has come, and he could destroy one billion enemies at the same time. Paṇḍavas were very happy. But at the same time, Kṛṣṇa was very very sad and unhappy. The thing is that Nija Sid Singh was a Brāhmaṇ, a Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇ. He asked him to give his gurudakṣīna as he will not use these weapons against the Bhuja (?) side. He will fight always from the Bhuja (?) side. Soooo interesting. Now if he starts on one corner, then first the 90% are dead, 10 % will live, on that way the Paṇḍavas will be stronger side, the other will be the weaker side. So what will be happened? He will start fighting from the Kaurava side. The next day, from Paṇḍava side. The very next day, again from the Kaurava side. This wanted Kṛṣṇa. तौ he said that ‘If you will do like this, then you last living with persons who are alive, no other being. Because he was under the blessing of this weapon. Then what happened? Kṛṣṇa said ‘Once you have considered me as guru, as teacher, now give me the gurudakṣīna.’ He said

840 I.e., a fee for the guru after a period of study.
that ‘When Kṛṣṇa is the guru and I am the teacher, what should I give? How can I be devoted to Kṛṣṇa?’ Kṛṣṇa said that ‘Give me your own head.’ So he said that ‘Kṛṣṇa is guru, I am the student. And what lesser than head I can give? I should give more than that’. So he cut off his head and served it in front of Kṛṣṇa. Then Kṛṣṇa blessed him and said that “You will be considered always, even after five-thousands years, devotee in me and you will be known as Har-puṣanti.’ That is the temple in here. And in Rājasthān it is one of the biggest temples of this. […]

(39.05) He had three weapons: one was for targeting, other one for destroying, and third weapon was for regeneration. One thing I left: Kṛṣṇa asked him, and said ‘Show me’ and he took him to a pīpal tree. And he said that ‘Destroy all the leaves of pīpal tree with one arrow’ He said that ‘Ok. First target, then destroy’ […]

(41.30) Now, Āyurvedic persons prepare their medicines with such kind of things. […] But first part of the treatment is target only the ill part, like the leaves of the pīpal tree. Then destroy only this and if anyhow there is destroy of the regular cells, the third part must be regenerating. Then we have complete treatment. Such kind of treatment comes from the ancient system. […]

_They gather many members of the community and let me perform pūjā for the sun god at sunset._

M.: How do you perform pūjā?
Dr. B.: We offer water to the sun god.
M.: Do you also have to look at him?
Dr. B.: Yes, early morning we look at the sun. It is very good for eyes. We do pūjā twice a day, we honour the sun at early morning and at sunset, the two turning points …
Prof. K.: Do you know why Lord sun has seven horses? They are the colours of the rainbow. You see? Once again a natural reason for a religious matter.
_They also honour me with speeches and gifts._

_Later, during dinner._

Me: So, Mags and Bhojaks are considered Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs … Are there any differences between them?
Dr. B.: Yes, we are all Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs. Well, we are Bhojak. There are 25 rules that only Bhojak people must follow.
M.: And why are you called Bhojak?
Dr.B.: What do you think?
M.: Maybe because the Bhojaks feed the sun god? From Sanskrit root *bhuj-* …

Dr. B: No, no. We are called Bhojaks not because we feed the god. There is another story, I will send you the paper. The name is related to the great King Bhoja. Also Sevaks have their own story. In Jaina temples, only in Jodhpur and Bīkāner, there were no priests; so Śākdvīpīya priests, who are specialized in worshipping, all over the world, went there and did the *pūjā.* From that moment on, they were called Sevak, because they served the god at the temple. But this surname could sound derogatory, like servants, so people preferred not to adopt this name. Sevaks are present only in Jodhpur and Bīkāner. In Rājasthān many people have decided to adopt directly the name Śākdvīpīya.

…

In Rājasthān Śākdvīpīya used to be very learned persons, especially doctors. Nowadays there are very few learned people: they mostly look after temples. But they don’t take any money. Real Magis do not ask for money; they cannot accept it. They just take care of the temple. In Bihār they are mostly learned people. There are also different rules with food: in Rājastahān we are strictly vegetarian and we do not eat garlic nor onion; they are *tamasic* food according to Āyurveda.

[…]

M.: May I ask you one last question? What are *purs*? Because I found this term, but I do not know, what it means.

Dr. B.: *Purs* are like branches of the tree. I have an article about *gotrs* and *purs.* They are subdivisions of our community. *Gotrs* are also very important for marriages. Now that I am married, I am part of my husband’s *gotr, muṇḍara.* We cannot marry in the same *gotr.* Even if we are both Bhojak, we were part of different *gotrs*.

*Addendum on the avyaṅga*

*I was visiting the Kuṇḍ Sagar mandir, whose priest is a Śākdvīpīya belonging to a family who has taken care of the temple for 500 years; Prof. K. was showing me the typical red and yellow dress of the Brahmins, pointing out the sacred thread, when he added that Śākdvīpīyas generally wear another girdle, the avyaṅga.*

M.: (0.00) What is that *avyaṅga* you mentioned before?

Prof. K.: (0.09) You know about *yajñobhogi* (?)? Y. do you know? That is a symbol that you have completed your *yajñobhogi.* *Yajñobhogi* means that in the ancient system when the student completes his education… [he speaks Hindi with his wife, but I cannot hear what they say] …
when he starts his education, then there is a process of mantra; so once mantra has been completed, it means now you are eligible to study. Because whatever we do, we do in front of gods. (1.02) तौ... Now once we have the binding of the yajñobhogi it means ‘Now I am going to learn the things and I really use these things for the benefit of mankind’. This is the glory of the yajñobhogi. But yajñobhogi can be act anytime. From your birth to death you can do yajñobhogi at any time. - Dr. B: It is the symbol of education. – Prof. K: Mostly people do it before marriage. Before marriage it is essential; you cannot get married without yajñobhogi. – Dr. B: Śākdvīpīya Brahmanas. – Prof. K: In every Brāhmaṇa. In very Brāhmaṇa the yajñobhogi is essential, even not in Brāhmaṇas, in other communities also, Rājputs, and others, they are also having the yajñobhogi. But avyaṅga is found only in the Śākdvīpīya community. (2.00) What is the difference between avyaṅga and yajñobhogi? Avyaṅga now is the point that now scientifically as well as biologically the kid brings as develops. This is why avyaṅga-saṃskār has a fixed date. It is the eight year of the child. Avyaṅga is always done in the eight year. Once you have completed the eight year, the avyaṅga is done, but this was only in the ancient times. Now very few people are worried about that, even the Śākdvīpīyas today are not worried about that. So they are not going for that. And secondly, avyaṅga is a hidden saṃskār; you are really not going for the party, or for that, but the yajñobhogi you use party, you celebrate it. But avyaṅga is only between the kid and the sun. (3:17) The kid and the sun, only that two celebrate. And thirdly is that avyaṅga, when we get ten … around their waist, when they are ten around their waist. Then the yajñobhogi will be … around this … [He points out at his shoulder-breast.] And then definitely there are mantras. Mantras, you have to know them from Sanskrit.

M.: (3.55) Yes … Actually, also the iconography of the sun god, especially between 5th and 7th centuries … also the sun wears avyaṅga.

Prof. K.: (4.16) Yes, yes ... M.: (4.18) And maybe avyaṅga is a word coming from Avestan, because people in Iran used to wear aiwyāŋhana ... Prof. K.: (4.35) Really? Śākdvīpīyas also use this. Can you repeat the word?

M.: (4.40) A-i-w-y-ā-ƞ-h-a-n-a. The Magus used to wear this girdle, and other objects, while officiating.

Dr. B.: (5.02) It is possible that they are related.

Prof. K.: (5.05) Yes, it is possible.
DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: Dr. Bharti Bhojak
GENDER: Female
AGE: 45
EDUCATION / PROFESSION: Ph.D. in Computational Mathematics, maths teacher.
PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Bīkāner, Rājasthān
DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 3 November 2016
PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: II-E-182 JNV Colony, Bīkāner, Rājasthān

NAME AND SURNAME: Prof. Kharanshu Bhojak
GENDER: Male
EDUCATION / PROFESSION: Professor of Chemistry at Dungar College, Bīkāner, Rājasthān
PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Bīkāner, Rājasthān
PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: II-E-182 JNV Colony, Bīkāner, Rājasthān

INTERVIEW 6

In Patna, I had the opportunity to meet three of the oldest members of the Śākaldvīpi\textsuperscript{841} family that hosted me; two of them belong to the third generation living in the house (they are the brothers of the oldest woman in the household—the grandmother—and the uncles of her daughter, who personally invited me), while the last one belongs to the previous generation, as he is the grandmother’s uncle. Unfortunately, they were introduced to me only in terms of their kin relations, not by their names. The situation was too informal to ask them to fill out the data card.

\textsuperscript{841} Note that the spelling of the name of this group of Brāhmaṇas in Patna is apparently different from the spelling they have in Rājasthān.
FIRST INTERLOCUTOR

My chief interlocutor was the youngest of the three. I do not think he told me me his name (or I have completely forgotten it), and he did not want me to record him, nor could I take notes during our talk.

_: First, how did you get interested in this topic?
I tell him about my studies and how I found out about the topic.

_: You know, the sun is the only visible god. That’s why we worship him. And even if people do not worship him, he stays still.

M.: You are Śākaldvīpi. Which is the origin of the name?

_: We anciently came from Śākdvip…

M.: And where was Śākdvip?

_: It was probably somewhere in Iran. For this reason Śākaldvīpi communities have Iranian features which have maintained until nowadays.

M.: Which features?

_: But you wanted to know about the legend. The story of Lord Kṛṣṇa’s son Sām(b)\textsuperscript{842}: the son looked very similar to the father, they had the same blood, the same DNA, the same appearance; that’s why Kṛṣṇa’s wives got confused. He cursed his son and Sām(b) contracted leprosy. Then Kṛṣṇa knew that in Śākdvīp there were very good doctors, and so he invited them to heal Sām(b). But they refused. So Kṛṣṇa cheated them: he sent Garuḍa to a field in which the children of these doctors used to play. The bird stayed there and then he flew away; sixteen children hung to Garuḍa’s body and flew to Dvārakā with him. We don’t know exactly what Garuḍa was; it could have been also a ship, for taking those people from Iran to India. Those sixteen children then married local girls and they settled first in Bihār, Gayā region, then to Jodhpur/Jaipur region and all over India. They gave names to sixteen \textit{purs}. They are related to cities. It is said also that they gave names to the cities in relation to the parts of Garuḍa’s body they were attached while flying to India.

M.: That’s very interesting…so \textit{purs} are related to the cities?

_: Yes, to the cities in which those people settled.

M.: Excuse me, I have one last question: do young people know about this legend?

_: That’s a very interesting question. No, young people are not interested in these things. That’s why many people, also belonging to the community, they don’t know anything and their

\textsuperscript{842} From his pronunciation, it was not clear to me whether he pronounced the final \textit{b}. If they pronounce ‘Sām’, it is very significant for the link with Iranian Sām. I have already discussed this topic in my M.A. thesis, \textit{I Maga Brāhmaṇa tra eredità iranica e sinecismo indiano}, and in PALLADINO 20??a.
information are not correct. For example, some believe that purs are 72, but they are 16, like the children who came to India.

SECOND INTERLOCUTOR
M.: So, which is the difference between purs and gotras?
_: The purs are related to cities, gotras to gurus. And if you want to know about the legend, 5-6 people flied to India from Śākdvīp, which was in Iran.

THIRD INTERLOCUTOR (the oldest one)
He asked me if I was able to speak Sanskrit and asked information about my family in Sanskrit. I did my best to reply.
_: I brought for you this numbers of the magazine Magabandhu; you can keep them, I hope they will be useful.
M.: Thank you very much.

DATA CARD
GENDER: Male
DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 1 December 2016
PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: Patna, Bihār

INTERVIEW 7
My host introduced me to a member of the community, Prof. Dr. Hrishikesh Misra. He is a professor at Patna University, and his most recent publication is about Tantrism and psychoanalysis. Due to an accident, he lost his sight and he is now completely blind.

First, he asked about my research and wanted to know my ‘personal philosophy’. He told me about the Mahābhārata and Indian history, then finally moved to a Śākaldvīpi-related topic.

Dr. M.: (10.13) They came from Śākdvīp ... that’s why they are called Śākdvīpiya.
M.: (10.20) How many were the people who came from Śākdvīp?
Dr. M.: (10.27) 72 purs, like the 72 brāhmaṇs in the Mahābhārata.

Dr. M.: (12.07) Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs think that you cannot accept not even a drop of water when, for example, one helps you.
M.: (12.19) I have already heard about this refusal of goods …
Dr. M.: (12.26) Not even a drop of water …

(13.41) Sāmba, Kṛṣṇa’s son, contracted leprosy and so Kṛṣṇa sent Garuḍa to bring Brāhmaṇs from Śākdvīp to pay obeisance to the Lord sun. So leprosy was cured. The sun cured Sāmba.
M.: Yes, Lord sun healed Sāmba.
Dr. H.: (14.02) No, he didn’t heal him, he cured him. The cure is permanent, the healing is not. Then Kṛṣṇa wanted to give the Brāhmaṇs 72 villages, but they didn’t accept. ‘We have not come here for something – only for satisfaction’. They didn’t accept a single thing. Kṛṣṇa put some gold in apples and gave them to Garuḍa, so that he could not fly away and they had to stay. Then they settled in Orissa, Bengala, Rājasthān and Uttar Pradesh. But we are not considered Brahmins from a great part of Indian society …
M.: (14.48) Why?
Dr. H.: (14.51) Because we are foreigners. And we are generally interested in Āyurveda, natural medicine.
M.: (15.01) Where do you think Śākdvīp was?
Dr. H.: (15.06) Probably somewhere in Iran or near Iran. Then Śāk island and other territories, like Azerbaijan, were conquered by Muslims.

(15.51) By the way Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇs cannot accept anything for their actions, not even water. And they are also mentioned in the sixth book of Mahābhārata.
I was introduced to the oldest member of the Śākaldvīpi community in Patna. Mr. Rangan Sūridev is 95 years old and he is a very learned man. He also gave me his own translation of the Bhagavadgītā into Hindī.

... 

Mr. R.: (1.13) In śrādh (śraddha) pūjā Śākaldvīpi Brahmans are very important. Generally the pūjā starts at midday and ends in the evening; a Śākaldvīpi is representative of the sun.  
M.: (1.32) How many purs were there in ancient times? 
Mr. R.: (1.38) There were 72 purs.  
M.: (1.43) And why are you called Śākaldvīpi? 
Mr. R.: (1.49) Because we came from Śākdvīp.  
M.: (1.53) And where was Śākdvīp? 
Mr. R.: (1.57) It was in Iran. Śākaldvīpi are also called Sūrya-ayu Brāhmaṇs.  
M.: (2.12) Which are your sacred books? 
Mr. R.: (2.18) There are four Vedas. Śākaldvīpis had another one, but it was destroyed.  
M.: (2.27) Which was its name? 
Mr. R.: (2.30) We don’t know.  
... 

(4.31) Śākaldvīpis are good doctors, good teachers and good astrologers. Many Brāhmaṇs decide to live on their own, but when Śākaldvīpis came, they were very friendly, they had families and built a good organization. Śākaldvīpis are not part of Sūrya family, but they are

---

843 The śrādh (śraddha) pūjā is a ritual for the ancestors. It is generally performed by the eldest male member of the family, and food, clothes and sweets are given to the Brāhmaṇas, because it is believed that what Brāhmaṇas receive can reach the departed souls. Very important in this ritual is to avoid hastiness, control anger, and be full of piety while reciting mantras and prayers.

844 I am not sure of the spelling of this word. He repeated it to me twice, but I am not sure that I understood the name correctly.
experts in Sūrya pūjā. And in ancient times the king had only Śākaldvīpis around him, no other purohita.

DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: Mr. Rangan Sūridev
GENDER: Male
AGE: 95
PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Patna, Bihār
DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 5 December 2016
PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: His house in Patna, Bihār
Bibliography


BURNOUF 1833, E., Commentaire sur le Yaçna, l'un des livres religieux des Parse, Tome 1, Paris.


CHAKRABERTI 1981, K., Society, Religion and Art of the Kushāṇa India, Calcutta.


CHAURASIA 2002, R.S., History of Ancient India, New Delhi.


CUMONT 1903, F. The Mysteries of Mithra, London.


DVIVEDI 2002, M.S., see THIBAUT 2002.


HAZRA 1958, R.C., Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas, in *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, vol. 1, Calcutta.

HELMS 1988, M., Access to Origins. Affines, Ancestors, and Aristocrats, Austin TX.


JOLLY 1977, J., Indian Medicine, Delhi (2nd Ed.).


KONOW 1981, S., see HULTZSCH 1981.


KRISHNAMACHARIAR 1987, M., History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, Madras.


LINDTNER 2001, C. (Edited by), Madhyamakahṛdayam of Bhāvyā, Chennai.


MCCRINDLE 1974, J.W., Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy: Being a Translation of the Chapters which Describe India and Central and Eastern Asia in the Treatise on
Geography Written by Klaudios Ptolemaios, the Celebrated Astronomer, New Delhi (1° ed. London, 1884).


Mayrhofer 1986, M., Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen (EWA), Heidelberg.


Mehta 1972, see Chandra 1972.


Mills 1912, L.H., Yasna XXIX in its Sanskrit Equivalents, Louvain.


MORIHIRO 2007, O., see BÄUMER 2007.


NEUGEBAUER 1970, O., see PINGREE 1970.

NEUGEBAUER 1971, O., see PINGREE 1971.


PALLADINO 20??a (to appear), M., Alcuni spunti di riflessione sui Maga Brāhmaṇa, in *Studi Iranici-Ravennati II*, Milano.


PALLADINO 20??c (to appear), M., Iran e India tra definizione identitaria e dialettica di confine, in *Confine, limite, soglia*, Venezia.

PANAINO 1990a, A.C.D., Xvaršēd e Māh Yašt. Gli inni avestici al sole e alla luna. Testo critico con traduzione e commentario filologico e storico-religioso, Tesi presentata per il conseguimento del Dottorato di Ricerca in Studi Iranici (pubblicata ai sensi di legge), Milano.


PANASHĪKAR 1910, W.L., see KENDĀRNĀTHA 1910.

PĀNDE *845, N., शाकद्वीपीय मग ब्राह्मण इतिहास एक वववेचन (Śākdvīpīya Mag Brāhmaṇ Hihāsa Ek Vivecana).


845 The year and place of publication are not specified.


PISCHEL 1900, R., II Wortverzeichnis, in Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, Strassburg, pp. 419-428.


ROTHERMUND 2007, D., Storia dell’India, Bologna.


SASTRI 1964, P.V.S., Varahamihira’s Brihat Samhita, Bangalore.


SCHMITT 1993, R., Cyrus - i. The Name, in Encyclopaedia Iranica, Vol. VI, Fasc. 5, pp. 515-
516, available online at: http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cyrus-i-name (Last Updated: November 10, 2011).


SCHWARZ 1978, W., see PFEIFFER 1978.


SHASTRI 1969, A.M., India as seen in the Brhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna.


SIMS-WILLIAMS 2010, Bactrian Personal Names, in Iranisches Personennamenbuch, Band II: Mitteliranische Namen, Faszikel 7, Wien.


SPEZIALE 2011, F., see D’ONOFRIO 2011.

SPIEGEL 1861, F., Neriosengh’s Sanskrit-Uebersetzung des Yaçna, Leipzig.

SRIVASTAVA 1972, V.C., Sun-worship in ancient India, Allahabad.

SRIVASTAVA 1996, V.C., Revision in the Purānic Sun-cult, Varanasi.

SRIVASTAVA 2013, V.C., Sāmba-Purāṇa (An Exhaustive Introduction, Sanskrit Text, English Translation, Notes & Index of Verses), Delhi.


SUTHAR 2003, B., Gujarati-English Learner’s Dictionary (Second Draft), Philadelphia.

TAFAZZOLI 1993, A., see GIGNOUX 1993.

TAQIZADEH 2006, S.H., see NABARZ 2006.


WOOLNER 1917, A.C., Introduction to Prakrit, Calcutta.

Webliography


http://www.shakdwipiya.com/gotra.ph