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

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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.: Prākṛit

RORI: Rajasthān Oriental Research Institute

Skr.: Sanskrit

SP: *Sāmba-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.

[...] the saga of Indian Sun-priests is full of romance, significance and mythical ecstasy.

SRIVASTAVA 1996: 53

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 Śākadvipīya 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 Purāṇic sections recounts that Kṛṣṇa'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 (Śākadvīpīya) Brāhmaṇas to worship the sun's idol. From that moment on, the Magas, and the Bhojakas, also mentioned in the Purāṇic 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 Śākadvīpīyas are several: first, the original material is very scarce, and the sources are limited to some Purāṇic 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 *Sāmba-* 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 or Hindī) and context. Purāṇic 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, ‘Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas’ is the general category, which subsumes all the sub-divisions to Magas, Bhojakas, Sevaks, etc. ‘Śākdvīpīya’ is clearly the most general name, because it refers to all the people coming from Śākdvīpa 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 Śākdvīpīya 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, multi-faceted experience.

1. The Purāṇic Sections

*yatra sām̐baṃ puraskṛtya bhaviṣyē 'pi kathānakam /
procyate tat punar loka sām̐baṃ etan munivratāḥ //*¹

The analysis of the Purāṇic texts, in particular the sections from the *Sām̐ba-* and the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas*, is fundamental to gathering some information about the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas.

The dating of the two works has been discussed in a number of publications,² and it is evident that the *Sām̐ba-purāṇa* has many passages in common with the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*. Specifically, the latter has drawn passages from the *Sām̐ba-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 *Sām̐ba-* 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 *Sām̐ba-* than with *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, so the *Sām̐ba-* must also have been the original source for the *Brahma-purāṇa*, and in general for the Purāṇic literature about sun worship. Moreover, the *Varāha-purāṇa* (ch. 177) refers to the fact that the *Sām̐ba-* ‘made the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* as new’,³ indicating that originally the *Bhaviṣya-* had no *Sām̐ba-* episodes in it, but that they were added later on. Probably, some passages of the *Sām̐ba-* were embellished with verses from the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira and then inserted in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*. In fact, we find verses from the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* in the *Bhaviṣya-*, but not a single line of the *Sām̐ba-* is present in the *Bṛhat-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 *Sām̐ba-* 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 *Sām̐ba-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 Purāṇic 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.

ix) makes the interesting observation that the *Sāmba-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 Purāṇic passages (from the *Sāmba-* and *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas*) related to the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas; the following Sankrit texts are drawn from von Stietencron’s edition.

List of von STIETENCRON’s manuscripts:

Sāmba-purāṇa:

- S.I: *Sāmba Purāṇa*, Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1899.
- S.II: *Sāmba Purāṇa Ms.*, India Office Library, No.3619.

Bhaviṣya-purāṇa:

- Bh.: *Bhaviṣya Mahāpurāṇa*, Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1959.
- Bh. 1897: *Bhaviṣya Mahāpurāṇa*, Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1987.
- AUFRECHT: T. Aufrecht, Bhaviṣya Purāṇa Manuskript, in *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Postvedicorum Quotquot in Bibliotheca Bodleiana Adversantur*, Oxford, 1895, Pars I, pp. 30–33.

Another important source is SRIVASTAVA’s edition of the *Sāmba-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)
- Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition, Bombay, 1899.

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 STIETENCROON (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

śṛṅṣvāvahito rājaṃs tasya tacchāpakāraṇam⁵ / 9a

durvāsā nāma bhagavān
rudrasyāṃśasamudbhavaḥ // 14
aṭamānaḥ sa bhagavāṃs
trīl lokān pracacāra ha /
atha prāpto dvāravatīm
madhusaṃjñocitāṃ purā // 15
tam āgatam ṛṣiṃ dṛṣṭvā
sāṃbo rūpeṇa garvitaḥ /
piṃgākṣaṃ kṣudhitam⁶ rūkṣaṃ
virūpaṃ sukṛśaṃ tathā // 16
anukārāspadaṃ cakre
darśane gamane tathā /
dṛṣṭvā tasya mukhaṃ sāṃbo
vakraṃ⁷ cakre tathātmanaḥ // 17

⁴ For the *Sāmba-purāṇa*, I have compared von STIETENCROON's edition with SRIVASTAVA 2013; for the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, I have compared STIETENCROON with the Venkateswara Press edition of the *Bhaviṣya Mahāpurāṇa* (VB), Mumbai, 1917.

⁵ Bh: yacchāpakāraṇam

⁶ Var.: jaṭilaṃ

⁷ Vakra

mukhaṃ kurukulaśreṣṭha
garvito yauvanena tu /
atha kruddho mahātejā
durvāsā ṛṣisattamaḥ // 18
sāmbaṃ covāca bhagavān
vidhunvan mukhaṃ ātmanaḥ /
yasmād virūpaṃ mām dṛṣṭvā
svātmarūpeṇa garvitaḥ // 19
gamane darśane mahyam
anukāraṃ samācaraḥ /
tasmāt tu kuṣṭharogitvam
acirāt tvam gamiṣyati //20

Bh. I. 66

sāmba uvāca

.....

mohān mayopahasito
durvāsāḥ kopito⁸ muniḥ /
tato 'haṃ tasya śāpena
mahākuṣṭham⁹ avāptavān // 30
tato 'haṃ pitaraṃ gatvā
kuṣṭharogābhipīḍitaḥ¹⁰ /
lajjamāno 'tigarveṇa
idaṃ vākyam athābruvam¹¹ // 31
tāta sīdati me gātraṃ
svaraś ca parihīyate /
ghorarūpo mahāvyādhir
vapuri eṣa jighāṃsati // 32
aśeṣavyādhirājñāhaṃ

⁸ VB: kopano

⁹ VB: mahātkuṣṭham

¹⁰ VB: kuṣṭhayogā-

¹¹ VB: athābravam

pīḍitaḥ krūrakarmanā /
vaidyair oṣadhibhiś caiva
na śāmtir mama vidyate // 33
so 'haṃ tvayā hy anujñātas
tyaktum icchāmi jīvitam /
yadi vāham anugrāhyas
tato 'nujñātum arhasi // 34
ityuktavākyaḥ sa pitā
putraśokābhipīḍitaḥ /
pitā kṣaṇaṃ tato dhyātvā
mām evaṃ vākyaṃ uktavān //35
dhairyam āśrayatāṃ putra
mā śoke ca manaḥkṛtāḥ /
haṃti śokārditaṃ vyādhiḥ
śuṣkaṃ tṛṇam ivānalaḥ // 36
devatārādhanaparo
bhava putraka mā śucaḥ /
ity ukte ca mayā prokto
devam ārādhayāmi kam // 37
kam ārādhya vimucye 'ham
tāta rogaiḥ samaṃtataḥ / 38a
.....

SP. 3 / Bh. I. 73

sāṃbena punar apy evaṃ durvāsāḥ kopito muniḥ /¹²
bhāvyaenārthena cātyarthaṃ pūrvānusmaraṇena vai // 51¹³
prāptavān sumahac chāpaṃ sāṃbo vai manujottamaḥ //
tacchāpān musalaṃ jātaṃ kulaṃ yenāsya pātitaṃ¹⁴ // 52¹⁵–44¹⁶

¹² VB: 44a

¹³ SRIVASTAVA 2013: line 52

¹⁴ Bh: ghātitaṃ

¹⁵ SRIVASTAVA 2013: line 53

¹⁶ VB: 44b

STAVARĀJA

SP. 25 / Bh. I. 128

vasiṣṭha uvāca

sumantur uvāca

stuvamṣ tatra¹⁷ tataḥ sām̐baḥ kṛśo dhamanisaṃtataḥ /
rājan nāmasahasareṇa sahasrām̐suṃ divākaram // 1 – 1
khidyamānaṃ tu taṃ¹⁸ dṛṣṭvā sūryaḥ kṛṣṇātmajaṃ tadā /
svapne 'smai¹⁹ darśanaṃ dattvā punar vacanam abravīt // 2 – 2

sūrya uvāca

śrīsūrya uvāca

sām̐ba sām̐ba mahābāho śṛṇu jāmbavatīsuta /
alaṃ nāmasahasreṇa paṭhasvemaṃ stavaṃ śubham²⁰ // 3 – 3
yāni nāmāni guhyāni²¹ pavitrāṇi śubhāni ca /
tāni te kīrtayiṣyāmi śrutvā tvam avadhāraya²² // 4 – 4
(oṃ) vikartano²³ vivasvām̐ś ca mārtaṇḍo²⁴ bhāskaro raviḥ /
lokaprakāśakaḥ śrīmāl lokacakṣur graheśvaraḥ // 5 – 5
lokasākṣī trilokeśaḥ kartā hartā tamisrahā /
tapanas tāpanas caiva śuciḥ saptāśvavāhanaḥ // 6 – 6
gabhastihasto brahmā ca sarvadevanamaskṛtaḥ /
ekaviṃśatir ity eṣa stava iṣṭaḥ sadā mama // 7 – 7
śārīrārogyadaś caiva dhanavṛddhiyaśaskaraḥ /
stavarāja iti khyātas triṣu lokeṣu viśrutaḥ // 8 – 8
ya etena mahābāho dve saṃdhye 'stamanodaye /
stauti mām̐ praṇato bhūtvā sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate // 9 – 9
kāyikaṃ vācikaṃ cāpi²⁵ mānasam̐²⁶ yac ca duṣkṛtam /

¹⁷ Bh: astāvīc ca

¹⁸ Bh: tato

¹⁹ SI, SII: tu; SRIVASTAVA 2013: tu; VB: svapnesya

²⁰ SI: paṭhamṣ tv evaṃ; SII: paṭhasvomam̐; SS: paṭhasvemaṃ; Bh: paṭha cemaṃ śubham̐ stavam

²¹ VB: guhyāni nāmāni

²² SS, SII: śrutvā vatsāvadhāraya; Bh: prayatnād avadhāraya

²³ Bh: vaikartano

²⁴ STIETENCROON 1966: mārtaṇḍo

²⁵ SII, SS: caiva; Bh: vāpi

²⁶ Bh: mānasam̐ vācikaṃ...kāyikaṃ

tat sarvam ekajāpyena²⁷ praṇasyati mamāgrataḥ // 10 – 10
 eṣa jāpyaś ca homaś ca saṁdhyopāsanam²⁸ eva ca /
 balimaṅtro²⁹ 'rghyamantraś³⁰ ca dhūpamaṅtras tathaiva ca // 11 – 11
 annapradāne snāne ca praṇipāte pradakṣiṇe /
 pūjito 'yaṁ mahāmaṅtraḥ sarvavyādhiharaḥ³¹ śubhaḥ // 12 – 12
 evam uktvā tu³² bhagavān bhāskaro jagadīśvaraḥ³³ /
 āmaṅtrya kṛṣṇatanayaṁ tatraivāṅtaradhīyata³⁴ // 13 – 13
 sāmbo 'pi stavarājena stutvā saptāśvavāhanam /
 pūtātmā³⁵ nīrujaḥ śrīmāṁs tasmād rogād vimuktavān // 14 – 14

VIŚVAKARMAN

SP. 11 / Bh. I. 79

.....

viśvakarmovāca

tavātitejasāviṣṭam³⁶ idaṁ rūpaṁ suduḥsaham /³⁷
 asahanti tu sā saṁjñā vane vasati³⁸ śādvale // 36 – 47
 draṅsyate³⁹ tāṁ bhavān adya svāṁ bhāryāṁ śubhacāriṇīm /⁴⁰
 rūpārthaṁ bhavato 'raṅye caraṁtīm⁴¹ sumahat tapaḥ // 37 – 48
 mataṁ me brahmaṇo vākyam rūpaṁ te brahmaṇo vākyād
 yadi te deva rocate / yadi vai rocate vibho /⁴²

²⁷ Bh: ekajāpyena tat sarvaṁ

²⁸ SII: maṅtropāsanam

²⁹ STIETENCROON 1996: balimaṅtro

³⁰ STIETENCROON 1966: 'rghyamantraś; SI, SII: 'rghamantraś ca; Bh: 'rghyamaṅtro 'tha

³¹ SII, Bh: sarvapāpaharaḥ

³² VB: sa

³³ Bh: jagatām patih

³⁴ Bh: tatraivāṅtarhito 'bhavat

³⁵ SII: puṇyātmā; Bh: prītātmā

³⁶ SRIVASTAVA 2013: tavātitejasāssivaṣṭam idaṁ

³⁷ VB: 47

³⁸ Bh: carati; VB: asahanti tu saṁjñā ca vane

³⁹ SI: draṅsyase SRIVASTAVA 2013: draṅsyase

⁴⁰ VB: 48

⁴¹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: caraṁtī

⁴² VB: 49

nirvartayāmy adya	praśātyāmi devendra
tava kāṃtam ariṃdama // 38	śreyo 'rtham jagataḥ prabho // 49
(rūpaṃ vivasvataś cāsīt	
tiryag ūrdhvam adhaḥ samam /	
tenāpi ⁴³ pīḍito devo	
rūpeṇa tu divaspatiḥ ⁴⁴ // 39)	
saṃtuṣṭas tasya tad vākyam bahu mene mahātapāḥ / ⁴⁵	
tato 'nvajānat tvaṣṭāram rūpanirvartanāya tu ⁴⁶ // 40 – 50	
viśvakarmābhyanujñātaḥ ⁴⁷ śākadvīpe vivasvataḥ / ⁴⁸	
bhramin ⁴⁹ āropya tat tejaḥ śātayāmāsa ⁵⁰ tasya vai // 41 – 51	
ājānu ⁵¹ likhitaś cāsau nipuṇam viśvakarmaṇā / ⁵²	
nābhyanandat tal likhanam ⁵³ tatas tenāvātāritaḥ ⁵⁴ // 42 – 52	
tat tu niṣpāditaṃ rūpaṃ	tatra tad bhāsitaṃ rūpaṃ
tejasāpahṛtena tu /	tejasā prakṛtena tu /
kāṃtāt kāṃtataram bhūtvā adhikam ⁵⁵ śuśubhe tataḥ // 43 – 53	
dadarśa yogam āsthāya svām bhāryām vaḍavām tadā ^{56/57}	
adhṛṣyām ⁵⁸ sarvabhūtānām tejasā svena saṃvṛtām // 44 – 54	
aśvarūpeṇa mārtaṃḍas tāṃ mukhe samabhāvayat ^{59/60}	
maithunāya viceṣṭanti ⁶¹ parapuṃso viśamkayā // 45	
sā tadvivasvataḥ ⁶² śukram nāsikābhyaṃ nirāvamat ^{63 /64}	

⁴³ SII: tenāti

⁴⁴ SI: te divaspateḥ

⁴⁵ VB: 50

⁴⁶ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: anujñātas tatas tvaṣṭā rūpanivartanasya tu; SII: ...nirvartya tasya tu

⁴⁷ Bh: viśvakarmā hy anujñātaḥ

⁴⁸ VB: 51

⁴⁹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhramim

⁵⁰ SRIVASTAVA 2013: śāmtayāmāsa

⁵¹ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: ājñayā

⁵² VB: 52

⁵³ Bh: lekhanam nābhyanamdat tu; VB: tu likhanam

⁵⁴ Bh: tena vivāritaḥ; VB: tena nivāritaḥ

⁵⁵ Caesura saṃdhi; SRIVASTAVA 2013: hyadhikam

⁵⁶ Bh: tathā

⁵⁷ VB: 54

⁵⁸ Bh: adṛṣyām

⁵⁹ VB: nasamāsadāt

⁶⁰ VB: 55

⁶¹ VB: viceṣṭantiṃ

⁶² VB: taṃ vivasvataḥ

⁶³ VB: nāsābhyaṃ samadhārayat

⁶⁴ VB: 56

devau tasyāmajāyetām aśvinau bhiṣajām varau // 46⁶⁵

.....

SP. 12 / Bh. I. 121

sāmba uvāca

śatānīka uvāca

śarīralikhanam⁶⁶ bhanor uktam saṃkṣepatas tvayā /

vistarāc chrotum icchāmi tan mamācakṣva suvrata // 1 – 1

nārada uvāca

sumantur uvāca

pitur gr̥ham gatāyām tu⁶⁷ saṃjñāyām yadunaṃdana⁶⁸ /

bhāskaraś ciṃtayāmāsa saṃjñā madrūpakāṃkṣinī⁶⁹ // 2 – 2

yātā pitur gr̥ham yac ca

tapas tepe yaśasvinī /

tasmān manīṣitam tasyāḥ

pūrayāmi manoratham // 3

etasminn aṃtare brahmā tatrāgatya divākaram /

ūce madhurayā vācā

abravīn madhurām vācām

raveḥ prītikaram vacaḥ // 4

raveḥ prītikarām śubhām // 3

ādidevo 'si devānām vyāptam etat tvayā jagat⁷⁰ /

śvaśuro viśvakarmā te rūpaṃ nirvartayiṣyati // 5 – 4

evam uktvā raviṃ brahmā viśvakarmānam⁷¹ abravīt /

nirvartayāsyā rūpaṃ tvaṃ mārtaṃḍasya tu śobhanam⁷² // 6 – 5

tato brahmasamādeśād bhramim⁷³ āropya bhāskaram /

rūpaṃ nirvartayāmāsa viśvakarmā śanaiḥ śanaiḥ // 7 – 6

⁶⁵ Not present in von STIETENCROON 1966. Cf. SRIVASTAVA 2013.

⁶⁶ Bh: -lekhanam

⁶⁷ Bh: tu yātāyām

⁶⁸ Bh: kurunaṃdana; SRIVASTAVA 2013: yadunandana

⁶⁹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: madrūpakāṃkṣinīm; VB: -kārīnī

⁷⁰ SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: jñātam etat svayaṃ mayā

⁷¹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: viśvakarmāṇam

⁷² Bh: nirvartasva mārtaṃḍam svarūpaṃ tat suśobhanam; VB: pravartasvatvam ...

⁷³ SI: dhamin; Bh: bhūmim

tatas tuṣṭāva taṃ brahmā sarvair devagaṇaiḥ⁷⁴ saha /
guhyair nānāvidhaiḥ stotrais vedavedāṃgasammitaiḥ⁷⁵ // 8 – 7
.....⁷⁶

SP. 14 / Bh. I. 123

sāmba uvāca

śatānīka uvāca

bhūyo 'pi kathayasvemām⁷⁷ kathāṃ sūryasamāśritām /
na tṛptim adhigacchāmi kathāṃ śṛṇvann imāṃ śubhām⁷⁸ // 1 – 1

nārada uvāca

sumantur uvāca

ādityasya⁷⁹ kathāṃ divyām⁸⁰ sarvapāpapaṇāśinīm /
vakṣyāmi kathitām pūrvam brahmaṇā lokabhāvinā⁸¹ // 2 – 2
ṛṣyaḥ pariṣṛcchamti brahmaloke pitāmaham /
tāpitāḥ sūryakiraṇais tejasā sampramohitāḥ⁸² // 3 – 3

ṛṣaya ūcuḥ

ko 'yaṃ dīpto mahātejā vahniraśmisamaprabhaḥ⁸³ /
etad veditum icchāmaḥ prabhavo⁸⁴ 'sya kutaḥ prabho // 4 – 4

brahmovāca

tamobhūteṣu sarveṣu⁸⁵ naṣṭe sthāvarajaṃgame /
pravṛtte guṇahetutve pūrvam buddhir ajāyata // 5 – 5

⁷⁴ Bh: sarva-

⁷⁵ VB: -gapāragaiḥ

⁷⁶ This narration continues in Bh. I. 123.

⁷⁷ SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: kathaya tvam mām

⁷⁸ Bh: śṛṇvann etām kathāṃ mune

⁷⁹ Bh: bhāskarasya

⁸⁰ Bh: puṇyam

⁸¹ Bh: lokakartṛṇā

⁸² SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: -r ṛṣayo jñānamohitāḥ

⁸³ Bh: havirāśisama; VB: -śisamaprabhaḥ

⁸⁴ Bh: prahāvo

⁸⁵ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tato bhūteṣu; Bh: tamobhūteṣu lokeṣu

ahaṁkāras tato jāto mahābhūtapravartakaḥ /
 vāyvagnijalakhaṁ⁸⁶ bhūmis tatas tv aṇḍam ajāyata // 6 – 6
 tasmims tv⁸⁷ aṇḍa⁸⁸ ime lokāḥ sapta vai saṁpratiṣṭhitāḥ /
 pṛthivī⁸⁹ saptabhir dvīpaiḥ⁹⁰ samudraiś caiva⁹¹ saptabhiḥ // 7 – 7
 tatra cāvasthitā hy āsann⁹² ahaṁ viṣṇur maheśvaraḥ /
 vimūḍhās tapasā⁹³ sarve pradhyaṅyann īśvaram param⁹⁴ // 8 – 8
 tato 'cintyaṁ mahat tejaḥ⁹⁵ prādurbhūtaṁ tamonudam /
 dhyānayogena cāsmābhir vijñātaḥ savitā⁹⁶ tadā⁹⁷ // 9 – 9
 jñātvā ca paramātmānaṁ sarva eva pṛthak pṛthak /
 divyābhiḥ stutibhir⁹⁸ devās taṁ stotum⁹⁹ upacakramuḥ // 10 – 10
 ādidevo 'si devānām īśvarāṇām¹⁰⁰ tvam īśvaraḥ /
 ādikartāsi bhūtānām devadevo divākara¹⁰¹ // 11 – 11
¹⁰²
 stutaḥ¹⁰³ sa bhagavān evaṁ¹⁰⁴ tajjasam¹⁰⁵ rūpam āsthitaḥ /
 uvāca vācam kalyānīm ko varo vaḥ pradīyatām // 26 – 25

brahmovāca

tavātitaajasam rūpam na kaścit soḍhum utsahet /

⁸⁶ Bh: vāyvagnir āpaḥ khaṁ

⁸⁷ Bh: tasminn

⁸⁸ SRIVASTAVA 2013: aṇḍe

⁸⁹ Bh: pṛthvī ca; SRIVASTAVA 2013: pṛthivīm

⁹⁰ SRIVASTAVA 2013: saptābhardīpaiḥ

⁹¹ Bh: cāpi

⁹² Bh: tatraivāvasthito hy āsam

⁹³ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tamasā; Bh: pramūḍhās tamasā

⁹⁴ SII: pradhyaṅyantīśvaram padam; Bh: pradhyaṅyātā īśvaram param; SRIVASTAVA 2013: pradhyaṅyanniśa avaram param

⁹⁵ Bh: tato bhidyā mahātejaḥ; VB: ... bhidyā ...

⁹⁶ Bh: vijñātaṁ savitus

⁹⁷ VB: vijñātuṁ savitus tathā

⁹⁸ SRIVASTAVA 2013: divyābhistutibhir

⁹⁹ Bh: devaṁ saṁstotum

¹⁰⁰ SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: aiśvaryaḥ ca

¹⁰¹ Bh: devadeva sanātana; SRIVASTAVA 201: devadevo divākaraḥ

¹⁰² Continuation of the hymn until SP v. 25, Bh. v. 24.

¹⁰³ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: śrutvā

¹⁰⁴ SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: devas

¹⁰⁵ Bh: tejasām; SRIVASTAVA 2013: tajaisam

uvāca vācaṃ kalyānīm ko varo vaḥ pradīyatām // 26¹⁰⁶ – 25¹⁰⁷

sahanīyaṃ bhavativ etad dhitāya jagataḥ prabho // 27¹⁰⁸ – 26¹⁰⁹

evam astv iti so 'py¹¹⁰ uktvā bhagavān dinakṛd vibhuḥ¹¹¹ /

lokānām kāryasiddhyartham gharmavarṣahimapradaḥ¹¹² // 28¹¹³ – 27¹¹⁴

ataḥ sām̐khyās ca yogās ca ye cānye mokṣakāṃkṣiṇaḥ /

dhyāyanti dhyānino nityaṃ hṛdayasthaṃ divākaram // 29¹¹⁵ – 28¹¹⁶

sarvalakṣaṇahīno 'pi yukto vā sarvapātakaiḥ /

sarvaṃ tarati vai¹¹⁷ pāpaṃ devam arkaṃ¹¹⁸ samāśritaḥ // 30¹¹⁹ – 29¹²⁰

agnihotraṃ ca vedās ca yajñās ca bahudakṣiṇāḥ /

bhānor bhaktinamaskārāt¹²¹ kalām nārhaṃti¹²² ṣoḍaśīm // 31¹²³ – 30¹²⁴

tīrthānām paramaṃ tīrthaṃ maṅgalānām ca maṅgalaṃ /

pavitrāṇām pavitraṃ¹²⁵ ca

pavitraṃ ca pavitrāṇām

prapadyet taṃ¹²⁶ divākaram // 32¹²⁷

taṃ prapadye divākaram // 31¹²⁸

brahmādyaiḥ saṃstutaṃ devair ye namasyanti¹²⁹ bhāskaram /

sarvakilbiṣanirmuktāḥ

nirmuktāḥ kilbiṣaiḥ sarvais

sūryalokaṃ vrajanti te // 33¹³⁰

te yānti ravimandiram // 32¹³¹

.....

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: sarghamtastarate

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: pavitranam

¹²⁶ SI: prapadye ham

¹²⁷ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 33

¹²⁸ VB: 33

¹²⁹ Bh: prapadyanti

¹³⁰ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 34

¹³¹ VB: 34

sāmba uvāca

śatānīka uvāca

śarīralikhanam bhānoḥ¹³² katham vai pratipāditam¹³³ /
devair vā ṛṣibhir¹³⁴ vāpi tan mamākhyātum arhasi¹³⁵ // 1 – 34¹³⁶

nārada uvāca

sumantur uvāca

brahmaloke sukhāsīnam brahmāṇam sasurāsuram¹³⁷ /
ṛṣayaḥ samupāgamyā¹³⁸ idam ūcuḥ samāhitāḥ // 2 – 35¹³⁹
bhagavann aditeḥ¹⁴⁰ putro ya eṣa divi rājate /
mārtamḍa iti vikhyātaḥ tenāṁdhakāro nikṛttaḥ
tigmatejā mahātapāḥ // 3 so 'yam jājvalatīti hi // 36¹⁴¹
asya tejobhir akhilaṁ jagat sthāvarajaṁgamam /
kliśyamānam anākrandam nāśam āyāti deveśa
upekṣasi katham prabho // 4 yathā kliṣṭam¹⁴³ nadītaṁ // 37¹⁴⁴
vayam apy āhitāśaṁkās¹⁴² vayam ca pīḍitāḥ sarve
tejasā saṁpramohitāḥ / tejasā tasya mohitāḥ /
padmaś cāyaṁ yathā mlāno

¹³² Bh: śarīralekhanam sūrye

¹³³ SI: kati veditāḥ; SII: pratipāditāḥ; SRIVASTAVA 2013: kati voditāḥ

¹³⁴ Bh: devaiḥ ṛṣibhir

¹³⁵ Bh: -ācakṣa suvrata; VB: -ācakṣva

¹³⁶ VB: 36

¹³⁷ Bh: brāhmaṇam te surāsurāḥ

¹³⁸ SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: ṛṣayaś copasaṁgamyā

¹³⁹ VB: 37

¹⁴⁰ Bh: devatā-; VB: devataiḥ

¹⁴¹ VB: 38

¹⁴² SII: adhyāhitāḥ śaṁkhās

¹⁴³ VB: klinnam

¹⁴⁴ VB: 39

yo 'yaṃ yonis tava prabho // 38¹⁴⁵
 divi bhuvy antarikṣe ca śarma nopalabhāmahe // 5 –
 tathā kuru surajyeṣṭha
 yathā tejaḥ praśāmyati // – 39¹⁴⁶
 evam uktas tu bhagavān
 evam uktaḥ sa bhagavān
 uvāca kamalāsanaḥ /
 padmayoniḥ prajāpatiḥ /
 uvāca bhagavān brahmā
 devān viṣṇupurogamān / – 40¹⁴⁷
 mahādevena sahitā
 indreṇa ca mahātmanā //
 tam eva śaraṇaṃ devaṃ gacchāmaḥ sahitā vayam¹⁴⁸ // 6 – 41¹⁴⁹
 tatas tam udayodagraṃ
 tatas te sahitāḥ sarve
 śailarājāvataṃsakam /
 brahmaviṣṇvādayaḥ surāḥ /
 saprajāpatayaḥ¹⁵⁰ sarve
 gatvā te śaraṇaṃ sarve
 saṃstotum upacakramuḥ // 7
 bhāskaraṃ lokabhāskaram / 42¹⁵¹
 stotum pracakramuḥ sarve
 bhaktinamrāḥ samamṭataḥ /
 keśādiddevataḥ sarvā¹⁵²
 bhaktibhāvasamanvitāḥ // 43¹⁵³
 brahmovāca
 brahmaviṣṇvīśā ūcuḥ
 namo namaḥ suravara tigmatejase¹⁵⁴ 8a –
 namo namaḥ suravara saṃstutāya vai //
 jaḍāṃdhamūkān badhirān sakuṣṭhān
 saśvitriṇo 'ṃdhān vidhavraṇāvṛtān¹⁵⁵ /¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁵ VB: 40

¹⁴⁶ VB: 41

¹⁴⁷ VB: 42

¹⁴⁸ SII: vyayam

¹⁴⁹ VB: 43

¹⁵⁰ SRIVASTAVA 2013: suprajāpatayaḥ

¹⁵¹ VB: 44

¹⁵² VB: sarve

¹⁵³ VB: 45

¹⁵⁴ SRIVASTAVA 2013: sukharatigmatejase

¹⁵⁵ VB: vividha-

¹⁵⁶ VB: 46

karoṣi tān eva punar navān-t-sadā¹⁵⁷

ato mahākāruṇikāya te namaḥ // 44

.....¹⁵⁸.....

stutaḥ sa bhagavān evaṃ

prajāpatimukhaiḥ suraiḥ /

matvā¹⁵⁹ teṣāṃ abhiprāyam uvāca bhagavān idam¹⁶⁰ // 15 – 53a¹⁶¹

hitam copahitam¹⁶² nityam

gāyatram yad vacaḥ param /

tad vai brūta surāḥ kṣipram

kiṃ mayā krīyatām svayam // 16 –

viśvakarmā tavādeśāt

karotu tava saumyatām // – 54b

labdhānujñās tatas te tu surāḥ saṃhr̥ṣṭamānasāḥ / – 53b

tvaṣṭāram pūjayāmāsur manovākkāyakarmabhiḥ // 17 – 54a

tatas tam tejaso rāśīm sarvakarmavidhānavit /

bhramim āropayāmāsa viśvakarmā vibhāvasum // 18 – 55

amṛtenābhiṣiktasya stūyamānasya cāraṇaiḥ /

tejasaḥ śātanaṃ cakre viśvakarmā śanaiḥ śanaiḥ // 19 – 56

tataḥ prabhṛti devasya caraṇau nityasaṃvṛtau /

ājānulikhitaś cāsau

surāsuramahoragaiḥ /

nābhyanandat¹⁶³ sa likhanaṃ

tatas tenāvatāritaḥ // 20

tataḥ prabhṛti devasya caraṇau nityasaṃvṛtau /

ājānulikhitaś cāsau

surāsurapūjitaḥ /¹⁶⁴

nābhyanamdat tato deva

ullekhanam ataḥ param // 57¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁷ Saṃdhi

¹⁵⁸ Continuation of the hymn.

¹⁵⁹ Bh: jñātvā

¹⁶⁰ SII: (ra)viḥ; Bh: vacaḥ

¹⁶¹ VB: 56b

¹⁶² SRIVASTAVA 2013: coparahitam

¹⁶³ SII: tam ānandat

¹⁶⁴ VB: 60

¹⁶⁵ VB: 61a

tāpayan hlādayamś¹⁶⁶ caiva yuktatejo 'bhavat¹⁶⁷ tadā // 21 – 58
sātitaṃ cāsya yat tejas tena cakram¹⁶⁸ vinirmitam /¹⁶⁹
yena¹⁷⁰ viṣṇur jaghānogrān dānavān amitaujasah¹⁷¹ // 22 – 59
śulāsaktigadāvajrasārāsanaparaśvadhān¹⁷² /¹⁷³
daivatebhyo¹⁷⁴ dadau kṛtvā viśvakarmā mahāmatih // 23 – 60
brahmavaktrodbhavam stotraṃ tridevanirmitam stotraṃ
saṃdhyayor ubhayor japan / saṃdhyayor ubhayor japan /¹⁷⁵
kulam punāti puruṣo vyādhibhir na ca pīḍyate // 24 – 61
prajāvān siddhakarmā ca jīvet sāgraṃ śaracchatam¹⁷⁶ /¹⁷⁷
putravān dhanavāmś caiva sarvatraivāparājitaḥ¹⁷⁸ / 25 –
vibhinnaprāṇasaṃghātaḥ hitvā puram bhūtamayaṃ
sāvitraṃ¹⁷⁹ lokam āpnuyāt // 26 gacchet sūryamayaṃ puram // 62¹⁸⁰
.....¹⁸¹

śātītās tejaso bhāgā
ye ca syur daśa pañca ca /
tasyaiva tena śarvasya
kṛtam śūlam mahātmanā // 78¹⁸²
cakram viṣṇor vasūnām ca
śaṃkarasya ca dāruṇam /
śaṃmukhasya tathā śaktih
śībikā dhanadasya ca / 79¹⁸³
anyeṣāṃ cāsurārīṇām

¹⁶⁶ SI: hṛdayam; Bh: glāpayamś; SRIVASTAVA 2013: tapaya hṛdayam

¹⁶⁷ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: yuktatejā bhavat tataḥ

¹⁶⁸ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: cakram caiva

¹⁶⁹ VB: 62

¹⁷⁰ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tena

¹⁷¹ SI: atitejasah; Bh: sadā vai daityadānavān; SRIVASTAVA 2013: amitājasah

¹⁷² SII: cakra statt Vajra; SI: śūlam śaktim gadām cakre-; SRIVASTAVA 2013: śūlam śaktim gadām cakram śarāsanaparaśvaghān

¹⁷³ VB: 63

¹⁷⁴ Bh: devatānām

¹⁷⁵ VB: 64

¹⁷⁶ SRIVASTAVA 2013: sāgrasāracchatam

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 ugrāṇi yāni vai /
 yakṣavidyādharāṇām ca
 tāni cakre ca viśvakṛt // 80¹⁸⁴
 tataś ca ṣoḍaśam bhāgam
 bibharti bhagavān raviḥ /
 tattejasaḥ pañcadaśa
 śātītā viśvakarmaṇā // 81¹⁸⁵
 tataḥ surūpadṛg bhānur
 uttarān agamat kurūn /
 dadarśa tatra saṃjñām ca
 vaḍavārūpadhāriṇīm // 82¹⁸⁶

SP. 4 / Bh. I. 74

bṛhadbala uvāca

śatānīka uvāca

sthāpito yadi sām̐bena sūryaś caṃdrasarittate /
 tasmān nādyam¹⁸⁷ idaṃ sthānam yathaitad bhāṣitam tvayā¹⁸⁸ // 1 – 1

vasiṣṭha uvāca

sumantur uvāca

ādyam sthānam idaṃ bhānoḥ paścāt sām̐bena nirmitam¹⁸⁹ /
 vistareṇāsya cādyatvam¹⁹⁰ kathyamānam nibodha me // 2 – 2
 anāyo¹⁹¹ lokanātho 'sau¹⁹² raśmimālī¹⁹³ jagatpatiḥ¹⁹⁴ //

¹⁸⁴ VB: 84

¹⁸⁵ VB: 85

¹⁸⁶ VB: 86

¹⁸⁷ The same in all texts. Maybe to read tasmād ādyam?

¹⁸⁸ Bh: bhāṣate bhavān

¹⁸⁹ Bh: bhārata

¹⁹⁰ Bh: cādyasya

¹⁹¹ VB: atrādyo

¹⁹² SRIVASTAVA 2013: lokanātaḥ sa

¹⁹³ SI: sāvaśyamālī; SRIVASTAVA 2013: viśvamālī

¹⁹⁴ SI: -prabhuh

mitratve 'vasthito¹⁹⁵ devas tapas tepe narādhipa¹⁹⁶ // 3 – 3

anādinidhano brahmā nityaś cākṣara¹⁹⁷ eva ca /

sṛṣṭvā prajāpatīn sarvān¹⁹⁸ sṛṣṭvā ca vividhāḥ prajāḥ / 4 – 4

sasarja mukhato devaṃ

pūrvam aṃbujasannibham //

kaṃjajas taṃ tato devaṃ

vakṣasto nirmame nṛpa / 5

lalāṭāt kuruśārdūla

nīrajākṣaṃ digambaram¹⁹⁹ /

ṛbhavaḥ pādāḥ²⁰⁰ sarve

sṛṣṭās tena mahātmanā // 6

tataḥ sa ca²⁰¹ sahasrāṃśur avyaktaḥ puruṣaḥ svayam /

kṛtvā dvādaśadhātmanam adityāṃ udapadyata / 5 – 7

indro dhātā ca parjanyaḥ pūṣā tvaṣṭā 'ryamā bhagaḥ /

vivasvān viṣṇur aṃśuś²⁰² ca varuṇo mitra eva ca // 6 – 8

ābhir²⁰³ dvādaśabhis tena sūryeṇa paramātmanā²⁰⁴ /

sarvaṃ²⁰⁵ jagad idaṃ vyāptaṃ mūrtibhis tu narādhipa // 7 – 9

tasya yā prathamā mūrtir ādityasyendrasaṃjñitā /

sthitā sā devarājatve

sthitā sā devarājatve

devānām anuśāsinī // 8

dānavāsuranāsinī // 10

dvitīyārkasya²⁰⁶ yā mūrtir nāmnā dhāteti kīrtitā /

sthitā prajāpatitve sā vividhāḥ²⁰⁷ sṛjate prajāḥ // 9 – 11

ṛtīyārkasya²⁰⁸ yā mūrtiḥ parjanya iti viśrutā /

¹⁹⁵ Bh: ca sthito

¹⁹⁶ Bh: purā nṛpa; SRIVASTAVA 2013: narādhipaḥ

¹⁹⁷ Bh: cākṣaya

¹⁹⁸ Bh: brahmā

¹⁹⁹ VB: nīrajākṣa-digambaram

²⁰⁰ VB: pādāḥ ṛbhavaḥ

²⁰¹ Bh: śata-

²⁰² For aṃśa. Bh: aṃśur viṣṇuś

²⁰³ Bh: ebhir

²⁰⁴ Bh: ādityena mahātmanā

²⁰⁵ SII, Bh: kṛtsnaṃ

²⁰⁶ Bh: dvitīyā cāsya

²⁰⁷ Bh: vidhātī

²⁰⁸ Bh: ṛtīyā tasya

megheṣv avasthitā sā tu

varṣate ca gabhastibhiḥ // 10

caturthī tasya yā mūrtir nāmnā pūṣeti viśrutā /

anne vyavasthitā²⁰⁹ sā tu prajāḥ puṣṇāti nityaśaḥ²¹⁰ // 11 – 13

paṃcamī tasya yā mūrtir²¹¹ nāmnā tvaṣṭeti viśrutā /

sthitā vanaspatau²¹² sā tu

oṣadhīṣu²¹³ ca sarvaśaḥ // 12

mūrtiḥ ṣaṣṭhī raver yā tu

aryamā iti²¹⁴ viśrutā /

vāyoḥ saṃcaraṇārthā sā

deheṣv eva samāśritā // 13

vanaspatiṣu sā nityam

oṣadhīṣu ca vai sthitā // 14

ṣaṣṭhī mūrtis tu yā tasya

aryameti ca viśrutā /

prajāsaṃvaraṇārthaṃ sā

pureṣv eva sthitā sadā // 15

kareṣv eva sthitā sā tu

varṣaty amṛtaṃ eva hi // 12

²⁰⁹ SII: bhāno vyavasthitā; Bh: maṃtreṣv avasthitā

²¹⁰ Bh: bhārata

²¹¹ Bh: mūrtir yā tasya; VB: mūrtir yā paṃcamī tasya

²¹² SRIVASTAVA 2013: vanasptau

²¹³ SI: auṣadhīṣu, Caesura saṃdhi

²¹⁴ This line is missing in SII.

bhānor yā saptamī mūrtir nāmnā bhaga iti śrutā²¹⁵ /
 bhūmau vyavasthitā sā tu bhūmau vyavasthitā sā tu
 śarīreṣu ca dehinām // 14 kṣmādhareṣu ca bhārata// 16
 mūrtir yā cāṣṭamī cāsyā²¹⁶ vivasvān iti viśrutā²¹⁷ /
 agnau vyavasthitā sā tu pacaty²¹⁸ annaṃ śarīrinām // 15 – 17
 navamī citrabhānor²¹⁹ yā navamī citrabhānor yā
 mūrtir viṣṇuś ca nāmataḥ / mūrtir aṃśur iti smṛtā²²¹ /
 prādurbhavati sā nityaṃ vīra candre sthitā sā tu
 devānām arisūdanī // 16 āpyāyayati vai jagat // 18
 daśamī tasya yā mūrtir mūrtir yā daśamī tasya
 aṃśumān iti viśrutā / viṣṇur ity abhidhīyate /
 vāyau pratiṣṭhitā sā tu prādurbhavati sā nityaṃ
 prahlādayati²²⁰ vai prajāḥ // 17 gīrvāṇārivināśinī // 19
 mūrtis tv ekādaśī yā tu bhānor varuṇasaṃjñitā /
 sā jīvayati vai²²² kṛtsnaṃ jagad apsu pratiṣṭhitā²²³ // 18 – 20
 (apāṃ sthānaṃ samudras tu varuṇo 'psu²²⁴ pratiṣṭhitaḥ /
 tasmād vai procyate nāmnā²²⁵ sāgaro varuṇālayaḥ //) 19 – 21
 mūrtir yā dvādaśī bhānor nāmato mitrasaṃjñitā /
 lokānām sā hitārthāya²²⁶ sthitā caṃdrasarittate // 20 – 22
 vāyubhakṣas tapas tepe vāyubhakṣā tapas tepe
 sthito maitreṇa cakṣuṣā / yuktā maitreṇa cakṣuṣā /
 anugṛhṇan sadā bhaktān varair nānāvidhais tu saḥ²²⁷ // 21 – 23
 evam ādyam idaṃ sthānaṃ paścāt sāmbena nirmitaṃ²²⁸ /
 tatra mitraḥ sthito yasmāt tasmān mitravanam²²⁹ smṛtam // 22 – 24

²¹⁵ Bh: smṛta

²¹⁶ SI, SII: cātra; Bh: aṣṭamī cāsyā yā mūrtir; SRIVASTAVA 2013: vā 'sya

²¹⁷ Bh: saṃjñitā

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: jagat dhi samupāśritā

²²⁴ Bh: 'tra

²²⁵ Bh: vīra

²²⁶ Bh: hitārtham tu

²²⁷ Bh: sadā; VB: -ḥ sadā

²²⁸ Bh: puṇyaṃ mitrapadaṃ smṛtam

²²⁹ Bh: mitrapadaṃ

tam ārādhya²³⁰ mahābāho
sāmbenāmitatejasā /
tatprasādāt tadādeśāt
pratiṣṭhā tasya vai kṛtā // 25

evaṃ dvādaśabhis tena
savitrā paramātmanā / 23
kṛtsnaṃ jagad idaṃ vyāptaṃ mūrtibhis tu narādhipa //²³¹ – 26
tasmād vaṃdyo namasyaś ca dvādaśasv āsu²³² mūrṭiṣu /
bhaktimadbhir narair nityaṃ
tadgatenāntarātmanā //

ābhir dvādaśabhis tena
bhāskareṇa mahātmanā /

ye namasyaṃti cādityaṃ
narā bhaktisamanvitāḥ / 27
te yāsyāṃti paraṃ sthānaṃ
tiṣṭhed yatrāmbujeśvaraḥ /

ity evaṃ²³³ dvādaśādityaṃ
jagaj jñātvā tu mānavaḥ /
nityaṃ śrutvā paṭhitvā ca
sūryaloke mahīyate // 24

ity evaṃ dvādaśātmānam
ādityaṃ pūjayet tu yaḥ // 28
sa muktaḥ sarvapāpebhyo
yāti helisalokatām // 29

SP. 42

vasiṣṭha uvāca

kṛtvā devagrhaṃ sāmba ānayitvā²³⁴ tu yājakān /
ājagāmātha dharmātmā yatra saṃnihito raviḥ // 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 mitravanam śrutvā²³⁵ devamānasapannagāḥ²³⁶ /
 ṛṣayaḥ saiddhavidyādhṛā gaṃdharvoragaguhyakāḥ // 2
 dikpālā lokapālās ca grahā²³⁷ yakṣās ca dhārmikāḥ /
 saprajāpatayaḥ sarve gaṃtuṃ pratyupacakramuḥ // 3
 upavāsaparāḥ kecit kecid ātmani tatparāḥ /
 trivṛtādhvaparāḥ²³⁸ kecit kecij jāpyasamanvitāḥ // 4
 dārucāpadharāḥ²³⁹ kecit kecit sarvārthagāmināḥ /
 apare niyatāhārā nirāhārās²⁴⁰ tathāpare // (5)
 tyaktvā dehagatāṃ ciṃtāṃ ravidhyānaparāyaṇāḥ /
 māsapakṣopavāsena kecil²⁴¹ laṃghanam ātmani // 5²⁴²
 acireṇaiva kālena samprāpya lavaṇodadhim /
 dṛṣtvā tapovanam ramyaṃ lavaṇodadhim āśritam / 7
 nānāpuṣpaphalopetaṃ devagaṃdharvasevitam /
 ṛṣayaḥ²⁴³ paryupāsante kramam hitvā tataḥ sadā // 8
 aparo ravilokas tu sādṛṣyāt kīrtito bhuvi /
 sarve te harṣam āpannā²⁴⁴ dṛṣtvā ramyaṃ tapovanam / 9
 ramaṇyaṃ sarvakāryeṣu sarvabhūtopakāraḥ /
 sarvaprāṇisukhāvāsaṃ nirmitaṃ viśvakarmaṇā // 10

vasiṣṭha uvāca

nārado 'py atha śāstraṃ tat sadā paṭhati²⁴⁵ buddhimān /
 sādhu sām̐ba mahābhāga bhaktimān asi yādava / 11
 yeneyam īdṛṣī yā tu kṛtā²⁴⁶ tv arcā sanātānī /
 tvatprasādēna²⁴⁷ sāvitram yat paśyāmas²⁴⁸ tapovanam // 12

²³⁵ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: ete mitravanam śrutvā; SII: ye te mitravanāsīnā

²³⁶ SRIVASTAVA 2013: devamānuṣapannagāḥ

²³⁷ SI: gṛhā; SII: missing

²³⁸ SII: nivṛtā-

²³⁹ SI: -dhārāḥ; SII: dānucāpadharāḥ

²⁴⁰ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 'nirāhārās

²⁴¹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: kecit

²⁴² SRIVASTAVA 2013: 6

²⁴³ SII: ṛtavaḥ

²⁴⁴ SRIVASTAVA 2013: harṣamāpannāḥ

²⁴⁵ SII: tam samdāpayati

²⁴⁶ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: kṛtvā

²⁴⁷ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tatprasādēna

²⁴⁸ SRIVASTAVA 2013: paśyāmaḥ

śrutvā tan nirmalaṃ vākyaṃ sām̐baḥ paramadharmavān /
 praṇidhāya śiro bhūmau devaṃ vijñāpayat tataḥ // 13
 yat tvayodāhṛtaṃ pūrvam sām̐nidhyaṃ sthānam uttamam /
 mamaivānugrahād eva²⁴⁹ pūjānugrahakāriṇā²⁵⁰ // 14
 [asti me kṛpayā kiñcidvada saumya vibhāvasoḥ /
 kṣīṇagātrendriyaprāṇo girā cāpyatimandayā // 15]²⁵¹
 jñātvā bhaktyānvitaṃ²⁵² sām̐baṃ devo vacanam abravīt /
 tyaja kīrtikṛtām cintām matsthāne yadunaṃdana // 16
 pūrvadattaṃ mayā vācā prasādaṃ śṛṇu yādava /
 asmiḥ lavaṇodatīre²⁵³ tāpasāḥ pūrvamānavāḥ / 17
 matprasādaṃ ca kām̐kṣantaḥ kliṣṭvā²⁵⁴ varṣasātān bahūn /
 tān dṛṣṭvā tāpasāms²⁵⁵ tatra kṛpā me vikṛtā hṛdi // 18
 brūta vatsā yathā nyāyaṃ yathāvac cāvalaṃbanam²⁵⁶ /
 satyadharmārthayuktārthān prārthayadhvam anuttamān²⁵⁷ // (19)
 śrutvā tan²⁵⁸ nirmalaṃ vākyaṃ devavaktrād viniḥṣṛtam /
 mānavā harṣam āpannāḥ saṃprahṛṣṭātmamānasāḥ // 20
 yadi prasanno bhagavān varam dātuṃ samudyataḥ /
 avighnam astu naḥ stheyā tvayi²⁵⁹ bhaktir vibhāvaso²⁶⁰ // 21
 evam astv iti so 'py²⁶¹ ukṭvā bhagavān dinaḥkṛd vibhuḥ²⁶² /
 aparam prārthayadhvam vai varam vadata mānavāḥ // 22
 bhūyas tuṣṭās tu te sām̐ba sarvadharmaparāyanāḥ /
 prārthayante varam²⁶³ śreṣṭham prahṛṣṭotphullalocanāḥ²⁶⁴ // 23

²⁴⁹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: mamaivānugrahāt deva-

²⁵⁰ SII: dvijānugraha-

²⁵¹ Not present in von STIETENCROON's edition (1966); he reports it in n. 54, p. 68. Added from SRIVASTAVA's edited text (2013: 145).

²⁵² SI, SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhaktyānvitaṃ; SII: gatvā for jñātvā

²⁵³ SI, SII: lavaṇodadhes tīre; SRIVASTAVA 2013: asmin lavaṇodadheḥ tīre

²⁵⁴ SII: kliṣṭyā; SRIVASTAVA 2013: kliṣṭān

²⁵⁵ SRIVASTAVA 2013: tāpasān

²⁵⁶ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: payo varco 'valaṃbanam

²⁵⁷ SRIVASTAVA 2013: anuttamam

²⁵⁸ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: te

²⁵⁹ SII: tava; SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: naś caiva tvayi

²⁶⁰ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: vibhāvasau

²⁶¹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: saḥ api

²⁶² SII: -t prabhuḥ

²⁶³ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: param

²⁶⁴ SII: prakṛṣṭotphulla

munaya ūcuḥ

yadi tuṣṭo mahātejā varam dātum samudyataḥ /
tvatprasādēna deveśa sraṣṭāraś ca bhavāmahe²⁶⁵ // 24

vasiṣṭha uvāca

tatprasanno mahātejāḥ punar vacanam abravīt /
evaṃ bhavatu yūyam²⁶⁶ vai prajāśargam prakalpsyatha²⁶⁷ // 25
anyac chr̥ṇuta vakṣyāmi kīrtikāraṇahetunā /
idaṃ tapovanam ramaṃ yad āsthānam²⁶⁸ anuttamam // 26
śrutvā tan²⁶⁹ nirmalam vākyam te vai prāhur divākaram /
tvatprasādēna cāsmākam deva yat pratikāritam²⁷⁰ / 27
kīrtiyarthaṃ prati lakṣyāmo²⁷¹ rocayasva divākara /
idaṃ sthānam samāsādyā vyaṃ tūrṇāḥ suraprabho²⁷² // 28
prajānāṃ ca hitārthāya (mamaivānugrahāya ca²⁷³) /
atra kīrtim kariṣyāmaḥ prasādāt tava bhāskara // 29

deva uvāca

dattvā yūyam mama sthānam saptadvīpeṣu durlabham /
manvantaram athaikam ca kīrtimanto bhaviṣyatha // 30
tatra siddhāḥ sagramdharvā ye cānye²⁷⁴ ca surottamāḥ /
mama sthānaratāḥ sarve tenordhvaṃ²⁷⁵ naivabhāṣitam // 31

.....

²⁶⁵ SI: sraṣṭāro 'py abhavāmahe; SRIVASTAVA 2013: strṣṭāro 'syabhavāmahe

²⁶⁶ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhūyo

²⁶⁷ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prakalpyatha; SII: prakalpayat

²⁶⁸ SRIVASTAVA 2013: yadā sthānam

²⁶⁹ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tu

²⁷⁰ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: prītikārakam

²⁷¹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: lapsyāmo

²⁷² SII: suraprabhoḥ

²⁷³ The compiler forgot to change the word *mama*.

²⁷⁴ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: maṃtrasiddhās tu ye cānye munayaś

²⁷⁵ SRIVASTAVA 2013: tenārdhvaṃ

vasiṣṭha uvāca

tasmims²⁷⁶ tapovane deśe²⁷⁷ tīre tu lavaṇodadheḥ /
tiṣṭhamti ye ca samprāptā devadarśanakāmkṣiṇaḥ // 1
jecid dhyāyaṃti pūtātmā²⁷⁸ kecit tadgatamānasāḥ /
yajanti havyasampannās²⁷⁹ cintayanti ātmatatparāḥ // 2
gāyanti siddhagamdhavā²⁸⁰ nr̥tyanty apsaraso²⁸¹ varāḥ /
vīnāhastās²⁸² ca ye kecid arghahastās tathāpare // 3
kṛtāñjalipuṭāḥ kecit kecid ānatamastakāḥ /
yogino yogacittās ca munayo yatamānasāḥ²⁸³ // 4
ṛṣayaḥ kṣāntisamyuktā²⁸⁴ devāḥ stuvamti²⁸⁵ bhāskaram /
yātudhānās tathā yakṣāḥ siddhās caiva mahoragāḥ // 5
dikpālā lokapālās ca ye ca vighnavināyakāḥ /
sarve bhaktiparā bhūtvā tiṣṭhanti sūryakānane // 6
kṣīṇagātrendriyaprāṇā devārādhanatparāḥ /
jāgarārtiparāḥ kliṣṭā adhvabhiḥ paripīditāḥ // 7
stūyamānāḥ sthitāḥ sarve bhāskarodayakāmkṣiṇaḥ /
tataḥ prabhātasamaye padmarāgāruṇaprabhe // 8
vimalā bhūrdīśaḥ sarvāḥ kiraṇe dyotane²⁸⁶ raveḥ //²⁸⁷ 9a
ravirāgāruṇībhūtaṃ sāgarākāśabhūtaḥ /
tatkṣaṇenaiva sarvāsām ekajvālatvam āgatam²⁸⁸ // 10
tasyām udayavelāyāṃ viśvavaṃdyaikam²⁸⁹ āspadam /

²⁷⁶ SRIVASTAVA 2013: tasmin

²⁷⁷ SII: tapovanodeśe for -oddeśe

²⁷⁸ SII: pūtātma; SRIVASTAVA 2013: kecit dhyāyanti pūtātmānaḥ

²⁷⁹ SII: jathasampannāḥ

²⁸⁰ SRIVASTAVA 2013: siddhagandharvāḥ

²⁸¹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: apsarasām

²⁸² SII: mālāhastās

²⁸³ SRIVASTAVA 2013: yatamānasāḥ

²⁸⁴ SII: -sampannā

²⁸⁵ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: stuvamti

²⁸⁶ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: kiraṇodyotanai for kiraṇoddyotanai

²⁸⁷ SI repeats the line 8a.

²⁸⁸ SI, SII: āgatāḥ; SRIVASTAVA 2013: sarvāsāmaikajvālatvamāgatāḥ

²⁸⁹ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: viśvavadvyaikam

vīkṣyamāñādbhutaṃ rūpaṃ virājantaṃ divākaram // 12²⁹⁰
 divisthaṃ sāgarasthaṃ ca dvividhaṃ maṃḍalodyatam²⁹¹ /
 aparā bhagavanmūrtir jalamadhye virājate // 13²⁹²
 sarve vismayam āpannā drṣṭvā cādbhutadaśanam /
 manavo bāhusaṃvāhair avatīrṇā mahodadhim // 14²⁹³
 bāhubhiḥ saṃgr̥hītvā tu²⁹⁴ ānayitvā²⁹⁵ tapovanam /
 sthāpayitvā vidhānena manavo hr̥ṣṭamānasāḥ // 15²⁹⁶
 stotraih²⁹⁷ stuvanti te citraih sāṅgopāṅgaiḥ susaṃmitaiḥ /

 tvam deva pralayaḥ kālaḥ kṣayaḥ kṣodaḥ²⁹⁸ kṣayānalaḥ // 16²⁹⁹
 udbhavaḥ sthitisaṃpattih prajāś te cāṅgasambhavaḥ³⁰⁰ /
 śoṣavarṣahima³⁰¹ gharmaprahlādasukhaśīṭalam // 17³⁰²

 tvam deva ṣṣṭīkartā³⁰³ ca prakṛtiḥ puruṣaḥ prabhuh /
 chāyāsaṃjñāpratiṣṭhāpi³⁰⁴ nirālambo nirāśrayaḥ // 18³⁰⁵
 āśrayaḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ namaś te 'stu sadā mama /

 tvam deva sarvataścakṣuḥ sarvataḥ sarvadā gatiḥ / 19³⁰⁶
 sarvadaḥ³⁰⁷ sarvajñāḥ³⁰⁸ sarvaḥ sarvasevyas³⁰⁹ tvam ārtihā /
 tvam deva dhyāninaṃ dhyānaṃ yoginaṃ yoga uttamaḥ³¹⁰ // 20³¹¹

²⁹⁰ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 11

²⁹¹ SII: -oddhataṃ

²⁹² SRIVASTAVA 2013: 12

²⁹³ SRIVASTAVA 2013:13

²⁹⁴ SII: vai

²⁹⁵ SRIVASTAVA 2013: hy ānayitvā

²⁹⁶ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 15

²⁹⁷ SI, SII: stotrai

²⁹⁸ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: kṣāṃtaḥ

²⁹⁹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 15

³⁰⁰ SI: -sambhuvā, SII: prajā tejo gatiḥsamā

³⁰¹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: -himaṃ-

³⁰² SRIVASTAVA 2013: 16

³⁰³ SI: ṣṣīkartā

³⁰⁴ SII: chāyāsaṃjñānirākarṣo

³⁰⁵ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 17

³⁰⁶ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 18

³⁰⁷ SII: sarvagaḥ

³⁰⁸ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: sarvadā

³⁰⁹ SII: sarvadārtihā

³¹⁰ SII: yogānuttamaḥ

³¹¹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 19

tvam māsā³¹² phaladaḥ sarvaḥ sadyaḥ pāpaharo vibhuḥ /
sarvārtināśano 'nāśī karaṇaṃ karuṇā prabhuḥ // 21³¹³
dayāśaktiḥ kṣamāvāsaḥ saghṛṇir ghṛṇimūrtimān /

tvam deva sṛṣṭisaṃhārasthitirūpaḥ surādhipaḥ // 22³¹⁴
varśakaḥ śośako dāhī³¹⁵ tuṣāro dahanātmakaḥ /
praṇatārtiharo yogī yogamūrte namo 'stu te // 23³¹⁶

tvam deva hṛdayānaṃda śīroratnaṃ³¹⁷ prabhāmaṇiḥ³¹⁸ /
bodhakaḥ pāṭhako dhyāyī³¹⁹ grāhako grahaṇātmakaḥ // 24³²⁰

tvam deva niyamo nyāyī nyāyako nyāyavardhanaḥ /
anityo niyato nityo nyāyamūrte namo 'stu te // 25³²¹

tvam deva trāyase prāptān³²² pālayasy arṇavasthitān³²³ /
ūrdhvaṃ³²⁴ trāsārditān³²⁵ lokān lokacakṣur namo 'stu te // 26³²⁶

damano 'si tvam durdānto sādhyānāṃ caiva sādhakaḥ /
bandhus tvam bandhuhīnānāṃ namas te bandhurūpiṇe // 27³²⁷

kuru śāntiṃ dayāvāsaḥ³²⁸ prasīda jagataḥ pate /
yad asmābhir hitaṃ vākyam abhīṣṭaṃ kīrtitaṃ prabho // 28³²⁹

³¹² SRIVASTAVA 2013: bhāsa-; SI: bhāsa-; SII: māsā-

³¹³ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 20

³¹⁴ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 21

³¹⁵ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: bakaḥ śośo vṛko dāhas

³¹⁶ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 22

³¹⁷ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: -ratna-

³¹⁸ SRIVASTAVA 2013: prabhāmaṇiḥ; KHAṆDELAVĀLA 2012: prabhāmaṇiḥ (23a); STIETENCROON 1966: prabhāmaṇiḥ.

³¹⁹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 'dhyāyī

³²⁰ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 23

³²¹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 24

³²² STIETENCROON 1966: patrān; SI: trayase prāptān

³²³ SII: apāyasy arṇave sthitān

³²⁴ SI: ūrdhvaṃ; SII: ūrdhā

³²⁵ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: trāsārditān

³²⁶ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 25

³²⁷ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 26

³²⁸ SI: dayāvāsa; SII: dayāvāsa

³²⁹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 27

evam stutvā³³⁰ tataḥ sarve papracchuḥ pratimāṃ raveḥ /
keneyaṃ nirmītā mūrṭiḥ kena tvam pratipāditaḥ / (29)
kasmād ihāgato deva saṃśayo 'tra niyaccha naḥ // 30³³¹

deva uvāca

tasmin kāle samādeśān nirmītā viśvakarmaṇā /
sarvalokahitārthāya sā³³² surair arcitā purā // 31³³³
tasmin himavataḥ pṛṣṭhe kalpavṛkṣe nidhāpitā /
tasmāt tu candrabhāgāyāṃ praviṣṭā sthānakāraṇāt // 32³³⁴
candrabhāgāc³³⁵ ca vipāśaṃ³³⁶ vipāśāc³³⁷ ca śatadravam³³⁸ /
śatadravāc ca vijñeyā praviṣṭā yamunāṃ nadīm // 33³³⁹
yamunāto jāhnavīm ca³⁴⁰ tayānītā śanaīḥ śanaīḥ /
bhāgīrathīto³⁴¹ vijñeyā modagaṅgāṃ mahānadīm³⁴² // 34³⁴³
mamaivānugrahenāsau³⁴⁴ tīrthānāṃ pravaraḥ smṛtaḥ /
tasmād vai modagaṅgāt³⁴⁵ tu praviṣṭā lavaṇodadhīm // 35³⁴⁶
sāṃprataṃ ca pravartadhvam sthāpanaṃ me manūttamāḥ /
śrutvā devās tu tad vākyaṃ nirmalaṃ prītivardhanam // 36³⁴⁷
prāñjalipraṇatā bhūtāḥ stūyamānā raviṃ sthitāḥ /
tato vaivasvataḥ prājñāḥ sarvadharmapraṇoditaḥ³⁴⁸ / 37³⁴⁹

³³⁰ SI: śrutvā

³³¹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 28

³³² SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: sa

³³³ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 29

³³⁴ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 30

³³⁵ SI: cāṃdrabhāgāc; SRIVASTAVA 2013: candrabhāgā yā

³³⁶ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: vaipāśaṃ; SII: vipāśo

³³⁷ For vipāśaḥ

³³⁸ SI: śatadravam; SII: śatdūtāṃ, śata drujāc

³³⁹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 31

³⁴⁰ SII: prāptā-

³⁴¹ SII: tā for -ito

³⁴² SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: modagaṅgāmahānadāu; SII: modagaṅgā mahānaṃdam

³⁴³ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 32

³⁴⁴ SRIVASTAVA 2013: mamaivānugrahaṇāsau

³⁴⁵ Abl. in -a stem; SRIVASTAVA 2013: modagaṅgāyāḥ

³⁴⁶ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 33

³⁴⁷ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 34

³⁴⁸ SII: -pracoditaḥ

³⁴⁹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 35

kārayāmāsa vipras³⁵⁰ tu raver devālayaṃ śubham /
sthāpayitvā raviṃ bhaktyā triḥsthāneṣu surottamāḥ // 38³⁵¹
nivṛttim yānti sukṛto devakāryārthatatparāḥ /
sarve dīkṣāparo bhūtvā bhāskarād vidhikāṃkṣiṇaḥ³⁵² // 39³⁵³
yato 'dhimaṇḍalaṃ kuryus³⁵⁴ tadgatair antarātmabhiḥ /
likhitaṃ maṇḍalaṃ divyaṃ yathoktaṃ bhāskareṇa tu // 40³⁵⁵
yathāvidhisamuddiṣṭāṃ kriyāṃ saurisaṃśritāṃ³⁵⁶ /
viśvakarmābhyanujñāya sarvās tā³⁵⁷ mūrdhajāḥ prajāḥ // 41³⁵⁸
tato nāma prakurvanti saṃprahṛṣṭatanūruhāḥ³⁵⁹ /
anena muṇḍitāḥ³⁶⁰ sarve tena muṇḍīra³⁶¹ ucyate // 42³⁶²
atha³⁶³ kṛt³⁶⁴ārthasaṃjñās ca nigamajñair udāhṛtāḥ /
muṇḍīpramardane dhātuḥ saṃjñāyāṃ ca vidhīyate / (43)
prakarṣād³⁶⁵ ardayed yena tena muṇḍīra³⁶⁶ ucyate //³⁶⁷

vasiṣṭha uvāca

evam ādyam idaṃ sthānaṃ kīrtyate³⁶⁸ ca yuge yuge /
sarvapāpaharaṃ puṇyaṃ sarvatīrthamayaṃ śubham // 44³⁶⁹
ye³⁷⁰ tu kecin³⁷¹ narāloke bhaktiyuktārtivedakāḥ /

³⁵⁰ SI: vipaṇ; SII: chipraṃ; SRIVASTAVA 2013: viprāttu

³⁵¹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 36

³⁵² SI: bhāskarādīkṣakāṃkṣiṇaḥ

³⁵³ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 37

³⁵⁴ SII: kuryyaṃs

³⁵⁵ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 38

³⁵⁶ SII: saṃśritāṃśritam

³⁵⁷ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: sarvānām; STIETENCRON 1966: sarvā tā

³⁵⁸ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 39

³⁵⁹ SII, SRIVASTAVA 2013: -tarūrūhāḥ

³⁶⁰ SII: muṇḍitāḥ

³⁶¹ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: muṇḍita

³⁶² SRIVASTAVA 2013: 40

³⁶³ SII: atha vā

³⁶⁴ STIETENCRON 1966: 72 has *kṛtārtha-*; following SRIVASTAVA 2013: 151, I prefer *kṛtārtha-*.

³⁶⁵ SI, SII: pakarṣād

³⁶⁶ SI: muṇḍīra; SII: muṇḍāra

³⁶⁷ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 41

³⁶⁸ SI: kīrtyete

³⁶⁹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 42

³⁷⁰ STIETENCRON 1966 has *yu tu*; following SRIVASTAVA 2013, I prefer *ye tu*.

³⁷¹ SI: kaṃcin; SII: yaṃ tu kecin; SRIVASTAVA 2013: ye tu kecin

tasmin kṣetre³⁷² samāpannāḥ sadyo mucyaṅti cārtitāḥ³⁷³ // 45³⁷⁴
 kecit petur mahāmohād³⁷⁵ asmims tīrthe³⁷⁶ vibuddhayāḥ³⁷⁷ /
 na teṣāṃ saṃpadāṃ sthairyāṃ yadi prāptaṃ suduṣkaram³⁷⁸ // 46³⁷⁹
 yāvat pratapate bhānur yāvac ca lavaṇodadhiḥ /
 yāvad bhūmidharā devās tāvat kīrtir vibhāvasoḥ // 47³⁸⁰
 ye ca pāpasamāyuktā jāyante bhuvi mānavāḥ /
 teṣāṃ eva ravis trātā³⁸¹ ye tatḥkṣetrasamāśritāḥ // (48)³⁸²
 (evamvidho hy ayaṃ sūryaḥ sadā kāryo vijānatā /
 devaḥ³⁸³ kīrtidhanākāṃkṣī³⁸⁴ kiṃpunar bhuvi mānavāḥ //) 6³⁸⁵
 etat sthānaṃ sureśasya sarvair devair adhiṣṭhitam /
 śāntiṃ³⁸⁶ puṣṭiṃ sukhaṃ kāmaṃ sarvabhūtārtināśanam // 7³⁸⁷
 etad eva hi sā kīrtiḥ kīrtitā munibhiḥ purā /
 atra paśyanti ye bhānum udyantaṃ mūrtisaṃsthitam // 8³⁸⁸
 tārayanti³⁸⁹ narā³⁹⁰ pūtā ātmānaṃ gotravaradhanam /
 yāṃ yāṃ kriyāṃ samāraṃbhet sūryakṣetreṣu mānavāḥ // 9³⁹¹
 tāṃ tāṃ siddhim avāpnoti iha loke paratra³⁹² ca /
 jambūdvīpo mahādvīpaḥ karmabhūmir anuttamaḥ // 10³⁹³
 yatreyam īdṛṣī kīrtir devenaiva³⁹⁴ prakīrtitā /

³⁷² SI: vāntre / cāntre; SRIVASTAVA 2013: yantre

³⁷³ SI: muṃcaṃti vartitāḥ; SII: mucyati cārtitāḥ; SRIVASTAVA 2013: vartitāḥ

³⁷⁴ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 43

³⁷⁵ SII: narā mohād

³⁷⁶ Srivastava 2013: tīrthair

³⁷⁷ SII: vibuddhayāḥ

³⁷⁸ SII: suduḥkaraḥ

³⁷⁹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 44

³⁸⁰ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 45

³⁸¹ SII: tātā

³⁸² SRIVASTAVA 2013: 46

³⁸³ SII: devāḥ

³⁸⁴ SII: -ākāṃkṣāḥ

³⁸⁵ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 47

³⁸⁶ SI: śāṃti-

³⁸⁷ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 48

³⁸⁸ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 49

³⁸⁹ SII: nāśayanti

³⁹⁰ SRIVASTAVA 2013: narāḥ

³⁹¹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 50

³⁹² SRIVASTAVA 2013: 'paratra

³⁹³ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 51

³⁹⁴ SII: devair eva

yatra dṛśyet³⁹⁵ sahasrāṃśur³⁹⁶ nityāśvāsodyatair³⁹⁷ janaiḥ // 11³⁹⁸
 ekā mūrtir dvidhā kṛtvā bhūtaleşv avatāritā /
 pratyuşe caiva muṇḍiraṃ ye paśyanti narāḥ sakṛt // 12³⁹⁹
 na kadācid bhayaṃ śokaṃ rogaṃ⁴⁰⁰ teṣāṃ prapadyate / (13)
 kālahṛt kālaprītyāṃ⁴⁰¹ ca madhyāhne ye tv avekṣakāḥ //⁴⁰²
 teṣāṃ eva sukhodarko 'cireṇaiva prajāyate⁴⁰³ / (14)
 sāmbakṛtapure bhānuḥ sāyāhne yair udīkṣitaḥ //⁴⁰⁴
 sadyaḥ saṃpadyate teṣāṃ dharmakāmārthasādhanam / (15)
 evaṃ yuktiṃ samādhāya sarvadharmaparāyaṇāḥ //⁴⁰⁵
 kīrtayitvā raveḥ kīrtiṃ jagmuḥ sūryālayaṃ prati (// 16)
 prajāpatīnām idam ālayaṃ raver
 vidhāyitaṃ⁴⁰⁶ devavarānukampitam /
 vighātakās tatra patanty asādhavo
 vahneḥ śikhāyāṃ śalabhā iva kṣaṇāt // 17⁴⁰⁷

THE CONCLUDING CHAPTER OF THE *SĀMBA-PURĀṆA*

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

śrīsāmba uvāca

viṣṇur uvāca

kuṣṭharogādyupadravaiḥ⁴⁰⁹ /

bhagavan⁴⁰⁸ prāṇinaḥ sarve

³⁹⁵ For dṛśyeta: Middle Indic form (cf. STIETENCRON 1966: 73); SII: dṛśet

³⁹⁶ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: -āṃśum

³⁹⁷ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: ity asau śodhyate; SII: nityāśvāsodyate

³⁹⁸ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 52

³⁹⁹ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 53

⁴⁰⁰ SII: teṣāṃ rogā bhayaṃ śokā na kadācit prapadyate; SRIVASTAVA 2013: śoko rogasteṣāṃ

⁴⁰¹ SI: kālahṛtkālaprītyāś; kālaprīti stands for kālapriya. SRIVASTAVA 2013: kālaprītyā

⁴⁰² SRIVASTAVA 2013: 54

⁴⁰³ SI: sukhodarkād acireṇaiva jāyate; SRIVASTAVA 2013: hy acirenaiva jāyate

⁴⁰⁴ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 55

⁴⁰⁵ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 56

⁴⁰⁶ STIETENCRON (1966) has *vidhāpitam*; I prefer SRIVASTAVA's (2013) *vidhāyitam*.

⁴⁰⁷ SRIVASTAVA 2013: 57

⁴⁰⁸ SI: bhagavān

⁴⁰⁹ SI, SII: kuṣṭha-

bhagavan prāṇinaḥ sarve

sadā saṃpīḍyamānās te
tiṣṭhanti munisattama // 1
yena karmavipākena
saṃbhavanti mahāmate /
tat sarvaṃ śrotum icchāmi
tvatto brahmavidyāṃbara⁴¹⁰ // 2

nārada uvāca

vratopavāsair yair bhānur nānyajanmani toṣitaḥ /
te narā yaduśārdūla
kuṣṭharogādibhāginaḥ // 3

sāmba uvāca

teṣāṃ rogopaśamaṇaṃ
jāyate ca katham mune /
tat sarvaṃ śrotum icchāmi
satyaṃ satyaṃ vadasva me // 4

nārada uvāca

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

viṣarogādyupadravaiḥ /
duṣṭagrahopaghātaiś ca
sarvakālam upadrutāḥ / 1
ābhicārikakṛtyābhiḥ
sparsārogaś ca dāruṇaiḥ /
sadā saṃpīḍyamānās tu
tiṣṭhamty aṃbujasaṃbhava⁴¹¹ / 2
yena karmavipākena
viṣarogādyupadravāḥ /
prabhavaṃti ṅṅnāṃ tan me
yathāvad vaktum arhasi // 3

brahmovāca

te narā devaśārdūla
graharogādibhāginaḥ // 4
.....⁴¹².....

⁴¹⁰ SI, SII: brahmavidyāṃbara

⁴¹¹ Viṣṇu speaks to Brahmā.

⁴¹² Embellishments of the text.

sāmba uvāca

etat sarvaṃ tvyākhyātam
vadhārtham⁴¹³ śrutivistaram /
ye śrutvā⁴¹⁴ sarvapāpebhyo
mucyate nātra saṃśayaḥ // 6
sūryam uddīśya kiṃ deyaṃ
pāṭhakāya mahātmane /
yena tuṣyet tu⁴¹⁵ bhagavān
bhāskarahaḥ pāpataskarahaḥ // 7

nārada uvāca

śṛṇu sāmba mahābāho
kathayāmi tavānagha /
tam eva sūryaṃ vijñāya
pūjayitvā yathāvidhi // 8
gandhapuṣpākṣataiś caiva
dhūpadīpais tathottamaiḥ /
svarṇālaṃkāraustraś ca
śīroratnavibhūṣanaiḥ⁴¹⁶ // 9
prapūjya sūryarūpaṃ taṃ
deyā ca kapilā śubhā /
godhūmayavadhānyāni
māsamudgāṃś tilāṃś tathā // 10
gajāśvamahiṣīr dadyād
ratnāni⁴¹⁷ vividhāni ca /
hiraṇyaṃ rajataṃ caiva

⁴¹³ SRIVASTAVA 2013: bahvartham

⁴¹⁴ SI, SII: ya chrutvā; SRIVASTAVA 2013: yac chrutvā

⁴¹⁵ SII: tuṣyaṃti

⁴¹⁶ SRIVASTAVA 2013: śīroralavibhūṣanaiḥ

⁴¹⁷ SRIVASTAVA 2013: ralāni

kāṃsyaṃ tāṃrasya⁴¹⁸ bhājanam // 11
dāsadāsīs⁴¹⁹ tathā dadyād
bhūmiṃ sasyavatīm tathā /
paṭṭavastrāṇy anekāni
dadyād vai śuddhamānasaḥ // 12
nikṣubhā ca tathā rājñī
dve bhārye hi⁴²⁰ vivasvataḥ /
uddīśya te hi⁴²¹ deyāni
vastrāṃkārāṇāni ca // 13
evaṃ yaḥ kurute bhaktyā
sa martyo 'tra mahītale⁴²² /
putrapautrādisaṃyukto
harṣanirbharamānasaḥ // 14
bhuktvā⁴²³ tu sakalān bhogān
sūryaloke mahīyate / (14)
aṣṭādaśapurāṇānāṃ
śrāvane yat⁴²⁴ phalaṃ labhet⁴²⁵ /
tat phalaṃ samavāpnoti
satyaṃ satyaṃ vadāmi te⁴²⁶ // 15

⁴¹⁸ SRIVASTAVA 2013: kāṃsyaṭāmrasya

⁴¹⁹ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: dāsadāsīyau

⁴²⁰ SI: ca

⁴²¹ SI, SRIVASTAVA 2013: tāni

⁴²² 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

Vasiṣṭhā 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. Sāmba, proud of his [beautiful] appearance, having seen the arrival of the Ṛṣi, red-eyed, starved and emaciated, deformed and very thin, did an imitation of his appearance and his gait. Having seen his face, Sāmba, 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 Ṛṣis, [was] very angry. 15

The Bhagavān spoke to Sāmba: ‘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.’ 20

Bh. I. 66

Sāmba said:

[...]

30 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
 34 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) unavailability 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
 52 produced the mace⁴³⁰, which made his family fall.

44

⁴²⁹ We find this expression several times in the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*. It is indeed the Purāṇa of the future (the name *Bhaviṣya* indicates the future), but in these sections it is often used to underline the unavailability 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 *Mausala-parvan* (for the printed edition, see BELVALKAR 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 Jāmbavatī, 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 (= Śevārī) grass which — as it grew — was used by the Yādavas as a handy and fatal weapon [...]” BELVALKAR 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 Hastināpura.

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 *Viṣṇu-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:

- 1 So there Sāmba, emaciated, having veins strained like cords, celebrates, O king, the bringer of 1
the day, the thousand-rayed with a thousand names. Sūrya, having seen Kṛṣṇa's son mortify
himself in that way, gave him another vision during his sleep, in which he spoke thus:

Sūrya said:

Lord Sūrya said:

‘Sāmba, Sāmba 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:

Om̐ the Divider⁴³¹ (Vikartana)

the Brilliant One (Vivasvat)

the Dead Egg (Mārtaṇḍa)

the Light-Making (Bhāskara)

the Roaring One (Ravi)⁴³²

5 the World-Illuminator (Lokaparakāśaka) 5

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)

⁴³¹ Probably “the Divider of Clouds”, the sun. H. von STIETENCRON (1966 : 148) translates as „Der (Tag und Nacht) Teilende“.

⁴³² From the root *ru-* “to roar, bellow, howl, cry” (MW: 881, III), EWA: 439 RAV¹: Gr. *ωρύομαι* = „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 (Saptāśvavāhana)
 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
 10 the mind, is destroyed in my presence, by the muttering [of the *Stavarāja*] once in its entirety. 10
 [The *Stavarāja*] consists of the muttering of prayers, and the *homa*⁴³³, and also the worship performed at *Samdhyā*⁴³⁴, 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
 14 from sickness, glorious, and from that, freed from disease. 14

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

SP. 11 / Bh. I. 79

.....

Viśvakarman said:

36 This form of yours, filled with too much splendour, [is] quite intolerable. Saṃjñā⁴³⁶, incapable 47
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
38 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. 49

(The form of Vivasvāt⁴³⁷ was put
horizontally, vertically, down and flat.
Because of that form, the god
Divaspati⁴³⁸ [was] really squeezed.)

He of Great Splendour was most delighted by his speech; so he allowed Tvaṣṭṛ 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
40 [Viśvakarman] had [already] removed. 51

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 (*R̥gveda* I. 164) on the marriage between Saranyu, Tvaṣṭṛ'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 mare⁴³⁹,
44 surrounded with her own splendour, powerful, invincible for all beings. 55

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
46 physicians, were born. 57

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 1
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 asceticism. 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 said a sweet speech, a beautiful [one],

4 affection in Ravi: inspiring affection in Ravi: 3

'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

8 secret *stotras*, the *Vedas*, the *Vedāṅgas*, and the *Saṅgītas*. 7

.....

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:

1 Tell me once again the story related to Sūrya. I have not reached satisfaction in listening to this 1
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 Ṛṣis heated and
bewildered by the brilliance of Sūrya's rays, asked the Pitāmaha (Brahmā) in Brahmā's world.

The Ṛṣis said:

Who is this shining [one], of great brilliance, having equal splendour of strings of fire? This we
4 hope to hear. What is his origin, o lord? 4

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 *ahaṃkāra* (self-
consciousness), which sets in motion the great elements, was born: the wind, the fire, the water
7 and the earth. After that, the egg was born, and in this egg there were the seven worlds, the 7
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 sun⁴⁴⁰, 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,
11 the god of gods, Divākara.’ 11

.....

⁴⁴⁰ Literally *tamonuda*- 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 *Yajñas* [even] marked by many donations, do not deserve a sixteenth part of the devoted adoration of Bhānu. The supreme *tīrtha* among the *tīrthas*, 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 guilt⁴⁴¹, and proceed to Sūrya’s world. they are free from all guilt, and go to Ravi’s dwelling.

.....

SP. 15 / Bh. I. 123

Sāmba said:

Śātānīka said:

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

Nārada said:

Sumantu said:

In Brahmā’s world, the Ṛṣis, 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 “desease” (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
 Mārtaṇḍa, of intense brilliance, of great
 3 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
 5 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:

6 ‘Together we will take refuge in that god!’
 So [together] with Prajāpati, all began to
 praise him at once; he was rising from the
 east, like the ornamental crest of the
 Śailarāja⁴⁴³.

Brahmā said:

8a Honour to you, best among the gods, of
 intense brilliance.

[thanks to whom] the darkness was cut off
 [and] no harm approaches, called
 Jājvalati⁴⁴²; 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, 41
 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, 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,⁴⁴⁴ [those who

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

⁴⁴³ Name of the Indrakīla mountain (see MW: 1090, I).

⁴⁴⁴ Repetition of the term *aṃdha*-.

are] covered with perforating ulcers, you always make them renewed. For this reason we honour you, of great compassion.

.....

.....

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
16 do myself?’

‘Viśvakarman, following your instructions, will make [your form] more gentle.’ 54b

Having obtained his approval, the gods [were] really delighted in their minds; they started to pray to Tvaṣṭṛ, 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
20 he was removed from there.

And he was scratched as far as the knee, praised by the gods and the Asuras; the god did not approve the delineation [of his shape] in that way. 57

So, from that moment, the feet of the god [have been] always covered.⁴⁴⁵

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 Dānavas⁴⁴⁶; 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 transition⁴⁴⁷,

[The person] who mutters the *stotra*, created by the three gods, at both the times of transition,

24 he purifies [his] family and he is not hurt by any disease⁴⁴⁸.

61

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*⁴⁴⁹; and all the other terrible weapons of Asuras' enemies (= the gods), and of the Yakṣas and the Vidyādhara (= Śiva's attendants); Viśvakarman made 80 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 Uttarakuru⁴⁵⁰, 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

Br̥hadbala said:

Śatānīka said:

If Sūrya was installed by Sāmba on the Candrabhāga's bank, from that moment is that not the
1 sacred place, as it was told by you? 1

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
4 Prajāpatis, and the creatures of various sorts, standing in [his] Mitra form, practiced austerities. 4

From his mouth, [he]⁴⁵¹ 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 Ṛbhus⁴⁵² 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
6 from Aditi: Indra, Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭṛ, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Viṣṇu and Aṃśu, 8
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 asceticism 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 Ṛbhus 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, Ṛbhukṣan, Vibhvan and Vāja. These three persons form the Rbhus 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.

it abides in the divine kingship, it is the ruler of the *Dānavas* and the *Asuras*.

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

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

11

The third form of Ārka is famous as Parjanya:

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

it abides in the rays of light and it rains *amṛta*.

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:

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

it abides constantly in the *soma* plants and in the [other] plants.

14

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

because it is contained in creatures, and always stays 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.

it resides on the earth and in the mountains, o Bhārata.

His eighth form is famous as Vivasvān:

15 it abides in fire and cooks food for living beings.

17

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

The ninth form of Citrabhānu is called Aṃśu: it stays in the moon, o hero, and makes the world increase.

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

His tenth form is considered Viṣṇu: it manifests constantly as the destroyer of the enemies of the gods.

18 The eleventh form of Bhānu is known as Varuṇa: it support 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).

20

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, he⁴⁵³ 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
22 known as Mitravana — Mitra's forest. 24

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. 25

With those twelve forms,

Savitṛ 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. 26

Bhāskara of great *ātman*

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??a).

Mankind, having known the twelvefold Āditya, having constantly prayed and recited, rise to the Sūryaloka — the world

24 of the sun.

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

SP. 42

Vasiṣṭha said:

1 Having built the temple and having taken the Yājakas⁴⁵⁴ [there], the virtuous [ones] (*dharmātman-*) approached [the place] in which Ravi stood. Having heard about Mitravana, the gods, the men, the serpents (*pannaga-*), the Ṛṣis, 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 Yakṣas⁴⁵⁵, 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
5 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 Ṛṣis approached respectfully, having abandoned the path⁴⁵⁶ 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 STIETENCROON (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 Ṛṣis (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.’

- 16 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
26 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:

30 ‘I gave you my place, which is rare in the seven *dvīpas*. Now you will be famous for one
Manvantara⁴⁶⁰. 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 guests⁴⁶¹; 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 Yātudhānas⁴⁶², 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, *durva*-grass, flowers, or often only of water)”.

⁴⁶² MW 849, II: m. “a kind of evil spirit or demon”.

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
 6 the supreme devotion (*bhakti-*), all stayed in Sūryakānana⁴⁶³. 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 waters⁴⁶⁴. 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 *Āngas* and *Upāngas*:

16 ‘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 *Prakṛti* and the *Puruṣa*, the lord. [You are] self-supported, supportless, and also Chāyā and Saṃjñā⁴⁶⁵ stand by you; [you are] the shelter of all living beings; my devotion will always be to you. O god, with your eye⁴⁶⁶ [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
 22 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. Koṅārka?

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 Purāṇic 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.⁴⁶⁷ 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
28 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 Vipāśā⁴⁶⁸, and from the Vipāśā to the Śatadrava⁴⁶⁹; from the Śatadrava it moved to the famous river Yamunā and from the Yamunā to the Jāhnavī (= Gaṅgā); it was gradually brought near. From the Bhāgīrathī⁴⁷⁰ 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 Vaivasvata⁴⁷¹, who sets in motion

⁴⁶⁷ This is a clear reference to Mitra.

⁴⁶⁸ MW 974, III: f. “the Vipāśā or Beas river (one of the five rivers of the Panjāb [...]).”

⁴⁶⁹ 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.

⁴⁷⁰ 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”.

⁴⁷¹ MW 1026, I: n. “N. of the seventh or present Manv-antara”. He is the son of Vivasvat, the sun.

all the *dharmas*, 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*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 *ātman*s 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 Muṇḍīra. 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
 42 kill from a long distance, he was called Muṇḍīra.

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
 (48) 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
 6 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]

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

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 Muṇḍīra in [its] first [place], they will never be afflicted by any fear, sorrow or disease. And at midday⁴⁷³, at the [moment of] the sun⁴⁷⁴'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
 15 fulfilment of *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha*.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 illness⁴⁷⁶.

1

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

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.

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).

⁴⁷⁵ The three aims a Hindu man should pursue in his life.

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
2 [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:

Brahmā 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.

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

4

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
5 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,
7 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 Sūrya by
means of fragrant flowers, unhusked barley-corns, as well
as the best incense and lights, clothes with golden
9 decorations, head-gems and ornaments. To honour Sūrya's
image, [one should give] gifts and a beautiful Kapilā cow,
wheat, barley and corn, beans⁴⁷⁷ and sesame seeds;
elephants, horses and female buffalos are to be given, and
manifold gems, gold, silver, white copper and a vessel of
red copper. One should give male and female slaves, as
well as a territory bearing a rich crop; many kinds of
12 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 Sūrya (Sūryaloka), he
will gain the fruit of knowledge coming from the eighteen
Purāṇas. He will gain that fruit; I am telling [you] the entire
15 truth.

⁴⁷⁷ SHASTRI 1969: 265 lists the pulses cultivated in India and names the *mudga-*, the *Phaseolus Mungus* and the *māṣa-* (we should note the absence of retroflexion in the text), or *Phaseolus 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 Śākdvīpīya 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 dvijātayaḥ /
yajanti sūryarūpaṃ tu śākaḥ kṣīrābdhinā vṛtaḥ // 21*

20–21. [...] The brahmins 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)

*magāś ca māgadhās cauva mānasā mandagās tathā
magā brāhmaṇabhūyiṣṭhā māgadhāḥ kṣatriyās tu te // 71
vaiśyās tu mānasās teṣāṃ sūdrā jñeyās tu mandagāḥ
śākadvīpe sthitair viṣṇuḥ sūryarūpadharo hariḥ // 72
yathoktair ijjate samyak karmabhir niyatātmabhiḥ
śākadvīpas tato viprāḥ kṣīrodena samantataḥ // 73
śākadvīpapramāṇena valayeneva veṣṭitaḥ
kṣīrābdhiḥ sarvato viprāḥ puṣkarākhyena veṣṭitaḥ // 74*

71–74. The four Varṇas are Magas, Māgadhas, Mānasas, and Mandagas. The Magas are brahmias [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.

SHASTRI⁴⁷⁸ 1985: 112

• **KŪRMA-PURĀṆA 49**

BHATTACHARYA 1972: 277⁴⁷⁹

magāśca magadhāścaiva mānavā mandagāstathā /
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāścātra krameṇa tu // 37
yajanti satataṃ devaṃ sarvalokaikasākṣiṇam /
vratoṣānvairvividhairdevadevaṃ divākaram // 38
teṣāṃ sūryeṇa sāyujyaṃ sāmīpyaṃ ca sarupatā /
salokatā ca vipreṇdrā jāyate tatprasādataḥ // 39

MUKHOPADHYAYA 1890: 421

mṛgāśca⁴⁸⁰ magadhāścaiva mānasā mandagāstathā /
[...]
teṣāṃ vai sūr(y)asāyujyaṃ⁴⁸¹ sāmīpyaśca sarupatā /
[...]

37–39. The casts there are Magas, Magadhas, Mānavas and Mandagas corresponding respectively to Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, 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, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras are respectively called Mṛga, 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 *mṛga-*.

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

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

magāś ca māgadhāś caiva mānasā mandagās tathā /
magā brāhmaṇabhūyiṣṭhā māgadhāḥ kṣatriyās tu te /
vaiśyās tu mānasās teṣāṃ sūdrās teṣāṃ 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 Kshetriya; the Mānasa, of the Vaiśya; and the Mandaga of the Śūdra: and by these Vishnú is devoutly worshipped as the sun, with appropriate ceremonies. Śāka-dwīpa 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**

tatra pūṇyā janapadāścatvāro lokasaṃmatāḥ /
magāśca maśakāścaiva mānasā mandagāstathā // 33
magā brāhmaṇabhūyiṣṭhāḥ svakarmanīratā nṛpa /
maśajeṣu tu rājanyā dhārmikāḥ sarvakāmadāḥ // 34
mānaseṣu mahārāja vaiśyāḥ karmopajivīnaḥ /
sarvakāmasamāyuktāḥ sūrā dharmārthanīscitāḥ /
sūdrāstu mandage nityaṃ puruṣā dharmāśīlinaḥ // 35

tatra puṇyā jana|padās catvāro loka|saṃmatāḥ:
Maṅgās ca, Maśakās c'āiva, Mānasā, Maṅdagās tathā.
Maṅgā brāhmaṇa|bhūyiṣṭhāḥ sva|karma|niratā, nṛ|pa.
Maśakeṣu tu rājanyā dhārmikāḥ, sarva|kāma|dāḥ.
Mānasā ca, mahā|raja, vaiśya|dharm' |ôpajīvināḥ,
sarva|kāma|samāyuktāḥ, śūrā, dharm' |ârtha|niścītāḥ.
śūdrās tu Maṅdagā nityaṃ puruṣā dharmā|śīlināḥ.
na tatra rājā, rāj' |êndra, na daṇḍo, na ca daṇḍikāḥ.
sva|dharmeṇ' āiva dharmā ca te rakṣanti paras|param.⁴⁸²
 CHERNIAK 2008: 90, 92

People believe that there are four pure countries: the countries of the Mangas, the Māshakas, the Mānasas, and the Mādagas. The Mangas are mostly brahmins preoccupied with their duties, Your Majesty. Among the Māshakas are found virtuous Kshatriyas who fulfill [*sic!*] every request. The Mānasas, 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 [*sic!*]. The Mādagas are shudras of every-virtuous conduct. In those countries, king of kings, there is neither king nor punishment 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 *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).

AGNI-P.	Maga-	Magadha-	Mānasa-	Mandaga-
BRAHMA-P.	Maga-	Māgadha-	Mānasa-	Mandaga-
KŪRMA-P.	Maga-/ Mṛga- ⁴⁸³	Magadha-	Mānasa-	Mandaga-
VIṢṆU-P.	Maga-/ Mṛga- ⁴⁸⁴	Māgadha-	Mānasa-	Mandaga-
MAHĀBHĀRATA	Maga-/Maṅga- / Mṛga- ⁴⁸⁵	Maśaka- /Masaka-	Mānasa-	Mandaga-

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 *Masaka-* 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.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 Pārsī teachings;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.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 Nēryōsangh Dhaval, a Pārsī *mōbēd*, around 1200 AD. His translation of the *Yasna* has been widely studied, especially

⁴⁸⁷ I have discussed this topic extensively in PALLADINO 20??b.

⁴⁸⁸ See HUMBACH 1978: 248.

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.⁴⁹⁰ Nēryōsangh himself discloses the authorship of his work:

[...] *idaṃ ijisnijamdapustakaṃ mayā nirīosaṃghena dhavalasutena pahalavijamdāt saṃskṛtabhāṣāyāmatāritam // [...]*

“[...] Ce volume nommé le livre Idjisni (Izeschné)⁴⁹¹ a été traduit par moi Niriosangha, fils de Dhaval, du livre pahalavi (Pehlvi) en langue Sanscrite [...]” (BURNOUF 1833: XV f.)⁴⁹²

Different scholars did not all use the same manuscripts⁴⁹³ 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 “*II 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.⁴⁹⁴ 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

⁴⁹⁰ 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 Yasna (cf. BURNOUF 1833: 24).

⁴⁹² 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 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 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.

copy of the manuscript J⁹, 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.⁴⁹⁵

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 *samdhī*, 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*.⁴⁹⁶ 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 Pârsi gefunden haben.“ (SPIEGEL 1861: 6).

Yasna: for instance, he translates Av. *Xʷaniraθa*-⁴⁹⁷ 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 Sanskrit. 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 meaningful⁴⁹⁹: 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.

<i>Purāṇas</i>	<i>Nēryōsangh</i>
avyaṅga- (abhyaṅga-)	aiviaṅghana-
varśman-	baresmana-
pūrṇaika-	–
patidāna-	–
homa-	hūma-
parahoma-	prāhūma-

⁴⁹⁷ *Xʷaniraθa*- is one of the seven climates (*karšvar*-; cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1961: 459) of the earth. It is described as a ‘splendid region’, and we find the expression [...] *imaṣ karšvarə yaṭ xʷaniraθəm bāmīm* [...] in *Mihr Yašt* vv. 15, 67 and 133 (cf. GERSCHEVITCH 1967 and HINZE 2014); *Rašn Yašt* 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. *aiwyānghana-*, called *kusti* among the *Pārsīs*, is rendered as *avyaṅga-* (*abhyaṅga-*) in the *Sāmba-* and the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇas*, whereas Nēryōsangh’s *aivianghana-* closely follows the Avestan spelling. Probably due to the low competence in Sanskrit language discussed above, Nēryōsangh decided to reshape the Avestan term *barəsmān* (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 *patidāṇa-*, 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*.

<i>Purāṇas</i>	<i>Nēryōsangh</i>
Mihira	Mihira
Raśnu (Rājña, Rājā, Rājñā)	Rasna (Raśna)
Saośra (Srauša, Stoša, Toša, Strauša, Śroša)	Śroša
Jaraśastra (Jataśastra, Jaraśabda)	Jarathustra
–	Hormijda – Majda

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*. *Mihira-* could have been derived from the Bactrian version *MIIRO* (or *MIORO*), well known from the coins of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka.⁵⁰¹ The names of the two attendants of Mithra on his morning crossing, Av. *Raśnu-* and *Sraoša-*, 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 *Śroša-* follows the Middle Persian form. For the name Av. *Zaraθuštra-*, MP *Žartūšt*, Nēryōsangh opted for the form *Jarathustra-*, closer to the Iranian, maintaining the second part of the compound as *-ustra-*, which is generally spelled *uṣtra-* (with retroflexion) 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 Sanskrit, 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 jagatastasthūṣaśca*
“[...] the sun is the soul of movable and immovable things”
Ṛgveda I. 115, 1

hārdaṃ hanti prathamamuditā yā tamaḥ samśritānām [...] *Sāmbapañcāśikā* 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 Savitr) 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 mantra*⁵⁰² (or *Sāvitrī*, since it is consecrated to Savitr), 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 its 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 *Maitrī* (or *Maitrāyaṇīya*) *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. Del [Brahman] completo l’aspetto è l’anno. Dall’anno invero nascono le creature, nell’anno, una volta nate, crescono, nell’anno muoiono. Perciò l’anno è Prajāpati come il tempo. Esso è il cibo, è il nido del Brahman ed è l’Ātman.⁵⁰³ (DELLA CASA 1976: 425)

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 svaḥ*
tat savitur varenyam /
bhargo devasya dhīmahi
dhīyo yo naḥ pracodayāt //

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 [...]* *kālaḥ [...]*; 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 Purāṇic literature, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*, which frequently mention the sun god and the prayers addressed to him (cf. for example the story of Karṇa in the *Mahābhārata* and the *ādityahṛdayastotram* 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*⁵⁰⁴ 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 Māyūrakah* is one of them. The meaning and the importance of the term *jāṅgulika-* will be discussed later.

⁵⁰⁵ In the account of Yajñeśvara Śāstrī’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*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Purāṇas etc.), and we find echoes of this in the stanzas of the *Sūryaśataka*.

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 *Sūktimuktāvali*; 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 *Sūryaśataka* has been appreciated by rhetoricians, and has been quoted even by Abhinavagupta and Mammata. The commentaries on it are numerous: Ṭribhuvanapāla, Yagneśvara, [Maḍhusūḍana, Vallabhaḍeva, Jayamangala], Śrīrangadeva, [Gangāḍhara, Bālabhāta, Harivamśa], Gopīnāṭha, [Jagannāṭha, Rāmabhāta, Anvayamukha], Rāmācandra, and some anonymous writers have all authored commentaries on it (cf. KRISHNAMACHARIAR 1987: 328).

We can affirm without a doubt that the *Sūryaśataka* is perfectly in line with the Purāṇic legends of Sāmba, his devotion to the sun and the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. 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 Sāmba’s legend is the *Sāmbapañcāsikā*, which is traditionally attributed to Sāmba himself. It is a lyric masterpiece, and among the *stotras* in praise of Sūrya, ‘Sāmbapañcāsikā 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 Mārtaṇḍa⁵⁰⁸ (not far from the city of Anandnāg), dated to the eighth century; we can state with sufficient certainty that the *Sāmbapañcāsikā* was also composed around the eighth century (cf. BÄUMER 2006: 2). Since the style and the expressions employed recall those of Kālīdāsa and Bhavabhūṭi, 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 Sāmba’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 cārogyaṃ diśyati*; BÄUMER 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 (*jagadbhāsayaṇdvādaśātmā*; *Ivi*:

⁵⁰⁶ KRISHNAMACHARIAR 1987: 328.

⁵⁰⁷ For the text of the *Sāmbapañcāsikā* and the commentary of Kṣemarāja, see KENDĀRNĀTHA 1910.

⁵⁰⁸ Note the figure of Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava, a composite form of the sun and Śiva that is central to Saura Tantrism.

7). 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 *Sāmbapañcāśikā* 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 *Sāmba-purāṇa*, which is intermingled with the ‘first’ non-Tantric (and definitely more ancient) one. In the second section of the *Sāmba-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*.⁵⁰⁹ 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

⁵⁰⁹ For the complete edition and translation of this text, see NEUGEBAUER-PINGREE 1970, 1971, and THIBAUT-DVIVEDI 2002.

cult.⁵¹⁰ This testifies to the fact that this tendency had already begun by the sixth century. The *Garūḍa-purāṇa*, too, identifies Sūrya with Śiva.⁵¹¹

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

sthānāni trīṇi devasya dvīpe 'smin bhāskarasya tu /
pūrvam mitravanam nāma tathā muṇḍīram ucyate // 4
kālapriyaṃ tṛtīyam tu triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam / 5a

‘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 Muṇḍīra; the third [place is] Kālapriya, known in the three worlds.’

The three solar places have been identified with North Indian locations: Mitravana or Mūlasthāna with Multān in Punjab; Muṇḍīra or Sutira or Ravikṣetra with Koṇārka/Koṇārak in Orissa; and Kālapriya with Kalpi in Uttar Pradesh or Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh.⁵¹²

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).⁵¹³ Four centuries later, al-Bīrūnī stated that Multān was known as ‘Sāmbapura’ and that people celebrated a solar festivity there: ‘The Hindus of Mūltān have a festival which is called *Sāmbapurayâtrâ*; 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 *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* — was actually composed in Punjab. The second part, clearly Tantric in its inspiration, was probably composed in Orissa, where we have

⁵¹⁰ Cf. SCHEFTELOWITZ 1933: 320; HUMBACH 1978: 329; PANAINO 1996: 582.

⁵¹¹ Cf. SRIVASTAVA 1996: 69.

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 Muṇḍīra/Suṇḍīra/Sutīra/Puṇḍīra in the east (i.e. Koṇārak in Orissa).’

⁵¹³ On Xuánzàng’s account, cf. also WEBER (1857: 105) and STIETENCROON (1966: 226).

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 Narasiṃha (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 (*mukūṭa-*, 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 *Brhatsamhitā*, 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, Kṛṣṇa'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).

⁵¹⁴ For the description of the idol, cf. STIETENCROON 1996: 225 and SRIVASTAVA 2013: 92–94; for the Sanskrit text, see also KHAṆDELAVĀLA 2012: 152–155.

⁵¹⁵ The crown may symbolize the *x'arānah*, 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 Purāṇic 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 Kaniška (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 bhānunā // 4b

tat tasmād dhāryate sūryaprītyai 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.⁵²⁰ 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.⁵²¹ The lotus has even been interpreted as the *x^varənah*, abiding in the waters.⁵²²

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

*sāmbaśca gadāhastah pradyumnaścāpabhṛt surūpaśca /
anayoḥ striyau ca kāryhe kheṭakanistrimśadhārīnyau // 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).⁵²³

⁵²⁰ Cf. PALLADINO 20??c.

⁵²¹ Cf. CARTER 1981: 74 ff.

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 Purāṇic and epic lists.⁵²⁴ The island is surrounded by the Milk Ocean. Many scholars have dealt with the real geographical position of Śākadvīpa.⁵²⁵ 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 Krauñca, 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.⁵²⁶ ‘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 Kumbakonam edition reads Śākadvīpa.⁵²⁷ This is very interesting with respect to the fact that snakes and especially the *nāgas* are very important in the Śākadvīpīya cult (cf. paragraph 2.7).

Many scholars propose to identify Śākadvīpa with Sakastāna, identified in turn with the Drangiana (*Zranka*⁵²⁸) 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.⁵²⁹ The first attestation of the term *Sakastanē* was probably the inscription of Šāhpuhr I (241–272 A.D.) at Naqš-i Rostam.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁴ References: *Mahābhārata* 6. 7. 20; 6. 11. 27–28; 6. 12. 6–7; *Vāyu-purāṇa* 35. 32; 49. 27, 44, 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).

⁵²⁵ Cf. *Ivi*: 215–222.

⁵²⁶ For the Sanskrit text and the translation, see CHERNIAK 2008: 90 f.

⁵²⁷ CLARK 1919: 222.

⁵²⁸ GNOLI 1967: 41–51, 79.

⁵²⁹ Cf. SCHOFF 1976: 9; cf. also DAFFINÀ 1967: 3.

⁵³⁰ 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 Purāṇic 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, Christianity, 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

⁵³¹ Cf. MACKENZIE 1989: §14 – text: p. 43, transcription : p. 55, translation: p. 58; § 23 – text: p. 47, transcription: p. 55, translation: p. 59.

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-Pratīhāra dynasty,⁵³³ 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. 140–141,⁵³⁴ 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 jātatvād 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.⁵³⁵ 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 Hūṇas) 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: *magānām kāraṇārthena prārthitā bhojamaśajāḥ / vasudevasya pautreṇa gotrajena mahātmānā // 8 kanyādānaṃ kṛtaṃ teṣāṃ magānām bhojakottamāḥ // sarvās tāḥ sahitāḥ kanyāḥ pravālamaṇibhūṣitāḥ // 9*

Bh. I. 141: [...] *dattā bhojakulotpannā daśabhyo daśakanyakāḥ / 6a dāsakanyās tu yās cāṣṭau bhojakanyās ca yā daśa / etās teṣāṃ kumārānām jñeyās tā daśa cāṣṭa ca // 7 tatra te bhojakanyāsu dvijair utpāditāḥ sutāḥ / bhojakās tān gaṇān prāhur brāhmaṇān divyasaṃjñitān // 8*

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 Purāṇic materials. Two kings in the *Mahābhārata* are called Bhoja: the king of an ancient country named Mārtrikāvata (*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 *R̥gveda*, 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 *Bhaviṣya-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.

⁵³⁶ Cf. VETTAMMĀNI 1979: 138.

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 *dvadaśātman*⁵³⁸, ‘the one who has twelve forms’, the twelvefold 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 *Līṅga-purāṇa* and in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. In the *Sāmba-* and *Bhaviṣya-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 twelvefold 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 Koṅārka (Koṅārak) in Orissa: the Sūrya chariot has twelve double wheels, standing for the twelve months of the year (or the 24 half-months – *pakṣa*), consecrated to the twelve constellations. Moreover, the seven horses symbolize the seven days of the week. For this reason, the sun chariot in Koṅārka 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 Zuqnīn*, 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: *dvādaśadhātmanam 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.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.

⁵⁴² On this specific topic, see PANAINO 2007.

2.7 The *Mār Nāmeḥ* and the Role of Serpents in Indian and Iranian Culture⁵⁴³

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 (*avyāṅga-*) to the sun god. It is made of the Nāga king’s skin and, in consequence, every devotee of the sun should wear an *avyāṅga* 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.⁵⁴⁴ The figure of Mit(h)ra, the solar god of the Vedas and the *Avesta*, came to be identified with the sun himself; in Purāṇic 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*).⁵⁴⁵ In the Mit(h)raic cult we have Aion, generally depicted with a snake winding around his body.⁵⁴⁶ 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.⁵⁴⁷

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 Kālīka, as well as Elāpattra, who talks to the Buddha in the form of a huge serpent.⁵⁴⁸ 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.⁵⁴⁹ The term *nāga-* is present also in association with various lay and monastic names in the Buddhist environment. At the Amarāvātī 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-*.⁵⁵⁰ 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 Kaniṣka 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.⁵⁵¹

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 *margan*, 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*.⁵⁵² In the *Bundahišn* (28.22), as well, it is stated that every Zoroastrian should carry a stick to kill *xrafstra-* (Av.; Pah. *xrafstar*) animals.⁵⁵³ 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 Nāmeḥ*, ‘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 Nāmeḥ* 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 Zurvan⁵⁵⁶ 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 Śākadvīpiya 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 Nāmeḥ*. In the end, even Sāmba acts like a snake, exchanging his leprous skin for a new, healthy one (Bh. I. 127, 28b): [...] *tan mumoca malaṃ sāmbo dehāt tvacam ivoragaḥ* // ‘Sāmba [was] set free from that impurity [losing his] skin from [his] body like a serpent.’

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. MODI 1893.

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. NABARAZ 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 Purāṇic texts, we find a prohibition against possessing property; otherwise, the Bhojakas would become like the *devalaka* Brāhmaṇas⁵⁵⁸ (cf. Bh. I. 117. 5; 139. 18, 21–22)⁵⁵⁹ and fall into disgrace.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:⁵⁶¹ *vāṇijyaṃ kṛṣisevām tu vedānām niṣdanam ca ye / kurvanti bhojakā jñeyāḥ sarve te mama vairiṇaḥ* // ‘[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: [...] *karṣaṇam 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*’ (HÜSKEN 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 *Smṛti* 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 mām pūjayanti hi / anyāś ca devatāvṛtyā te syur devalakāḥ khaga // etasmāt kāraṇān mahyaṃ bhojako deyitaḥ sadā // 5*

Bh. I. 139: *yadi devārthadānaṃ syāt tato devalakā dvijāḥ // devadravyābhilāśaś ca brāhmaṇyaṃ tu vimuṃcati / 18 [...]*

dvijo devalako yatra paṃktyām bhūṃkte mahīpate / annāny upaspr̥ṣen nīcā sā paṃktiḥ pāpam ācaret // 21 dvijo devalako yasya saṃskāraṃ samprayacchati / so 'dhomukhān pitṛnt sarvān ākramya vinipātayet // 22

⁵⁶⁰ Bh. I. 146: *sevako bhojako yas tu śūdrānaṃ yena bhujyate / kṛṣiṃ ca kurute yas tu devārcām api varjayet // 14 jātakarmādayo yasya na saṃskārāḥ kṛtā vibho / aruṇeyaiś ca maṃtraiś ca sāvitṛiṃ na ca vai paṭhet / tasya gehe dvijo bhuktvā kṛcchrapādena śudhyati // 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:

sāmba uvāca

agrāhyaṃ ced dvijātibhyaḥ kasmai deyam idaṃ mayā // 27a

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

gauramukha uvāca

*magāya saṃprayaccha tvaṃ puram etac chubhaṃ vibho /
tasyādhikāro devānne devatānām ca pūjane // 28*

Gauramukha said ‘O king, offer this beautiful city to Maga, who is the authority (*adhikāra*) 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 *Bhaviṣya-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 *sūdras*’ (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 Moggallāna replies that he would care for them, letting them pass over the ploughed soil. But Buddha states, ‘Take care, Moggallāna, 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 *Samyuttanikāya* (Spk III 32,25–33,5), namely about a *samaṇa-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 *ahimsā*. 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 *Yašt* XIII 89, it is stated that Zarathuštra himself was the first priest, the first warrior, the first farmer⁵⁶⁴ (*yō paoiriō āθrauuā yō paoirāō raθaēštā yō paoirāō vāstriō fšuiias*). 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*.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. CANNIZZARO 1990: 29 f. DARMESTETER (1992: 58) translates ‘husbandman’ instead of ‘farmer’.

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 disse 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 urlano; 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.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’,⁵⁶⁹ and against cultivation as well. This is evidence that the general rule admitted some exceptions.

In 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 *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.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. PANAINO 2016: 44.

⁵⁶⁹ LIEU 2002.

⁵⁷⁰ On this topic, see also PALLADINO 20??c.

3. Late Poems

3.1 The *Magavyakti*⁵⁷¹

In 1879, A.F. Weber published an important article for studies on the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas: ‘Über die Magavyakti des Kṛṣṇadāsa Miçra’. 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 probably⁵⁷² be attributed to Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra, a poet active at the court of Akbar around the 16th century. He is also the author of the *Pārasīprakāśa*⁵⁷³, 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.⁵⁷⁴

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 Institut für Iranistik, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, and at the Fachbereichsbibliothek Südasiens-, 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.

⁵⁷³ Weber would deal with this text in his 1887 paper ‘Über den Pārasīprakāśa des Kṛṣṇadāsa’, in *Philologische und historische Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Sitzungsberichte* 4, and in ‘Über den zweiten, grammatischen, Pārasīprakāśa des Kṛṣṇadāsa’, in *Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Sitzungsberichte* 41, 1889.

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 Śaṅkara’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 Hindu 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.⁵⁷⁵

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 *danḍa* 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 *saṃvat 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 Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas: 18 folios are probably by the same hand, and deal with the sections of the *Sāmba-* and *Bhāviṣya-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 *Samskṛtabhaviṣya*, *Devibhagavata*, *Bhaviṣya-*, *Sāmba-*, *Brahma-*, *Shiva-* and *Matsya-purāṇas*), the *gotrāvalī* and, finally, quotations from the *Saura-purāṇa*,⁵⁷⁶ *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 *danḍas* at all, in this one we consistently find the double *danḍa*, 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 Kṛṣṇadāsa was himself a Maga Brāhmaṇa, and that his poem is probably a way to exalt and legitimize this social group within

⁵⁷⁵ On this topic, and for a description of the Indian eras in general, see for example FLEET 1888: 16–23; LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW 1949: 1–72; DIKSHIT 1952-53.

⁵⁷⁶ 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.

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. Kṛṣṇadāsa 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), *śārdūlavikrīḍita* (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 guṇaiḥ svaiḥ /
vakṣye vyaktiṃ magānāṃ vividhapurajuṣāṃ jñānatejonidhīnāṃ
vidvadṛṇḍābhivamyāṃ nikhilaguṇamayīm candraśubhrāṃ yaśobhiḥ // 1
nāhaṃ kavir nijakavitvaguṇaiḥ kavīnāṃ
cetoharo na ca vudho vudhavargamānyaḥ /
bhaktyaiva kevalam aśeṣamagābhīdhāna-
saṃvartanair guṇamayais 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.

magapadamahimāvdhir mandaras sādhusaṅgaḥ
suraditijasamājaś śiṣṭaduṣṭapralānaḥ⁵⁷⁸ /
mathanasamaya āsīt kṛṣṇakāvyaṛthacando⁵⁷⁹
magamanasi manojñaṃ modamāviṣ⁵⁸⁰karotu // 3
kṛṣṇaśāpasamudbhūtaśāmbakuṣṭāpanuttaye⁵⁸¹ /
kṛṣṇājñayā magāms tārksyaś śākā⁵⁸²dvīpādihānayat / 4
dvāveva ca samārūḍhau tārksyapṛṣṭham sudurgamam /
kṛṣṇo vā jagatāṃ nātho mago⁵⁸³ vā brāhmaṇottamaḥ // 5
caturviṃśatisaṃkhyākā jayanty āra magais saha⁵⁸⁴ /
prakhyātā dvādaśādityāmaṇḍalā dvādaśottamāḥ // 6
saptārkā vahuśo yenye karās te svargamokṣadāḥ /
yathāśrutam yathāvuddhi vakṣyate 'tra yathākraman // 7
uruḥ khaneṭuḥ cheriś ca makhapā ca kurāyica /
devākulī bhalunī ca ḍumarī paḍarī tathā // 8
adayī⁵⁸⁵ ca pavairī ca oṇḍarī pūty ataḥ parā /
esivaurī saraiś chatra bārāvadhya⁵⁸⁶ oni jamvu ca // 9
sikaurī madarauḍī ca haradaulīti nāmataḥ /
ārās saṃsārasārās te caturviṃśatir īritāḥ // 10
urutvād uruvārās te tannāmapurayogataḥ /
uruvāra iti khyāto magamaṇḍalamaṇḍanaḥ // 11
nyāyoktais tairabhuktā vivadanavidhibhis sādhuvaiśeṣikoktair
gauḍīyāś cotkalā ye vivudhakavigaṇās tepi mīmāṃsayoktaiḥ /
sāṃkhyoktair dākṣiṇātyāś śivasadasi pure divyavedāntasūktaiḥ
saṃtoṣam ye⁵⁸⁷ praṇītā urupuru ja-magās tārkiśā⁵⁸⁸ te jayanti // 12
vaktraṇīva harasya vodhanilaye lokopavāraṣamā⁵⁸⁹
bhūtānīva vaśīkṛtaurasajuṣam kāntavyavāyā iva /

⁵⁷⁸ RORI: -pratānaḥ

⁵⁷⁹ RORI: kṛṣṇakāvyaṛthacando; above the text, there is another hand's annotation: kṛṣṇakāvyaṛthacandro

⁵⁸⁰ In RORI the *ṣa* is not clear.

⁵⁸¹ RORI: kṛṣṇaśāpasamudbhūtaśāmbakuṣṭāpanuttaye

⁵⁸² In RORI the symbol which indicates the long *a* is cancelled: śāka-

⁵⁸³ RORI: nāthamago

⁵⁸⁴ In W. the *visarga* has been cancelled and replaced with long *a*.

⁵⁸⁵ RORI: adapī

⁵⁸⁶ RORI: chatravārāvadhya

⁵⁸⁷ RORI: yai

⁵⁸⁸ RORI: tārkiśā

⁵⁸⁹ RORI: lokopavāraṣamā

kāvyasyaiva⁵⁹⁰ kaver jayāya dharayā samprārthite ca dhruvam
 dhāvā⁵⁹¹ pañcamahākule 'tra kavayaḥ sṛṣṭā viśiṣṭā guṇaiḥ // 13
 khaṇan yāti girim cāsmāt khaṇedvāra iti smṛtaḥ /
 tannāma purayogena khaṇṭakārobhidhīyate⁵⁹² // 14
 vedān vaktrais caturbhis svasadasi caturo 'sārthakān eva vaktā
 vrahmā yebhyo 'bhyasūyāṃ vyadhita taditare paṇḍitāḥ ke varākāḥ /
 ekāsyena sphuṭārthaṃ vividhanṛpapuraḥ sāṅgavedān paṭhdabhyo⁵⁹³
 rejur bhūpālacūḍāmaṇinatarāṇāḥ khaṇṭavārā magās te // 15
 cherir nāmnā mahānāras tannāmapurayogataḥ /
 cheriāra iti śrīmān nijavaṃśābjabhāskaraḥ⁵⁹⁴ // 16
 devān sṛṣṭavatā vaśiṣṭhamahasā bhūmātrabhūṣadarād
 ye sṛṣṭāḥ parameṣṭhinā⁵⁹⁵ 'vanisurās sac⁵⁹⁶ cheriārānvaye /
 te trailokyam abhūṣayan nijaguṇais tejobhir āpūritā
 jñātaṃ tena svabhāvato jagad iyaṃ sṛṣṭir na me yatnataḥ // 17
 svadhiṣṭmyāt⁵⁹⁷ tu sureṇāro makhaṃ pāti makhadviṣaḥ /
 makhapās tatpuraprāpto makhapāro 'bhidhīyate // 18
 śaktyā śaktidharopamāḥ pravacasā vācaspatisparddhino
 jetāro vivudhān surān iva guṇaiḥ pāre parārddhaṃ gataiḥ /
 vālāḥ kāvyakṛto bhavaṃti kim ūto ye 'jñā vayo jñādhikās
 sattakīrṇavasamplavavyavasinas⁵⁹⁸ te makhapavārā⁵⁹⁹ magāḥ // 19
 dhūḥśrīkāmendudevāt kurāyica iti smṛtaḥ /
 tadvān varauci vāro sau gotrataḥ kila kauśikaḥ // 20
 yeṣāṃ vidhyā vivāde 'mvudhir iva viṣamā khaṇḍanondrāhadhorāṃ⁶⁰⁰
 gaṃbhīrādhyāpaneṣu śrutiśaraṇisamākhyātaratnākarātyāḥ /
 sujñais satpātravijñair⁶⁰¹ api vari-kalane śāśvadaprāptapārā

⁵⁹⁰ W.: kāvyaspaiva

⁵⁹¹ RORI: dhātrā

⁵⁹² RORI: khaṇṭavārobhidhīyate

⁵⁹³ RORI: paṭhdabhyo

⁵⁹⁴ W.: nijavaṃśābjabhāskaraḥ

⁵⁹⁵ W.: parameṣṭhinā

⁵⁹⁶ W.: the *c* in *sac* has been added later; in RORI it is lacking.

⁵⁹⁷ WEBER (1879: 477) reads svadhiṣṭnyāntusureṇā; in W. it is almost illegible: svadhinla-tusureṇā.

⁵⁹⁸ RORI: sattakīrṇavasamplavavya(sa)ninās; the *-sa-* in brackets is added. In W. also the part *-vyava-* is a successive modification.

⁵⁹⁹ RORI: makhpavārā

⁶⁰⁰ RORI: khaṇḍanodghāhadhīrā

⁶⁰¹ RORI: satpātravijñair; the *r* of *-pra-* is cancelled in the manuscript.

vigyāvātpā⁶⁰² vitaṇḍā bhramiṣu magavarās saṃvabhūḥ kaiśikās te // 21
 śāstraughā makarādayaḥ śrutijalās tattatkavitvormayo
 vādārvatamayā pravodhamāṇayaḥ pākhaṇḍadaityoddhatāḥ /
 tīrṇā yair nijavuddhipotam atulaṃ saṃśritya vidhyārṇavās
 te mī devakuāravaṃśakamalaprodhbāsi sūryyā magāḥ // 22
 yeṣāṃ jajñaiḥ⁶⁰³ sutṛpto hutahavir aśitun na śakañ⁶⁰⁴ jāta vedās
 taiḥ svais sausyasvabhāvair viniyamavidhine voḍḡhītogratejāḥ⁶⁰⁵ /
 vedārthogrāhavijñā sphuṭam akhilamukhe vedavedipragalbhāḥ
 śāstrāraṇyograsimhā puravarabhalunī-sindhucandā magās te // 23
 ye⁶⁰⁶ sadbhiḥ pūrvagaṇyā yudhi vijayakṛte yān namaṃti sma vīrāḥ
 ye cakruḥ kāryyam uccair munibhir upakṛtair yebhya āśīḥ kṛtā yaiḥ /
 yebhyo 'chebhyo yathā sīn navarasajananaṃ brahma yeṣāṃ manastham
 yeṣv ācāras⁶⁰⁷ sthīro 'bhūt puravaraḍumarīsambhavās san-magās te // 24
 yasyām āmnāyapāthair magamaṇitanayāḥ paścimāṃ rātriyāmam
 pratyūṣa-snānasandhyāvidhiravikiraṇair bhūṣayantaś ca rejuḥ /
 madhyānhan nittyakarmadvigūṇitamaha sā sāyam udbhāṣayantas
 saddharmoddhāmadīpaiḥ puravarapaḍarī śobhate sā prasastā // 25
 ye vedārthapravīṇāḥ praṇamati janatā yān viśiṣṭān guṇaughair
 yair dṛṣṭāntas trilokī harir iva praṇidhau yebhya indroditārthān /
 yebhyoṃśān prāpya yajñe⁶⁰⁸ vabhur amaragaṇāś śarmma yeṣāṃ
 ivaiśaṃ saujanyaṃ yeṣy apūrva⁶⁰⁹ pravilasad adayī satkulās san-magās te // 26
 yeṣāṃ eṣā yabherī parisarivilasadyajñapūpasvarūpā⁶¹⁰
 dhūmair ādhūtapāpā magahutaha viṣāṃ gandhibhir mantrapūtaiḥ /
 gānais saṃgītasānaiḥ pratihatavilasat-sarva-gandharva-rājair
 gīrvāṇaika-pravīṇair hariharavidhayas toṣitās san-magās te // 27
 vaidyās sapta prasiddhāḥ pratividhiniyataiḥ pathyabhaisajyayogair
 ghnanti vyādhīn narāṇāṃ śiva-kathitarasair yoginas tv oṇḍarījāḥ /

⁶⁰² W.: the last -pā is not clear; it may be a -yā as well.

⁶⁰³ W.: jajñais

⁶⁰⁴ RORI: the -ñ seems cancelled for a -j.

⁶⁰⁵ RORI: voḍḡhītogratejāḥ

⁶⁰⁶ RORI: se

⁶⁰⁷ RORI: only one -s-; ācārasthīro

⁶⁰⁸ RORI: yajñe

⁶⁰⁹ RORI: apūrvaṃ pravilasad

⁶¹⁰ RORI: parisaravila-

tyaktvā tadvaktrakaṃprākṛdahana⁶¹¹ iva tṛṇaṃ nirdaheyur magās
 te dūraṃ yāte ‘ti rogān vadati vahudaro rājarogoparogān // 28
 ye vidyāvādadaḥṣā guṇigaṇaśa kunigrāmaviśrāmavṛkṣās
 satpakṣasthāpanekṣā kṣaṇam api kudhiyā sthātum evānapekṣāḥ /
 yeṣāṃ eṣā suveṣā nikhilapuragaṇair garvitastrīva pūtis
 vargameṣv⁶¹² ādilekhyāḥ kuśalakavivudhaiḥ pūtiārā⁶¹³ magās te // 29
 yentaś cit tat dadhānā haripadakamaladvandvam ānandakandaṃ
 vāhyavyāpāraśaktāḥ śrutiniyatapathair indriyair indrakalpāḥ /
 śiṣyair devair ivendo nirkhilagaṇagaṇaiśvaryyam icchadbhir uccair
 aiārās sevyamānā nṛpasadasi magā bhāgyavanto jayanti // 30
 khyātā dikṣu sivairiārakulajā vedāntadīrghāṭavī-siṃhā
 brāhmaṇabhāskarā bhavatamonāśollasadvārkarāḥ /
 kartuṃ svargasamāṃ dharām api surāḥ sṛṣṭāḥ kim u brāhmaṇā⁶¹⁴ bhūmyāṃ
 bhūriguṇās tataḥ prabhṛti kim sarve dvijā bhūbhujāḥ // 31
 sūte siddhāntacandrān divi yamadhavatas saṃśayodhe pradoṣe
 vāde śrī harṣadhīman yaramatavaca-sāṃ khaṇḍanāny udbhāṭānām⁶¹⁵ /
 uktīr muktāṣva sūktīr iva sati samaye kāpi velāmvurāser
 yeṣāṃ vidyā vicitrā vasava iva magās te saraiārasañjñāḥ // 32
 samyak paṃcāgnitaptā vahiripuriśilā⁶¹⁶ vātavarṣātapārtāḥ
 prāleyaplāvite masy atimaruti niśiśraddhyā kaṇṭhamagnāḥ /
 ity evaṃ ye tapasyaṃs trisamayam anīśaṃ viṣṇum aṃtaṃ⁶¹⁷ smarantaś
 śāmtās te vijñavijñā munaya iva magās chatravārā virejuḥ // 33
 rejus te ‘tithivartakograhalaśadvāravratasnehavān
 nakṣatraughaśivas supātrakaraṇo yogaparakāśo valaḥ /
 vāgveyādhikṛte⁶¹⁸ hṛdaṃvujagrhe sūte trikālajñātāṃ
 sadvāraṃvaravāra-vaṃśatuṣāṅ⁶¹⁹ jyotiḥ pradīpodbhutaḥ // 34
 ye gambhīrāmbhas samudrā iva guṇamaṇibhir dyotitāṃtargariṣṭhās
 sannīṣṭhābhir variṣṭhā iva sadasi satām māninoccaikaniṣṭhāḥ /

⁶¹¹ RORI: -prākudahana

⁶¹² RORI: pūtisvargamiṣv

⁶¹³ W.: pūliāra

⁶¹⁴ RORI: vrāhmaṇā

⁶¹⁵ W.: udbhayanām

⁶¹⁶ RORI: vahiupariśilā

⁶¹⁷ W.: aṃtaḥ; the *visarga* is a later addition.

⁶¹⁸ RORI: vāgveṣādhikṛte

⁶¹⁹ RORI: vaṃjanuṣāṅ

vidyādānair variṣṭhā vasava iva muhus sādhudattapraṭiṣṭhās
te yodhyārās suśīlāḥ parahitamatayas te magā rejur ucchaiḥ // 35
ācārair⁶²⁰ munir eva devaguruvad vedādividyāgurur⁶²¹
yorjair⁶²² yogam adūduhan nijakṛtā niṣkāmakāmoccayān /
soyodhyārakulāmuvudhau vidhur iva śrī harṣasūnus sudhīr
miśraśrī madhusūdanas samajani śrīkṛṣṇabhaktipriyaḥ // 36
śrīmān viṣṇupādaśrito 'mṛtamayaḥ pūrṇaḥ kalāsaṃcayaiś
śaśval lokayaśaḥprasādasubhago⁶²³ devādhidevapriyaḥ /
saṃprāpto dvijamukhyatām nijatapovidyāsadācārato
rājat putra janārdanosya tanayaś candaḥ payodher iva [// 37]
ye rudrā iva vodhato dinakarāḥ prodyatprakāśā dyathā
bhūtāni kṣamayeva devavasavaḥ pāṇḍityadharmād iva //
jātā⁶²⁴ oṇipure magās sucaritaiḥ khyātās satām iṣṭadās
śiṣṭais te bhuvi kena kena mahasā dṛṣṭās samudbhāvitāḥ // 38
gaṇyās sādhujanena rājanivahair mānyā vadānyāḥ param
saujanyaṃmṛtapūrṇapūṇyahṛdayā dhanyā dharanyām iha /
jātā jambupure⁶²⁵ surarṣaya ivāmarṣātirikṭā magā
hutvānekahavīmṣi varhiṣi hareḥ prītyai tapaś cakrire // 39
śīlais sarvaguṇākair nijavaśaṃ lokān nayanto 'nīsan
nirdvaṃdvāḥ prayatendriyaiḥ pratidinaṃ bhaktyā bhajaṃto harim /
dīnānugrahatatparās sudhanino vidyānavadyā vabhus
sadbhāvena sikauriārakulajāḥ⁶²⁶ khyātāḥ pravīṇāḥ magāḥ // 40
mātaṅgās tuṅgaśailapratinidhivapuṣo vājino vāyuvegā
grāmās svarṇāṅnapūrṇās surabhigaṇakhuroddhūtadhūlīvikīrṇāḥ /
vāsoratnair vicitrās subhaṭapaṭutarāḥ kiṃ karoccāvanīśāt
prāptā yais te bhaḍaulīpurasadasi magāḥ paṇḍitā rejur uccaiḥ // 41
khyātās te haradauliārakulajā yeṣām magānām makhair
jāyante munayaḥ sadā sumanasāḥ śāntās samastā diśaḥ /

⁶²⁰ W.: ācāraimunir

⁶²¹ W.: vedādividyāguru

⁶²² RORI: yojbair

⁶²³ RORI: -prasādaśrubhago

⁶²⁴ RORI: jāto

⁶²⁵ W.: jamvupure

⁶²⁶ W.: sikauriārakulajās

bhūmira sasyavatī⁶²⁷ drumā vahuphalā gāvo vahukṣīradā
rājā nītiparo dvijā gatabhayā lokā na śokāturāḥ // 42
iti śrīman magakulakamalikalikā-prakāśaka⁶²⁸ śrīmat paṇḍitakulamaṇḍitakṛṣṇadāsamiśra
viracitāyām magavyaktau caturviṃśatyāravaṃśanirṇayo nāma prathamā taraṅgaḥ //

II.

atha dvādaśādityāḥ //
dvādaśādityadevās te vāruṇārkkō vināśavaḥ /
muhurāśir devaḍīho ḍamarau⁶²⁹ guṇāśavaḥ // 1
kuṇḍā tathā malaṇḍas ca gaṇḍāvas sarpahāpi ca /
arihāsir dehulāsir jayanty ete jaya-pradāḥ // 2
yeṣām ajñām adhijñā maṇim iva śirasā dhārayanti kṣitīsās
sarvajñānām purastād adhikaguṇa tayā svīkṛtaṃ sādhu sujñaiḥ /
pāṇḍityā⁶³⁰ prauḍhigurvī nayavinayavido vedavedāṅgavijñā
vikhyātās te pṛthivyām munaya iva varā vāruṇārkā magās te // 3
ṣaṣṭhīpūjānuraktās tadanu vudhavarā vedavedāṅganiṣṭhā
bhānudhyānānuraktā vibhavatanuvarā dhyānayogādihigamyāḥ /
sadbhāvās satyasandhā magavaraviditā gotrataḥ kaśyapās te
devāhvākhyapurodbhavā dvijavarās te ṣaṣṭhahāyā magāḥ // 4
bhūrivyañjanarañjitorusamayā⁶³¹ nārāyaṇāyārpitā
niryāṃti prativāsare 'mṛtanadībhaktośvapād⁶³² uccakaiḥ /
nānāratnavato drutaṃ himavato gaṅgeva yanmandiraṃ
vādīndrā bhuvī vāruṇārkakulajās te pañjahāyā magāḥ // 5
yat proktaṃ pañcahāyaprathitamagakulaṃ śīlavidyāviśālaṃ
tatrokṛṣṭāḥ prabhāvair dinakarakarahīśānavāmbhodhicandrāḥ⁶³³ /
dhunvanto dhvāntatāyaṃ hṛdaya rathamitāḥ ṭhakkurāyā⁶³⁴ magās te
rejūḥ pūrṇāḥ kalābhir nijakulakamalaṃ bhāsayantaḥ prasādaiḥ // 6
bhojyaiḥ⁶³⁵ sarvarasair dvijān iva surān 1yajñais sadātoṣayan

⁶²⁷ RORI: bhūmiś śasyavatī

⁶²⁸ W.: makāśaka

⁶²⁹ RORI: ḍamarau

⁶³⁰ RORI: pāṇḍitya

⁶³¹ RORI: -rasamayā

⁶³² RORI: 'mṛtanadībhaktoc cayād

⁶³³ RORI: dinakarakarahīśānanāmbhodhicandrāḥ

⁶³⁴ W.: ṭhakkurāyā

⁶³⁵ W.: bhojyais

vidyābhir vivudhān nṛpān iva guṇair vijñān viśiṣṭānvayān /
 dīnān dainyadavānalair⁶³⁶ vitarāṇair jñānair iva jñāninas
 te dhanyā bhuvī ye vināśavabhavā rājanta uccair magāḥ // 7
 jātā⁶³⁷ yetra vināśave magavarās śāśvan⁶³⁸ nṛsimhāsritāḥ
 prāptānekaguṇair janādhipamano hartuṃ samarthā bhuvī /
 tadvaṃśe dhvajavad vabhūva viditāś śrī-sukharo⁶³⁹ vaṃśakṛd
 vedajñāḥ kila vājapeyamakhakṛd vidyāvidām agrāṇīḥ // 8
 ye jātā muhurāsīśāsasanapayorāsīndavas⁶⁴⁰ san-magā
 vākyīyūṣamayāṃśavaḥ kṛtadhiyāṃ cetoharān⁶⁴¹ svair guṇaiḥ /
 kurvantotimudā taraṅgataralān proccaiḥ prapūrṇān rasais
 te bhūpālalasadviśuddhasadasi prājñōḍu-pūrvam vabhuh // 9
 yat pūrvam muhurāsīvamśatilakam śrīman magānām kulam
 vrahme vātra kule 'janābhakamale 'sau dvaitanāmāpyabhūt /
 yo yogīndrapadepsayā śrutidharo jitvendriyāṇām gaṇam
 dhyāyan⁶⁴² viṣṇupadāmbujam⁶⁴³ śivapadam cakretitīvram tapaḥ // 10
 vālye vidyās samāpya pratidiśam akarod yauvane tīrthayātrām
 svānte śāntim⁶⁴⁴ prayāte vratam iha jagṛhe sāṅgasamnyāsam ugram /
 samprāpto yoginām drāk śivaśivadapure mukhyatām pūrṇabodhād⁶⁴⁵
 advaitādvaitanāśāt paya⁶⁴⁶ iva payasā brahmaṇaikyam jagāma // 11
 ye vidyāvinayākarāḥ kṣītisurāḥ santuṣṭubur⁶⁴⁷ yān guṇaiḥ
 kīrttir yair vitatā kṛtā nṛpatayo⁶⁴⁸ yebhya 'praṇemuś śriyaiḥ⁶⁴⁹ /
 sabhyā yebhya upādatur nayacayam⁶⁵⁰ yeṣāṃ sthitir mehuse
 yeṣu jñānam atīndriyam magavarās te devaḍīhodbhavāḥ // 12
 jyotiśśāstrasudīpadīpitadhiyā sarvajñabhāvam gatā

⁶³⁶ RORI: dainyadavāmalair

⁶³⁷ RORI: yāta

⁶³⁸ RORI: śāśran

⁶³⁹ RORI: susvaro

⁶⁴⁰ W.: mahur-

⁶⁴¹ RORI: kṛtadhiyācetoharān

⁶⁴² W.: dhyāpan

⁶⁴³ W.: viṣṇupadāmvujam

⁶⁴⁴ RORI: śānti

⁶⁴⁵ W.: pūrṇavodhād

⁶⁴⁶ RORI: yaya

⁶⁴⁷ RORI: santuṣṭubu

⁶⁴⁸ W.: nṛpatapo

⁶⁴⁹ RORI: śriyai

⁶⁵⁰ RORI: nayavayam

vedāntodbhavavodhacandramahasā vidhvastatāpatrayāḥ /
āyurvedamahāstrabhagnanikhilakleśocayās saṃtatam
rejus te ḍumarauravaṃśaja-magā yeṣāṃ yaśobdhīn⁶⁵¹ yayau // 13⁶⁵²
vālyentaḥ kalikā iva prakāṭitā vidyā dhiyā dhāritāḥ
kaiśore mukulāpitā vikaśītās sarvārthadā yauvane /
kāvyodgrāhaphalāḥ⁶⁵³ kalāmṛtarasā mokṣapradā vārddhake
yeṣāṃ te subhagā guṇāsavabhavā bhūmīndravṛndair⁶⁵⁴ natāḥ // 14⁶⁵⁵
mātaṅgās śailatuṅgā galitamadajalamlānagaṇḍāḥ pracāṇḍā
dhārādhūlipratānair anumitagatayo divyaraṅgās turaṅgāḥ /
yeṣāṃ āśīrviśeṣān narapatisadane sannadannīndrasatvāḥ
kuṇḍāvaṃśāvataṃśās⁶⁵⁶ smṛtinigamavidas siddhimanto magās te // 15⁶⁵⁷
yeṣāṃ sattapasā vivṛddhamahasā śāmtās samās te tapo
deśāraṇyajaleṣu⁶⁵⁸ jantunivahā nityaṃ virodham jahuḥ /
rājantepi niragnayopi niyatāṃ vādhān na cakrur nṛṇāṃ
te rājanti malauḍīārakulajā vedāntapāraṅgamāḥ // 16⁶⁵⁹
śraddhābhūr vedavījo dhṛtisumatijalas sadvicārālavālāḥ⁶⁶⁰
śrīmān svācāramūlo yamaniyamamahāskanda⁶⁶¹ vedāṅgāśākhaḥ /
svacchāyo yajñaparṇaḥ śamamukhakusumo mokṣarājatphalaśrīr
yeṣāṃ dharmadrumosau lasati hṛdi magās te ca gaṇḍārkaandrāḥ // 17⁶⁶²
vālāḥ kāṃtipravālāḥ pavanavasalatkākapakṣośvamālā
vedān uccaiḥ paṭhantāṃ⁶⁶³ madhuramṛduravair bhūṣitānekaśālāḥ /
śāstrodrāhair yuvāno vijitavudhagaṇābhīṣṭam⁶⁶⁴ iṣṭyā yajanto
vṛddhās sarve⁶⁶⁵ prasiddhāḥ pariṣadi sapahāvaṃśajātā magās te // 18⁶⁶⁶
yeṣāṃ vidyāvitānair vitaraṇapadubhis sindhavas sapta tīrṇās

⁶⁵¹ RORI: yaśovdhīn

⁶⁵² W.: 12

⁶⁵³ RORI: kāvyodgāhaphalāḥ

⁶⁵⁴ RORI: bhūmīndravṛndair

⁶⁵⁵ W.: 13

⁶⁵⁶ RORI: kuṇḍāvaṃśāvataṃśās

⁶⁵⁷ W.: 14

⁶⁵⁸ RORI: deśāraṇyajaleṣṭha

⁶⁵⁹ W.: 15

⁶⁶⁰ RORI: siddhicārālavālāḥ

⁶⁶¹ RORI: svācāramūlopamaniyamamahāskanda

⁶⁶² W.: 16

⁶⁶³ RORI: paṭhanto

⁶⁶⁴ RORI: vijitavudha-

⁶⁶⁵ RORI: sarvaṃ

⁶⁶⁶ W.: 17

corddham cādhaḥ prakīrṇair jagad idam akhilam bhāsayadbhir yaśobhiḥ⁶⁶⁷ /
 tarkāṃśair arkatulyāḥ kṣaṇajitavilasadvādivādāndhakārair
 dharmaiḥ karmāvdhicandrair munaya iva magā dehulāsyudbhavās te // 19⁶⁶⁸
 yeṣāṃ vidyātmasaṃgād vividhaguṇamayī sarvalokān punīte
 gaṅgevoṭuṅgabhaṅgipratihatavirasatyāpaniśśeṣapakṣāḥ⁶⁶⁹ /
 svacchābhas⁶⁷⁰ sādhuakṣākṣapitakalimalāḥ prītiniśśeṣadakṣā
 vrahmāvdhim pāyayantaḥ śritam arihasiāvaṃśajātā⁶⁷¹ magās te // 20
 ye prāptās śāstrapāraṃ vivudhanṛpagaṇāyān⁶⁷² yajanto dhanādhyāḥ
 yair dhyāto viṣṇur uccair dadur avanibhujo bhūrivittāni yebhyaḥ /
 yebhyo vidyā suśiṣyā sphuṭamati jagṛhuḥ prāpya yeṣāṃ yaśovdhīn
 yeṣv ānantyaṃ⁶⁷³ guṇānāṃ bhuvi dehulasiāvaṃśajātā magās te // 21
 iti magavyaktau dvādaśādityāḥ //

III.

atha dvādaśa-maṇḍalāḥ //
 dvādaśaite magās śiṣṭās sūryyamaṇḍaladaivatāḥ /
 paṭisā caṇḍaroṭis ca ḍīhī katthakapitthakau// 1
 syāt terahaparāsīs ca khaṇḍasūpas tathā paraḥ /
 pālīvādhaḥ khajuraiā bheḍīpākarir ity api // 2
 vipuroha-vaḍisārau ca gīrvāṇā iva pūjitāḥ /
 dadate te tu kāmārthān nirvāṇam api sevītāḥ // 3
 yeṣāṃ vidyānavadyā sarasamadalaśadgaghapadyātihṛdyā⁶⁷⁴
 vedāṃtodrekavedyā śrutibhir atitarāṃ niścitārthān vivicya /
 śrīmatpādo'ghapādye vivudhanṛpasame śemukhīva⁶⁷⁵ pragalbhā
 sāchād⁶⁷⁶ reje guṇaughaiḥ puravarapaṭiśśasaṃbhavā san-magās te // 4
 ye svacchā sādhuakṣāśramabharavivaśā⁶⁷⁷ vidamārgaikapānthā⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁶⁷ W.: yaśomiḥ

⁶⁶⁸ W.: 18

⁶⁶⁹ RORI: satpāpaniśśeṣapakṣāḥ

⁶⁷⁰ RORI: svakṣāmbhas

⁶⁷¹ RORI: arihasiāvaṃśajātā

⁶⁷² RORI: -gaṇāḥ yān

⁶⁷³ RORI: ānantya

⁶⁷⁴ RORI: sarasamadalaśadgadyapadyātihṛdyā

⁶⁷⁵ RORI: semukhīva

⁶⁷⁶ WEBER 1880: sāksād; W.: sāt jñād (?)

⁶⁷⁷ RORI: sādhuakṣāśramabharavivaśā

⁶⁷⁸ RORI: veda-; W.: pānthā(h) – the *visarga* is added.

śrāntā ye sattapobhir virjitahariharavrahmalokādilokāḥ⁶⁷⁹ /
 ākalpāntasthirāhās trijagati yaśasā yerthināṃ kalpavṛkṣās
 te vedānteṣu dakṣā ravaya iva magās caṇḍarotiprajātāḥ // 5
 dīhīsthānodbhavā ye vasava iva magās sarvavidyāsu dakṣā
 dātāro divyarūpā nigamavidhikṛto dharmakāmārthamokṣān /
 vaṃdyās sarvatra vaṃdyair nṛpavaravivudhair viṣṇubhaktipravīṇās
 te yogācāramukhyā⁶⁸⁰ vigatabhavabhayā jñānavanto jayanti // 6
 ye sevyamte kṣitīśair gurava iva suraiś śatrudaityopataptais
 tanmaṃtrāśīṣprayogaiḥ⁶⁸¹ praśamitaripubhiḥ prāpitaiśvaryyasatvaiḥ //
 śāśvat svacchās tapobhir guṇigaṇagaṇitās⁶⁸² sarvasatkāmtikāmtāḥ
 kajjhagrāmābhijātā nigamanayavido vītarāgā magās te // 7
 tīrthānyāvāhya sasnur vidhivad anudinam svargabhūmyamtarikṣān
 maṃtrair⁶⁸³ ārūpadevān⁶⁸⁴ nigamam anugatāḥ pūjayantīti sākṣāt /
 vedārthān divyavodhais⁶⁸⁵ suramunipurataḥ śīghram udghāṭayanto
 rejuḥ kṣīṇās tapobhir munaya-iva magā ye kapitthodbhavās te // 8
 ācārair dharmasārair munaya iva vabhurdevasanmānayogyā
 mohārais sadvicārair vasava iva lasad dharmakāmārthadakṣāḥ⁶⁸⁶ /
 ākārair nirvikārair narapataya iva svāṃtavīśrāmavṛkṣā
 vaṃsā ye yatra jātāḥ prathitamagavarās terahādiḥ parāśāḥ⁶⁸⁷ // 9
 sādḥuktair vedasūktais sthirataramatayo⁶⁸⁸ muktidaṃ viṣṇum ucchair
 dhyāyanto nirvikalpā viṣayaniyamitair indriyaiś cakṣurāghaiḥ⁶⁸⁹ /
 niṣkāmmāmātarviśiṣṭā vahir atithir iva prāptamātrārthatuṣṭāḥ
 pūrṇajñānopasṣṭāḥ khanasupa-sumagā⁶⁹⁰ muktibhājo vabhūvuḥ // 10
 pālīvāṃdhe vasamto hariharacaraṇās ciṃtayaṃto manobhir
 vidyābhir vodhayanto dvijanayakulajān śodhayantaḥ svadoṣān /
 lokān śāśvad viśokān nikhilarasamayais toṣavaṃto vacobhī

⁶⁷⁹ RORI: vijita-

⁶⁸⁰ RORI: -pravīṇāsteyo cāra-

⁶⁸¹ RORI: tanmatrā-

⁶⁸² RORI: guṇagaṇa-

⁶⁸³ RORI: matrair

⁶⁸⁴ RORI: āhūpadevān

⁶⁸⁵ RORI: divyabodhais

⁶⁸⁶ W.: dhardha-

⁶⁸⁷ RORI: parāśāḥ

⁶⁸⁸ RORI: vedasūktaisthirataramatayo

⁶⁸⁹ WEBER 1880: cakṣurāchyaiḥ

⁶⁹⁰ RORI: śumaga

rājante rājakaḷpāḥ kaliyugakaluṣaṃ nāśayantas tapobhiḥ // 11
 yeṣāṃ dānoddhatānām anīśam abhipataddhastasamkalpavāri
 proddhūtās tuṅgakūlāḥ pratatavidhirayāḥ puṇyapūrā hradīnyāḥ /
 sattīrthādānaśeṣojjhitamaṇicayān udvahanto 'nuvelaṃ
 vārddhai ratnākaratvaṃ sukulakhajurahās cakrur uccair magās te // 12
 te bhedāpākarīśā⁶⁹¹ vivudhaguṇanutās sanmagā rejur uccaiḥ
 kailāśottuṅgaśṅgottamamaṇikhacitastambhaharmyādivāsāḥ /
 bhrājaccandrārdhabhālā⁶⁹² vṛṣaśubhagatayo viṣṇuviśrāmtacittā
 divyaṅgaṅgottamāṅgā nigamaavidhikṛte jñās ṛṭīyākṣibhavyāḥ // 13
 yeṣāṃ grāmābhirāmā parisaraparikhārāmatopāśapādyaiś⁶⁹³
 caityair dūrābhilakṣyaiś śakunikulakalārāvarājatkulāyaiḥ /
 bhūmir yatrāprayātair vividharasamayair bhūṣītās sarvaśasyais
 te vedārtheṣu dakṣā vipurapuramagā rājasevyā jayanti // 14⁶⁹⁴
 madhyonnatorddhasamamātraviśāśuddha
 viṣvavsuviṛttadhanavarṇaviviktapaṃktiḥ⁶⁹⁵ /
 samyaṅ makhī-kamalapatrajanir vireje
 yeṣāṃ lipir hi vaḍasārabhavā makhās te // 15
 yeṣāṃ vedārthavījā sarasahr̥dayabhūś cāturīcārumūlā
 chando 'nantaprakāṇḍā vividhaguṇavatī śabdaśāstrārthapatrā⁶⁹⁶ /
 vidvadbhṅgopasevyā⁶⁹⁷ navarasaracanā prasphuratpuṣpapūrṇā
 jñānaughais satphalāśvā⁶⁹⁸ prasarati paritaḥ kāpi vidyā lateva // 16
 iti śrī magavyaktau dvādaśa-maṇḍalāḥ //

IV.

atha saptārkāḥ //
 ullaḥ puṇdro mārkaṇḍeyo vālo lolāḥ koṇaś cāṇaḥ /
 śākadvīpi-kṣoṇīdevais saptāvanyāṃ pūjyās cārkāḥ // 1
 ye pūjyās sarvalokai ravaya iva magā yān smarantaḥ kṛtārthā

⁶⁹¹ RORI: bhedāpākarīśā

⁶⁹² RORI: -ārdhabhālā

⁶⁹³ RORI: -oyāśapādyaiś

⁶⁹⁴ W.: 16

⁶⁹⁵ WEBER 1880: -suddhi-; W.: -suvvi (?) vṛttaghana-

⁶⁹⁶ RORI: śadva-

⁶⁹⁷ RORI: vidvadbhāṅgopasevyā

⁶⁹⁸ RORI: satphalāḍhyā

yair dattaṃ bhūri vittaṃ vividhanṛpagaṇās sannamanti sma yebhyaḥ /
 lebhe yebhyaḥ pravodhaṃ vividīṣu-janatā dhāma yeṣāṃ variṣṭhaṃ⁶⁹⁹
 varṣeṣv ācārayuktā vratatapasī varaś śrīmadullārkamūlāḥ // 2
 ullārkākhyam idaṃ kulañ ca muditaṃ śrīśīlavidyākaraṃ
 saṃjāto 'tra kule 'rjunorjuna iva prājño hi śāstrāstrayoḥ⁷⁰⁰ /
 govimdena sahāyatāṃ ca sakhitāṃ saṃprāpya mohādviṣo
 jītvā sāṃtim-ito raṇe kulavatāṃ yogan dadhe durlabham // 3
 dīnam rogabharair vihinabhiṣajam dṛṣṭvā dharāmaṇḍalam
 sadyassaṃkṣayaśaṃkayā 'khilaṅṅam saṃvāditānāṃ śamaīḥ /
 svarvaidyopamitā natā nṛpacayaiḥ kiṃ vrahmaṇā nirmītā
 puṇḍrārkā jagadanti pāṭanapaṭuprajñā magā dhārmikāḥ // 4
 mārkāṇḍeyārkamūlā nigamaḥ⁷⁰¹ anavanaprollasatprājñasimhās
 tejorbhir devakalpā⁷⁰² hariharacaranādhyānaniṣṭhā gariṣṭhāḥ /
 sattarkair dikṣu yeṣāṃ⁷⁰³ daśasu vudhavarā nābhibhūtā na vādaiḥ
 kīrtiyā karpūrakāntiyā surabhitabhuvanā bhāṃti bhavyā magās te // 5
 mālārkā⁷⁰⁴ ye magās te nikhilagaṇamayās santi tīre sarayvā
 jyotirvidyāsamudraprataranapaṭavo vaidyavidyāvariṣṭāḥ /
 nānādeśāptacimṭā nijakulatilakāḥ kāmakāṃtāḥ kalābhiḥ
 pūrṇāś candrā ivālam vabhur amaranibhaiḥ pūjyamānā kṣitīśaiḥ // 6
 koṇārkā ye ca khyātāḥ pracuragaṇacayā vedavidyānidhānās
 tejobhiḥ prajjvalaṃto hutavahasadrṣās⁷⁰⁵ svais tapobhir variṣṭhaiḥ /
 śiṣṭācārānuraktāḥ suhr̥dayasadayā vedavedāṅgasārāḥ
 satkārās⁷⁰⁶ sindhudhārā ravaya iva lasatkāntikāntā⁷⁰⁷ magās te // 7
 lolārkās san-magās te suvimalamanasaḥ santi yentassamudraṃ
 lolārkkam⁷⁰⁸ pūjayanto munisuranikarair varddhavuddhyārpyamāṇāḥ⁷⁰⁹ /
 sanmārgās tatvaniṣṭhāḥ⁷¹⁰ svasuhr̥dī satataṃ cintyamānās ca svaṣṭam

⁶⁹⁹ W.: variṣṭam

⁷⁰⁰ RORI: sastrāstrayoḥ

⁷⁰¹ In W. it seems -vva-

⁷⁰² W.: devakalyā

⁷⁰³ RORI: yeṣā

⁷⁰⁴ RORI: vālārkā

⁷⁰⁵ RORI: hutavahadrṣās

⁷⁰⁶ RORI: sākārās

⁷⁰⁷ RORI: lasatkāntikā

⁷⁰⁸ W.: lolārksam

⁷⁰⁹ RORI: vaddhavuddhyārpyamāṇāḥ

⁷¹⁰ W.: tatvaniṣṭhāḥ

vikhyātās te dharanyām vahuvimalayaśaś candracūḍārdhaniṣṭhāḥ⁷¹¹ // 8
cānārkā ye magās te vividhapadayutā bhūrividyānidhānās
tejobhiḥ prajvalantas⁷¹² svatapasī vīditāḥ satyasandhyā⁷¹³ guṇādhyāḥ /
saddharmaiḥ sevyamānā nijakulakamalaḥ bhāsayantaḥ pramodaiḥ
sveṣṭadhyānaikaniṣṭhā nṛpasadasi sadā rejur uccair varīṣṭhāḥ // 9
te vrahmajñānaniṣṭhāḥ kimu vatahadayaḥ⁷¹⁴ kiṃ hadāvāḍavāvā⁷¹⁵
khyātās te caikavarṇā muhur iha vīditās tarkayanto guṇais svaiḥ /
saddharmadhyānaniṣṭhā vividhaguṇavarā vedavādās sureśais
te pūjyāḥ kṣoṇipṛṣṭhe nikhilapadam alaḥ sevayāśaḥ labhante // 10
iti magavyaktau saptārkavarṇanan nāma caturthollāsaḥ //

W.: saṃvat 1920mitī karttika-śuklā 15 śaniśāsare // om śāntiḥ //

RORI: saṃvat 1954 om śāntiḥ //

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 Mīśra, that alone testifies to the importance of the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas in the Moghul Empire.

	Weber saṃvat 1920			RORI saṃvat 1954		
	CORNER	LIST	TEXT	CORNER	LIST	TEXT
	<i>24 āraḥ</i>			<i>24 āraḥ</i>		
1	Uravāra	Uru	Uruvāra/ Urupuru	Uravāra	Uru	Uruvāra/ Urupuru
2	Kaṇṭavāra	Khaneṭu	Khaṇṭavāra/ Khanedvāra	Khaṇṭavāra	Khaneṭu	Khaṇṭavāra/ Khanedvāra
3	Cheriāra	Cheri	Cheriāra	Choriāra	Cheri	Cheriāra
4	Makhapavāra	Makhapā	Makhapavāra	Makhapavāra	Makhapā	Makhpavāra

⁷¹¹ W.: candracūḍārghaniṣṭhāḥ

⁷¹² RORI: -dhānā prajvalantas

⁷¹³ RORI: satyasandhā

⁷¹⁴ RORI: vataharayaḥ

⁷¹⁵ RORI: harāvāḍa-

5	Kuraiāra	Kurāyica	Kurāpica	Kuraiāra	Kurāyica	Kurāyica
6	Vedakuliāra	Devākulī	Devakuāra	Devakuliāra	Devākulī	Devakuāra
7	Bhaluniāra	Bhalunī	Bhalunā	Bhaluniāra	Bhalunī	Bhalunī
8	Ḍumariāra	Ḍumarī	Padarī	Ḍumariāra	Ḍumarī	Padarī
9	Paḍariāra	Paḍarī	Adayī	Paḍariāra	Paḍarī	Adayī
10	Adaiāra	Adayī	Yabherī	Adaiāra	Adapī	Yabherī
11	Pavaiāra	Pavairī	-	Pavaiāra	Pavairī	-
12	Omṇaniāra	Onḍarī	Onḍarī	Onariāra	Onḍarī	Onḍarī
13	Pūtiāra	Pūty	Pūliāra	Pūtiāra	Pūty	Pūtiāra
14	Esiāra	Esivaurī	Aiāra	Aisiāra	Esivaurī	Aiāra
15	Sivāriāra	Sarai	Sivairiāra	Vairiāra	-	Sivairiāra
16	Saraiāra	Chatra	Saraiāra	Saraiāra	Sarai	Saraiāra
17	Chatravāra	Bārā	Chatravāra	Chatravāra	Chatravāra	Chatravāra
18	Vāravāra	Avadhy	Yodhyāra	Vāravāra	Avadhy	Yodhyāra
19	Avadhiāra	Oni	Oni	Avadhiāra	Oni	Oni
20	Javuvāra	Jamvu	Jamvupura	Jamvuvāra	Jamvu	Jambupura
21	Sikauriāra	Sikaurī	Sikauriāra	Sikauriāra	Sikaurī	Sikauriāra
22	Bhaloḍiāra	-	Bhaḍaulī	Bhalauḍiāra	-	Bhaḍaulī
23	Mātamgāra	Madarauḍī	-	Mātamgāha	Madarauḍī	-
24	Rahadaliāra	Haradaulī	Haradauliāra	Rahadaliāra	Haradaulī	Haradauliāra

<i>12 ādityāḥ</i>			<i>12 ādityāḥ</i>		
1	Vāruṇārka	Vāruṇārka	Vāruṇārka	Vāruṇārka	Vāruṇārka
2	Vinaśaimā	Vināśava	Vināśava	Vinaśaiā	Vināśava
3	Muhurasiā	Muhurāśi	Mahurāśi	Muhurasiā	Muhurāśi
4	Devaḍihā	Devaḍiha	Devaḍiha	Devaḍihā	Devaḍiha
5	Ḍumaraura	Ḍamaraura	Ḍumaraura	Ḍumaraira	Ḍumaraura
6	Guṇasaimā	Guṇāśava	Guṇāśava	Guṇasaimā	Guṇāśava
7	Kuṇḍā	Kuṇḍā	Kuṇḍā	Kuṇḍā	Kuṇḍā
8	Malauḍa	Malaunḍa	Malauḍiāra	Malauḍa	Malaunḍa
9	Gannaiā	Gaṇḍāva	Gaṇḍārka	Gannaiā	Gaṇḍāva
10	Sarpahā	Sarpahā	Sapahā	Sarpahā	Sapahā
11	Arihasiā	Arihāsi	Arihasi	Ārihasiā	Arihasi
12	Devalasiā	Dahulāsi	Dehulāsi(ā)	Devalasiā	Dehulāsi

<i>12 maṇḍalāḥ</i>			<i>12 maṇḍalāḥ</i>		
1	Paṭiśāmri	Paṭiśa	Paṭiśā	Paṭiśāmri ⁷¹⁶	Paṭiśā
2	Caṇḍaroti	Caṇḍaroti	Caṇḍaroṭi	Caṇḍaroṭi	Caṇḍaroṭi
3	Dihika	Dihī	Dihī	Dihika	Dihī
4	Kajjha	Kattha	Kajjha	Kajjha	Kattha
5	Kapittha	Kapitthaka	Kapittho	Kapittha	Kapitthaka
6	Terahaparāsi	Terahaparāsi	Terahādih Parāśāḥ	Terahaparāsi	Terahaparāsi
7	Khaṇḍasūpa	Khaṇḍasūpa	Khanasupa	Khaṇḍasūpa	Khanasupa
8	Pālivādha	Pālivādha	Pālivāmdha	Pālivāmdha	Pālivādha
9	Khajuraiā	Khajuraiā	-	Khajuraiā	-
10	Bheḍāpākari	Bheḍīpākari	Bheḍāpākari	Bheḍāpākari	Bheḍīpākari
11	Vīpurohā	Vīpuroha	Vīpura	Vīpur ⁷¹⁷ ohā	Vīpura
12	Vaḍāsāra	Vaḍisāra	Vaḍāsāra	-	Vaḍāsāra

<i>7 arkāḥ</i>			<i>7 arkāḥ</i>		
1	Ullārka	Ulla	Ullārka	Ullārka	Ullārka
2	Punyārka	Puṇḍra	Puṇḍrārka	Punyārka / Puṇḍarīkārka	Puṇḍra

⁷¹⁶ Not clear whether it is a *-ri-* or an *-ī-*.

⁷¹⁷ It resembles a *-ma-*.

3	Mārkaṇḍeyārka	Mārkaṇḍeya	Mārkaṇḍeyārka	Mārkaṇḍeyārka	Mārkaṇḍeya	Mārkaṇḍeyārka
4	Vālārka	Vāla	Mālārka	Vālārka	Vāla	Vālārka
5	Lolārka	Lola	Koṇārkā	Lolārka	Lola	Koṇārkā
6	Koṇārka	Koṇa	Lolārkā	Koṇārka	Koṇa	Lolārkā
7	Cānārka	Cāna	Cānārkā	Cānārka	Cāna	Cānārkā

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 *purās*, 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.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 Prākritis. 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 Śākadvīpīya 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-*.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 consonant⁷²⁰, or the tendency for *-r-* to become *-u-* when in contact with a labial consonant (*-a-/occasionally -i- > -u-*; *-ā-/occasionally -ī- > -o-*) in proximity of a labial consonant.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.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 Prākritic 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 Mīśra), 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 languages⁷²³, 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*-⁷²⁴; 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*)⁷²⁵ 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 *kūr*, probably related to the Indo-Aryan root **kaur*.⁷²⁶ 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.

⁷²³ On Iranian names, in alphabetical order: BOYCE 1977; GIGNOUX 1972; LURJE 2010; MAYRHOFER 1973, 1977 and 2006; SCHMITT 2011; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2010; TAVERNIER 2007; ZADOK 2009.

⁷²⁴ Gr. *Kūros*, later also *Kóros* < OPers. *Kuruš* [spelled *k^u-u-r^u-u-š*], reflected in Elam. *Ku-raš*, Bab. *Ku(r)-raš/-ra-áš*, Aram. *kwrš*, Heb. *Kōreš* and Eg. *kwrš* (SCHMITT 1993).

⁷²⁵ *Isaiah* 45, 1–2: ‘Thus says the Lord to Kōreš his annointed, 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 Prākritis 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*⁷²⁸, or that it could be derived from Persian *yār*⁷²⁹, ‘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 names⁷³⁰, 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*, *bhaḍaulīpura*, *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 irānische 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 *°togataḥ*, 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

⁷²⁷ The materials used are, in alphabetical order: CHANDRA 1972; EDGERTON 1953; HILKA 1910; HINÜBER 1986; JACOBI 1886; MALALASEKARA 1983; MYLIUS 1997, 2003; PISCHEL 1900; RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932; SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER 1978; SETHA 1923–1928; SUTHAR 2003; TURNER 1962–1966; VELZE 1938.

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 *purās* (which, in turn, is related to the first settlement of the legendary migration of the Śākadvīpa 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.⁷³¹ The aforementioned *Ayodhāra*, without a doubt, refers to the city of Ayodhyā (or Oudh⁷³²); even today, Śākadvīpiya Brāhmaṇas are numerous in this region, and the current king of Ayodhyā, Bimlendra Mohan Prasad Mishra, is himself a member of the community. *Avadhī* is another name for Ayodhyā (WEBER 1879: 471). According to the scholar, *Khajuraha* is ‘eine ansehnliche Stadt in Bundelkhund’⁷³³ (*Ivi*, 472). *Mahurāśi* can be associated with a city as well, viz. Mahurā (Mathurā),⁷³⁴ today in Uttar Pradesh, on the right shore of the Yamunā river. *Kurā-* (*Kurāpica/Kurāyica, Devakuāra*), like ‘-kuru-’, can mean ‘region’.⁷³⁵ Finally, *Koṇārka*, beyond indicating the previously discussed sun-Saturn connection, is a very famous place for sun cult (cf. chapter 2); this name is also present in SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER list (1978: 71).

Some of the names have been connected with Iranian. For example, *Cheriāra* could be derived from Pers. *sher-y-yār*, ‘Freund der Stadt (emperor)’ (WEBER 1978: 469), or from NP *šāhryār*⁷³⁶ (SCHEFTELOWITZ 1933: 323). The royal title could also be connected to *Paṭiśā*, from Pers. *pādshāh*, ‘emperor, king’ (WEBER 1978: 470). *Takkurāya*, from Pers. *tahākar*, ‘lord, master, chief (among Rājputs)’, corresponds to Skr. *ṭhakkura*⁷³⁷ (*ibid.*). Weber notes that this term might also refer to Ptolemy’s Ταχοραιοι (VII, 2, 15). SCHEFTELOWITZ (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 *Terahādih parāsāh/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 ~ Addoe; Ayodhyā ~ Oudh; Aiāra/Esiāra ~ Esee/Eseepoora; Kuṇḍā ~ Kunda; Kurāpica ~ Kurai; Gaṇḍārka ~ Gonda; Guṇāsava/-śaimā ~ Goonass Pass; Caṇḍaroṭi ~ Chandaros; Cheri ~ Chāri; Jamvupura ~ Jambo; Ḍihī ~ Decha; Devakuāra ~ Deoleca; Pālīvāṃdha ~ Pāli; Bhaḍaulīpura ~ Bālod/Bhalod/Bhalot; Bhalunā ~ Beloonah; Malauḍiāra ~ Murrowli/Marowra/Morai; Mārkaṇḍeyārka ~ Markandi (group of temples and a monastery); Vāravāra/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.

⁷³⁴ JACOBI 1886: 136; MYLIUS 2003: 503.

⁷³⁵ ‘Kurā’ in RATNACHANDRAJI 1923–1932; CHANDRA 1972: 304 (‘devakurā’); cf. MW 294, I ‘kuru’.

⁷³⁶ JUSTI 1985: 174: ‘*Xšaṇḍarā (altpers.), *χšaṇḍarā (awest.), χšaṇḍarān (plur., pehl., Inschr. von Hājīābād), šatndār (oder yār, späteres Pehlewi), Šahryār, Šahriyār (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. **saraḍāra*, 'leader' ('Anführer'), NP *sardār, salār*. WEBER (1879: 470) thinks the name could be the equivalent of Pers. *sarāi*⁷³⁸ '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, *Sarāy* 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 *avyāṅga*, the most important ritual object of the Śākadvīpīyas: *eṣa sārāś ca sārāmyo vai jñeyo jayanāmabhiḥ*, 'It [the *avyāṅga*] is known by the victorious names of *sāra* and *sārāmya*'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 giriṃ cāsmāt khandvāra iti smṛtaḥ /
tannāma purayogena khaṅṭakārobhidhīyate // 14

[The one] who digs (*khan-*) the mountain is known as 'Khandvāra'; that name, for the combination of *purās*, is perceived as both, [Khandvāra and] Khaṅṭavāra.

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 /
uruvāra iti khyāto magamaṅḍalamaṅḍanaḥ //

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

⁷³⁸ STEINGASS 1892: 669, سرای *sarāy*, 'a house, palace, grand edifice, king's court, seraglio'.

⁷³⁹ It is interesting that the name *sārāmya-* could also be connected with an Iranian term, *zaranya-* 'golden' (cf. STIETENCROON 1966: 266).

in accordance with the [system of] *purāṣ*; ‘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 *Uru/Uruvāra/Uravāra* below. A description of this family’s abilities (*Uruvāra*) follows the etymology:

1.12

*nyāyoktais tairabhuktā vivadanavidhibhis sādhuvaiśeṣikoktair
gauḍīyās cotkalā ye vivudha-kavi-gaṇās te ‘pi mīmāṃsayoktaiḥ /
sāṃkhyoktair dākṣiṇātyās śivasadasi pure divyavedāntasūktaiḥ
santoṣaṃ ye praṇītā urupuru ja-magās tārkiḱās te jayanti //*

The Maga born as ‘Urupuru’, desiring satisfaction, prevail as dialecticians; those [coming from] Tirhut, [prevail] with sentences from the Nyāya, according to the rules of the contest; [those from] Bengala, with the excellent sentences of the Vaiśeṣika; the multitude of very learned poets from Orissa, also with sentences from the Mīmāṃsa; 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:

*ye vedārthpravīṇāḥ praṇamati janatā yān viśiṣṭān guṇaughair
yair dṛṣṭāntas trilokī harir iva praṇidhau yebhya indroditārthān /
yebhyomśān prāpya yajñe vabhur amaragaṇās śarmma yeṣāṃ
ivaiśaṃ saujanyaṃ yeṣy apūrva pravilasad adayī satkulās san-magās te // 26//*

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 forth⁷⁴⁰, 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 *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 *Uravāra*

⁷⁴⁰ The verb *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.

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 *Ḍumaraura*, *ḍumara-* 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 Śākadvīpīya 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’ (*sāras-*; 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); *Kuṇḍā*⁷⁴² may indicate a son born in adultery, a cripple or mutilated person (TURNER 1962–1966: 3265; MYLIUS 1997: 142; EDGERTON 1953: 185); the *caṇḍa-* in *Caṇḍaroṭi* can mean ‘passionate’, but also ‘fierce, cruel, wild’ (TURNER 1962–1966: 4584; JACOBI 1886: 108; MYLIUS 1997: 159); *Ḍamaraura* 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* (*/Lolārka*)⁷⁴³ is 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, *Vinaśaimā/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); *Sivāriāra/Sivaurī* 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’); *Mārkaṇḍeya/Mārkaṇḍeyārka*, also in SCHWARZ–PFEIFFER’s list (1978: 343), is clearly connected with the figure of the *ṛṣi* *Mārkaṇḍeya*, who, according to Hindū tradition, wrote the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* and was quoted in the *Mahābhārata* as well as in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*; lastly, *Jamvu(-āra/-pura)/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), while *Rahadaliāra/Haradaulī/Haradauliāra* can be linked to Prākr. *hrada-* (*ibid.*). In addition, WEBER (*ibid.*) connects the endings in *-raura*, *-rauḍi*, *-roṭi*, *-lauḍi*, *-ḍauli* 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 Brāhmiṇs 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 Śākadvīpīya 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),
<u>Uru/Uruvāra</u> | 13. Oḍo/Oḍariyāra
tathā Pītiyāra | Rahadauliyāra |
| 2. <u>Khanetā/</u>
Khanēāvāra | 14. <u>grāma Pavaī/</u>
Śakunī (Maula)/
Yotiyāra | 25. <u>Ūmlā/Ullārka</u> |
| 3. <u>Choriyāra/</u>
Choriyārī | 15. Āyera/Aiāro | 26. Pāṭhana/Puṇḍarīka |
| 4. Makhayā/
<u>Makhapavāra</u> | 16. Āyera/Saraiyāra | 27. Devakulī/
<u>Mārkandeyārka</u> |
| 5. Varā/Kuraivāra | 17. Verī/Sivauriyāra | 28. Sarayūtīra/ <u>Vālārka</u> |
| 6. <u>Devakulī/</u>
<u>Devakuliyāra</u> | 18. Chatiyānā/
<u>Chatravāra</u> | 29. Kāśī/Lolārka |
| 7. <u>Bhalunī/</u>
<u>Bhaluniyāra</u> | 19. Varā/Vāravāra | 30. <u>Konā/Konārka</u> |
| 8. <u>Duvarī/</u>
<u>Dumariyāra</u> | 20. Baṃdhavā/
Baddhavāra
(Yodhayāra) | 31. <u>Punyarka</u> |
| 9. <u>Parārī/Padariyāra</u> | 21. Jamuarā/ <u>Jamuarā</u> | 32. Pañcāna/
<u>Varunārka</u> |
| 10. <u>Adaī/Adaiyāra</u> | 22. Sikarora/
<u>Sikauriyāra</u> | 33. Belāmī/Bilusaiyā |
| 11. Śyāmaro/
Śyāmariyāra | 23. pur(a), <u>Malauḍī/</u>
<u>Malauḍiyāra</u> | 34. Malavām/
Maloriyāra |
| 12. Padaī/Padaiyāra | 24. Rahadaulī/ | 35. <u>Sapahā/</u>
<u>Sarpahārka</u> |
| | | 36. Moharāsudeva/
Mahurasiyā |
| | | 37. <u>Dīhā/Devadhārka</u> |
| | | 38. <u>Dumarā/</u> |

<u>Dumaraura</u>	Śuṇḍārka	<u>Bhaidāpākara</u>
39. Gaṃgarī (Śiva), Śivāna/ <u>Gunasaiyyā</u>	55. Deva/Devayāra	72. Viharā/Viharīha
40. Kuṛavā/Kuṇḍārka	56. Mahośa/ Mahośavāra	73. Mṛgā/Mṛgahā
41. Gaṃgarī/Gannaiyā	57. Aravāla/ Audhiyāra	74. Paṭhakaṭṭī/ Paṭhakaṭṭiyāra
42. Pāṇḍeya/pur(a), <u>Aiārī-Arihamsiyā</u>	58. Gaṃgaṭī/ Gaḍaṇarka	75. Mihirasī
43. Deharī/Devalasiyā (Dehulāsa)	59. Korī	76. (Seta) Rāmapura/ <u>Svetabhadrā</u>
44. Juṭṭhī/Juṭṭhīvarī	60. Punarakha/ <u>Punarakhiyā</u>	77. Huṇarāhī/ Huṇariyāra
45. Kukaraidhā/ Kukaraidhā	61. Cāṃdapura/ Caṇḍaroha (Candroti)	78. Siyārī/Siyariyāra
46. Devacandā/ Devavarunārka	62. Dīhā/Dīhika	79. Gorakhapura/ Gorakapuriyā
47. Devā/Devahā	63. Pisanārī/Pattisa	80. Śrīmaura/ Śrīmauriyāra
48. Goha/Gorahā	64. <u>Khanetā/</u> <u>Kharasūpa</u>	81. Pārasa/Pārasama
49. Soragaṃpur(a)a/ Sauriyāra	65. Kaithuvā/ <u>Kapitthaka</u>	82. Malavāṃ, Mallora
50. <u>Thakurī/</u> <u>Thakuramerāva</u>	66. Badhavā/ Balibāṃdha	83. Mujamṛiyā/ Mujāditya
51. Paṃcamī/ Pacakaṇṭhī (Pacakaṭṭha)	67. Khajanī/Kājhū (Khāṃjha)	84. Harihāsa/ Harihasiyā
52. Paṃcānapur(a)a/ Paṃcahāya	68. <u>Khajurī/Khajurahā</u>	85. Piparā/Piparahā
53. Vinayārka (Kāśī) evaṃ Vināyaka (Ganeśapur(a)a)/ Guṇayārka	69. Jūrā/Juttha (Juṭh(a)na)	86. Belagāṃva/ Belapāra
54. Kakarahī/	70. Varasāṃ/Varasāra (Vatasāra)	87. Devakalī/ Dharmāditya
	71. Bhaṃḍariyā/	88. Samarī/ Śyāmabaura
		89. Cainavāra
		90. Setapura (Samarī)/ Saptārka

Some of these names are particularly relevant from a historical perspective: *Mṛgā-Mṛgahā* (73) shows the other spelling of the name *Magā*, 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 *purās* 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.).

Pūrvā me gotra⁷⁴⁴ pura

1. Kuraiāra = M.; R.
2. Bhālunīāra ≈ M.; R.
3. Koriāra
4. Chatravānī ≈ M.; R.
5. Yāmuṅvāra
6. Malaurīāra ≈ M.; more similar to R.
7. Vālārka ≈ M.; R.
8. Hyarasiyā
9. Devalasiyā ≈ M.; R.
10. Mallauda ≈ M.; R.
11. Hudṛhīyāra
12. Śvetabhadra ≈ R.
13. Punarakhiyā = R.
14. Mihara (Mihira? R.)
15. Bhedāpākara ≈ M.; R.
16. Parāśāśīn ≈ 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.

Pūrvā me gotra (pura)

1. Kuraiāra
2. Bhālunīāra (Mūrtihā)
3. Koriāra
4. Chatravānī
5. Yāmuṅvāra
6. Malaurīāra
7. Vālārka
8. Hyarasiyā
9. Devalasiyā
- 10. Mallaurā**
- 11. Huṛṛhīyāra**
12. Śvetabhadra
13. Punarkhyā (Sarevā)
14. Mihara
- 15. Bheṛāpākara**
- 16. Pārāśīna**

⁷⁴⁴ I do not think that nowadays communities really distinguish between *gotras* and *purās*. I met some people belonging to the Śākadvipīya 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 *purās* is presented in 56 different combinations. The *purās* appear to be 21 in total, repeated in relation to different *gotras* and families.

Uravāra = M.
Puṇyārka = M., R.
Dumaraura = M., R.
Adaiāra = M.
Pavaiāra ≈ M.
 Gulasaīyā
Makhapavāra = M., R.
Khamtavāra ≈ M.
Jamuāra ≈ M., R.
Pamcahāya ≈ R.
Choriyāra ≈ M., = R.

Mahesvāra
 Devahā
Saraiāra ≈ M.
Śrīmauriyāra = R.
Bhaluniyāra ≈ M., = R.
Vinyārka = R.
 Bilasaīya
Devakuliyāra ≈ M., = R.
 Potiyāra
Moharasiyā ≈ M.

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

Adayī ≈
 Adaiāra ≈ / =
 Arihasiā ≈
 Uravāra
 Uru
 Uruvāra
 Ullārka
 Aiāra ≈
 Khaṇṭavāra ≈
 Kapittha ≈
 Kapitthaka
 Kuraiāra ≈
 Koṇa ≈
 Koṇārka
 Khajuraha ≈
 Khajuraiā ≈
 Khanasupa ≈
 Khanetu ≈
 Gannaīā ≈
 Guṇasaimā ≈
 Caṇḍaroṭi ≈
 Caṇḍaroṭi ≈
 Chatravāra

Cheriāra ≈
 Javuāra ≈
 Ṭakura ≈
 Ṭakkurāya ≈
 Dīhī ≈
 Ḍumaraura
 Ḍumarī ≈
 Ḍumariāra ≈
 Devakuāra ≈
 Devakulī
 Devaḍīha ≈
 Devaḍīhā ≈
 Devalasiā ≈
 Dehulāsi ≈
 Dehulāsia ≈
 Paṭiśā ≈
 Paḍarī ≈
 Paḍariāra ≈
 Parāsāḥ ≈
 Pavairi ≈
 Pavaiāra ≈
 Puṇyārka

Bhaluniāra ≈
 Bhalunī
 Bheḍāpākari ≈
 Makhapavāra
 Malauḍa ≈
 Malauḍiāra ≈
 Muhurāsiā ≈
 Rahadaliāra ≈
 Lolārka
 Vaḍasāra ≈⁷⁴⁵
 Vaḍāsāra ≈
 Vāravāra
 Vāruṇārka ≈
 Vāla ≈
 Saraiāra ≈
 Sarpaha ≈
 Sarpahā ≈
 Sikauriāra ≈
 Sicauriāra ≈
 Sivāriāra ≈
 Sivaurī ≈

⁷⁴⁵ It is quite possible that *ṭa-* and *ṛa-* 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 *Magavyakti*. In particular, we have *Svetabhadrā/Śvetabhadrā* and *Mihirasī/Mihara*. The first name can be connected with various topics: according to MW (1107, I) Śvetabhadrā 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 Nāmeḥ*'s story of Sām, who has a son with white hair. For references on leprosy in India and Iran, see PALLADINO 20??a.

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 *Khalavaktracapetikā*, 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's⁷⁴⁹ victory. This 'victory' of Sāmba is rather his recovery from leprosy and the foundation of a worship site for the sun god.⁷⁵⁰ 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 Purāṇic passages, but in this case it is Kṛṣṇa 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.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.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 Magadha, 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 Gayā⁷⁵³ and they decide to settle in its proximity. This move to Magadha is very interesting, and we cannot rule out the notion that it refers to a historical event. In any case, four⁷⁵⁴ of the 18 families decide to move, to live as ascetics and then go back to Śākadvīpa, while the other 14⁷⁵⁵ 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 Magadha 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 Gadādhara⁷⁵⁶ (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 temples⁷⁵⁷, 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).

⁷⁵¹ *Ivi*: 32.

⁷⁵² *Ibid.*

⁷⁵³ The city of Magadha (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).

⁷⁵⁴ Their names are Śrutikīrti, Śrutāyu, Sudharman and Sumati (cf. WEBER 1880: 36).

⁷⁵⁵ They are called Mihirāṅśu, Sudhāṅśu, Bharadvāja, Vasu, Parāsara, Kauṇḍinya, Kaśyapa, Garga, Bhṛṅgu, Bhavyamati, Sūryadatta, Nala, Arkadatta and Kauśila (*ibid.*). It is interesting to note that in this case, one of the names, Mihirāṅśu, contains an Iranian term, *mihira-*, probably the Bactrian form of the MP *mihir-*.

⁷⁵⁶ Literally 'bearing a club' (MW 344, III), it is an epithet of Kṛṣṇa.

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 Kṛṣṇa 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 Kṛṣṇa 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-pāriṇah*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 viniḥsṛtāḥ // 23b*
śaśikundemḍusamkāsāḥ samkyayāṣṭau mahābalāḥ /
paṭhanti caturo vedān-t-sāṃgopaniṣadaḥ khaga // 24

⁷⁵⁹ The names of the 16 families are given in the text (vv. 95–96): Garga, Gautama, Śāṇḍilya, Parāśara, Sāvarnya, Kaśyapa, Atri, Bharadvāja, Gālava, Kauśika (according to the *Magavyakti*, I, 20, this is the name of one of the Magas’ *gotras*), Bhārgava, Kasya, Kātyāyana, Aṅgiras, Sāṃkṛt(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 *Vāka/Māla* family stayed on the shore of the Sarayū (IV, 6: *v/mālārkā ye magās te nikhilaguṇamayās santi tīre sarayvā (-ṃ !)* [...]).

The importance of the *Sāmbavijaya* lays in its attempt at a complete legitimation and justification of the presence of the Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas in India, both during the present era and in previous ones.⁷⁶⁰ 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 Ṛṣis 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 rādhāvallabhāsritaśāstrī yadunāthamiśra-pañḍitavaryo hi vijayaty-tarāṃ*, and on f. 26 we find *iti śrīmad rādhāvallabhacaraṇaśaraṇāśrayāpanna-yadunāthaśāstrīṇāṃ saṃgrhītā sarvārthāvabhāsikā nirṇayadīpikā samāptim aphāṇit [...]* *saṃvat 1908*.⁷⁶¹ It seems that this Paṇḍit Yadunāthamiśra collected (*saṃgr-*) several different works in a compendium named *Nirṇayadīpikā*. *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 *nirñ-*, in the meaning 'take away' (perhaps a malevolent insinuation about the Śākadvīpīya 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 rājavallabhamiśra-pañḍita-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 *saṃvat 1900*, even though the last digit is clearly an eight, written in the same way throughout the manuscript.

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 Śākadvīpiyas. 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 *Ṛtavrata*, *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-bhūyiṣṭhā*⁷⁶² (*°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 sūryarūpā 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 Ṛṣis (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 *śākadvīpiyo brāhmaṇaḥ*, even though in the first section he had asserted that the Brāhmaṇas of Śākadvīpa were called *Ṛtavrata*.

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 *Bhaviṣya-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 *Khalavaktracapeṭikā* 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 Śākadvīpīya context) stayed in Kāśī⁷⁶³ (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.⁷⁶⁴ The identification of this author and the other scholars is far beyond our knowledge; a Rājavallabha is mentioned in the *Muhūrtadīpaka* by Mahādeva in 1661.⁷⁶⁵

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 kṣerīś ca makhapā ca kurāya ca dekulī bhalunī caiva ḍumvarī (add. paḍarī) tathā // 5*

adayī ca (add. pa)bh(e)rīsyād oṇḍarī puty atah param / e śivārī sarai kṣatra vārā vadhy oni jambu ca // 6

sikārī madaḍārī ca rahadaulīti nāmataḥ / [...] 7

dvādaśādityā devas te vāsuṅārko vināśavaḥ mahurāsīr devadīho ḍuvarauro guṅāśavaḥ // 8
kuṇḍā tathā malauṇḍās ca gaṇḍāvaḥ sapahāpi ca arihāsīr dehulāsīr jayanty ete jayapradāḥ / [...]

[...] paṭśā caṇḍaroṭīś ca ḍihī kajha kapitthakau // 10

syā teraha-parāśo [']pi khaṇḍasūpas tathā parah /

pālivādhaḥ khajurahā bheḍāpākarir ity api // 11

vipuro vaḍasāras ca gīrvāṇā iva pūjītāḥ / [...]

⁷⁶³ F. 18b: [...] kāśīstha-[...] Rājavallabhamiśrācāryya-[...] // 1

⁷⁶⁴ Cf. WEBER 1880: 67.

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

[...] *ullaḥ puṅdro mārkaṇḍeyo vālo lolaḥ koṇaś caṇaḥ* [...] //

The ending, at f. 27, is // *iti magavyaktau 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 *Vasuṅārka*- 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 *Sāmavijaya* 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.⁷⁶⁶ 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 Brāhmaṇas 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 Sāmavijaya 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 seienden Citate

⁷⁶⁶ On this topic, see PALLADINO 20??d.

über sie aus den Purâṇa.’ 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 Ṛṣis’ 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 Jīvaguṇḍa II, one of the Guṇḍas of Maḡadha, informs us that he and his predecessor Narasiṃhaḡuṇḍa Bālāditya, who ruled over Maḡadha in the fifth century, held the Bhojakas in high esteem and donated lands to them (cf. HAZRA 952: 109). This inscription is in Deo-Baraṇārka, ancient Vāruṇīkā, and concerns the granting of the village Vāruṇīkā to the sun, called Varuṇavāsin.⁷⁶⁷ The name of the village recalls one of the families in the *Maḡavyakti*, *Vāruṇārka*, and this village seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Arrah (Hindī name *Ārā!*) in the Bhojpur district, the present-day state of Bihār.⁷⁶⁸ 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):⁷⁶⁹

‘12 [...] ... vijñāpita-śrī-Varuṇavāsi-bhaṭṭāraka-pratīva(ba)ddha-bhōjaka-Sūryamitrēṇa uparī-likhi-

13 [ta] grām-ādi-samyutam paramēśvara-śrī-Vā(bā)lādityadēvēna sva-śāsanēna bhagava-śrī-Varuṇavāsi-bhaṭṭāraka

14 ka va-parivā(?)haka bhōjaka-Hansa-mitrasya samāpat[t]yā yathākāl-ādhyāsibhiś-cha ēvaṃ paramēśvara-

15 śrī-Śarvvavarmma bhōjaka-Rishimitra yatakam ēvaṃ paramēśvara-śrī[ma]d-Avantivarmmaṇā pūrvva-dattakam-avala-

16 [mbya] ēvaṃ mah[ā]rā[jā]dhirā[ja]-paramēśvara- śāsanā-dānēna bhōjaka-Durddha(?)ra(?)mitrasyānumō-

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.

(Ivi: 218):

‘(L. 12) – By the *Bhōjaka* Sūryamitra, belonging to (*the establishment of*) the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varuṇavāsin, who was requested the above-mentioned [village] together with and the village, &c., was formerly bestowed by the *Paramēśvara*, the glorious Bâlâdityadêva, by (*his*) own charter the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varuṇavāsin by restoration to the *Bhōjaka* Haṃsamitra, and by those who presided at different times, *vis.* the *Paramēśvara*, the glorious Śarvavarman [to] the *Bhōjaka* Ṛishimitra by the *Paramēśvara* Avantivarman. In accordance to this practice assent to its enjoyment by the *Bhōjaka* Durdharamitra 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 Ghaṭīyālā inscription of Kakkura, near Jodhpur. The date on the inscription is Samvat 918 (= 861 A.D.). The second part of it (N II) contains 11 lines, of which the tenth states, ‘[...] *likhitaṃ mage[na] Mātṛraviṇa* [...]’,⁷⁷⁰ so we know that the inscription was commissioned by the Maga Mātṛravi. This points to the fact that Magas were well known in V.E. 918, at least in Rājputānā, the ancient Rajput kingdom, whose area corresponded approximately to modern Rājasthān. SCHEFTELOWITZ (1933: 231 f.) states, ‘Im 9. Jhdt ist der Mihira = Sūrya-Kult auch in Rājputāna belegt.’

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

devo joyāt triloko maṇirayam aruṇo yan nivāsenā puṇyaḥ
śākadvīpas sa dugdhāmvunidhivalayito yatra vipre magākhyā /
vaṅśas tatra dvijānām bhrami-likhita-tanorvbhāsvataḥ svāṅga -----
śāmvo yānānināya svayam iha mahitās te jagatyām jayanti // --- 2

⁷⁷⁰ For the text of the inscription, cf. HULTZSCH 1981: 279 f.

⁷⁷¹ Kielhorn presents the inscription in *devanāgarī*. I have transcribed it according to IAST standards.

(Ivi: 338):

‘(2.) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruṇa, whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmins are named Magas!

There a race of twice-born [sprung] from the sun’s own body, grazed by the lathe, whom Śāmba 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/Śākadvīpiya. 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/Śākadvīpiyas—the author and his father, for example—who were renowned court poets. Finally, yet importantly, we again find much information about the Śākadvīpiya 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 Śāmba, 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, Śākadvīpiyas 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 ‘Śākadvīpiyas’, 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.⁷⁷² According to Hazra, this goes hand in hand with the fact that, in the *Sāmba-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 “Śākadvīpi” 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,⁷⁷³ 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.⁷⁷⁴

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's⁷⁷⁵ commentary on his own *Madhyamaka-hṛdayā-kārikā*—called the *Tarkajvāla* and only available in the Tibetan⁷⁷⁶ 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:⁷⁷⁷

- '[...] 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 Ēwagdād,⁷⁷⁸ 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 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. *xvaētuadaθa*, 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, SKJÆRVØ (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, *-vadaθa-*, 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 unproper 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*)’ (PANAINO 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:

*Nascatur magus ex Gelli matrisque nefando
coniugio et discat Persicum aruspicium:
nam magus ex matre et gnato gignatur oportet,
si vera est Persarum impia religio,
gratus ut accepto veneretur carmine divos
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 Sisimithres 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 *majūs*, 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 *Smṛticandrikā* by Devaṅṅabhaṭṭa 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 cults⁷⁸⁴ that followed Kirdīr's reform⁷⁸⁵ 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 *Samhitās*. 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 *Saurasamhitā* 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 Kirdīr'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 Caṇḍeśvara et le manuscrit de Berlin du Bhaviṣyottara [...].'

Vāthula/Kālottara.⁷⁸⁹ Under this analysis, even the *Sāmba-purāṇa* ultimately seems to be a product of the Śaiva environment.

⁷⁸⁹ Cf. SANDERSON 2009: 55.

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.⁷⁹⁰ 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.⁷⁹¹ SRIVASTAVA (1972: 246) affirms that some peculiar elements (like the iconography of the sun god or references in Purāṇic 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. SCHEFTELOWITZ (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)⁷⁹² and reached Indian soil in the first centuries A.D.
- Śakas and Kuṣāṇas:⁷⁹³ The most widespread idea is that at least the Magas⁷⁹⁴ 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 Kuṣāṇas, around the second century has many features in

⁷⁹⁰ A brief discussion of some historical problems related to the Śākadvīpīyas is contained in PALLADINO 20??a.

⁷⁹¹ Cf. CHATTOPADHYAYA 1950.

⁷⁹² Cf. GNOLI 1967; DAFFINÀ 1967; SCHOFF 1976.

⁷⁹³ For more information on these populations, cf. for example SCHEFTELOWITZ 1933; JUNGE 1939; DIKSHIT 1952 and 1953; EMMERICK 1968; CHAKRABERTI 1981; BAILEY 1985; MUKHERJEE 1988 and 2004; GRENET 2015.

⁷⁹⁴ 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 Kuṣāṇa 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.’⁷⁹⁵ In fact, foreign rulers, who were actually *mlecchas*, 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 [...].’⁷⁹⁶ 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).⁷⁹⁷
- 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 Purāṇic 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 Purāṇic 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 *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* contains one section, the *Brāhma-parvan*, which

⁷⁹⁵ THAPAR 2000: 729.

⁷⁹⁶ MCCRINDLE 1974: 167.

⁷⁹⁷ Cf. KOSAMBI 1964: 36.

probably dates to the sixth century A.D. (*ibid.*). We have seen that other Purāṇas sometimes mention the names of the classes of Śākadvīpa, 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 Śākadvīpa 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(ka)* who was brought from Śākadvīpa by Garuḍa and called *śākadvīpī vipra (brāhmaṇa)*.⁷⁹⁸ This is very interesting in light of the accusation of the Śākadvīpīyas 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 Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya ruled over Magadha. It is written in the Deo-Baraṇārī 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.

1971: 189). 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 *Bṛhatsamhitā*. BANERJEA (1974: 143) recalls that in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (II, 13, on *Samvatsarasūtra*), 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 *Sūryaśataka* by Mayūra, who celebrates the sun god and compares himself, who had contracted leprosy, with Sāmba.
- Also in the seventh century, we have Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita*, in which it is stated that Tāraka, the astrologer at king Prabhākaravardhana's court (second half of the seventh century) was a Bhojaka.⁸⁰¹ 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 *Bhaviṣya-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 *Sāmbapañcāsikā* 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).

⁸⁰¹ Cf. HUMBACH 1978: 245.

- Jivagupta 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 *Bhaviṣya-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 *Bhaviṣya-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 be condemned. 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 *brāhmaṇs*, 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 *brāhmaṇs* are contemptuously described as associated with the *mlecchavaṃśa*, although in the *Bhaviṣya 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*⁸⁰² 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-mentioned SP 26, 46a/Bh I. 139, 90a; SP. 24, 7/Bh. I. 127, 8; *Sāmnavijaya*, *adhyāya* 13; even contemporary 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 Ghaṭiyāḷā 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 Gaṅgādhara's inscription in Govindpur, in which many particulars of Sāmba's legend are cited (cf. 4.1).
- Koṅārka'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 1996: 67-82).
- Finally, we cannot date the later poems *Magavyakti*, *Sāmnavijaya* and *Khalavaktracapeṭika* with precision. According to its declaration of authorship, the *Magavyakti* 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 *Khalavaktracapeṭikā*, the self-avowed author places himself in Vārāṇasī. 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 edition (256. 3 vols, Allahabad, 1932–1939) of the *Manusmṛti*, vol. 1, p. 57, ll. 5–6.

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.

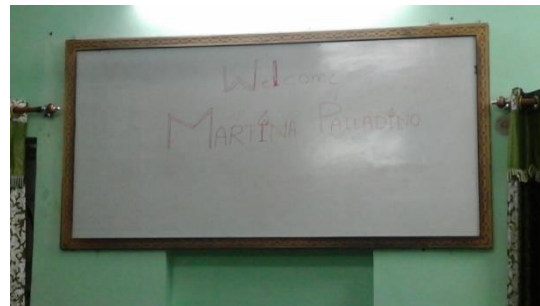
What I did not expect, upon arriving in India, was the fact that communities could in turn be so interested in me. Suddenly my field research became a mutual exchange of questions and information. What they always wanted to know, before answering my questions, was the story of how I become interested 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.



इदली की डा. माहिना पोल्तादिना शोध कार्य के लिए बीकानेर में सम्मानित



कार्यक्रम में मुख्य अतिथि को रूप में बोलते हुए डा. माहिना पोल्तादिना
अन्ना मेटर स्टुडियार्म बोलीनिया विस्वविद्यालय (इटली)



Visits to the members of the communities in Bīkāner and in Delhi.
On the left: with Dr. Bharti Bhojak
On the right: with Mr. Kumar Manish Mishra



With the oldest member of the Śākaldvīpi community in Patna, Mr. Rangan Sūrīdev.

‘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 Śākadvīpiyas’ 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 ‘Śākdvīpī’ we also find the form ‘Śākdvīpīya’ (Engl. Shakdweepiya), which is definitely a typical secondary derivative form. On the contrary, in Bihār they call themselves ‘Śākaldvīpi’ 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 Mārvār and Mevār 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: ‘Śākadvīp⁸⁰⁷ 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 ... Śākadvīp ... 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, Hūṇās ... 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.⁸⁰⁸ For this reason, the Śākadvīpīyas 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 ‘Śākadvīp’. I have decided to adopt it in transcribing the interviews.

⁸⁰⁸ Cf. HERZFELD 2001: 71, who quotes HELMS 1988.

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 Purāṇic legend of Sāmba's disease and his recovery. In their stories, it is the sun god who cures Sāmba,⁸⁰⁹ 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).⁸¹⁰ 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 *Sāmvavijaya* 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 Śākadvīpīya people moved outside India, to Australia, America and Mongolia. They postulated also that 'Mongolia' [*mɔŋ 'gooliə*] 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 ‘Śākadvīpis 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 *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* (I. 140, 37), some ‘reversed’ Vedas are mentioned⁸¹¹; 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 Biharī 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 *Bhaviṣya-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 teṣāṃ vedāḥ prakīrtitāḥ /
vedo viśvavadaś caiva vidud aṅgirasas tathā //*

⁸¹² INT. 4, 7.20: ‘[...] Purāṇs are ... about the Śākadvīpī 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 Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇas, and they are even mentioned in it. The *Sāmvavijaya* 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 *ādityahṛdayastotram*. 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 Rāvaṇa is about to begin. In the *Sāmvavijaya*, the Magas are invited to Ayodhyā to celebrate Rāma's *aśvamedha*.

Therefore, the central texts of Hinduism are indeed the fundamental texts of the Śākadvīpīya 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 Śākadvīpīyas '[...]' 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 Śākadvīpīya 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/tulasī* 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 Dharmadhvaṇa.⁸¹⁶

This Śākadvīpīya interest in medicine has its roots, according to my interlocutors' opinion, in the Purāṇic 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.'⁸¹⁷ 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, Svayambū 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 *Ivi*: 59 f.

⁸¹⁶⁸¹⁶ The *Devī-Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, skanda 9, narrates the myth of Tulsī (cf. VETTAMMĀNI 1978: 797 F.).

⁸¹⁷ Skr. (SP 11, 46): *sā tadvivasvataḥ śukraṃ nāsikābhyāṃ nirāvamat / devau tasyāmajāyetām aśvinau bhiṣajāṃ 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 Kāśī (*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:

āyurvedamahāstrabhagnanikhilakleśocayās saṃtataṃ

rejus te ḍumarauravaṃśaja-magā yeṣāṃ 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 regenerate⁸²¹; 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. Kṛṣṇa 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 *shanka*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 cultural 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 (Koṇārka) 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.⁸²⁶ 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 Purāṇic literature, is often mentioned in relation to waters.⁸²⁷ 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 *paṇḍits* 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 Purāṇic 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, 'Śākadvīpīs 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 Śākadvīpīs 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 Śākdvīpīyas 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 Śākdvīpīyas’ 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 Śākdvīpīya 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 Bhojaks because they feed the Lord sun. And Sevaks, 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 Purāṇic 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 Śākdvīpīyas, the Bhojaks 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.⁸²⁸ 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 Jains 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 Mīśra (cf. Kṛṣṇadāsa Mīśra or Rājavallabha Mīśra). In any case, no real distinction is made between the different groups of Śākdvīpīyas. 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 man 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 Śākdvīpīya 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 Śākdvīpīya, 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 Śākdvīpīya 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 Śākdvīpīyas 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 Pārsīs? 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 PĀṄḌE*, 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 Zaruṣtra in their version is almost identical to the original. In the *Bhaviṣya-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 Zaruṣtra.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*⁸³⁰? *Avyāṅga* now is the point that now scientifically as well as biologically the kid brings as develops. This is why *avyāṅg-saṃskār* has a fixed date. It is the eight year of the child. *Avyāṅga* 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 *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 ... [*he points to his shoulder*] [...]’ (INT. 5, *Addendum on the Avyāṅga*). 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 Purāṇic 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 *barəsmān*), but I received no feedback, which suggested that the ritual objects described in the Purāṇic 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 me⁸³¹ 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, he 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 Maḥarṣi 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 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 Ayodhyā is a Śākdvīpīya (INT. 3, 0.23). Therefore, the glory of the Śākdvīpīyas, asserted in various disciplines since the Maḡavyakti, is still present in the form of some contemporary personalities, who are the pride of today’s communities. One example is the poet *Śīlavrata Sharma*, from Udaipur, affectionately called Śīlva jī (cf. INT. 3, 5.48 and paragraph 5.3).

⁸³¹ They relied on PĀNDE*’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 Nandī 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 Kalī, 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 Lakhsmī-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.



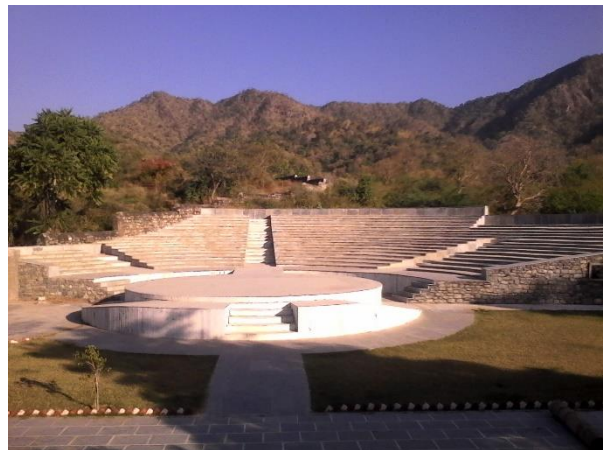
Sūrya Mandir in Bīkāner

On the way from Udaipur to Jodhpur, there is a very important sun temple for Śākadvīpīya 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.



Sūrya mandir in Rāṇakpur

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 Śākdvīpiya 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.



5.3 Literature

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 primarily 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 Rāmcī (Jhārkhāṇḍa), where there is a high concentration of Śākadvīpīya people (cf. INT. 5, 3.35), and the *Śākadvīpīya 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 Śākadvīpiya environment. The previously mentioned Śīlavrata Sharma, ‘Śīlva jī’, is the author of the poem *Śrī Sūryāṣṭakam*, 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 Śākadvīpiyas are actually part of this living tradition.

The image shows a page from a book titled "श्री सूर्याष्टकम्" (Shri Suryashtakam) by Śīlavrata Sharma. The page features a central illustration of Lord Surya, the Sun God, seated on a chariot pulled by seven horses, with a crescent moon and a snake on his head. The text is in Sanskrit and includes a Hindi translation. The page is part of a collection titled "श्री सूर्याष्टकम्" and is published by ADROIT.

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 Śākadvīpiyas’ 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 Śākadvīpiya 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 being 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 Śākdvīpīyas 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 Śākdvīpīyas 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 Śākdvīpīya tradition and identity; these features emerge against a landscape of incongruous traits, which are as important as the shared ones. Moreover, the nature of Purāṇic literature, for example,

⁸³³ HERZFELD 2001: 67.

may have allowed much integration over the centuries, and even if the *Sāmba-* 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 *avyāṅga*, 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 Zarathuštra 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 Purāṇic 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 kaścīd 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 *avyaṅga* 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 Purāṇic 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, Udāna 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 saṃpūrṇayāmi // mihiraṃ nivāsītāraṇyaṃ sahasrakarṇaṃ daśasahasralocanaṃ uktanāmānaṃ iajdaṃ / kila nāma anayā dīnyā uktamāste // ānandaṃ nirbhayatvaṃ āsvādaṃca / sa iajdasya ye manuṣyā khādyasya svādaṃ jānanti //

17: jarathustrotimanāmnīṃca puṇyātmanīm puṇyagurvīm 19: vijayaṃca hormijdadattaṃ

33: ye santi puṇyasya yat utkriṣṭataraṃ hormijdena śikṣāpitāḥ / jarathustrāya // jarathustreṇaca proktāḥ / antar asmin jagati //

34: hormijdena sṛṣṭāḥ //

majdadattāḥ (39) / majdadattān (39, 41) / majdadattaṃ (41, 43) / majdadattām (42)

40: jarathustriyaṃ

65: prabravīmi mājdaīsnīm jarathustriyām vibhinnadevām hormijdasya nyāyavatīm /

II

baresmanaṃ samīhe ijisnau (2) / prāṇaṃ samam baresmanena samīhe ijisnau (4) // baresmanaṃ samam prāṇena samīhe ijisnau (5) // enaṃ prāṇaṃ enaṃca baresmanaṃ samīhe ijisnau (6) // taṃ baresmanaṃ enaṃca prāṇaṃ samīhe ijisnau (7) // samam prāṇena enaṃ baresmanaṃ samīhe ijisnau (8) // enaṃ baresmaṃ samam prāṇena samam aibiaṅghena puṇyena parigrathitaṃ samīhe ijisnau (9) // anena prāṇena baresmanenaca svāminaṃ mahājñāninaṃ puṇyātmānaṃ puṇyagurum samīhe ijisnau (10) //

15: anena prāṇena baresmanenaca mihiraṃ nivāsītāraṇyaṃ sahasrakarṇaṃ daśasahasralocanaṃ uktanāmānaṃ iajdaṃ samīhe ijisnau /

anena prāṇena baresmanenaca... (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) / majdadattām (55, 56, 57)

24: jarathustrotemanāmnīṃca puṇyātmanīm puṇyagurvīm samīhe ijisnau

25: hormijdadattaṃ

43: ...hormijdena... / jarathustrāya // jarathustreṇaca proktāḥ /

44: anena prāṇena baresmanenaca svāminaṃ mihiraṃ mahattaraṃ anaśvaraṃ puṇyātmānaṃ samīhe ijisnau //

45: tāṛās(ca) candraṃca sūryaṃca // vanaspatīn ye upari baresmane mihiraṃ sarveṣāṃ grāmāṇāṃ rājānaṃ samīhe ijisnau //

52: jarathustriyaṃ

59: hormijdaṃ

III

1: baresmanena upari saṃnihitena samam prāṇena hauanasamdhyaāḥ gurutayā / saṃmitena baresmadānopari //

4: śrośa- ... (61: śrośasya)

5: hūmaṃca prāhūmaṃca samīhe ijisnau (= in 62) / hūmaṃ prāhūmīyamityarthaḥ //

6: jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya (jarathuśtrasya / śpitama) (= 62)

9: hūmaṃ samīhe ijisnau //

⁸³⁴ I did not follow SPIEGEL's transcription; I adopted the IAST one.

- 10: apāṃ [...] majdadattānām (14)
 11: udakaṃ hūmīyaṃ samīhe ijisnau //
 15: enaṃ baresmanaṃ samaṃ prāṇena samaṃ aiviaṅghanena puṇyena parigrahitam samīhe ijisnau //
 68 – 70: prabravīmi mājdaiasnīm / [...] yathā ahuramajdābjilāṣaḥ / [...] ahuramajdasya /

IV

- 2: enaṃ hūmaṃca [...] // baresmanaṃca [...] // hūmaṃca prāhūmaṃca / hūmaṃ prāhūmiyamityarthaḥ
 4: śrośasyaca [...] (= 50) // agneśca hormijdasya
 51: jarathustrasya aspatamaputrasya
 56: [...] hormijdasyārthe // [...] hormijdo

V

- 6: [...] mitritamāste

VI

- 6: mihiraṃ nivāsītāraṇyaṃ sahasrakarṇaṃ daśasahasralocanaṃ uktanāmānaṃ iajadaṃ /
 14: [...] majdadattām [...]
 16: jarathustrotemanāmnīma [...]
 17: hormijdadattaṃca
 20: śrośaṃ
 21: rasnaṃ śuddhaṃ ā // satyapatim asya rasna iti nāmatā śuddhatāca satyatāca //
 35: ...hormijdena [...] jarathustreṇaca
 36: svāminam mihiraṃ mahattaraṃ anaśvaram puṇyātmānaṃ ā // tārāśca candram(ca) sūryaṃca // vanaspatin ye upari baresmane mihiraṃ sarveṣaṃ grāmāṇaṃ rājānaṃ ā//
 40: majdadattāḥ (x 2) / majdadattān (= 45)
 43: nyāyam jarathustrīyaṃ ā /
 44: mājdaiasnīm
 45: majdadattaṃ (= 47)
 46: majdadattām (x 2) (= 47)
 49: hormijdaṃca
 51: śrośaṃ
 52: hūmaṃca prāhūmaṃca ā // jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya [...]

VII

- 1: śrośasya (= 52)
 2: puṇyena dadāmi hūmaṃca prāhūmaṃca (= 53) / hūmaṃ prāhūmiyamityarthaḥ // sanmānakṛityā jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya puṇyātmakavṛiddheḥ (= 53) //
 4: puṇyena dadāmi hūmaṃ // majdadattānām (=7)
 5: puṇyena dadāmi apaḥ hūmīyāḥ //
 8: puṇyena dadāmi enaṃca baresmanaṃ samaṃ prāṇena samaṃ aiviaṅghanena puṇyena parigrathitam
 58: hormijdasya
 59: ahuramajda
 68: hūmaṃca prāhūmaṃca ā //

VIII

- 1: hūmaṃca prāhūmaṃca samidhaṃca gandhaṃca //
 3: hūmasyaca // [...] puṇyātmānaśca jarathustrasya //

- 5: he dīne majdaīasni //
 6: yaḥ tetṣu majdaīasneṣu majdaīasnīm brūte puṇyasamṛiddhyo jīvet /
 9: ...majdaīasnebhyaḥ...
 10: ahuramajda
 15: jarathustraḥ
 16: ...ahurmijdīyā jarathustrīyā

IX hūmastūmasya mūlaṃ

(hūmasya ...)

- 1: [...] hūmaḥ upeyivān jarathustraṃ /
 3: ...jarathustraḥ... / aho iastau na prāk babhūva puraḥprakataṭvāt asau pariñātavān yat hūmo 'yaṃ sameti yadica samāgato 'bhūt enaṃ praṣṭuṃ samīhata mithro zayāt zarathustrem tat parisphuṭameva yadyenaṃ saṃmāryavān iti hetoḥ yat samayaḥ samaṃ iajadaiḥ prabhūtairāsīt tasya iajadāśca prakataṭarā āsan iyaṃ prakṛitiśca komalābhūt asau abhīpsitatvāt samaṃ hūmena uccairbabhāṣe //
 5: hūmo ... hūmena
 6: ahaṃ asmi jarathustra hūmo muktimān dūramṛityuḥ //
 7: spitama
 9: taṃ abhāṣata jarathustro namo hūmāya //
 10: hūma (21, 28, 40, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 78, 83, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 103)
 11: hūmo (22, 29, 41) 72: hūmaḥ (73)
 27: ..ahurem mazdañm.. ..hormijdasya..
 43: ..jarathustra..(44, 46) ..hormijdanyāyī..
 48: taṃ abhāṣata jarathustro namo hūmāya //
 49: uttamo hūmaḥ sudānaṃ / [...] hūmaḥ satyadānaḥ /
 71: hūmasteṣāṃ [...]
 74: hūmastābhyaścīt [...]
 75: hūmastāṃścīt [...]
 80: hormijdaḥ
 81: prakṛiṣṭaṃ idaṃ tubhyaṃ hormijdo 'dāt prāktanāṃ aivīaṅghanatāṃ tārāracitāṃ paralokaghaṭitāṃ uttamāṃ dīniṃ mājdaiasnīm / asya aivīaṅghanatvaṃ idaṃ yat yathā kustī samaṃ manuṣyeṇa aikīkṛitā dīniśca evaṃ samaṃ hūmena aikīkṛitā asyāḥ aikīkṛitatvaṃ idaṃ yat yāvat hūmaṃ na khādati dīnyā suniścito na bhavati hūmakhādanakāryaṃ antarijisanau āste //

X

- 2: śrośo
 3: antasmin gṛihe yat hormijdīyaṃ 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: prakṛiṣṭaṃ te pratikaromi mitratvaṃ stutikṛitiṃca / kila te mitraṃ bhavāmi staumica / yataḥ mitraṃ stutikaraṃ uttamāṃ adadāṃ ityabhāṣata svāmī mahājñānī yaṃ puṇyāt utkṛiṣṭataraṃ / kilāhaṃ dīnivāhakasya śaktā bhavituṃ //
 35: namo hūmaya (= 36)
 43: hūmīyaṃca
 44: hūmadrūṇaṃ
 52: taṃ abhāṣata jarathustro yat namo hūmāya majdadattāya uttamo hūmo majdadatto namo hūmāya / [...]

53: hūmān

Hūmaṃ suvarṇābhaṃ unnataṃ ā // hūmaṃ phrāśmeṃ vṛiddhidaṃ bhūsaṃbhūteḥ ā // hūmaṃ
dūramṛityuṃ 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 mājdaiasnīm jarathustrīyām vibhinnadevām hormijdanyāyavatīm / [...]

3: hormijdasya

8: majdaiasnānām (= 12)

18: jarathustraṃ

19 .. hormijdāt jarathustraḥ (= 21) /

20: jarathustro

22: ... majdaiasno (= 25) jarathustrīya.h .. jarathustraḥ /

24: jarathustrasya

25: mājdaiasnīm (= 27) jarathustrīyām prakāśayāmi /

28: ... hormijdīyā jarathustrīyā /

29: hormijdasya // ... mājdaiasnyā ...

XIV

2: ... mājdaiasnīm ...

4: mitraṃ niveditanuṃ guruṃ bravīmi agnau svāmīno mahājñāninaḥ / yo hormijdamitro taṃ
guruṃ agnau bravīmi yataḥ tasya vapuṣti abhyāgato 'sti //

7: ... mājdaiasnyā ... (-ḥ: 9)

19: jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya [...]

... mājdaiasnyāḥ /

XV

5: ... baresmanenaca ...

XVI

3: ... uttamāyāḥ mājdaiasnyāḥ //

XVII

1: ahuramajdaṃ puṇyātmakaṃ puṇyaguruṃ ā //

3: jarathustraṃ puṇyātmakaṃ puṇyaguruṃ ā //

7: jarathustrasya puṇyāmano vṛiddhiṃ ā //

8: jarathustrasya uktiṃ ā //

9: jarathustrasya dīniṃ ā //

10: jarathustrasya abhilāṣaṃ nyāyaṃca ā //

21: ... majdadattāḥ ...

- 22: sūryam ...
 27: mihiram nivāsītāraṇyam ā / maitrīpatim //
 28: śrośam puṇyātmakam ā / ādeśapatim //
 29: raśnam śuddham ā / satyapatim //
 31: ... hormijdadattam ...
 34: ...ahuramajdam ...
 35: mājdaiasnīm ...
 46: ... devadattasya ...
 54: ... ahuramajda //
 63: ... hormijdasya ...
 69: ... majdadattam ...
 72: ... jarathustrotimānāmca //

XIX

- 1: apṛicchat jarathustraḥ ahuramajdāt // ahuramajda... ahuramajdaḥ ... ahuramajdatā ...
 ahuramajdashānam ... ahurmajdasya ...
 2: kiṃcīt vacaḥ āsīt ahuramajda // [...]
 3: ... majdadattāyāḥ ...
 4: taṃ abravīt ahuramajdaḥ // ... spitama jarathustra (= 6, 9, 12) [...]
 20: ... sūryasya ...
 23: ... hormijdāya / (x 2, = 35)
 29: ... hormijdasya ... / ... hormijdamaṇaḥ ... //
 31: yaḥ hormijdāya sujīvaniḥ / ... hormijdasya ... (= 34 x 2, 37)
 34: ... hormijdaḥ ... (= 35, 38)
 36: yathā mitram spitamāya pañcanyāyībhūtaḥ / kila pañcasu nyāyeṣu madhye bhūtaḥ //
 44: etacca vaco majdoktam /
 50: ... jarathustraḥ ... (= 52)
 51: ... jarathustrīyāt // ... jarathustrīye //

XX

- 1: ... hormijdasya // (= 7)

XXI

- 1: ... jarathustrasya ...
 4: taṃ uvāca hormijdaḥ // [...]
 8: ... hormijdaḥ ...

XXII

- 1: baresmanena ...
 2: imaṃ hūmaṃ puṇyena uccairdattam / [...]
 5: ... hūmamataḥ ...
 6: apāṃ uttamānām apaḥ hūmīyāḥ // [...]
 8: ... baresmanīm ... // ...mājdaiasnyāḥ //
 11: ... majdadattāḥ ...
 12: ... śrośasyaca ...
 13–14: ...hūmaṃ... // ...majdadattāḥ... / ...śrośadrūṇena... // imaṃ hūmaṃ puṇyena uccairdattam
 /
 23: ...majdadattāḥ... (= 31)
 25: mihiro nivāsītāraṇyaḥ / [...]
 26: sūryo 'maraḥ tejasvī vegavadaśvaḥ //

- 28: ...majdadattā... mājdaiasnī //
29: ...jarathustrīyaṃ / ...mājdaiasnāmim / [...]

XXIV

- 1: svāminam mahājñāninam hūme abhimantrayāmi //
2: imam hūmaṃca miajdaṃca / bhojanadānam // [...] baresmanamca puṇyena parigrathitam //
[...]
5: ...hūmamataḥ ...
6: apāṃ uttamānām apaśca hūmīyāḥ //
8: ...baresmanīm... uttamāyāḥ mājdaiasnyāḥ //
10: [...] viśvāśca vibhūtīḥ majdadattāḥ puṇyāt prakatāḥ //
12: śrośasya puṇyātmanaḥ / [...] agneśca hormijdasya // [...]
13: [...] jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya puṇyātmano vṛiddheḥ... //
15–23: imam hūmaṃca miajdaṃca (yāvat) viśvāśca vibhūtīḥ majdadattāḥ puṇyāt prakatāḥ //
30: ... śrośadrūṇe...

XXV

- 2: imam hūmaṃ puṇyena uccairdattam ā / [...]
5: ...hūmamataḥ...
6: apāṃ uttamānām apaśca hūmīyāḥ ā //
9: ...baresmanīm... // ...mājdaiasnyāḥ /
11: ...majdadattāḥ...

XXVI

- 2: ...jarathuśrotim(ān)āṃca //
3: ...ahurmajdāt //
6: ...hormijdāt...
10: ...jarathustrasya...
15: jarathustrasya spitāmaputrasya...
17: jarathustraputrasya...

XVIII

- ...jarathustra(h) /
1: ...hormijdasya... (= 4b)
5b: ...śrośanaparijñeyam /
6b: ...jarathustro...
8: ...saha mitrayāmaḥ /

XXIX

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

MILLS 1912: v. 6: ásurah(-o), mahādeáh (= Ahura Mazdā)
v. 8b: jarateuštraḥ(-s), spitāmaḥ(-ós) (= Zarathuštra)

XXX

- 1b: ...hormijdasya / [...] (= 4c, 8c)
3: [...] hormijdaḥ... (= 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 adṛiṣyamūrteḥ karmaṇā mitraṃ //
22c: sa te mahājñānin svāmin mitraṃ asti niveditanuḥ / [...]

XXXII

- 2c: ...mitrayāmi...
4b: vadatāṃ devamitratvaṃ uttamaṃ sīdayati manaḥ / [...]
5b: ...-deva-...
12c: ...mitratarā...

XXXIII

- 2c: ...mitratayā... (=10b)
5: ...śrośa...
10c: ...mitratayā...
13b: ...ahuramajdasya..
14: ... jarathustro ...
14b: ...ahuramajdāya...

XXXIV

- 4: ...ahuramajda...
4c: ...ahuramajdaḥ...

XXXVI

- 16: tatra yatra sūrya uktaḥ / [...]

XXXIX

- 1: ... hormijdaḥ //

XLI

- 12: ...ahuramajda // (= 14)
22: [...] mihiraṃ iajdaṃ //
23: hormijdaṃca jarathustraṃca ā...
24: ...majdadattaṃ...
30: hūmaṃca...
31: hūmaṃ...
32: hūmaṃ dūraṃṛityuṃ ā //

XLII

- ...hormijdasya... jarathustrasya... (= 1e, 3e, 8e, 9e, 11e, 14e, 16e)
2e: ...jarathustrasya... (= 4e, 5e, 6e, 7e, 10e, 12e, 13e, 15e)

3d: [...] hormijdaḥ // (= 9c, 10e)
8 : ...jarathustro... (= 16)
8c: ...hormijdasya...
12d: śrośaḥ puṇyātmā gustāspaḥ mahādātrā jarathustreṇa saṃmīśraḥ //
14: yo narāya mitrāya viśiṣṭajñānīne lābhaṃ dadāti / [...]
14d: ...hormijda jarathustraṃ...
16: ...mitrayāmi // (x 2, = 16b, c)

XLIII

1c: ...mitro...
1d: evaṃ vayaṃ puṇyena mitraṃ dadāmaḥ sahakartāraṃ / [...]
1e, clos.: ... jarathustrasya...hormijdasya... jarathustrasya... clos.ura (= 8e clos., 9e clos.)
2e: [...] bhuvanadvaye 'pi mitro mahājñānīnaḥ /
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) sūryasya tārakāṇāṃca dadau padavīm / [...] -candra
5e: ...śośiosaḥ...
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: ...hormijdaḥ...
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: sarvajñānīni hormijdīyā / [...]
5c: ...śrośāya... (x2)
5e: ...hormijde /
8b: ...hormijdāt // (= 9b)
9c: hormijdarājyaṃ samācarabdhiḥ asmabhyaṃ dehi hormijda //
11e: mitro bhrātā pitā vā hormijdaḥ //

XLV

1: [...] hormijdaḥ 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 ... mairivān //
5e clos.: ...jarathustrasya... hormijdasya //
6e: ...hormijdasya/ ...śaośiosaḥ... (= 15d clos., 18e clos.)
10c: [...] mahyaṃ jarathustrāya // [...]
13: ...spitamānvayāya jarathustrāya...
14a.b.: jarathustra kaste muktātmā mitro mahatā mahattvena / [...]
14e: ...spitamāt...

15: ...śpitamāyāḥ //
15d: ...hormijdaḥ //
17c: ...śrośadakṣiṇādānena //
19b: jarathustrasya... (x2)

XLVI

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

XLVII

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

XLVIII

3d: ...mitratām...
5d: ...hormijda /
12: ...jarathustro...

XLIX

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

L

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

LI

14: ...ahuramajdasya...

LII

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

LIII

1: ...jarathustrīyābhyāḥ //

LVI

śrośasya... ..yathāhuramajdābhilāṣaḥ / [...] ...jarathustrīyāṃ... hormijdanyāyavatīm / [...]

1: śrośaṃ...

5: [...] śrośāt //

7: ...śrośa...

8: śrośaṃ... (= 10)

9: ...śrośāt //

10: ...hormijdaṃ...

12: ...jarathustrasya...

ADDENDA

2

2: ...baresma...

3

2: ...spitamaputro...jarathustra //

6

3: ...majdaīasnānāṃ...

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)

āditva – Edgerton: p. 93, m., the gotra name of Śākyaṃuni's family
S–P 355: ādit(i)yá-

āra – T. Prakrit: āra-, °aō, 1295 : ārá-, pronominal stem in ārát '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 Mahāñiraya abodes of the fourth hell.

Wörterbuch: ârâ, ts. Ahle.

Pischel: āra, 165

ardha-māgadhī kosa: āra 1. this world 2. world, worldly existence 3. householdership 4. a certain division of the 4th hell-region

ardha-māgadhī kosa V: p 177: āra 1. Of the first 2. The planet Mars

Mylius: āra pag. 135: *m* 1. Erdenwelt, Menschenwelt 2. Hausvater-Dasein 3. Jin Myth eine Stätte in der vierten Höllenregion

Edgerton: āra, p. 102, nt., the hither or nearer side or part.

V.: āra, ara 523; ārā np; M. ipnb: Ara- 18;

arka: S–P p 71: arká-

maṇḍala – T.Pali: maṇḍala- 9742; T. Oriya: maṇḍala 9742 : 'circle, disc of sun or moon'.

Wörterbuch: pag. 135: maṇḍala, ts Kreis.

Mylius P: pag. 278 Kreis, Ring

S–P 452: māṇḍala-

A

adayī – ardha-māgadhī kosa: adaya 'cruel, hard-hearted, merciless'

adaīāra – 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

arihasī / arihasiā – Wörterbuch: pag. 92: ariha, arha wert mah'; arihai, √arh sollen.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: ariha 'price, cost, value'

Mylius: ariha pag. 98 1. <arh.: arihai, arihati fähig sein, wert sein, würdig sein, taugen 2. Adj <arha: moralisch verdienend, 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 Gamdhila district in the Mahāvideha (Sthānāga 637, Jambūdvīpaprajñapti 102).

Edgerton: avadhya, p.72: adj., ep. of *śilpa*, art

U

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

uru – T. Pali: 2353; – T. Prakrit: uru- 2353 : urú- ‘wide’; [T. Prasun: urū 10576, 10805, urū 6636; T. Sindhi: uru 2350;]

VV: uru pag. 53

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: uru ‘extensive vast’

Mylius: uru pag. 169 adj <uru: groß, breit, weit

Mylius P: pag. 107 <ved uru: 1. Adj (auch urunda) weit, großräumig 2. f. Erde, Erdboden

S-P: 781: urú-

ulla – T. Prakrit: ulla- 2057: udra- ‘wet’, 2559: ōlla- ‘debt’

Pischel: ulla, 111

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: ulla ‘wet, damp’

ardha-māgadhī koṣa 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 : : ēṣá ‘this’ ; T. Oriya: e [2462], 2530; T. Gujarati: 2530, (10391 : yá-nom.pl.m); T. Lahnda: e 2530; T. Panjabi: e 2530

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: e 1. A vocative interjection 2. This, in this way.

Mylius: e pag. 181 1.<ā-i: kommen, ankommen 2. <e: Interj 3. Avd <evam: auf diese Weise, so

Guj: pag. 30: adj. that

S-P 792: e

esiāra – [T. Marathi: ēśī 911 : : aśī́ ‘eighty’; T. Pashai ēśī 215 : : *atíśōdhi- ‘broom’]

(P1: Esikā: A country in Jambudīpa, pag 459)

Mylius: esi pag. 186 adj <eṣin: 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 oṇí: anvertrautes Gut

S-P 666: oṇí-

oṇipura

oṃṇaniāra

oṇḍarī

K

kajjha – T. Pali: khajja (ka)-, 3872 : khādyā- ‘solid food’; kajjala-,2622; – T. Prakrit: kajja-3078 : kārya- ‘action,duty’

Wörterbuch: pag. 100: kajja, kārya n. Geschäft, Sache.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: kajja ‘a deed, an action, an aim, a purpose, a duty’

Mylius: kajja pag. 196 <kārya:

kattha – T. Pali: kaṭṭha- 3449 : kṛṣṭā- ‘ploughed’, 2978 : kaṣṭā- ‘bad, useless’, 3120 : kāṣṭhā- ‘wood’; katthati- 2700; – T. Prakrit: katthāi 2700, kaṭṭha-2978, 3120, 3449;

Wörterbuch: pag. 101: kattha, kva wo, wohin?

Pischel: kattha, 293: kurta.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: kattha ‘to say, to tell’ / where, on what side / (Nāva and other scriptures) including stories and historical matter

ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 228: kattha 1. From where; Whence 2. A kind of vegetation

Mylius: kattha pag. 201 1. Pron interr <kutra: wo?, wohin? 2. Adj <kathya: sagbar, erzählbar 3 (I) <kath:, katthai sagen, erzählen

Mylius P: pag. 126 wo? wohin?

kapattha

kapittha – T. Pali: kapittha-, 2749 : kapittha- ‘the tree Feronia elephantum’;

P1: Kapitṭha: a village near Cittalapabbata-vihāra, the residence of Phussadeva.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: kapittha ‘the wood-apple tree’

Mylius: kapittha pag. 201 n <kapittha: Name des Baumes Feronia elephantum

Mylius P: = kapitṭha pag. 129 1. 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-

kapitthaka – S–P 14: kapitthaka-

kuṇḍā – T. Pali: kuṇḍa- 3265 : kuṇḍa- ‘son of a woman during husband’s life by another man’; T. Oriya: kuṇḍa 3264 : kuṇḍā- ‘bowl, waterpot’; T. Hindi: kuṇḍā 3265 : ‘son born in adultery’; T. Sindhi: kuṇḍa 3898 : *khuṇṭa- ‘corner’; T. Lahnda: kuṇḍā 3260 : *kuṇṭa- ‘a bullock whose horns have been turned’

P1: A yakkha who once inhabited a forest, called Kuṇḍadhāna after him.

Mylius P: kuṇḍa pag. 142 adj gekrümmt

Edgerton: pag. 185: adj, dull, blunt; mutilated.

S–P 71: kuṇḍārka

S–P 581: kuṇḍā-

kurāpica – Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 191: Kurā see Kuru: two sub-regions of this name in Mahāvīdeha of Jambuddīva, Uttarakuru and Devakuru, situated on the north and south of mount Mamḍara respectively.

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: kurā ‘a particular region in Akarma bhumi’

kurāyica – M.O: *kuraiča- 11.1.7.3.8;

Z: 340: Kyru

Ta: p 234, *kuraičā-

kuraiāra – T.Oriya: kurāi 3229 : kuṭaja- ‘the tree Wrightia antidysenterica’

koṇa – T. Pali: kōṇa- 3504 : kōṇa- ‘corner, angle’; – T. Prakrit: =
S–P 147: koṇa-

koṇārka – T. Bengali: koṇā 3504; T. Oriya: =; T. Panjabi: =
ardha-māgadhī koṣa: koṇa ‘the key-note of a musical instrument’
ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 724: koṇa 1. Dark, black 2. A stick

Mylius: koṇa pag. 231 m <koṇa: 1. Keule, Knüppel, Stock 2. Mus. Bogen 3. Ecke, Winkel

Mylius P: pag. 146 1. Ecke 2. Stock

S–P 71: koṇārka-

KH

khajuraha – T. Pali: khajju- 3827; T. Prakrit: khajjūra-, °rī, 3828; T. Oriya: khajura / khajurā
3828; T. Gujarati: khajur 3828; T. Marathi: khajurā 3829; T. Lahnda: khajūr 3828; T. Panjabi:
=

khajuraiā – T. Gujarati: khajurī 3827, 3828; T. Sindhi: khajūri 3828; T. Kumauni: khajūr 3828;
T. Nepali: khajur 3828, khajuri 3830, khajuro 3829

3827 : kharju- °jū ‘itching, scratching, scab’ – 3828 : kharjūra- ‘the date-palm Phoenix
sylvestris’, khajju- ‘a particular tree’– 3829 : kharjūraka- ‘scorpion’, khajuro ‘centipede’– 3830
: kharjūrikā- ‘a sweetmeat’, khajuri ‘a partic. kind of sweetmeat’

Guj: pag. 41 <khə.ɟu.rə>: neut. a date fruit

khaṇḍasūpa – T. Pali: khaṇḍa- 3792, 3800; T. Oriya: khaṇḍa 3800; T. Bihari: khaṇḍā 3792,
3801; T. Hindi: khaṇḍā 3792; T. Pashai: khaṇḍā 3792; T. Gawar-bati: khaṇḍa 3792; T. Panjabi:
khaṇḍā 3793

3792 : khaṇḍā- ‘broken, piece’ / ‘hill, mountain pass, hill pasture’– 3793 : *khaṇḍaka- ‘sword’
– 3800 : khaṇḍu- ‘sugar’, khaṇḍa- ‘lump-sugar’– 3801 : khaṇḍu- ‘cloth’

Wörterbuch: pag. 104: khaṇḍa, ts. Stück, Teil

Mylius P: khaṇḍa pag. 148 skr = 1. Adj lückenhaft, mangelhaft 2. m n Stück(en), Teil

S–P 289: sūpa-

khaṇṭakāra – S–P: p 407 kaṇḍakāra

khaṇṭavāra

khanasupa – S.W.: χανο 301; J: xanas, 169;

khanetu

khanedvāra

G

gaṇḍārka – T. Pali: gaṇḍa- 3998 : gaṇḍa- ‘joint of plant’, m ‘stalk’, 3999 : gaṇḍa- ‘cheek’; T.
Oriya: gaṇḍā 4000 : gaṇḍā- ‘rhinoceros’, 4001 : gaṇḍaka- ‘four cowries’; T. Bihari: gaṇḍā 3998;
T. Marathi: gaṇḍā 4001; T. Hindi: gaṇḍā 4001; T. Panjabi: =

Wörterbuch: pag. 106: gaṇḍa, vana.

Mylius P: gaṇḍa pag. 151 skr = bes Med Schwellung, Beule, Knoten, Kropf

Edgerton: pag. 208 gaṇḍa: stalk of a plant; piece, part, portion;

gan(/m)dāva – [T. Prakrit: gaṇḍhavva- 4017 : gandharvā- , 4132]

gannaiā – T. Prakrit: ganna- 4120 : *gāṇya- n ‘counting’; T. Hindi: gannā 3998; T. Panjabi: =
VV: gaṇḍā pag. 56

ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 267: ganna1. One deserving the respect 2. Counting

guṇasaimā – Wörterbuch: pag. 107: guṇa

guṇāśava – T. Marathi: guṇā 4226; T. Panjabi: guṇā 4190; T. West Pahari: guṇā 4288; T. Assamese: guṇā 4190;

ardha-māgadhī kosa: guṇa ‘a quality ecc.’

Mylius: guṇa pag. 251

Mylius P: guṇa pag. 156

Edgerton: guṇa pag. 212: advantage; cluster, garland;

Guj: pag. 49 <gu.ṇa>: masc. quality

C

caṇḍaroṭi / caṇḍaroṭi – T. Pali: caṇḍa(ka)- 4584 : cáṇḍa- ‘passionate, fierce, cruel’ ;

Wörterbuch: pag. 108: caṇḍa, ts. heftig, grimmig, scharf

Mylius P: caṇḍa pag. 159 adj ved cáṇḍa heftig, wild, ungestüm

cāṇa – T. Bengali: cāṇā 4579 : caṇa- ‘a small variety of chickpea’

cāṇārka – T. Panjabi: cāṇā 4753 : cāyayati ‘to raise’; T. West Pahari: cāṇā 4775 : *cāh- ‘to wish’; T. Kumauni: cāṇā 4579

CH

chatra – T. Prakrit: chatta- 4972 : cháttra- ‘parasol, umbrella’; T. Panjabi: chattrā 4973 : *chattrā- ‘young animal’, chatrī 4972

Mylius: chatta pag. 276 n <chattrā: Sonnenschirm>

ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 289 chatta (chatra) ‘a student, a scholar’

Guj: pag. 62 <chə.trii>: fem. an umbrella

S–P 430: chatra- W1 (= E. Waldschmidt, Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, Teil I – III. *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1949, 1, Kl. für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst 1950, 2–3)

chatravāra – T. Lahnda: chatrarā 4973;

cheri – T. Bengali: cheli 4963; T. Oriya: cheri 4959; T. Bihari: cher 4963, cherī 4963; T. Bhojpuri: chēri 4963; T. Hindi: cherī 4963; T. Kashmiri: 4959; T. Nepali: cheri 5043

4959 : *chagāṭa- ‘he-goat’ – 4963 : chagalā- m ‘goat’ – 5043 : chidrá- ‘hole, cleft, narrow passage’

S–P: 704: bheri

cheriāra

J

jamvu – T. Hindi: jambū 5132; T. Gujarati: jamvū 5126; jámati ‘eats’; 5267 jémāti ‘eats’;

S–P 778: jambu-

jamvupura

javuāra

T

ṭakura – T. Maithili: takuri 5717 : ṭarkú- ‘spindle’; T. Marathi: takurē 5422 : *ṭakka- ‘bald’; T. Pashai: təkur- 5466 : *ṭukk- ‘cul,break’ *ṭukka- ‘piece’; T. Nepali: takuri, takuro 5423 : *ṭakka- ‘hill’

ṭakkurāya – T. Oriya: ṭakkara 5424 : ṭakkarā- f ‘blow on the head’ , ‘collision’; T. Maithili: takkā 5426 : ṭanka- ‘weight of 4 māṣas’, ‘ a stamped coin’;

ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 304: ṭakka 1. A name of a country 2. Pertaining to the country Takka

D

ḍamaraura – T. Prakrit: ḍamarua- 5531 : ḍamaru- m ‘drum’; T. Oriya: dama 5570 : ḍomba- ‘a low caste who weave baskets and sound drums’; T. Nepali: ḍamaru 5531;

ardha-māgadhī kosa: 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 <ḍa.m.ro>: masc. a kind of fragrant plant

S-P 427: raura-

ḍihī – T. Bihari: ḍīh 9598 : bhrṣṭi- ‘old village site’; T. Nepali: ḍīhi 6562 : dēhī- ‘mound’

ḍihika

ḍumaraura – T. Oriya: ḍumara 1942 : udumbāra- ‘the tree Ficus glomerata’; T. Kumauni: ḍumauro 5571 : *ḍōmbakuṭaka- ‘habitation of the Ḍoms’

Guj: pag. 79 <ḍu.mo>: masc. suffocation caused by sobbing

ḍumarī – T. Bhojpuri: dūmari 1942

S-P 750: dhūmarī-

ḍumariāra

T

terahādīḥ parāsāḥ - T. Oriya: terhā 6071 : *trēḍḍa- ‘crooked’; T. Maithili: terah 6001; T. Hindi: =; T. Sindhi: terāhā 6001; T. Lahnda: tehra 6001 : ‘thirteen’

G.: p’lisy, Pārs; S.: *Pārsa- 235; Ta.: p. 62, 265;

terahaparāśi – T. Prakrit: tēraha 6001; T. Bengali: tera 6001;

Mylius: terasa pag. 356 adj num <trayodaśan: dreizehn

D

devakuāra – Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 382: devakurā 1. = devakuru, a sub-region of Mahāvideha; 2. a place situated on the north-eastern Raikararaga mountain.

ardha-māgadhī kosa: devakurā ‘ a region of Jugaliyās situated in the Mahāvideha to the south of Meru’ / devakuru ‘ a region of Jugaliyās in Mahāvideha of Jambūdvīpa’

devakulī – ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 368: devakuliya ‘a worshiper’

devaḍīha

devaḍīhā

devalasiā – P1: Devala: 1. An ascetic 2. Cousin of Padumuttara Buddha 3. A Pacceka Buddha, pag. 1116
ardha-māgadhī kosa: devala ‘a Ṛṣi of this name of another creed’

devāhvākyapura
dehulāsi
dehulasia
dehulāsia

P

paṭiśā – ardha-māgadhī kosa: paṭṭisa ‘a kind of missile’
paṭhiśāmī

paḍarī – T. Old Bengali: paḍihārī 8618 : pratihāra- ‘doorkeeper’; T. Old Marwari: paḍai 7722 : pātati
paḍariāra

parāśāḥ - Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 442: Parāsara (Parāśara) A Brahmin mendicant and his followers.

pavairi – VV: pag. 37: Pavamāna e Pāvaka (two names of Agni)

pavaiāra – T. Prakrit: pavaī 9024 : plāvātē ‘swims’

Wörterbuch: pag. 129: pāvai, pra √āp erreichen, °iya

ardha-māgadhī kosa: pavāi 1. A disputant, an antagonist 2. One familiar with the systems of philosophy

Mylius: pavāi pag. 436 adj <pravādin: redend, sprechend / pavāia pag. 436 1. Adj <pravāta: geweht 2. Adj <pravādita: bespielt

[**pāligamḍha**] – Wörterbuch: pag. 129: pāli, ts. Rand. ardha-māgadhī koṣa: pāli ‘the round bank of a pond etc.’

Mylius: pāli p 447 f <pāli: Ecke, Rand, Kante

pālivādha - Edgerton: pag. 344, pālevata: a kind of tree

S-P 223: paribādha-

pālivamḍha – ardha-māgadhī kosa V: pag. 796 pālivamḍha ‘a lake, a pond’

puṇḍra – S-P 430: puṇḍra-

puṇḍrārka

puṇyārka

pūti – T. Pali: pūti- 8323 : pūti ‘putrid’; T. Sindhi: pūti 8403 : *pōttī- ‘glass bead’

ardha-māgadhī kosa: pūti ‘stench, foul-smell’

Mylius P: pūti pag. 260 faulig, stinkend

Edgerton: pag. 350 pūta: n. of some plant

S-P: 678: pūti-

pūtiāra

pūliāra – T. Oriya: pūli 491 : apūpā- ‘sweet cake fried in ghee’; T. Hindi: pūli 8349 : pūla- ‘sheaf’; T. Gujarati: pūli 8349; T. Panjabi: =

B

bāra – T. Prakrit: bāra- 6663; T. Bengali: bāra 6658; T. Bihari: bārā 6663, 11481; T. Old Awadhi: bāra 9216, 11480, 11547; T. Awadhi: bārā 6658; T. Hindi: =; T. Old Marwari: bāra 6663, 11547; T. Marathi: bārā 6658; T. Shumashti: bārā 9186; T. Lahnda: bārā 6658; T. Panjabi: =; T. Kumauni: bāra 6658; T. Nepali: bāra 6658; T. Assamese: bāra 6658; 6658 : dvādāsa, bārasa ‘twelve’ – 6663 : dvāra- ‘door, house’ ‘outside’ ‘house and home’ – 9186 : bahís ‘outside’ – 9216 : bālā- ‘boy’ – 11480 : vāṭa- ‘fence, side wall’ (‘garden’) – 11481 : vāṭa ‘cake made of pulse and oil’ – 11547 : vāra- ‘appointed time, time’
Pischel: bāra 300: bāra = dvāra.
ardha-māgadhī koṣa: bāra ‘twelve’ - bāra-muhutta ‘the 12 muhuras (a measure of time)’
Mylius: bāra pag. 471 n Num <dvādaśan>: zwölf
Guj: pag. 141 <ba.rə> adj twelve
S-P 414: bāra-

BH

bhaḍaulīpura – Wörterbuch: pag. 132: bhaḍa, °ṭa, Söldling.
ardha-māgadhī koṣa: bhaḍa ‘a warrior, a soldier’
ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: p 468 bhaḍa 1. A barbarian race 2. A tribe of mixed caste 3. Demon
Mylius: bhaḍa pag. 477 m <bhaṭa: 1. Soldat 2. Held
Guj: pag. 146 <bhə.ḍə> adj brave

bhalunā – T. Bhojpuri: bhālu 9415 : bhallūka- ‘bear’; T. Sindhi: bhalu 9408 : bhalla- ‘goodness’
Guj: pag. 148 <bhə.lū> adj good
bhaluniāra
bhalunī

bhaloḍiāra – T. Prakrit: bhallōḍa- 9411 : *bhallukūṭa ‘tip of an arrow’;

bheḍāpākari – T. Lahnda: bheḍ 9606; T. Panjabi: bheḍā 9606
ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 809 bheḍa Cowardly, timid
S-P 702: pākāri-
bheḍāpākariśa
bheḍīpākari – T. Panjabi: bheḍī 9606
9604 : bhēḍa- ‘sheep’ – 9605 : *bhēḍa- ‘defective’ – 9606 : bhēḍra- ‘ram’
Guj: pag. 153 <bhe.dii>: adj mysterious

M

makhapā – T. Sindhi: makha 9696 : mákṣā- f ‘fly, bee’
makhapāra
makhapavāra

madarauḍi – T. Marathi: madārī 9835 : mantrakāra- ‘ juggler’; T. Nepali: madauro 9754 : *matthara ‘sick’
Mylius: mada pag. 496 m <mada: 1. Hochmut, Dünkel 2. Rausch
S-P 662: rauḍi-

malauḍa – [T. Bihari: malwa 9740 : maṇḍapa- ‘lean-to thatch against a wall’, 9909 : malla- ‘box for oil’]

malauḍiāra

malauṇḍa - Edgerton: pag. 420 maluda: m., a high number

mahurāśi – T. Prakrit: mahurā- 9770; T. Hindi: mahura 9770 : mathurá

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: māla- 9996,10088; mālā- 10092; T. Bihari: mālā 9909; T. Sindhi: māla 10095; T. West Pahari: mālā 10095;

9909 : malla- ‘box for oil’– 9996 : *māḍa- māḷa ‘a sort of pavillon’– 10088 : māla- ‘a forest near a village’ ‘garden’ ‘jungle’ – 10092 : mālā- ‘wreath, garland’ – 10095 : mālya ‘garland’

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: mālā ‘a garland / a row / a collection / an upper deck or storey on a ship’
ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 43

ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: pag. 815 māla 1. A garden 2. A bedstead 3. Beautiful, handsome

Mylius: māla 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.lə>: masc. goods

muhurāśi – T. Old Gujarati: muhuru 9793 : madhurá- ‘sweet’; T. Sindhi: muhurī 10223 : músala- ‘pestle, club’; T. Panjabi: muhur 10232 : mūḍhā- ‘fool’; T. Nepali: muhurā 10163 : mukhatuṇḍaka- ‘face’;

muhurāśiā

Y

yabherī – S–P 754: jayabherī

R

rahadaliāra – T. Pali: rahada- 14183 : hradá- ‘deep pond’

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: raha ‘zeal, enthusiasm’

Mylius: raha pag. 520

Mylius P: rahada pag. 295 ved hradá See, Teich

Hinuber: rahado 246

L

lola – T. Prakrit: lōla- 11136 : *lōḍa- ‘tossing, hanging’, ‘waving, greedy’, ‘earring, eardrop’; T. Bengali: lola 11136; T. Kashmiri: lōla 11136; T. Nepali: =
S–P 472: lola-

lolārka – T. Hindi: lolā 11136; T. Assamese: =

VV: lola pag. 67

Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 658: Lola: a Mahāniraya situated in the Rayaanappabhā hell.

Wörterbuch: pag. 140: lola, ts. gierig, lüstern.

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: lola ‘√ to roll, to rub, to roast, parch’ ‘lively, active / greedy, attached / a hell-abode of the first hell’

Mylius: lola pag. 534 1. (I) <luth, lolai a. rollen intr. sich bewegen b. bewegen, schütteln 2. (II) <luth caus.;, lolei bewegen, schütteln 3. <lola: I. adj a. gierig, begehrllich, verlangend 2. Beweglich, lebhaft; II. m Jin Name einer Stätte in der ersten Hölle

Mylius P: lola pag. 301 skr = adj 1. unruhig, unстет; 2 gierig, begehrllich, verlangend

S–P 71: lolārka-

V

vaḍasāra – Wörterbuch: pag. 141: vaḍa, °ta, Ficus indica.

Mylius: vaḍa pag. 540 <vaṭa: 1. Fischart 2. bot Ficus religiosa, Feigenbaum

Edgerton: pag. 468 vaḍa: banyan, in a list of flowers

Guj: pag. 184 <vəḍ>: 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

varavāra – T. Pali: vara- 11308 : vāra- ‘choice, boon’, 11309 : varā- ‘husband’; – T. Prakrit: =
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: vara pag. 543 1. (II) <vr̥ kaus.;, vareī a. wählen, b. erbitten 2. n <vara: Wunsch 3. Adj <vara: berster, schönster

Mylius P: vara pag. 307 ved vāra 1. Adj hervorragend, vorzüglich, bester 2. Wunsch, Gefallen

vāravāra – T. Pali: vāra- 11547 : vāra- ‘appointed time, one’s turn’, ‘a day of the week’; – T. Prakrit: =

Wörterbuch: pag. 143, vāra, ts. Mal.

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: vāra pag. 550 1. (II) <vr̥ kaus.;, vārei abwehren, zurückhalte, hemmen, verbieten 2. m <vāra: a. Haufen, Menge b. Topf c. Jin Name der vierten Hölle

Mylius P: vāra pag. 310 m <ved vāra: 1. Reihe, Mal 2. Gelegenheit

S–P 415: varavāra-

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

vāla – T. Pali: vāla- 11572 : vāla- ‘hair of tail, tail, hair’, 12212 : vyāla ‘malicious’; – T. Prakrit: =

Prakrit Proper Names: pag. 692: Vāla: one of the seven branches of Kāsava lineage.

vālārka – T. Panjabi: vālā 11573;

Wörterbuch: pag. 143: vāla, ts. Haar.

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

Mylius: vāla pag. 550 1. m <vyāla: a. Schlange b. Raubtier c. wütender Elefant 2. m <vāla: a. Haar b. Name eines Zweigs der Kāśyapa-Sippe

Mylius P: vāla pag. 310 - m ved vāla 1. Schweif, Schwanz 2. Haarsieb 3. Borste, Haar / Adj ved vyāla hinterlistig, boshaft

Guj: pag. 191 <va.lə>: masc. a kind of pulse

S-P 464: vāla-

vināśaimā – T. Old Gujarati: viṇasaī 11770 : vīnaśyati ‘dies’

vināśava – T. Old Gujarati: viṇāsa 11777 : vināśa- ‘destruction, death’

Mylius P: vināsa pag. 316 skr vināśa : Schwund, Verlust, Untergang

vipurapura

vipuroha

vipurohā

vedakuliāra

Ṣ

ṣaṣṭhahāya – B: ṣast

ṣaṣṭhahāyā

S

sarai – T. Prakrit: sarai 13250, 13863; T. Oriya: sara 12332, 12336, 13254; sarā 12334, 13260; T. Bihari: sar 12343; T. Maithili: sarāi 12349; T. Old Awadhi: sara 12336, 13254; T. Hindi: sarā 12324, 12334, sarāi 12334; T. Old Marwari: sara 12336, sarai 13250, sarāi 12734; T. Old Gujarati: sarai 13250; T. Marathi: sarā 12324; T. Pashai: šārai-. šarai- 12269; T. Sindhi: sarāi 12349; T. Assamese: sarai 4571;

4571 : caṭaka- ‘sparrow, bird’– 12269 : śaṭati; šārai- ‘to carry off, lead away’– 12324 : śarā-; sara- ‘the reed S. sara, arrow’ – 12332 : śarās- ‘cream’ – 12334 : śarāva- ‘earthen cover’ – 12336 : śaru- ‘missile, arrow’ – 12343 : śalā- ‘dart, spear’ – 12349 : śalāka-; sarai ‘iron or wooden poker’ – 12734 : ślāghatē; sarai ‘praises’ – 13250 : śarati; sarai ‘moves, slips aside’/ ‘is completed’– 13254 : śaras- ‘lake, pond’ – 13260 : *sarā- ‘string, garland’– 13863 : śmarati; sarai ‘remembers’

S-P: 792: surai-

Mylius: sara pag. 618 1 (I) <smṛṃ-, sarai sich erinnern, gedenken 2. m <śara: a. Pfeil b. Bot Saccharum Sara 3. Adj <sara: gehend, sich fortbewegend 4. m <svara: a. Schall, Ton b. Mus Note c. Gramm Vokal 5. n <saras: See, Teich

Mylius P: sara p 356 1. See, Teich 2. sich erinnert, gedenkend 3. Bot. Saccharum sara – Pfeil
4. Schall, Ton / Stimme / Akzent
Edgerton: p 582 sara: going, course
saraiāra

sarpaha / sarpahā – (P1: Sappa Sutta, pag 1029)
M.Sk: sarpá-, sarparājñī-, 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

sivaurī – T. Prakrit: siva- 12472 : śivá- ‘auspicious, name of Rudra’; [T. Hindi: siwār 12493 : śípāla- ‘green water weed’]

H

haradauli – T. Hindi: harad 13992 : haridrā- ‘Curcuma longa, turmeric’; T. Lahnda: hardal 13992

Mylius: hara pag. 658 (I) <hr̥:, harai 1. nehmen, wegnehmen, rauben 2. entzücken, hinreißen
haradauliāra

ardha-māgadhī koṣa: RATNACHANDRAJI 1923-1932

ardha-māgadhī koṣa V: RATNACHANDRAJI 1923-1932 (vol. V)

B: BOYCE 1977

Edgerton: EDGERTON 1953

G.: GIGNOUX 1972

Guj: SUTHAR 2003

Hinüber: HINÜBER 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.: *Verzeichniss* 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. Shakdwipee 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 Mārvār 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 member 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 Brāhmaṇs 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 men 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 Brāhmaṇas as well?

Mr. S.: (6.00) Yes, actually my wife is a Bhojak. They are Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas. 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 Shaktwee.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. Gītā Rāy's Ph.D. thesis about the history of Śākdvīpīya Brāhmaṇas.

DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: K. C. Shaktwee

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.

INTERVIEW 2

On the same day, Mr. K. C. Shaktwippee 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. Shaktwippee 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 Śākdvīpīya 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 Brāhmaṇas?

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 Brāhmaṇas 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 Brāhmaṇas. 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 Kūṣāns, Hūnās ... 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 *paṇḍits* 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 Bhojaks 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 sun.

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, he 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. This story is told in *Sāmbapurāṇa*, 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' [*mɒŋ'gɒliə*] was named like that after 'Mag'.

...

Mr. Shaktweepiya 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, Mishra⁸³⁶. They are different according to the state.

Mr. S.'s wife: (11.51) You asked about the personalities ... Here they are written. There was Maḥarṣi 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 *purs*, isn't it?

Mr. S.'s wife: (17.23) Yes. We have 16 *gotras* coming from 16 different priests. We are part of the *hañila 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. Shaktweepiya asked me to speak for a few minutes about my studies and research on the Śākdvīpiyas, and he filmed me in order to show my work to the community.

DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: Mr. Chetan Shaktweepiya

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, Śākdvīp. Listen, I would tell you. Your question was about the Brāhmaṇs. Śākdvīpīyas are Brāhmaṇs. We are Brāhmaṇs..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 Śākdvīp?

[*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 Samāj, 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) तो ... When these are born ... First India personality, Ṛṣi ... called Ṛṣissss [*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 '-aṇ' is Brāhmaṇ. Past we were Brāhmaṇs... we are Ṛṣissss.

Mr. D.: (10.06) Are Ṛṣis born from god? Because I think... [*He switches to Hindī. They talk to each other.*]

Mr. L.: (11.15) ब्राहमणास्मि [*Sanskrit*] ... मग ब्राहमण अस्मि । [*He repeats in Hindī that they are Ṛṣis 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 अच्छ.. (*He laughs*) अरे यार ! हमारे हिंदुस्तान, भारत में भनवत व्यवस्थ नहीं थी, राजस्थान में ब्राहमण शक्ति क्यों है, अभग क्यों है, मानवता व्यवस्था ना होने की वजह से पहाँ पर ब्राहमण शक्ति का पूर्ण हुआ । शक्ति का नाक से ब्राहमण, क्षत्रीय, वैश्य, शुद्र थर भागों में षारी गई । साथ में दूसरे देवता की आपे शिव, गनेश, माँ कय देव में सूर्य आता है । दूसरे तरफ से सूर्य की और चले सोर, शिव की और चले सैन सेम्प्रदाप बना जैन की और चले जैन सेम्प्रदाप

⁸³⁷ Mrs Narinder Kaur helped me with the transcription.

बना बोध की और चले बोधीक बना । वो राजाओ का राज क्या । दिव्य ब्राहमण की और चले । सूर्य को हम नमसकार करते हैं जल चढ़ाते हैं और पूजा करते हैं, सेवा में भगने से सेवक भोजन का गृहण करता है वौ भोजक है उतपतीत दूई । पूर्णओ में लिखा है जो भक्ति करें उसे परलोक प्राप्त होता है, उसे मुक्ति प्राप्त होता है, भक्ति करने से आतमा स्वध होती है, मुक्ति प्राप्त होती है । इस मुक्ति हम उधार कहते हैं मोहक कहते हैं । वो आपको भक्ति की तपस्या करने से कल प्राप्त होता है फल पकता है । भक्ति को किसी के खनो पीने की चिंता नहीं, स्त्री पूरण की चिंता नहीं । स्त्री पूर्ष मैभून से एक दूसरे में चले जाते है । कूराणों में उसको साफ-लिखा है। उसी ऋषि की हम सेतान है । पूराणों वाला बूमह का राजाw था राजाओं का राज प्रकृति दूआर निपत था । जिसमें सूर्य वेषी सूर्य की भक्ति ओर चंद्र वेषी चंद्रमा की उपासना करत थे । जुसमें तीन बातें थी । [He talks about Purāṇas.]

(22.31) 1. ज्योतिष 2. भूज ब्रह्मण 3. (अभिचार) ब्रह्मण ब्रह्मण पूर्णों में भक्ति को भक्ति समझा ही नहीं । ज्योतिष में जो मृह चमकते है जन्म थे गृहो को प्रमाब पडता है जन्म कुन्डभी बनती है किताब बन्ती है ज्योतिष विध्या बन्ती है । ये हमारी ये कृपा है।

(24.06) दूसरी विध्या में हमारे भक्षण है शास्त्र में कई किस्में है 32 ब्रह्मण है आपने एक ब्रह्मण को पकडा तीसरे में अलग पैगेम्बर बैठे है, थूसू हो, मोहम्मद साहिब हो, जैन हो । जाति में बर गम है सारे हमारे पूत्र है हमारे सेवक ब्रह्मण है, ईश्वर की सेवा, सूर्य की सेवा, हर ब्रह्मण हर में होती है । कोई भी धर्म पा पेथ अपने-अपने ईश्वर की सेवा भविन्त करतो है तो भिधी आती है सभी के जीवन में अभथार हेता है हिंदू धर्म में कृषर दूर है होने का भाव विध्या होती है । ईसान अपने लक्ष्य की और जाता है उसका उपयोग सही नहीं किपा तो अपने सूख के लिए किपा । तो उसका पूर्ण जन्म हो जाता है, आप इटली में है तो आप इटलीपन है अमेरिका वाला अमेरिकन है मैं भारत का भारतिय हूँ, हर ईसान अपना कर्म करता है इस संसार में अच्छा भी बुरा भी आप मेरी हम 83 साल की है । I am 83 years old, today.

M.: (29.12) Today?

Mr. L.: (29.14) हॉ ! Today. ते ... मुझे खुशी है कि आप पहा भारत में आ कर मुझे ब्रह्मण से वारतालाप कर रही है । मैं सूर्य का प्रतिलिधी दुँ उपसना करता दुँ । हमारी षिशदरी पा दूसरी षिशदरी 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 व्यक्ति है बोध का बोधिक धर्म वाला, सूर्य का सूर्पबंधी, जैन का जैनी, इस्लाम का ईसा सब ही व्यक्ति है । सूर्य की अराधना करने वाले सूर्य के पूत्र है । सेस्कृत का श्लोक है ।

मरा ब्राह्मणा भूषण ।

सादगी भी ब्राह्मण ॥

सादगी पसंद ब्राह्मण है प्यार काला है, प्यार चाहता है, प्यार बारता है । सारे मेरे बहने-भई है । प्यार पर विश्वास रखने वाले है ।

इस्लाम धर्म मार-धाड़ करता है । लेकिन ब्राह्मण धर्म में मेरे लिए सब को माँ-बहन-भाई का रिश्ता दिपा जाता है आप मेरी माँ है ।

बाकी ये सेसार है इसी तरह चलता है । चलता रहेगा । कई धर्म, कई जात, कई पेथ जो है भारत में । जो देवी देवताओ के बल पर प्रार्थना करने से चल रहे है

हर धर्म आपने धर्म में आस्था रखता है प्रार्थना करता है । चार धर्म ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रीय, वैश्य, शुद्र में बारा है है ब्राह्मण धर्म । ईश्वर की सेवा सूर्य की सेवा हमारे पूत्र सूर्य पूत्र और हम सूर्य के पूत्र है ।

आप इस भक्ति जो खोज कर रही है आप भी सुबह-4-5 बजे उठकर उपासना कशे प्रार्थना कशे ईश्वर को माना कश । गुरु की साथना से गुरु मेरे साहमने है में उसकी अराधना में भीन हो गपा है उनकी चेतना मूझे आ गई ।

[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 Rāmcī⁸³⁸. 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 Jārkhanda.

M.: (6.00) Yes, ok, that's a very interesting point. Many priests cannot accept money.⁸³⁹

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 Purāṇic 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 Rāṅkpur. This is the sun temple of Rāṅkpur. 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 Koṅārak 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 Paṅḍavas 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 *rakṣas*. 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 *gurudakṣiṇa*⁸⁴⁰ as he will not use these weapons against the Bhuja (?) (36.00) 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. तो 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 *gurudakṣiṇa*.’ 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?’ तो Kṛṣṇa said that ‘Give me your own head.’ तो 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 feeds 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. Sevak 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 Rājasthān 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 Śākadvīpīyas 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*? *Avyāṅga* now is the point that now scientifically as well as biologically the kid brings as develops. This is why *avyaṅg-saṃskār* has a fixed date. It is the eight year of the child. *Avyāṅga* 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 *aiwyāṅhana* ...

Prof. K.: (4.35) Really? Śākdvīpīyas also use this. Can you repeat the word?

M.: (4.40) *A-i-w-y-ā-ṅ-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

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 3 November 2016 – 4 November 2016

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 Śākaldvīpi⁸⁴¹ 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.

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 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 Śākdvīp...

M.: And where was Śākdvīp?

_: 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)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 *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 *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

⁸⁴² From his pronunciation, it was not clear to me whether he pronounced the final *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, *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 fled 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 Śākdvīpi-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*.

DATA CARD

NAME AND SURNAME: Dr. Hrishikesh Misra

GENDER: Male

PROFESSION: English Professor at Patna University

PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Patna, Bihār

DATE OF THE INTERVIEW: 2 December 2016

PLACE OF THE INTERVIEW: His house in Patna, Bihār

INTERVIEW 8

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 *śradh* (*śraddha*) *pūjā*⁸⁴³ Śākaldvīpi Brahmins 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-ayu⁸⁴⁴ 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 *śradh* (*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

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