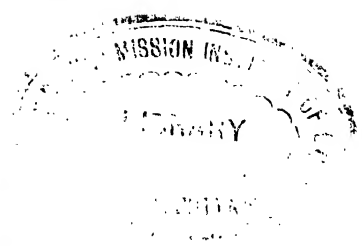


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On some Tāntrik texts studied in Ancient Kambuja

I

The inscription of *Sdok kak Thom*¹ (discovered in the province of Sisophon, Cambodia) mentions that introduction of the mystic cult of Devarāja along with some Tāntrik texts in Kambuja during the reign of king Jayavarman II who came to the throne in śaka 724 (=802 A.C.). The inscription is a long one and contains the chronicle of the religious foundations of Kambuja during a period of about 250 years. The inscription is not dated, but the last date mentioned therein is śaka 974 (=1052 A.C.). The king Jayavarman II came from Java to rule over Kambuja, and the new cult was introduced shortly after his ascent to the throne. The story of this introduction is told in some details in the inscription.² The high priest of Jayavarman was a Brāhmaṇical sage named Śivakaivalya. This Brahmin was enjoying a piece of land in the village of Bhadrayogi in Indrapura given to his family long ago by the kings of Bhavapura (founded by Bhavavarman who was ruling about the middle of the 6th century).

1 BEFEO XV, pp. 70-71.

2 *Ibid.*:—

- A xxvi (51) Hiraṇyadāma-dvija-puṅgavo' gṛyadhīr
ivāvjayoniḥ karuṇārdra āgataḥ/
(52) ananya-lavdhāṃ khalu siddhim ādarāt
prakāśayāmāsa mahibhṛtaṃ prati//
- xxvii (53) sa bhūdharendrānumato' grajanmā
sa-sādhanāṃ siddhim adikṣad asmaī/
(54) hotre hitaikānta-manah-prasattim
saṃvibhrate dhāma-vivṛṇhanāya//
- xxviii (55) śāstraṃ Śiraścheda-Vināśikhākhyaṃ
‡ Sammohanāmāpi Nayottarākhyam/
(56) tat Tumvuror vaktra-catuṣkam asya
siddhyeva vipras samadarśayat saḥ//
- xxix (57) dvijas samuddhṛtya sa śāstra-sāraṃ
rahasya-kausaladyadhiyā sayatnaḥ/
(58) siddhtr vvaḥantīḥ kila devarāja-
bhikhyāṃ vidadhre bhuvanarddhi-vṛddhyai//

He was the guardian priest of a *śivaliṅga* installed in a temple in that village. Śivakaivalya, chosen as the priest by the new king, subsequently accompanied him to different cities founded by the latter. Now, a brahmin named Hiraṇyadāma came from Janapada (supposed to be some place in India) to the court of the new king Jayavarman and began to exercise a great spiritual influence on him. The king then authorised him to teach the new lore to Śivakaivalya, and to initiate the latter to the new cult. Then Hiraṇyadāma gave Śivakaivalya—*Śiraścheda*, *Vināśikha*, *Sammoha* and *Nayottara*—the four *śāstras* which were the four faces of Tumvuru. Śivakaivalya was also initiated to the cult of *Devarāja* (*Kamrateñ Jagat ta rāja* in Cambodian). Thus the new cult was introduced in Kambuja. The king Jayavarman, much attracted by it, accepted it as the religion of the kingdom, and ordered that the *yatis* of the *mātrvamaśa*¹ of Śivakaivalya only would be the legitimate guardians of this cult and would have the power to perpetuate it in future. The *Devarāja* was a *śivaliṅga*, and it was one of the most celebrated deities of Kambuja. But nothing is known as to the “four ‘*śāstras*’” mentioned which prescribed this cult. Dr. B. R. Chatterji is the first to make some suggestions about their identification.² He relies on the informations supplied by Avalon,³ and says, “There were three regions each with its special Tantras and that among the Tantras of the *viṣṇukrāntū* region (which includes Bengal and extends to Chittagong) the names of the *Sammohana* and the *Niruttara* Tantras approach very closely to the titles of two (out of four) of the Tantras (*Sammoha* and *Nayottara*) taught by Hiraṇyadāma. The Tantras *Muṇḍamālū* and *Chinnamastū* mean (as far as the names go) almost the same thing as *Śiraścheda*—the third text taught to the Kambuja priest. The word Tumvuru (of which, according to the inscriptions, the four texts constitute the four faces) is the name of a gandharva, and there is a *Gandharva Tantra* in the *Viṣṇukrāntū* group.”

1 BEFEO, XV, pp. 70-71 :

B xxxi (1) tan mātrvamaśe yatayas striyo va
jāta vi(dyā-vi)kra(ma)-yukta-bhāvah//
(2) tad yājakās syur na kathañcid anya
iti kṣitindra-dvija-kalpanāsit//

2 *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, Calcutta, 1928, pp. 273-4.

3 *Arthur Avalon, Principles of Tantra*, I, Intro., pp. lxxv-lxxvii.

The classification, according to the *krāntās*, is not seen in the oldest Tāntrik texts, for example the *Yāmālas*, as far as I know. On the other hand, such classification seems to be arbitrary and of late origin. The names of 64 *tantras* attributed to each of these *krāntās* seem to be fictitious to some extent. So they do not throw much light on the texts introduced into Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century A.C. It is therefore necessary to go back to older and more authentic sources.

According to the oldest traditions known to me¹ the Tāntrik literature is classified according to the *Srotas* (=current; tradition), *pīṭhas* and *āmnāyas*. The *Srotas* or currents are three-fold: *dakṣiṇa* (right), *vāma* (left) and *madhyama* (middle). These are the three forces (*śakti-trayaṃ*) of Śiva. Besides these three currents which issue from Śiva, we have reference to other currents: like *Bhairava-srotas* from which distinctive tantras have issued forth. The classification into *pīṭhas* is four-fold: *vidyūpīṭha*, *mantrapīṭha*, *mudrāpīṭha* and *maṇḍalapīṭha*. The third classification, *viz.*, that into *āmnāyas*, is more common than the first two. The number of *āmnāyas* varies. But generally they are accepted to be five in number, issuing from the five mouths of Śiva.² Śiva is represented as having four faces turning towards the four cardinal points and one on the top. The eastern (*pūrvā vaktra*) spoke the Vedas, the western (*paścima*), southern (*dakṣiṇa*), northern (*uttara*) and the upper (*ūrdhva*) mouths spoke the different kinds of Tantras. There is no trace of any classification according to the *krāntās*. The faces of Śiva represent his five aspects. They are known as *Vāmadeva*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Aghora*, *Sadyojāta*, and *Īśāna* facing the north, east, south, west and top and representing the aspects of *Īśa*, *Īśāna*, *Īśvara*, *Brahmā* and *Sadāśiva* respectively. The original Śaiva canon, the āgamas, are classified according to the faces which proclaimed them. (See *Hindu Iconography*, II, pt. II, pp. 366 ff). We should note in this connection that the *Sadyojāta* mouth

1 This discussion is mainly based on the 39th chapter of the *Brahmayāmala* called *Srotanirṇaya*. The Ms. of this *yāmala* which I have examined is that preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library. It was copied in the Nepal Sam. 172 = 1052 A.C.

2 Bhāṣkara Rāya in his commentary on the *Vāmakēśvara Tantra* (See *Anandāśram Ed.*, p. 24) quotes from Bhagavān Paraśurāma "*Pañcāmnāyān paramārtha-sūrarūpān praṇināya iti.*"

which represents the *Brahmā* aspect is the western face, and naturally proclaims the *Pāścimāmnāya*.

One of the oldest Tāntrik texts preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library is the *Niśvāsātattva Saṃhitā* written in the Gupta script of the 8th century A.C.¹ It is a collection of five *sūtras* which form a complete whole but each can be also counted separately and has its own chapters. These five *sūtras* are (1) *Laukika-dharma*, (2) *Mūlasūtra*, (3) *Uttarasūtra*, (4) *Nayasūtra* and (5) *Guhyasūtra*. The last of these five is more extensive than the others together, and the first *Laukika dharma* is really ignored by the text itself in counting in folio 27b of the text :

prathamaṃ mūlasutrāntu dvitīyam ādisajñitam/
tṛtīyaṃ prathamaṃ nāma caturthaṃ pūrvasūtrakam//

Thus the four texts are called : (1) *Mūlasūtra*, (2) *Ādisūtra* = *Uttarasūtra* (3) *Prathama* = *Nayasūtra* (4) *Pūrvā* = *Guhyasūtra*. The *Uttarasūtra* contains the names of 18 old *Śiva-śāstras* :

vijayaṃ prathamaṃ [hy e]ṣām niśvāsaṃ tadanantaram/
svāyambhuvam ataś caiva vāthulaṃ tadanataram//
vīrabhadram iti khyātaṃ rauravaṃ mākuṭās tathā/
virasaṃ candrahāsaṃ ca jñānaṃ ca mukhavimbakam//
prodgitaṃ lalitaṃ caiva siddha-santānam eva ca/
sarvodgitaṃ ca vijñeyaṃ kiraṇaṃ pārameśvaram// (fol. 24a).

The same list with some slight variations is given by the *Brahmāyāmala* of which a Ms. written in 1052 A.C. is preserved in the Darbar Library.² In the 39th chapter (fol. 869b) we find mention of the following texts :

vijayaṃ caiva niśvāsaṃ svāyambhuvam ataḥ paraṃ/
vāthulaṃ [vīrabhadraṃ ca rauravaṃ mākuṭāstathā]//

1 The Exalted Raj Guru Hemarāja Śarmā who has handled these Mss. for a long time is also of the same opinion. Mahāmahopadhyāya H. P. Śāstri has noticed it in his catalogue, *Darbar Library Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 137. In his introduction to the Catalogue, p. LXXVII he also says that this Ms. "is written in transitional Gupta character which may be a century older than the *Pārameśvara Tantra* copied in 859 A.C."

2 See H. P. Śāstri, *Nepal Darbar Library Catalogue*, II p. 60.

vireśāś ca tathā cānyaṃ tata ūrdhvaṃ nibodhata/
 candrajñānaś ca vimbaś ca prodgītaṃ laliṭaṃ tathā//
 siddhisattvānakam caiva sarvodgītam ataḥ paraṃ/
 kiraṇaṃ ca mahādevi pārameśvara eva ca//

The second list is corrupt to some extent, though the Ms. of the *Brahmayāmala* which we have examined is generally a very correct one. Apparently the tradition about these texts was more living in the time when the *Niśvāsattva Saṃhitā* was composed, but it was not so when the *Brahmayāmala* was copied. In the interval the Tāntrik literature had become a fairly extensive one. The Tantras which were therefore considered to be authoritative in the 8th century and even prior to it were: (1) *Vijaya*, (2) *Niśvāsa*, (3) *Svāyambhuvamata*, (4) *Vāthula*, (5) *Vīrabhadra*, (6) *Raurava*, (7) *Mūkuṭa*, (8) *Virasa*, *Vireśa* (?), (9) *Candrahāsa*, *Candra* (?), (10) *Jñāna*, (11) *Mukhavimbaka*, *Vimba* (?), (12) *Prodgīta*, (13) *Laliṭa*, (14) *Siddhi*, (15) *Santāna*, *Sattvāna* (?), (16) *Sarvodgīta*, (17) *Kiraṇa*, (18) *Pārameśvara*.¹

The second text of the list: the *Niśvāsa* seems to be the same as the *Niśvāsattva Saṃhitā*. We have already noticed that the independent chapter-division of the 4 sūtras constituting the text points to the fact that they were studied separately. The word *saṃhitā* also may indicate that it was simply a compilation of different texts. Amongst the four texts, the *ūdi* and the *prathama* are the *Uttara* and *Naya sūtras*. Their very position in the traditional computation: *mūla*, *ūdi*, *prathama* and *pūrvā* point out to their intimate mutual relation. It seems quite probable that they together constituted our *Nayottara* introduced in Kambuja in the beginning of the

1 The same list occurs also in the *Kūmikāgama* (p. 1), published from Madras by Alagappa Mudaliar. Cf. Also Gopināth Rao. *Hindu Iconography*, II, part I, pp. 367-368. Some of these texts exist in very old mss. The *Kiraṇa* and *Pārameśvara tantras* are preserved in Nepal. The *Kiraṇa* was found by H. P. Śāstrī in a private collection at Bhatgaon. The ms. is very old and was copied in 924 A.C. See *Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, p. xxiv and p. 99. The *Pārameśvaramatatantra* is preserved in the Darbar Library. That ms. was copied between the 11th and 12th century A.C. (Śāstrī, *ibid.*, p. xxī and p. 46). Prof. Bendall mentions an older ms. of that tantra copied in 859 A.C. preserved in the University Library, Cambridge.

9th century (802 A.C.) The contents of these two sūtras amply show that they were indispensable for the guidance of the priests. We can understand from them how the *Nayottara* could be useful to Śivakaivalya of Kambuja for conducting the newly introduced cult of Devarāja. The *Uttara sūtra* has five sections: (i) *śivālayasthāpana*, *nāṭṭkā*, *homa*, (ii) and (iii) *abhīṣeka* and *dīkṣā*, (iv) and (v) *jñānayoga*. The *Nāyāsūtra* has 4 sections: (i) *yāsa prakaraṇa* (?), (ii) *praktivīcāra*, (iii) *rūpavīcāra*, (iv) *paramāṃṛta-sadbhāvavīcāra* (cf. also Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Catalogue*, I, pp. 138 f.; his notice is however incomplete). Their date of composition cannot be ascertained at present. But it was certainly composed long before the date of compilation of the four texts together, which also was done much earlier than the date of copying the present text. Thus roughly it may be said that the *Nayottara sūtras* were composed in the 6th and 7th centuries A.C., and compiled with the other two texts in the 7th and 8th centuries A.C.

The *Brahmayāmala* (*loc. cit.*) says that the *Niśvāsa* and the other Tantras mentioned above came out of the middle current and were communicated by the upper mouth of Śiva (*madhyasrotā-sambhūtū ṛdhvavaktrāt vinirgatū*). In another place (fol. 200a) the *Brahmayāmala* distinctly says that the three texts known as *Sammoha*, *Nayottara* and *Śīrāścheda* issued from the left current (*vāmasrotas*)

Sammohaṅ ca tathā proktaṃ tathā caiva Nayottaram/
[Śīrāśchedaṃ]¹ tathā proktaṃ vāmasrotād vinirgatam//

The same texts are also mentioned in a supplement to the *Brahmayāmala* namely the *Jayadrathayāmala* (*Śāstrī*, I, ch. 40 see *infra*):

savyasrotasi siddhāni śīrāśchidra² bhayātmakam/
nayottaraṃ mahā-raudraṃ mahāsammohonaṃ tathā/
trikam etat mahādevī vāmasrotasi nirgataṃ//

The fact that the *Nayottara* is here attributed to the *vāmasrotas* (left current) whereas elsewhere it is, as a part of the *Niśvāsatantra*, attributed to the *madhyama srotas* (middle current) should not be considered as a serious obstacle in accepting the identification proposed. We have actually mention of texts coming out of the combined current

1 Though this portion is indistinct in the ms. the reading is supported by the text of the supplement, which repeats the same tradition.

2 It is evidently a mistake of the copyist for *śīrāścheda*.

of *vāmamadhyama* (*Vāmamadhyamayā caiva coditena tathaiva hi—Brahmayāmala*, fol. 200a). There are reasons to believe that the classification according to *srotas* was not very well defined.

The texts already discussed, as we have seen, mention two other texts viz. the *Sammoha* and the *Śīrascheda* of the 4 texts introduced in Kambuja. We should not therefore suppose that the 18 texts mentioned in the *Niśvāsatantra* list were the only Tāntrik texts known in India in the 8th century A.C. According to the *Brahmayāmala* we are led to believe that these were the texts handed down by one tradition only, that of the *madhyasrotas*. The same text refers to the *Yāmala*s coming out from the Bhairava tradition: *Bhairava-srotas*. These *yāmala*s are: (1) *Rudra*, (2) *Kanda* (= *Skanda*) (3) *Brahma*, (4) *Viṣṇu*, (5) *Yama*, (6) *Vāyu*, (7) *Kuvera*, (8) *Indra*¹. It is true that these *Yāmala*s are not mentioned in the *Niśvāsa tantra*, but in the *Brahmayāmala* of which we get a ms. copied in 1052 A.C. So they all had come into existence long before this last date. But it is possible to determine the date of their composition more precisely.

The *Brahmayāmala* has its supplements and two of them are preserved in the Darbar Library (1) *Piṅgalāmata* (2) *Jayadrathayāmala*. The latter is a very extensive work containing about 24000 ślokaś divided into 4 *ṣaṭka*s of 600 *Śloka*s each. The ms. of the *Piṅgalāmata* was copied in the Nepal Samv. 294 = 1174 A.C. There can be no doubt about the fact that it is a supplement² to the *Brahmayāmala* and is connected with the *Jayadratha*³. In the very first chapter of the *Piṅgalāmata* (fol. 26) it is said: *asya tantrasya Piṅgalāmatasaṅjñā. Pratiṣṭhūkalpaṃ Jayadrathādihikāraṃ Brahmayāmalasya anuyūti, Piṅgalābhattārikāyāḥ nimittaṃ*. The *Piṅgalāmata* therefore presupposes the existence of the *Jayadrathayāmalaṃ* and professes to be inspired by the *Brahma*⁴. The *Jayadratha*⁵ was therefore written long before 1174 A.C.

- 1 *Brahmayāmala*, ch. 39, *Srotanirṇaya*, fol. 169a :
 Rudrayāmalam anyāñ ca tathā vai Kanda yāmalaṃ/
 Brahmayāmalakaṃ caiva viṣṇuyāmalam eva ca//
 Yamayāmalakaṃ cānyaṃ Vāyuyāmalam eva ca/
 Kuverayāmalañ caiva Indrayāmalam eva ca//
 Bhairavāṣṭāṣṭam eta [ṣṭakam etat] Vidyūpīṭhād vinirgataṃ/
 Yāmalaṇi tathā caṣṭau nirgatāni na saṃśayaḥ//

The names of the eight Bhairavas also mentioned in this connection, are: *Sacchanda Bhairava*, *Krodha*⁶, *Unnatti*⁷, *Ugra*⁸, *Kapāli*⁹, *Jhaṅkāra*¹⁰, *Śekhara*¹¹, *Vijaya*¹².

Through the two mss. (*ṣaṭkas* I and II) noticed by H. P. Śāstrī are of the 16th and 17th centuries.¹

The *Jayadrathayāmala* is distinctly called *Śīraścheda*. We have already discussed the texts which mention *Śīraścheda* as being handed down by the left current (*vāmasrotas*) and communicated by the *vāmavaktra* (the mouth turning towards the left). All the colophons of the *Jayadrathayāmala* run thus :

iti Bhairavasrotasi vidyāpīṭhe Śīraśchede ŚrīJayadrathayāmala
-mahātāntre caturviṃśatīśāhasre Śrīkālasaṅkarsanyāṃ etc. (cf. Śāstrī, loc. cit.)

The frame-work of the present tantra is as follows ; “Jayadratha the husband of Duryodhana’s sister and the king of Sindhudeśa renounced the world and settled at Vadarikāśrama in the Himālayas for the purpose of practising austerities. He propitiated the goddess Pārvatī who introduced him to Śīva. The interlocution between these three is the substance of the Tantra. The first question asked was the nature of Mukti (salvation) which was explained according to the *Sāṅkhya* system but Śīva said that the telling on rosary the formula of *Kūlasaṅkaraṅgāṇī* was the easiest and the shortest way to salvation” (Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Catalogue*, II, p. 2). As regards the names mentioned in the colophon Śāstrī remarked in 1905 (*Catalogue*, I, p. xii) that these are “a string of names, the import of which, if it existed at all, is lost”

1 Of the 4 *ṣaṭkas* of this text, preserved in the Darbar Library Śāstrī has noticed only two I, and II. The ms. of the *ṣaṭkas* I is dated Nepal Saṃ. 843-1723 A.C. (and not Nepal Saṃ. 847 as stated by Śāstrī, *Darbar Library Cat.*, II, p. 1) and the ms. of the *ṣaṭka* II is dated N. S. 762-1642 A.C. The writing of *ṣaṭka* III appears to be of the same period but the *ṣaṭka* IV is preserved in an older ms. The colophon of this ms. (fol. 339b-340a) runs thus :—
adhigata-sakalāśāstrasya yoginīvr̥ṇḍavanditacaraṇayugalasya—vividha-vidyāvīdyotitāṃ tatkarāṇasya mābākāruṇikasya mahārājādhīrājaśrī-majjayacandravapūjītasya Kulācāryaśrīdharāṇīpādevanāmādheyasya śīṣyeṇa paṇḍitaśrījomadevena likhitam iti. Jayacandra here mentioned seems to be the same as king Jayacandra of Kanauj who fell before the Muhammadans towards the end of the 12th century. The ms. was therefore copied either towards the end of that century or the beginning of the 13th century A.C. The script supports it. The Rāj-guru Hemarāja śarmā would attribute to the script used in this ms. a *Kanaujiyā* character (*Kānyakubjīya-srotas*).

but in 1915 (*Catalogue*, II, p. 114) in connection with the *Tattvasadbhāvantra* he explains them thus, "It is called *Bhairavasrotas* because Bhairava is the speaker and his speech began after he had snatched away the topmost head of Brahmā and put it above his four heads. It is called *Vidyāpāttha* (sic. *vidyāpīṭha*) because it treats of the goddess *Sundarī*." But this explanation is not quite correct. (i) *Bhairavasrotas*, as we have already seen, means the Bhairava current or tradition. There are 8 Bhairavas from whom emanate the 8 *yāmala*s. So other Tantras of the *Bhairavasrotas* either must have been supplements to these 8 *yāmala*s or inspired by them. The *Jayadrathayāmala* emanates from the same Bhairava (viz. the *Unmatta Bhairava*) who narrated the *Brahmayāmala*. Bhairava is conceived as an aspect of Śiva. (ii) We have already discussed the significance of the 4 *pīṭha*s. *Vidyāpīṭha* is that method of *sādhanā* which relies on the *vidyā* or *mantras*. In the case of the *Jayadrathayāmala* it is the *Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī mantra* which is of importance. (iii) The significance of Śiraścheda is still unknown to me. I have not been able to trace the explanation offered by Śāstrī anywhere in the texts but some Paṇḍits of Nepal who are acquainted with the Tantras confirm his explanation. Some of the Purāṇas indeed preserve the story of Śiva's cutting the head of Brahmā, but in a little different way. In the *Kūrmapurāṇa* it is stated that Brahmā was once boasting himself as the greatest of the universe. Śiva appeared on the scene and claimed that place for himself. Brahmā was, however, obstinate. Thereupon Śiva got angry and ordered his Bhairava to cut off that head of Brahmā which was reviling him. Śiva thereby committed a sin of which he got rid by going to Benares. The story of this rivalry between the Brahmā, Śiva, and also Viṣṇu is told also in the the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Śivapurāṇa*. In those texts, however, there is no question of cutting the head of Brahmā but Śiva establishes his superiority over the other two as the greatest architect of the universe and proved that Brahmā and Viṣṇu were only his different aspects. (See Gopinath Rao : *Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, part I, p. 105ff. and p. 296ff.). The same story evidently taken from the Purāṇas is told by Alberuni (Sachau II p. 147): "Brahman was in shape four-headed. Now there happened some quarrel between him and Śaṅkara i.e. Mahādeva—and the succeeding fight had this result that one of the heads of Brahman was torn off.....Thus the head of Brahman was dishonoured by the hand of Mahādeva, who took it always with him wherever he went and

whatever he did.....After he had entered Benares the head dropped from his hand and disappeared." This is briefly the story about Śiva's cutting the head of Brahmā, but I have not yet found any reference to Śiva's putting it on his own head and communicating a class of Tantras through it. But it seems probable that the legend has some bearing on the *Sadyojāta* face of Śiva, which represents his Brahmā aspect and through which he told some Tantras. (See Gopinath Rao, *loc. cit.*, part II, p. 366-367).

It is now quite clear that the *Jayadrathayāmala* is a *Śiraścheda* text. Not only the colophons of the text but the text itself clearly speak of it. Thus towards the end of the *ṣaṭka* III (fol 215a) we find the following text :—

Evam etan mayākhyātāṃ tantram etad anuttamaṃ/
 Vasīṣṭhena purādhītaṃ naranārāyaṇair api//
 Brahmaṇā matsamīpe tu śiraśchedaṃ mahābalaṃ/
 Bahumantraguṇākīraṇaṃ tavādya prakāṭikṛtaṃ/

Here the text is quite clear about the identity of the *Śiraścheda* and the *Jayadrathayāmala*. Now the *Jayadrathayāmala*, as we have seen, is mentioned in the *Piṅgalāmata* (of which we have a ms. dated 1174 A.C.), and apparently in the existing version of the *Brahmayāmala* (chap. 39, fol. 169a) as "*catuṣkaṣaṭkabhedas tu.*" (This ms. of *Brahma*^o is dated 1052 A.C.). A part of the *Jayadratha*^o itself is preserved in a ms. of the 12th-13th century A.C. If we admit that it is this *Śiraścheda* which was taken to Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century (803 A.C.) then the date of its composition would go back to the 8th century A.C., and necessarily the earlier versions of the *Brahmayāmala* and other *yāmala*s would go back to a still older period.

An apparently later tradition mentions another work as *Śiraścheda*. It is the *Karavīrayoga*,¹ also called *Parātantra*. A ms. of this *tantra*

1 *Karavīra* means a cremation ground cf. Hemacandra's *Abhī-dhānacintāmaṇi*, IV, 55—"śmaśānaṃ karavīraṃ syāt." But the word is also used as the name of particular *śmaśānas* at least in two places. In Nepal a *śmaśāna* was known as *karavīra*, (cf. S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, II, p. 282). In the Tibetan texts we find *Karavīra* as the name of a *Vihāra* in the city of Mālapura (Maṅgalapura ?) in Uḍḍiyāna (*Pag. Sam Jon Zang*, p. 137, index. iii; cf. also Tāranāth, tr. Schiefner p. 324). It seems probable that in Uḍḍiyāna also there was a parti-

written in śaka 1681—1603 A.C. is preserved in the Darbar Library. The colophons of some of its chapters are to be noticed in this connection :

fol. 21b—iti śrīmahāsrotasi śiraśchede karavīrayoge parā-
tante krama (?) dvādaśasāhasrikāyāṃ kālikramanirṇayasūtram ;
fol. 25a—iti śrībhairavasrotasi śiraśchede karavīrayoge parātante
paramārthanirṇayah ; fol. 30a—iti śrī bhairavasrotasi śiraśchede
mahākaravīrayoge parātante kālikulakramaḥ samāptaḥ. On
fol. 1a the following words are put into the mouth of the goddess:

Sarvasrotodbhavaṃ jūānaṃ tvā[ṃ] prasādā[t] vrutaṃ mayā/
yāmalāṣṭakapūravantu tattvāny ekavidhānita (?) //
śiraśchedaś ca bahudhā mahā-santhāna-ṣaṭkakaṃ/
parātantram ca citkāra (phetkāra ?) sāgarāmbhāmahāsaṇaṃ...//
caturviṃśati vai lakṣāḥ śrutāḥ sarveṇa tu dhāriṇī//

In this list the *Karavīrayoga* apparently mentions the texts of the school to which it belongs. It mentions the original *Śiraścheda* : the *mahāsanthānaṣaṭkakaṃ*. The text here referred to seems to be no other than the *Jayadrathayāmala* containing the extensive *ṣaṭkas*. Thus it is evident that the original *Śiraścheda* text was the same as the *Jayadrathayāmala*. The *Karavīrayoga* apparently drew its inspiration from that text.

We have already seen that the *Jayadrathayāmala* came out either of the *vāmasrotas* or the *vāmamadhyaśrotas*. We should rather consider it to be issuing from the *vāmamadhyaśrotas* which was spoken by the western mouth *Pāścimavaktra* because the *Jayadrathayāmala* itself speaks of its western origin [cf. *ṣaṭka* III, fol. 215a : *tadākṣa (?) pāścimajanma jñātavyaṃ naraśattamaḥ*]. We have also seen that it is the *sadyojāta* face (= Brahṃā) which turns westward. Thus we understand why the *Jayadrathayāmala*, communicated by the *pāścimavaktra* is called *śiraścheda*.

As regards the third text *Sammoha* introduced in Kambuja in 802 A.C. nothing can be definitely stated at the present moment.

cular cremation ground with that name which has been wrongly called a *vihāra*. Some Tāntric practices were to be performed only in the *śmaśānas*. Traces of such practices are also found in Buddhist sources. cf. *Laiṅkāvātāra* (Nanjio) p. 308.

śunyāgāre śmaśāne vā vṛkṣamūle guhāsu vā/
palāle 'bhyavakāśe ca yogi vāsaṃ prakalpayet// verse 336.

We have already discussed the references to this text in the *Brahmayāmala* (ms. copied in 1052 A.C.). There is no doubt that the *Sammoha* (var. *Sammohana*) mentioned therein was the same as that introduced into Kambuja. So it was known in India long before 802 A.C. when it was taken to Kambuja. It is difficult to determine if this *Sammoha* had to do anything with the *Sammohanatantra* we get at present. One *Sammohanatantra*, as has been already pointed out by Dr. Chatterji, is attributed to the *Viṣṇukrāntā* region. A *Sammohinītantra* belongs to the *Rathakrānta* region, (see Avalon, *Principles of Tantra* I, lxv, lxvi). We have besides a *Sammohanatantra* preserved in a late ms. in the Darbar Library. Śāstri (*Catalogue*, II, p. 183) also has noticed this ms. as a new one. The text is written in incorrect Sanskrit. All these texts of the *Sammohanatantra* might have been inspired by the original *Sammohatantra* which still remains to be discovered.

On the last and the 4th text taken to Kambuja in 802 A.C. viz. the *Vināśikha*, no light can be thrown at present. In the *Jayadrathayāmala* (*Saṭka* I) we find a list of Bhairavas who had attained success through the *Kālasaṅkarṣāṇī vidyā*. Amongst these Bhairavas we find the names of *Śikhā* and *Vināśikha* Bhairavas. There are *tantras* issuing from some of the *Bhairavas* of this list. There is the name of *Phetkūri Bhairava* from whom issued the *Phetakara tantra*. Consequently we are justified in supposing that there was a *tantra* named *Vināśikha tantra* which was connected with the name of *Vināśikha Bhairava*. If this identification is accepted then the *Vināśikha tantra* was intimately connected with the *Śiraścheda*, i.e. the *Jayadrathayāmala*, as the Kambuja inscription also would make us believe.

The texts thus being identified, it remains to be seen which is the god mentioned as *Tumvuru* and why are the four texts called "the four faces of Tumvuru." Dr. Chatterji says that *Tumvuru* is the name of a Gandharva and thinks that he had something to do with the *Gandharva tantra*. But the context has no bearing on any *tantra* connected with the name of *Tumvuru*. The inscription would have us believe that all the four texts were connected with that god. *Tumbaru* or *Tumburu* is recorded in all the lexicons as the name of a Gandharva but no detailed information is available on him. It is the name of one of the Yakṣa worshippers of the Jina (See Hemacandra—*Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, I, 41 where the commentator explains the word as *tumbati ardati vighnān tumburuh*). The Buddhist texts mention him as the king of the Gandharvas. Thus

in the *Mahāsamaya Suttanta* (*Dialogues of Buddha*, part 2, p. 288) amongst the Gandharva chieftains are mentioned Pañcaśikha and Suriyavaccasā, the daughter of Timbaru. Then again in the *Sakkapañha suttanta* (*ibid.*, pp. 302, 303) Buddha being enchanted by the music of Pañcaśikha questions him whereupon the latter tells him the story of his love for Bhaddā Suriyavaccasā, the daughter of Timbaru, the King of the Gandhabbas. In this story Pañcaśikha figures as a great musician who had a lyre of yellow *Beluva* wood. The Gandhabba Timbaru is also mentioned in the *Pāsādikasuttanta*. In the Chinese translations of those Sūtras the name of the Gandharva is transcribed as *Tan-feou-lu* = *tām-bieu-ru = *tamburu and as *Teou-feou-lou* = *Teu-bieu-ru = *tu(m)buru. [cf. *Tripitaka*, New Tokio Ed. vol. I, pp. 80, 633]. These forms show that in the corresponding Chinese versions the names presuppose the forms *Tamburu*, and *Tumburu* and not *Timburu* as preserved in the Pāli texts. The Mahābhārata refers to Tumburu on several occasions: in *Ādiparva* (65.51): *supriyā cātibāhuś ca vikhyūtau ca hāhū hūhūhū/Tumburuś ceti catvāraḥ smṛtāḥ Gandharvasattvamāḥ*// and again *Ādi* (159.54): *Gandharvaiḥ sakitāḥ śrīmān prāgūyataś ca Tumburuḥ*. In the first verse Tumburu is evidently used as a general designation of the four Gandharvas: *Supriyā, Atibāhu, Hāhū, Hūhū*, whereas in the second verse it is used in all appearance, as the name of one particular Gandharva, who was a musician. Whatever it may be, the number four seems to have been connected with the name of Tumburu, though it is difficult to determine at present whether it was originally the generic name of the four Gandharvas or the name of a particular Gandharva with four faces.¹ But there is no doubt that Tumburu

1 There seems to have been a time when Śiva was four faced. The Mahābhārata preserves its traces (*Anuśāsana* 141. sl. 5ff. *Umāmaheśvara-saṃvūda*). Śiva tells Umā that it was simply to see her that he became four-faced through yogic power :

tām didṛkṣur ahaṃ yogāc caturmūrttitvam āgataḥ/
caturmukhaś ca saṃvṛtto darśayan yogam uttamam//
pūrveṇa vadanenāham indratvam anuśāsmi ha/
uttareṇa tvayā sārdaṃ ramāmy aham anindite//
paścimaṃ me mukhaṃ saumyaṃ sarvaprāṇisukhāvahaṃ/
dakṣiṇaṃ bhīmasaṅkāśaṃ raudraṃ saṃharati prajāḥ//

In the *Ādiparva* (216, śls. 22-28, Cal. Ed.) Maheśvara is stated to have done the same thing i.e. assumed four faces through *yoga* to

was *par excellence* a musician. He is mentioned as an authority on the musical science.

The *Samgītāloka*, while mentioning the oldest authorities on music cites the name of Tumburu. These authorities are : (1) Brahmā, (2) Śiva, (3) Nandikeśvara, (4) Śivā, (5) Rambhā, (6) Tumburu, etc. (.....*Śivanandikeśvara śivārambhāsthatā tumburuḥ*.....cf. Śāstri, *Catalogue*, vol. II, p. 72 and also *Introduction*, xxxv). These are the names of *gods* who revealed music to the mortals. Nandikeśvara is another name of Śiva ; Tumburu is the Gandharva. A stringed musical instrument, *Tamburā* is connected with his name. Though there is no definite text to fall back on, still it seems probable that Tumburu was no other than Śiva himself. Both of them are represented as having four faces, and both of them are authorities on music. If this identification is accepted then a new light can be thrown on the text of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom. The four tantras : *Śiraścheda*, *Vinūsikha*, *Sammoha* and *Nayottara* are said to be *Tumvuror vaktracatuṣkam*, not because they constituted the four faces of that god but because they issued forth from or were communicated by, his four mouths (*vaktra*). Besides we should note that *vaktra* really means mouth and not face. The four Tāntrik texts therefore seem to have represented four different *āmnūyas*, connected with the four

see the newly created Tilottamā from all sides—"evam caturmukhaḥ sthānur mahādevo' bhavat purā." In the sculptural representation also, though Mahādeva should have according to comparatively late texts five faces, the figures of the four-faced Śiva are not rare. Gopinath Rao in his *Hindu Iconography* (vol. II, part II, pl. cxv and p. 373) reproduces the image of a Sadāśiva-mūrti coming from Ellora. The image has four faces. Mr. Rao for making it agree with traditional form of Śiva says that. "The figure has four faces and since all its arms are broken, it is not possible to say how many it originally possessed." But there is no mark of a broken face and there is no difficulty in admitting that it was from the beginning four faced. At Yun Kang in North China, the Buddhist sculpture which was directly inspired by Indian art there is a representation of Maheśvara with four faces. It belongs to the 5th and 6th centuries A.C. Maheśvara is sitting on a bull. The four faces are turning to four directions. Somebody is standing near him carrying a trident (*triśūla*). See Siren—*Chinese sculpture*, vol. II, Pl. 34.

faces of Tumburu, who was in all appearance, an emanation of Śiva himself like the Bhairavas.

The introduction of the four texts throws some light on another problem viz. that of the relation of Kambuja with northern India. Dr. Chatterji has already tried to trace some of the elements of Kambuja culture to North Indian origin (*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* p. 253 ff.). Now there are reasons to believe that the four Tantras brought to Kambuja by Hiraṇyadāma were of North Indian origin. The *Piṅgalāmata* which we have seen to be a supplement to the *Brahmayāmala* and to be connected with the *Śīrascheda-Jayadrathayāmala* is very clear on this point. On *folio* 5b we find mention of the country where the *Śīvasūadhanā* was in vogue. It is no doubt the country of the Āryas—the *Āryāvarta* :

Vindhyottaragatenaiva Magadhāccāpareṇa tu
Himādre dakṣiṇe bhāge pañcālāt pūrvatas tathā
Āryāvarta iti khyātas tadbhavācāryasādhakau
Agrajanmakulodbhūtaḥ sarvasādhāraṇo yataḥ
Viśeṣaṇaṁ ca tathā brūmi agrāṇīśaktivācakaḥ
Śaktyantaṁ janitaṁ janma janmāgrety abhidhīyate
Ka-pūrvāṣṭavinirmukt[ā] anyadeśodbhavāvapi
Kāmarūpaṅca kāśmīrau kāliṅgau koṅkaṇodbhavau
Kāñcikośalakāveryā-rāṣṭrajāvapi varjayet
Kīmarthaṁ cet tatsidhyarthaṁ-mokṣārthaṁ sarvajau śubhau,
Śīvavratadharācāryō nātidrgho'tihrasvakaḥ etc.

This passage mentions the countries of which the people are unfit for *Śīvasūadhanā* on account of their physical deformities. These countries all begin with *ka* : Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra, Kāliṅga, Koṅkaṇa, Kāñci, Kośala, Kāveri-rāṣṭra (?). This shows that the oldest Brāhmaṇical *tantras* which included the 18 texts mentioned in the *Nīsvāsātattvasaṁhitā*, the 8 *yāmalas* and their supplements, all originated in Northern India. The four texts, the *Nayottara*, *Śīrascheda*, *Vināsikha* and *Sammoha*, taken to Kambuja in the beginning of the 9th century A.C. would therefore be of North-Indian origin.

Thus we see that the four Tāntrik texts mentioned in the Inscription of Sdok Kak Thom as having been introduced in Kambuja in 802 A.C. during the reign of Jayavarma II are partly preserved in old mss. in the Nepal Darbar Library. The *Nayottara* was probably the same as the *Naya-* and *Uttara sūtras* which form a part of the *Nīsvāsātattvasaṁhitā* now preserved in a ms. of Gupta writing of the 8th century A.C. It was composed much earlier than the date of

the ms. and may be safely placed in the 6th—7th century A.C. ; The *Śirāścheda* was in all probability the same as the original *Jayadratha-yāmala* of which an extensive text copied in the 12th-13th century A.C. exists in the Darbar Library. The *Vināśikha* seems to have been a supplement to the *Jayadratha yāmala* and the *Sammoha*, the original, on which the later Tantras of that name were based. The four Tantras were of North-Indian origin.

Tumbaru appears to have been an emanation of Śiva himself, who is represented as having communicated the four texts through his four mouths.

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On Some Tāntrik texts studied in Ancient Kambuja

II

The Āgamas and their influence—The inscriptions of Kambuja abound in references to the Śaivite canon. Various inscriptions refer to *Śivaśāstra*,¹ *Śaivāgama*,² *Sarvāgama*,³ and *Śaiva-vyākaraṇa*.⁴ *Āgama* means the oldest Śaivite canon which conformed to the Vedas and had not entirely separated from the Vedic religion like the later Śaiva sects. *Śāstra* was a term synonymous with *Āgama*. Āgamas are generally believed to be 28 in number but we have already discussed the text of the *Niśvāsattva Saṃhitā*, itself an Āgama, which mentions only 18. We have also pointed out that these 18 Āgamic texts must have existed long before the 8th century. The references to Āgamas in the inscriptions of Kambuja, the oldest of which go back to the beginning of the 9th century, confirm the same view. One of the four texts mentioned in the inscription of Kambuja, viz. the *Nayottara* at least belong to the Āgama proper while the three other belong to the canon which grew later on under its inspiration. In the inscription of Angkor vat⁵ we find another reference to an Āgamic text: it is the *Pāramēśvara* (*tasmin kuru mahadyāgaṃ yathokataṃ pāramēśvare*). It is the *Pāramēśvaratantra* also called *Pāramēśvaramatatantra* which is one of the 18 Āgamas mentioned in the *Niśvāsasaṃhitā* list. It is the 25th of the 28 Āgamas mentioned in later literature.⁶ We have already seen that there is a ms. of the *Pāramēśvaratantra* copied in 859 A.D. The work was certainly much older, as it is mentioned in the *Niśvāsasaṃhitā* list of which we have a manuscript of about the middle of the 8th century.

In my last article I have tried to show that the original Śaivite

1 Inscription of *Phnom Sandak* of about the end of the 9th century A.D. Bergaigne—*Inscription de Campa et du Cambodge*, II, p. 157.

2 Inscription of *Angkor vat*, *Ibid.* p. 392.

3 *Ibid.* p. 389.

4 *Ibid.* p. 392.

5 Bergaigne, *Inscription* etc. p. 390; also p. 384 with the note of Barth.

6 Gopinath Rao—*Hindu Iconography*, II, part I, pp. 367-368.

canon which contained the 18 *Āgamas* was of North-Indian origin as according to them, the best *Śivācūryas* were the Brahmins of Āryāvarta. But the people of the surrounding countries, Kāmarūpa, Kāsmīra, Kaliṅga, Koṅkaṇa, Kāñci, Kośala, Kāveri and Rāṣṭra were not eligible to that position for their physical deformities. By physical deformities we have to understand that their statures did not follow the prescribed standard and were either too tall or too short (*atidūrgha atihrasvaka*). Such a conclusion is also substantiated by other evidences. The *Tantrasūtra* which is a famous compendium of Bengal Tantrism says on the authority of *Kriyāsūtrasamuccaya*, *Yāmala* and *Vaiśampāyana-saṃhitā* that persons with physical deformities of various description, and persons who are diseased, immoral etc. cannot be *gurus* (*Ibid.* p. 3)—*atha nindyagurumāha—*

*Kriyāsūtra-samuccaye—*Śvitri caiva galatkuṣṭhī netrarogī ca vāmanah/
 kunakhī śyāvadantaś ca strījitaś cādhikāṅgakaḥ//
 hīnāṅgaḥ kapaṭi rogi bahvāśi bahujaḥpakah/
 etair doṣair vilīno yaḥ sa guruḥ śiṣyasammataḥ//
*Yāmale—*abhiśaptam aputrañ ca kadaryaṃ kitavaṃ tathā/
 kriyāhīnaṃ śaṭhañ cāpi vāmanaṃ gurunīdakam//
 jalaraktaṅvikārañ ca varjayen matimān sadā/
 sadā matsara-saṃyuktaṃ guruṃ tantreṇa varjayet//.
Vaiśampāyana-saṃhitāyāṃ—
 aputro mṛtaputraś ca kuṣṭhī ca vāmanas tathā.....//

The same compendium again says on the authority of *Jābāla* (quoted by Vidyādharaċārya) that the quality of the *gurus* differ according to the countries in which they are born. According to it the best *gurus* are found in the countries of Madhyadeśa, Kurukṣetra, Naṭa and Koṅkaṇa (or Naṭa-Koṅkaṇa ?), Antarvedī, Pratiṣṭhāna, and Avanti. The Madhyadeśa is Āryāvarta. The *gurus* of the second quality are found in Gauḍa, Śālva, Śura (?), Magadha, Kerala, Kośala and Daśārṇa. The worst *gurus* are those who belong to the countries of Karṇāṭa, Narmadā, Rāṣṭra,¹ Kaccha, Kāliṅda, Kalamba and Kamboja² (*Ibid.* p. 10-11); *tathā Vidyādharaċāryadhṛtaṃ Jābālavacanam—*

1 It is evidently the same name as quoted in the list of the *Piṅgalāmata*. Through mistake I connected it with Kāveri and took it to mean *Kāveri-rāṣṭra*. It seems to be a different country and probably is meant for Surāṣṭra.

2 *Koṅkaṇa* which is amongst the forbidden countries in the *Āgama* list here is placed in the first rank. *Naṭa Koṅkaṇa* may however

Madhyadeśa-Kurukṣetra-Naṭakonikaṣasambhavāḥ/
 Antarvedi-Pratiṣṭhānā Āvantiyās ca gurūttamāḥ//
 Madhyadeśa Āryāvartaḥ/
 Gauḍāḥ Śālvāḥ Surās caiva Māgadhāḥ Keralās tathā/
 Kośalās ca Daśārṇās ca guravaḥ sapta madhyamāḥ//
 Karṇāṭa-Naramdā-Rāṣṭra-Kacchatirodbhavās tathā/
 Kāḷindās ca Kalambās ca Kāmbojās cādhamā mataḥ//

This list was certainly drawn up at a time when the authority of the orthodox Āgamas was a little undermined by the rise of the heterodox schools, But it still shows the old tendency according to which the *ācāryas* of North Indian origin were given the first place.

This throws some unexpected light on the recruitment of *Śivācāryas* in different countries including ancient Kambuja. We have seen that Hiranyadāma came with the new *Śāstras* from a *janapada*, which was most probably a *janapada* in India. The family of Śivakaivalya, who was initiated to these Śāstras, was long established in Kambuja. The history of this family, recorded in the inscription of Sdok kak Thom is of great interest. The members of this family enjoyed the priesthood of the king through succession since the time of Bhāvavarman (middle of the 6th century A. D.). They were *Śivācāryas* and were guardians of *liṅga* established in different places, The succession of the priests was determined according to the *mātṛvaṃśa* "i.e. maternal lineage" (*tanmātṛvaṃśe yatayās striyo vā jātū vidyā-vikrama-yuktabhāvāḥ! tad-yājakās syuḥ*.....BEFEO, 1915, p. 62) which implied that the succession was to go to the children of the sisters (*bhāgineya*) or to those of the daughter of the sisters, or the elder brother. There are several cases of such succession recorded in the inscriptions (*Ibid.*, p. 54). It is difficult to explain the necessity of such an arrangement. Barth in 1901 thought that such an arrangement was necessary because the royal priests used to take the vow of celibacy and therefore they had to choose their successor from the line of their sisters. But M. Finot (*Ibid.*, p. 56) says that it is difficult to admit this explanation as

be a mistake for some other country. The countries of *Kāḷinda* and *Kalamba* are not known. *Kāḷinda* (certainly not *Kāḷindī*) seems to be a mistake for *Kulinda*. *Kamboja* does not seem to be the ancient country of the Kamboja-Gāndhāra group. It may be the country of the people called *Kam-po-tsa* in the Tibetan sources and located in Assam. These people seem to have been the predecessors of the modern Kóch.

we hear of priests (though of very late times—11th century A.D.) who were married. It is however clear that the intention was to avoid difficulty in finding a successor because when the branch lines are counted the family has an unlimited scope. But what was the necessity of sticking to a particular family for the selection of priests? The only explanation that occurs to my mind is that according to the Āgamas the *Śivūcāryas* had to be chosen preferably from the Brahmanical families of North Indian origin. Such families were not numerous in Kambuja. The family of Śivakaivalya was probably a rare one and priests had to be chosen from that family and its branch lines, as the members of them alone were fit to be *Śivūcāryas*. In the inscriptions of Kambuja we have several other references to the families of North Indian origin, of which the members attained the position of royal chaplain. Thus we hear of the royal chaplain Bhaṭṭa Divākara who came from the banks of the *Kālinḍī* (Yamunā) and was thus an expert in the Vedic sacrifices (Bergaigne—*Inscription* I, p. 81ff.) In an inscription of Angkor vat we are told that the royal priest Sarvajñamuni who was a special adept in the Śaivite rites came from the Āryadeśa. (Bergaigne—*Inscriptions* etc. lxv. 9. p. 388. *Āryadeśe samutpannaś Śivārūdhana-tatparaḥ| yo yogenāgataḥ Kamvudēse...*). In the same inscription we hear that a descendant of Sarvajñamuni filled the country called Madhyadeśa (here a part of the ancient Kambuja) with Brahmins versed in the *Veda* and *Vedāṅga* (lxv. 22. *cakūra dēśaṃ nāmnemaṃ, madhyadeśaṃ janūkulam| vedavedāṅgavidvipraṃ...*). There seems to be a reference here to the immigration of Brahmins from India. In the inscription of Prah vat we find mention of a Brahmin, named Agastya related to the royal family, who originally came from the Āryadeśa. (Bergaigne—*Inscriptions* etc. xlv. 5 ; p. 184—*atha dvijo' gastyā iti pratīto, yo vedavedāṅgavid āryadeśe...*). Such practices were known in India too. The great Cola king Rājendra Cola who built the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore is stated to have “appointed Sarvaśiva Paṇḍita-Śivācārya as the priest of that temple and have ordered that thenceforth the *Śiṣyas* and their *Śiṣyas* alone, belonging to the Āryadeśa, the Madhyadeśa and the Gauḍadeśa shall be eligible for the office of chief priest,” (*South Indian Inscription* II, 1. p. 105, wrongly referred to as II, 2. p. 153 in *Hindu Iconography* II, 1. pp. 5-6). We also know that the Malla kings of Bhatgaon (Nepal) had Brahmins from Bengal as their priests. These Brahmin families used to come to Bengal from time to time to contract their marriages in order to

maintain the purity of their family tradition. This was however the custom most probably in the pure *Śivasādhanū* i.e. *Āgamānta* Śaivism. For the heterodox Śaiva sects like the *Pāsupatas* and others the practice was different. Thus in Nepal the priests of *Pāsupatināthra* were recruited only from amongst the South Indian Brahmins (S. Lévi, *Le Nepal* I, p. 364-365).

The influence of the *Āgamas* can also be traced in the Śaivite cult practised in Kambuja and Campā. There are ample evidences in the ancient inscriptions to prove that the constructions of the *Śivaliṅgas* were made according to the prescription of the canon. According to the *Āgamas* the *liṅgas* can be of two kinds, the *cala* i.e. moveable and the *acala*, i.e. immoveable. The *cala liṅgas* are again of different types: *mṛṅmāya*, earthen; *lohaja*, metallic; *ratnaja*, of precious stones; *dāruja*, wooden; *śailaja*, of stone; and *kṣaṇika*, those made for temporary worship. The *lohaja* i.e. metallic *liṅgas* are made of 8 metals: gold, silver, copper, bell-metal, iron, lead, brass and tin and the *ratnaja* ones are made of pearls, coral, *vaidūrya*, topaz, emerald and bluestone.¹

The *acala* or *sthāvāra liṅgas* are of 10 kinds, Svāyambhuva, Pūrva, Daivata, Gāṇapatya, Asura, Sura, Ārṣa, Rākṣasa, Mānuṣa and Bāṇa. The *Makūṭāgama* calls them *Sthira liṅgas* and divide them into four classes: Daivika, Ārṣaka, Gāṇapa and Mānuṣa.

In ancient Campā Śaivism was the predominant religion and Śiva was worshipped mostly in the form of a *liṅga*. A *liṅga* established by king Bhadravarman towards the close of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century A.D. became a sort of national deity for the people of Campā. This *liṅga* is differently called in the inscriptions—Bhadreśvara, Śambhu-Bhadreśvara, and most probably also as Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara (see R. C. Majumdar—*Campā*, pp. 177ff.). The inscriptions do not generally speak of the materials used for the construction of the *liṅgas*. Many of them, specially the *mukhaliṅgas* were certainly curved from stone. But we have some references to other types of *liṅgas* too. An inscription of Po-nagar, dated 965 A.D. (Majumdar II, n° 47), speaks of the gold and stone images of the goddess i.e. Bhagavatī (*haimī* and *śailamayī pratimā*; inscr.

¹ See Gopinath Rao, *Hindu Iconography* II, (I) pp. 75 ff: The *Āgamas* from which he derives the information are: *Suprabhedāgama*, *Kūraṇāgama*, *Kāmikāgama*, *Makūṭāgama* and the *Kiraṇāgama*. See *Ibid.* II (2) App. B, p. 3 ff.

n° 45 *kaladhautadehā*), erected by king Indravarman. This shows that both gold and stone was used in the construction of the images of deities in Campā. Another inscription is more explicit on the point. The *Yang Tikh* Inscription of Indravarman I (dated 721 śaka = 799 A.D.) contains two stanzas which have not been correctly interpreted till now. The stanzas in question are (See Majumdar, II, n° 23, viii and ix) :—

तस्यापि पार्थिवं लिङ्गं स्थापितं श्रीन्द्रवर्मणा ।

इन्द्रभद्रेश्वरी नाम्ना ततयाभूत् स एव वा ॥ [VIII]

तस्यैव स्थापितन्नि न इयं कोशचरस्थिरं ।

समुत्तरकोशं हि शके शशियमाद्रिगे ॥ [IX]

Dr. Majumdar translates the stanzas thus : “Indravarman also installed an earthen *liṅga* of the God, which therefore came to be known as Indrabhadreśvara. He also established in the year of the Śakas Śaśi yam ādri (721), two treasures for the god, the one composed of moveable and immoveable property, and the other moveable and with a mouth (priests ?).”¹ The last part of the translation is evidently unintelligible. There is no question of “property” in the text and “a moveable treasure with a mouth (?)” does not convey any meaning. *Kośa* here, as in many other cases in these inscriptions, should be taken in the sense of *liṅga-kośa*. *Kośa* was apparently an outer covering of the *liṅga*, and was used probably for decorative purposes. The inscriptions of Campā very often record the gifts of *kośa* made by the kings to the *liṅgas*. These *kośas* were often golden and decorated with costly gems. The *kośas* had sometimes faces and *kośa* with six faces are twice spoken of. We find mention of *Ṫrdhva-kośa* which was most probably a detachable one (See Majumdar, *Campā* I, p. 182). If in the present case we take *kośa* in the sense of *liṅga-kośa*, the text becomes clear. It should then be translated : “Indravarman also installed an earthen—*pārthiva-liṅga*—of him (the god) which therefore came to be known as Indrabhadreśvara. He

1 Bergaigne—*Inscriptions* etc. II, p. 33 et 37—VIII-IX “Śri-Indravarman a érigé aussi un *liṅga* terrestre de ce dieu, qui a été appelé désormais d’ un autre nom Indrabhadreśvara. Il a aussi constitué pour lui deux trésors : l’un composé de biens meubles et doué d’eloquence” (les prêtres du temple—Barth).

2 Cf. *Ibid.* I, Inscr. II. 10, XV, B- 26, XVII. B. 26, XVIII. D. 27, B. 24 and II, Inscr. LXI, C. 11.

also established, in the Śāka year śāsi-yama-adri (721), two kośas, one *cara* i.e. moveable and the other *sthira* i.e. immoveable. The moveable (*cara*) kośa had a face (or faces).” The *liṅga* was an earthen one (*pārthiva*) which corresponds to the *mṛṇmaya-liṅga* mentioned by the Āgamas and it had two kośas, of which one was moveable and the other, probably a simple cylindrical one was a fixed one. The *cara kośa*, had a face (or faces) and thus when fixed to the *liṅgas* used to convert them into *mukhaliṅgas*. The two words *cara* and *sthira* naturally remind us of the two types of *liṅga*, *cala*, moveable *acala*, immoveable, also called *sthira* or *sthāvara* in the Āgamas.

In ancient Kambuja the *liṅgas* used to be made of metal as well as precious stones. We have references to *liṅgaṃ haimasobham*, *svaṛṇa-mayaliṅga*, *svaṛṇaliṅga*, *kūladhauta-liṅga*, *sphaṭikaliṅga* and *maṇiliṅga*. The materials used for the construction of these *liṅgas* therefore were chosen in accordance with the prescription of the Āgamas. They all were of the type known as *calaliṅga* and fell under its subdivisions: *śailaja*, *lohaja* and *ratnaja*.

The four faces of Tumburu—I have already tried to establish that the four Tāntrik texts *śivāścheda*, *vināśikha*, *sammohana* and *navottara* mentioned in the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom were authentic Śaivaśāstras being studied in India in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. if not earlier. These texts constituted the “*vaktracatuṣkam*”¹ of the god

1 We have now a definite text before us which supports the identification of Tumburu with Śiva. In the *Yogavāsistha-Rāmāyaṇa* (*Nirvāṇa-prakarṇa*, I. XVIII 23-26), compiled before the 9th century A. D., we find the following verses :

ity aṣṭaiśvarya-yuktās tā mātaro raudra-ceṣṭhitāh/
 kadācīnmilitā vyomni sarvāḥ kenāpi hetunā//
 utsavaṃ paramaṃ cakruḥ paramārthaprakāśakaṃ /
 vāmasrotogatā etās Tumburuṃ Rudraṃ āśritāh//
 pūjayitvā jagatpūjyau devau Tumburu-Bhairavau/
 vicitrārthāḥ kathāś cakrur-madirā-madatoṣitāh//

These things are spoken of the eight *mātrikās* who were one day out for amusement. They are here characterised as the followers of the left current (*vāmasrotogatā*) and related to Rudra who is Tumburu i.e. the Tumburu aspect of Rudra (*Tumburuṃ Rudraṃ*). The eight-*mātrikās* are here made to worship the two gods Tumburu and Bhairava. This passage clearly mentions Tumburu as an aspect of Rudra. It should also be noted that Śiva is often referred to in the inscrip-

Tumburu and were introduced in Kambuja for establishing the mystic rites known as *devarāja* (*siddhih.....devarājābhikhyā*). Tumburu evidently had some sort of connection with the *Devarāja* cult. *Devarāja* was a phallic representation (*liṅgarāja*) of Śiva—and we have already seen that Tumburu was an emanation of Śiva himself. The inscription of Sdok Kak Thom tells us that the first temple of *Devarāja* was built by Jayavarman II (802 A.D.) in his new capital Mahendraparvata (Phnom Kulen), and the royal chaplain Śivakaivalya was appointed priest. The deity was subsequently taken to Hariharālaya where the capital was shifted. Afterwards when the king Paramaśivaloka (i.e., Yaśovarman 889-910 A.D.) built his capital at Yośodhārāpur (Angkor Thom) he brought the deity to the new capital and placed him in the temple of *Vnaṃ kūntāl* (lit. the central mount) which was built in the centre of the city for receiving the deity.

This central edifice erected by Yaśovarman was for a long time believed to be the Bayon which is situated just in the centre of Angkor. But M. Finot in his recent studies (*Etudes Asiatiques*, vol. I p. 245ff.) has tried to show that the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom has told a lie. A detailed examination of the sculpture of Bayon has led M. Finot to believe that Bayon could not have been originally a Śaiva temple. He thinks that the newly built capital of Yaśovarman was not placed under the protection of the *liṅga* *Devarāja*, the national deity of Kambuja, but under that of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Necessarily he was led to conclude that Angkor Thom and Bayon were not built by king Yaśovarman, as the inscription would have us believe, because he was a Śaiva, but by his predecessor Jayavarman II who was a Mahāyānist. Yaśovarman according to him played the part of a vandal and changed Bayon into a sanctuary of the *liṅga*. The principal reason for starting this theory was that the sculpture of Bayon is almost entirely Buddhist. But it might be argued that the temple was begun as a Buddhist one and finished as a Śaiva one. But to this objection M. Finot answers that even in several *niches* of the towers the central figures were originally those of Buddha. They were later on deliberately destroyed and replaced by *liṅga*. Another serious difficulty remained to be explained away. Each tower of Bayon is decorated with four colossal faces turning towards the four cardinal points. In 1911 M. Finot interpreted them

tions of Kambuja as *Caturānana*, *Caturmukha* etc. Cf. Bergaigne *Inscriptions* etc. II, n° LXIV (p. 377); n° XLIV (p. 183); n° LV (p. 213).

as the architectural translation of a *caturmukhalīnga*. He, however, gives up that explanation in the light of later researches and now thinks that they represent the faces of the Avalokiteśvara. He is aware of the fact that no such architectural representation of Avalokiteśvara is at present available but he still supposes that the architect wanted to represent Avalokiteśvara as looking in the four directions and thus protecting the city on all sides. M. Finot would therefore conclude that the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom has distorted the facts. Bayon was not originally a Śaiva temple and Yaśovarman, who was a staunch Śaiva, could not be its founder. It was founded in the time of Jayavarman II (802-869 A.D.) who was a Buddhist king.

But M. Phillip Stern in his study on the evolution of the Khmer Art (*Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'Evolution de l'Art Khmer*, 1927) has questioned the hitherto admitted chronology of the monuments of Angkor on grounds of style. According to him, Bayon did not exist in the time of Yaśovarman. Therefore, the central mount (*Vnaṃ kantāl*) of Yaśovarman has to be searched for elsewhere. He thinks that it should be identified with the *Phimūnakas*, which in all appearance, occupied the central position in the old city. The city developed in course of subsequent centuries and its centre was naturally removed. According to the chronology proposed by him, Bayon could not have been built before the time of Udayādityavarman II (1049-1052 A.D.) or that of his predecessor Sūryavarman I (1002-1049 A.D.). The outer walls of the city would belong to this period.

But M. Coedès in a recent study (BEFEO, XXVIII, pp. 81 ff.) has tried to prove that Bayon was built still later during the reign of Jayavarman VII (1182-1201 A.D.). According to him the outer walls of Angkor Thom and some other buildings, which is of the style of Bayon, were constructed in the same period. Thus both M. Stern and Coedès agree in placing Bayon and the outer walls of the city in the same epoch though they do not assign the same date to their construction. Both of them disbelieve in the testimony of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom which clearly attributes the foundation of Yaśodharapura (i.e. Angkor Thom) and Vnaṃ Kantāl, "the central mount," to Yaśovarman.

This inscription, we have already seen, was composed in Śaka 974 (= 1052 A.D.). The date of its composition therefore falls in the period to which M. Stern would attribute the construction of Bayon. It seems strange that a contemporary inscription would mean by *Vnaṃ*

Kantāl any other edifice except the Bayon. What is possible is that the traditional history of religious foundations, which it records, is confused. Its attribution of the foundation of Bayon to Yaśovarman may therefore be easily questioned but Bayon was certainly considered as a sufficiently old edifice in the middle of the 11th century for affording scope for confusion about its real founder to the author of the inscription.

According to M. Coedès and M. Stern, the construction of Bayon and the outer walls of the city would fall in the same period. The towers of Bayon and those of the five city-gates are all decorated with four colossal faces. What do these four colossal faces represent? Are they the representations of the faces of Avalokiteśvara, as M. Finot thinks? Even admitting that Jayavarman II, if not directly but through his tradition, influenced the construction of Bayon, it is difficult to believe with M. Finot that he was a Buddhist king. M. Finot takes him to be a Buddhist—firstly, because he came from Java or from Śrīvijaya which was a great centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism in this period and—secondly, because he founded the city of Amarendrapura, formerly identified with the ruins of Bantay Chmar which is completely a Buddhist city to judge from the sculptures. But the identification of Amarendrapura with Bantay Chmar has been reasonably doubted by M. Stern (*loc. cit.*). We should also bear in mind that the posthumous name of Jayavarman II is *Paramēśvara* (the Supreme Lord = Śīva). The cities which he built—Mahendraparvata, Hariharālaya and Amarendrapura are all connected with the names of Śīva. The last name seems to be only a different form of Devarāja. The priest whom he chose as his chaplain, Śivakaivalya was a Śaiva and came from a Śaiva family. It was again he who authorised Hiranyadāma to introduce the texts of Śaivāgama along with the Śaiva cult of Devarāja into Kambuja. He really made it the religion of the state, erected its temples and granted lands to the priestly family for its maintenance. Besides it would be wrong to say that the sculptures of Bayon have no trace of Śaivism. An important bas-relief of the first gallery of Bayon (See Comaille, *Guides aux Ruines d'Angkor* p. 135, n. 36) represents three temples in one row, of which the towers bear tridents (*triśūla*) and the deity in the centre is a *Śivaliṅga*. In the face of these facts it is difficult to admit that Jayavarman II was a Buddhist king and that he introduced Mahāyāna from Śrīvijaya into Kambuja. There is no reason to suppose that the four Tāntrik texts brought by Hiranyadāma had

anything to do with Mahāyāna. Jayavarman II was a Śaiva. If any of the edifices (for example Bantay Chmar, Bayon, etc.) containing some Buddhist sculptures can even be proved to have been constructed in the time of Jayavarman II, the only possible explanation is either that he was a tolerant king and allowed Mahāyāna to flourish in the country, or that he had employed artists who had come from the neighbouring territory of Śrīvijaya and had Mahāyānist training. It will be wrong to suppose that Mahāyāna Buddhism of the 8th-9th century A.D. was very much antagonistic to Tāntrik Śaivism. Though the sculpture of the temples partly seem to be Mahāyānist, the indwelling deity was no doubt Śiva.

It seems difficult to admit that Bayon was not originally a Śaiva temple. The state religion of Kambuja was always the cult of Devarāja. A temple like Bayon, which is situated just in the centre of the city, could not therefore have been meant for any other deity except Devarāja. If in some of the *niches* of the towers of Bayon the figures of Buddha have been deliberately destroyed and substituted by *liṅga* we must attribute that work of vandalism to a period when the king was a very orthodox one and did not even tolerate the sculptural representation of Buddha in the temple of *Devarāja*, as his predecessors used to do. It is therefore necessary to go back to the older theory of M. Finot that the four faces of the towers of Bayon (as well as those of the towers of the city gates) are the sculptural representation of the four faces of Śiva. *Devarāja* was in all probability a *mukhaliṅga* and it was quite natural that the towers of its temple and those of the city-gates constructed in the same period would bear the *mukhaliṅga* symbol. This explanation seems to have a strong support in the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom which says that the four *śāstras* which prescribed the cult of *Devarāja* constituted the *four faces of the Tumburu*. It may not be therefore improbable that the four colossal faces on the towers are architectural translation of the four faces of Tumburu, *Tumvouror vaktracatuṣkam*, mentioned in the inscription, because, it is through those four faces that the god originally communicated the four fundamental texts which prescribed the religious rites of the king and his people. They are the symbol of the different *āmnāyas* of the Śaivite Canon.

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