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**Temple consecration rituals in ancient India: Text and archaeology**  
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# **Temple consecration rituals in ancient India text and archaeology**

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## Preface

My first encounter with the Kāśyapaśilpa took place between rows 4 and 5 on the first floor of the Kern Institute Library in Leiden – a wonderful location for anyone interested in South Asia. I was browsing through the section containing the Sanskrit treatises on art and architecture. Pained by the fact that the study of ancient treatises on art was for a long time not particularly popular among scholars of Indology, I was tempted to translate one of such texts in order to make it available to the public and – surely – become famous. The Kāśyapaśilpa seemed perfect for the purpose – it was a complete book, it had not been translated and it was possessed by our library, so the study could be started right away. Luckily, when I mentioned the idea to my guru, Prof. Karel van Kooij, he quickly made me realise that, while translating the Kāśyapaśilpa is certainly a noble thing which would make my name connected with it forever (for good or for bad, depending on the quality of the translation), at the same time it is a very hard and long job.

Slightly discouraged, I still considered the Kāśyapaśilpa an interesting text and could not part from it so easily. Browsing through it, I came across a chapter curiously entitled ‘*garbha-nyāsa-vidhi*’, which can roughly be translated as ‘the rule for the placing of the embryo’. The chapter happened to have nothing to do with conception or conception rites, but everything to do with the building of a Hindu temple. Intrigued by the title, I was willing to find out more about it, but the information found in the secondary literature proved very limited. And so, speaking in the language of the architects, the foundation for the present study was laid. This dissertation is the fruit of the ‘embryo’ encountered on that day.

On the happy day of delivery, I would like to thank everyone who helped me in my study. I want to thank the chief librarian of the Kern Institute Library, Dr. Dory Heilijgers, for providing miraculous solutions at times when a so-much-needed book could not be found or when the number of books I needed just that very moment was considerably higher than I was allowed to borrow. I want also to thank Drs. Pauline Lusingh Scheurleer for her remarks concerning certain parts of the present dissertations, Dr. Janice Stargardt of the University of Cambridge for her willingness to read and comment on my chapter on archaeology, Dr. H.I.R. Hinzler for allowing me to publish some of the photographs from her collection, and my colleague Véronique Degroot for our long discussions on *peripih* and Javanese temples and for the help in reading Indonesian archaeological reports. I want also to express my gratitude to Prof. Bruno Dagens and to the directors and employees of the French Institute of Indology and the École Française d’Extrême Orient in Pondicherry, India, for giving me the opportunity of studying in their institutes and copying several manuscripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa and related texts, and to Dr. Christophe Pottier from the École Française d’Extrême Orient in Siem Reap, Cambodia, for allowing me to take photographs of the deposit stones preserved at the Conservation d’Angkor. I want also to thank all the people, in

Europe, India and elsewhere who, by means of a smile, a simple gesture or a word of support helped me to accomplish this study.

# CONTENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>Chapter 1. Introduction</b> .....  | 1   |
| 1.1 General introduction.....   | 1   |
| 1.2 Terminology.....  | 6   |
| 1.2.1 What is a relic?.....   | 6   |
| 1.2.2 Why do I prefer not to use the term ‘ritual deposit’?.....  | 8   |
| <b>Chapter 2. Character, authorship, date of the Kāśyapaśilpa</b> .....   | 9   |
| 2.1 Kāśyapaśilpa - a Śilpaśāstra or an Āgama?.....  | 9   |
| 2.2 The Kāśyapaśilpa and the Aṃśumad .....  | 10  |
| 2.3 The Kāśyapaśilpa and Kāśyapa.....   | 13  |
| 2.4 The supposed date of the Kāśyapaśilpa.....  | 15  |
| <b>Chapter 3. Some remarks on the present edition of the three ritual chapters from the Kāśyapaśilpa</b> .....                                      | 17  |
| 3.1 Previous editions and unpublished manuscripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa .....   | 17  |
| 3.2 Editorial notes .....   | 18  |
| 3.3 The presentation of the text, the critical apparatus and the translation ....   | 21  |
| 3.4 Overview of the sources used for the edition.....   | 22  |
| 3.5 Common errors in the manuscripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa.....   | 24  |
| 3.6 Unusual grammatical and stylistic forms in the Kāśyapaśilpa.....  | 25  |
| <b>Chapter 4. Three chapters from the Kāśyapaśilpa: edition, translation and commentary</b> .....   | 29  |
| 4.0 Manuscripts and transcripts used in the edition .....   | 29  |
| 4.1 The placing of the first bricks ( <i>prathameṣṭakā</i> ) on the basis of the Kāśyapaśilpa: text, translation and commentary.....                | 32  |
| 4.2 The placing of the consecration deposit ( <i>garbhanyāsa</i> ) on the basis of the Kāśyapaśilpa: text, translation and commentary.....          | 73  |
| 4.3 The placing of the crowning bricks ( <i>mūrdheṣṭakā</i> ) on the basis of the Kāśyapaśilpa: text, translation and commentary.....               | 113 |
| 4.4 Analysis of the ritual structure of the <i>prathameṣṭakā</i> , <i>garbhanyāsa</i> and <i>mūrdheṣṭakā</i> on the basis of the Kāśyapaśilpa ..... | 152 |
| 4.4.1 <i>Prathameṣṭakā</i> .....  | 152 |
| 4.4.2 <i>Garbhanyāsa</i> .....  | 155 |
| 4.4.3 <i>Mūrdheṣṭakā</i> .....  | 158 |
| 4.4.4 Concluding remarks .....  | 161 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>Chapter 5. Broader textual context: the <i>prathameṣṭakā</i>, <i>garbhanyāsa</i> and <i>mūrdheṣṭakā</i> rituals in the related texts</b> .....                                       | 163 |
| 5.1 Introduction .....  | 163 |
| 5.2 The similarities.....   | 165 |
| 5.3 The differences.....  | 167 |
| 5.3.1 The differences determined by the geographical origin of the texts.....   | 167 |
| 5.3.2 The differences determined by the religious affiliation of the texts .....  | 168 |
| 5.3.3 The differences between the ritual and the architectural texts .....  | 170 |
| 5.3.4 Minor differences between the texts.....  | 171 |
| 5.4 Concluding remarks .....  | 172 |
| <br>  |     |
| <b>Chapter 6. The function and meaning of the <i>garbhanyāsa</i>, the <i>prathameṣṭakānyāsa</i> and the <i>mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa</i> as expressed by the textual sources</b> .....           | 175 |
| 6.1 The <i>garbhanyāsa</i> .....  | 175 |
| 6.2 The <i>prathameṣṭakānyāsa</i> and the <i>mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa</i> .....   | 186 |
| <br>  |     |
| <b>Chapter 7. Theory versus practice: traces of construction rituals in South and Southeast Asia</b> .....  | 189 |
| 7.1 Material traces of construction rituals in India .....  | 189 |
| 7.1.1 Characteristics of the consecration deposits installed during the <i>prathameṣṭakā</i> , <i>garbhanyāsa</i> and <i>mūrdheṣṭakā</i> rituals according to the textual sources ..... | 189 |
| 7.1.2 Consecration deposits excavated in India .....  | 194 |
| 7.2 The accounts of witnesses of construction rituals.....  | 198 |
| 7.3 Material traces of construction rituals outside India .....   | 199 |
| 7.3.1 Archaeological finds, discovered outside India, bearing similarities with the <i>prathameṣṭakā</i> ceremony as described in the texts .....                                       | 200 |
| 7.3.2 Archaeological finds, discovered outside India, bearing similarities with the <i>garbhanyāsa</i> ceremony as described in the texts .....   | 204 |
| 7.3.3 Archaeological finds, discovered outside India, bearing similarities with the <i>mūrdheṣṭakā</i> ceremony as described in the texts .....   | 213 |
| 7.4 Consecration deposits discovered in Buddhist structures .....   | 214 |
| 7.5 Concluding remarks .....  | 216 |



|  |     |
|--|-----|
| <b>Tables</b> .....  | 223 |
| Table 1 .....  | 224 |
| Table 2 .....  | 225 |
| Table 3 .....  | 226 |
| <br>   |     |
| <b>Appendixes</b> .....  | 229 |
| Appendix 1- List of Abbreviation.....  | 231 |
| Appendix 2- List of Sanskrit texts describing the <i>prathameṣṭakā</i> ..... | 232 |
| Appendix 3 - Index of the technical terms.....                               | 235 |
| Appendix 4 - Catalogue of the archeological finds .....                      | 237 |
| <br>   |     |
| <b>Reference list</b> .....  | 327 |
| Primary sources .....  | 327 |
| Secondary sources .....  | 330 |
| <br>   |     |
| <b>Index</b> .....   | 347 |
| <br>   |     |
| <b>Plates</b>  |     |



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 General introduction

The principal aim of this book is to study three important construction rituals of the Hindu tradition: the laying of the first stones, the placing of the consecration deposit and the placing of the crowning bricks. These rituals are described in numerous Sanskrit texts on architecture and religion, which date from ca. 7<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore hardly surprising that the present study is based mainly on textual sources. The chief source is the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, a South Indian treatise on art and architecture and ritual, written in Sanskrit, usually dated 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> century AD. Three chapters from the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, which deal with the three construction rituals mentioned above, have been critically edited, translated and provided with a commentary (see Chapter 4). For this purpose, unpublished manuscripts of the *Kāśyapaśilpa* were collected in various Southern Indian libraries. In order to place the three chapters of the *Kāśyapaśilpa* in a broader context, the descriptions of the construction rituals given by cognate texts, some of them still unpublished, have also been studied (see Chapter 5).

The construction rites play an important role in Sanskrit texts on ritual and architecture. Nevertheless, this topic has thus far largely been neglected by scholars. This is particularly striking in view of the numerous publications, which have appeared on the outer appearance of temples, the technical aspects of temple building and temple worship. With the exception of Kramrisch (1946), whose interpretations should be treated with caution (see, for example, Chapter 6 note 12), there has never been an attempt to study the construction rituals as a whole and to explain their function and meaning.

For those who want to arrive at an understanding of the construction rituals, textual sources alone are not sufficient. The texts are mainly technical treatises, which provide only a very limited interpretation for the actions they describe. Moreover, for the questions about the relation between the textual data and practice the answer has to be sought outside the textual sources. Have rituals, such as those described by the *Kāśyapaśilpa* and the related works, ever been performed? And if so, were the rituals performed according to the textual prescriptions?

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<sup>1</sup> The placing of the first stones is mentioned in a few earlier texts, for example in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (BrS 52.110, ed. Dvivedi; 53.112, ed. Bhat).

In order to answer this question, I began a search for possible traces of construction rituals in various fields: I looked for direct accounts that mentioned the performance of such rituals and browsed through archaeological reports and museum catalogues guided by the thought that since the construction rituals are described by a great number of Sanskrit texts, there should be plentiful traces of these ceremonies on the Indian subcontinent. The search for written accounts, however, did not prove very fruitful, at least not for the period in which the texts originated.<sup>2</sup> The study of archaeological remains, on the other hand, resulted in a mass of evidence and revealed a highly interesting pattern: there were very few material traces of construction rituals in India itself (as far as I could establish), while plenty of them were reported in other Asian countries. In fact, the search resulted in more than over two hundred archaeological remains, all most probably testimonies of building rituals, of which only around fifteen actually originate from India. The remaining two hundred were found in Sri Lanka, Nepal and in the countries of Southeast Asia: Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia. The majority of them date from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>3</sup> Many of the archaeological remains correspond with the lists of objects that may be placed in a consecration deposit according to the Sanskrit texts.

The situation is thus that a group of texts is available which provide descriptions of a set of construction rituals. However, it is not sufficiently clear where (if ever) their systems were employed or in vogue. At the same time, a considerable number of archaeological remains pointing to construction rituals in a large geographical area are available, but the ideas that guided their installation are not directly evident. Bringing the two sets of data together unavoidably requires reflection on the relation between the different regions involved, especially India where the texts have originated, and the diverse places in South and Southeast Asia. It should also be noted that the extensive geographical area in which the search for the traces of construction rituals was conducted roughly corresponds with what Sheldon Pollock has recently called the ‘Sanskrit cosmopolis’, the “most complicated – and as a totality least studied – transregional cultural formation in the premodern world” (Pollock 1996: 197). This area, stretching from Pakistan to Vietnam and from Nepal to Indonesia, was the place where the political elite cultivated, or was familiar with, Sanskrit and Sanskrit texts as is testified by numerous Sanskrit inscriptions (*ibid.*, 197-198). The presence of varying but still remarkably similar construction rituals, which is evidenced by the archaeological finds, may be seen as an additional characterising

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<sup>2</sup> The majority of the accounts written by witnesses of construction rituals concern the period from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century AD up to the present. The only exception is the Oriya manuscript *Baya Cakaḍā* dated 13<sup>th</sup> century AD (see Boner, Śarma and Das 1972 and Chapter 7.2).

<sup>3</sup> The ‘consecration deposits boom’ happened in different periods in various regions. For the overview of the consecration deposits excavated in South and Southeast Asia, see Appendix IV.

feature of the 'cosmopolis', even if there are regional variations and continuities with rituals which precede the 'cosmopolis'.<sup>4</sup>

An interesting feature is that while the textual sources are nearly all Hindu,<sup>5</sup> the material traces of construction rituals were discovered at both Hindu and Buddhist sites. Another theme of the present book is thus the relationship between these two groups, the common elements and the differences. The discussion on this topic can be found in Chapter 7.4.

It must be stressed that just like the textual descriptions of the construction rituals, this wealth of archaeological (Hindu and Buddhist) material has also never been studied as an entity. The finds associated with building rituals have never been gathered and analysed as a group and the possible connection with the Sanskrit texts has hardly ever been suggested and certainly never examined.<sup>6</sup> This is perhaps due to the fact that the majority of Sanskrit scholars do not study archaeological reports and very few archaeologists and cultural anthropologists working on Asia are actually familiar with Sanskrit, which demonstrates the importance of interdisciplinary study. Furthermore, a great deal of Sanskrit works on art and ritual has not been translated and many are still only extant in manuscript form. The archaeological data, on the other hand, are hidden either in very old reports in French or Dutch or in new ones, often written in the languages of Southeast Asia, which is yet another complicating factor in obtaining the necessary information. The precious few articles written on the subject (for instance O'Connor 1966, Lamb 1960, 1961) concentrate primarily on a particular archaeological find or area and are thus often not representative for a full range of material.

The second aim of this study is therefore to provide the reader with an as complete as possible description of archaeological remains that can be associated with the construction rituals. Hopefully, the gathered material may one day serve as a basis for future research in the areas of archaeology, temple architecture or ritual. Yet another goal is to bring these two sets of data – textual and archaeological – together in order to determine the relationship between the

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<sup>4</sup> The main period of the 'cosmopolis' is set at 300-1300 AD by Pollock (1996: 199). The only element, which might perhaps be interpreted as a reflection of an earlier tradition (e.g. the Vedic one) is the habit to place a figure of a tortoise in the foundation deposit. The placing of a living tortoise in the foundation is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa VII, 5, 1, 1ff; VII, 4, 1, 15ff etc.

<sup>5</sup> The only exception is the Mañjuśrīvāstuvīdyāśāstra, a Sanskrit text from Sri Lanka, mentioning construction rituals.

<sup>6</sup> The possible connection with the Sanskrit sources was very briefly suggested by Dagens and Mitra, but always only in relation to specific finds and the idea was never further developed. See Dagens (1994: 121 note 1 and 3) about similarities of certain aspects of the foundation deposit described in the Mayamata 12 and the foundation deposits discovered in Southeast Asia, Mitra (1972) about a possible connection between the finds of the Nepalese Tarai and certain North Indian texts on architecture and Mitra (1981) about a possible connection between the Javanese 'tortoise-slabs' and the same texts. The majority of publications on Indian archaeology and architecture do not mention such a connection at all.

construction rituals of the texts and the practice of temple building as attested in archaeological finds. The analysis of the correspondence between the archaeological finds and the texts is found in Chapter 7. A complete list of material traces of construction rituals is given in Appendix IV.

One may well ask why, given the abundance of manuals, only one text, the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, was chosen as the main textual source for the present study. My first encounter with the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, as mentioned in the Preface, happened by chance. However, the chief reason for continuing my work on it was that the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, being mainly an art treatise, is also connected with the genre of the ritual texts of Śaiva orientation, the so-called Śaiva Āgamas (for this connection, see Chapter 2.1 – 2.2). In consequence, the *Kāśyapaśilpa* pays more attention to ritual than many other works, which are purely treatises on architecture, and yet it also describes many architectural details. Secondly, in the situation when art and ritual texts are not edited or not edited critically, it seemed necessary to choose at least one text and to study it deeply, on the basis of various manuscripts, not on the basis of the often very unsatisfactory editions. The *Kāśyapaśilpa*, for the reasons given above, seemed to be the right choice, which (hopefully) resulted in a better edition of the three chapters of this highly interesting work.

In addition, a few words should also be said about the three rituals that are the core of the present study. Two of them, the placing of the first bricks and the placing of the crowning bricks, are analogous. They form a kind of a bracket in which the physical construction of a temple is enclosed. The first marks the end of the foundation works and the beginning, after the technical and ceremonial preparation of the soil, of the actual construction of a building. The second indicates the successful accomplishment of the work. In short, both rituals consist of a ceremonial installation of (four, five or nine) bricks or stones in the prescribed location – either in the lower part of the temple or in the superstructure. In the middle of the bricks a small deposit of precious stones and other items is placed.

During the third ritual - the placing of the consecration deposit (*garbhanyāsa*) – a specially constructed box, usually divided into compartments, is placed either in the base of the building in the case of a deposit for an edifice, or in an indicated plot of land in the case of a deposit for a settlement.<sup>7</sup> The box is filled with objects of symbolic value. They mainly include various ‘riches of the earth’, such as minerals, grains, metals, precious stones, herbs and earth taken from different locations. Specific objects are prescribed for temples of particular deities or for residences of people belonging to a particular caste. The auspicious date for the performance of the rituals has to be set by an astrologer.

The descriptions of these three rituals vary among the texts with respect to detail, but the core remains largely the same: they all consist of smaller units and

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<sup>7</sup> While the first bricks and the crowning bricks are installed exclusively for buildings, the consecration deposit (*garbha*) may also be installed for a settlement – a town or a village.

elements, some of which are confined only to a particular rite, while others might be employed on other occasions as well. The analysis of the structure of these three rituals on the basis of the Kāśyapaśilpa is given in Chapter 4.4. The descriptions of these rituals in other Sanskrit texts are dealt with in Chapter 5.

While the first two ceremonies are referred to in the textual sources by quite obvious terms like *prathameṣṭakā-nyāsa*, ‘the placing of the first bricks’ and *mūrdheṣṭakā-nyāsa*, ‘the placing of the crowning bricks’ (or ‘top bricks’) respectively, the third rite bears the curious name *garbhanyāsa*, which may be translated as ‘the placing of the embryo’. The word *garbha* in Sanskrit may mean ‘embryo’, ‘womb’ or ‘seed’, but also ‘the inside, interior of anything’ (Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary, pp. 349-350). In architecture it occurs, for example, in the technical term for the main temple chamber in which the image of the principal deity is housed, the *garbhagṛha* (the ‘*garbha*-house’). The latter term was often, in my opinion misleadingly, translated as ‘womb-house’ (Kramrisch 1946: 162, Michell 1988: 62, Blurton 1992: 234; see the discussion in Chapter 6 note 12). With respect to the *garbhanyāsa*, there are indications that the term *garbha*, in a certain sense, reflects the nature of the ritual. The plausible interpretations of the term and the supposed function and meaning of the *garbhanyāsa* and the other two construction rituals described in the Kāśyapaśilpa are discussed in Chapter 6.

At this point it should be noted that the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṭakā* are not the only construction rituals described in the Sanskrit architectural and ritual treatises. Apart from these three, the texts also mention the placing of the consecration deposit for an image of a temple deity (usually referred to as *ratnanyāsa*),<sup>8</sup> the placing of the deposit consisting of six objects in the centre of the foundation (known as *ṣaḍādhāra* in Kerala),<sup>9</sup> the installation of the jars on the summit of the temple,<sup>10</sup> and so forth. However, due to the limitations of time and space, it would have been impossible to extend the present study to all construction rituals described in the Sanskrit texts. Besides, the main textual source under consideration, the Kāśyapaśilpa, only provides a detailed description of the three construction rituals discussed above, that is, the *prathameṣṭakā*, the *garbhanyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṭakā*. The remaining rituals are thus only briefly mentioned in the present study, for example in Appendix IV where the relation between all material traces of construction rituals and all available textual descriptions of such rituals is dealt with.

Finally, I would like to add a few words about terminology. In the present book, the items deposited in the course of the three mentioned rituals, namely the

<sup>8</sup> See Bṛhat Saṃhitā 59.17 (ed. Dvivedi), Matsya Purāṇa 266.9, Garuḍa Purāṇa 48.91-92, Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa 110, Agni Purāṇa 6, Ajitāgama 18, Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 39.92, Somaśambhupaddhati IV.3, Atri Saṃhitā 18.57, Kriyādhikāra 8, Hayaśiṅga Pañcarātra 38, Pādma Saṃhitā 11.30, 13.55-58, Viṣṇu Saṃhitā 18.22ff, Aparājitaṭṭhā 153.

<sup>9</sup> See Tantrasamuccaya 1.74-80 and Śilparatna 10.6cdff.

<sup>10</sup> See Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 34.20cd-26ab.

compartmented box with its contents, the stones or bricks and the objects installed among them, are referred to as ‘consecration deposits’. In a large number of publications, the archaeological remains associated with the building rituals are referred to as ‘relics’ and the deposit receptacles as ‘reliquaries’. However, it should be remembered that ‘relic’ and ‘consecration deposit’ are, despite a certain outer similarity, two distinct conceptions and should not be confused. A short discussion on obvious, but not always accepted, differences between relics and consecration deposits is enclosed in the following section.

## 1.2 Terminology

Since the three chapters of the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, which are the main focus of the present study, deal with building consecration rituals, it is important from the very outset to distinguish between the terms ‘relic’ and ‘reliquary’ on the one hand and ‘consecration deposit’ on the other. These terms are surprisingly often confused in works dealing with consecration deposit boxes of the type described in the *Kāśyapaśilpa*. There are very few publications in which the distinction between these two terms may be found.

### 1.2.1 What is a relic?

According to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* “A relic is first and foremost the bodily remains of a holy person – the whole of these or any part of them, even the most minute...” (MacCulloch 1971: 654-655). Also “... anything which had been possessed by, or had been in contact with or in proximity to, a holy person or his relics might in turn become a relic.” (ibid., 655). Consecration deposits, on the other hand, contain neither bodily remains<sup>11</sup> nor objects that are believed to have been in physical contact with a hero, a saint or a deity. Moreover, relics are enshrined at a well-known location in order to be accessible to the believers who come to pay respect to them. Consecration deposits, as known from the Sanskrit texts, should be placed ‘well hidden’ (*sugupta*) in the indicated spot within the building.<sup>12</sup> Another crucial aspect of a relic is that it can be almost endlessly divided without losing its ‘power’ – a single hair or a bone is as sacred and is as much worshipped as the whole body of a saint. This can be seen in the later Christian tradition as well as in the story of the dividing of the bodily remains of the Buddha among the eight kings as described in the

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<sup>11</sup> The ‘ashes and bones’ found in some Javanese consecration deposit boxes, thought in the past to be of human origin, were proved to be of animal origin (see Soekmono 1995).

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, *Pādma Saṃhitā* 6.23cd: *tasmāt yatnena kartavyaṃ suguptaṃ bhittimadhyataḥ* and *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* 13.24cd: *suguptaṃ tad yathā bhittau bhittimānena vā bhavet*.



Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (see MacCulloch 1971: 653-658 and Smith 1971: 658-661). The consecration deposit, on the other hand, is ‘valid’ only when prepared strictly following the rules given by the texts - it should contain all the prescribed items and be installed while uttering various mantras. A deposit that is incomplete, not installed according to the rules, and which has not been ‘mantrified’ has no power. Finally, the worship of relics is a custom that is generally unfamiliar to the Hindu religion. It would therefore be highly unusual to find relics in a Hindu temple.

As indicated above, the differences between the relics and consecration deposits are numerous. The most essential ones are presented in the table below:

| <b>Relic</b>   | <b>Consecration deposit</b>   |
|--|---|
| Can be divided   | Are valid only when complete <sup>13</sup>  |
| A building is constructed for the sake of the relics                 | A consecration deposit is inserted for the sake of the building   |
| Has ‘power’ by itself  | Has ‘power’ only when ‘mantrified’  |
| Should be venerated  | Is venerated only during the installation   |
| Installed on a visible, well-known place                             | Hidden within the building or in the ground, <sup>14</sup> the location is not marked   |
| The believers are aware of the presence of relics and their location | The believers (or the visitors to the house or to a village) are usually unaware of the presence and location of a consecration deposit |
| In the <i>stūpas</i> of Sri Lanka: installed in the relic chamber    | In the <i>stūpas</i> of Sri Lanka: installed under the floor of the relic chamber   |
| No specific textual prescriptions for the location                   | Should be installed in a prescribed location  |
| Not required for all temples and <i>stūpas</i>                       | Required for all types of buildings   |
| Can function outside a building                                      | Is connected with a specific building, image or settlement and has no function outside of it  |

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Mānasāra 12.2: *nānādravyasusampūrṇaṃ garbhaṃ sarvaśubhapradam | hīnadravyamanaiśvaryaṃ garbhaṃ tadaśubhapradam ||*

<sup>14</sup> The consecration deposit may also be installed for secular buildings and for settlements – towns and villages; see Chapter 6.1.

It is easy to see that, despite some similarities in appearance (being often installed within a temple or other religious building, being enclosed in a box often made of precious metal, containing sometimes precious stones and flowers cut out of gold leaf, etc.), a relic deposit and a consecration deposit do not have much in common. Nevertheless, such a juxtaposition of these two terms seems necessary because, as mentioned above, both terms are often confused in publications.<sup>15</sup>

### 1.2.2 Why do I prefer not to use the term ‘ritual deposit’?

In certain publications the archaeological finds that can be linked with consecration rituals are referred to as ‘ritual deposits’.<sup>16</sup> While this term is certainly not wrong and much more suitable than a ‘relic deposit’ or a ‘reliquary’, it is also not very precise. In addition to the consecration deposits, it may, for instance, also refer to votive deposits or even to relics, the installation of which is also connected to a specific ritual. I thus propose the term ‘consecration deposit’, which stresses the main function of the deposit and suggests that such a deposit does not contain a relic.

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<sup>15</sup> Wales (1940: 34-35) calls the consecration deposit box from Kedah a ‘reliquary’ and the space near the entrance where it was found – a usual location for a consecration deposit – a ‘relic chamber’, interchangeably with ‘deposit chamber’. O’Connor (1966: 53-54) uses the terms ‘reliquary’ and ‘relic casket’ interchangeably with ‘deposit box’ for the finds from Kedah (even if in the title of his article he uses the term ‘ritual deposit boxes’) and Lamb (1961: 6-9) refers to the Kedah and Javanese finds as ‘reliquaries’. The same is found in Harrison and O’Connor (1967: 219). Bandaranayake (1974: 404) lists the *yantragalas* (the consecration deposit containers of Sri Lanka; see Chapter 7.4) under ‘stone reliquaries’ in his Index. Sirisena (1978: 260) also explains *yantragalas* as reliquaries. Such examples are numerous. Among more recent publications, Silva (1988: 29) explains *yantragalas* as ‘small-scale relic chambers’ and ‘relic boxes’. This is the more surprising in the context of Sri Lanka where both relic chambers (for housing relics) and consecration deposit boxes (*yantragalas*) were employed, often within one and the same building. Soekmono (1995: 10, 116, 118, 120, 122 etc.) who refutes the theory that the consecration deposit boxes of Java were burial urns and contained human ashes, still calls the consecration deposit boxes ‘reliquaries’. The same is found in a recent publication of Kinney (2003: 54). One of the few exceptions is a remark by Bosch (1961: 487 n 3): “So long as the purpose of these objects is not quite clear it seems recommendable not to denote them as ‘reliquaries’ as Mr. Lamb has done, but to use a more neutral term like ‘caskets’.” The two other exceptions are the 1972 article by Treloar (who uses the terms ‘ritual deposits’ and ‘deposit boxes’) and the 1981 article by Mitra (who uses the terms ‘deposits’, ‘deposit containers’ and ‘chambered boxes’).

<sup>16</sup> For instance by O’Connor (1966).

## Chapter 2

### Character, authorship, date of the Kāśyapaśilpa

#### 2.1 Kāśyapaśilpa – a Śilpaśāstra or an Āgama?

Some texts are easy to define – they belong to a certain category or they form a part of a certain genre. Others are like the composite animals of Indian tales, the numerous *makaras*, *vyālas* or the *kinnaras*, so often depicted on temple walls.

As it is frequently depicted, a *makara* possesses the head of an elephant and the tail of a crocodile. When it catches your eye, at first glance you will see a crocodile, but when you look closer, you will notice how an elephant's trunk emerges out of the crocodile's body. The Kāśyapaśilpa is such a *makara*. On the one hand, its "obvious", "crocodile part" makes the Kāśyapaśilpa classifiable in the genre of the Vāstuśāstras. On the other, it contains many characteristics of an Āgama.

The Āgamas are texts dealing mainly with ritual, but also with temple architecture. Traditionally, the name Āgama is used with reference to Śaiva works, while those belonging to the Vaiṣṇava or Śākta tradition are generally known under the name *saṃhitā* and *tantra* respectively, even if the colophons of some of the Śaiva texts display the name *tantra* or *saṃhitā* as well. In the present study, however, the names will be employed according to their traditional usage.

The Śaivāgamas can be divided into four groups: Śaiva, Pāśupata, Soma and Lākula or Nākula. Śaiva again can be sub-divided into the schools of Vāma, Dakṣiṇa and Siddhānta, of which the last one has become popular in the south of India, especially in the Tamil country (Bhatt 1964: I). “Even today, Śaiva siddhānta is an important school of Hindu philosophy in Tamilnad, and temples in the region most often claim allegiance to Śaiva siddhānta liturgical texts” (Davis 2000: 14). According to the lists given by the works belonging to the school, the canon of the Śaivasiddhānta consists of twenty-eight ‘root’ treatises (*mūlāgama*) and numerous ‘subsidiary’ treatises (*upāgama*) linked with one or the other *mūlāgama*.<sup>1</sup>

Ideally, each Śaivāgama is divided into four parts or ‘feet’ corresponding to four aspects of religious conduct: *caryāpāda* (proper conduct), *kriyāpāda* (ritual action), *yogapāda* (discipline) and *jñānapāda* (knowledge). However, only

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<sup>1</sup> For the list of the Āgamas, see Filliozat (1985: xi) and the “Table des Āgama et des Upāgama” opposite p. xix and Gonda (1977: 181). The names of the *mūlāgamas* together with corresponding *upāgamas* are included in the *tantrāvatārapaṭala* chapter found in some of the *mūlāgamas*.

a few Āgamas actually possess all the four parts,<sup>2</sup> and in the majority of the works only the *kriyāpāda* is preserved (Bhatt 1964: ii-iii). The *kriyāpāda* is of special interest for the present study as it deals with temple architecture and temple worship and it is here where the descriptions of the construction rituals are contained.

As mentioned above, the Kāśyapaśilpa possesses, on the one hand, the characteristics of a Śilpaśāstra – it is a treatise on architecture and iconography dealing with the same subjects as other such works. As many other Śilpaśāstras,<sup>3</sup> its first part contains the prescriptions for the building of a temple starting with the preparation of the terrain and its second part deals with the rules for making of images of the deities. This second part is usually not included in the Āgamas or only very briefly mentioned.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, it is connected with the Āgamic tradition: Kāśyapam or Aṃśumatkāśyapam<sup>5</sup> is the name of one of the twelve *upāgamas* of the *mūlāgama* Aṃśumad. This connection is confirmed by the colophons in the Kāśyapaśilpa, some of which read, next to ‘*iti kāśyapaśilpe*’, also: ‘*iti aṃśumadbhede kāśyape*’ and ‘*ity kāśyape*’.<sup>6</sup> The association with the Āgamic genre is also visible in the treatment of certain subjects: here the ritual plays a more important role than in an average Śilpaśāstra.<sup>7</sup> The Kāśyapaśilpa is thus, in a certain sense, a hybrid text, showing characteristics of both genres - it is a ‘textual *makara*’.

## 2.2 The Kāśyapaśilpa and the Aṃśumad

Certain scholars have been aware of the connection between the Kāśyapaśilpa and the Śaivāgamas.<sup>8</sup> Yet, the view that the Kāśyapaśilpa is, in fact, the *upāgama* Kāśyapa (or Aṃśumatkāśyapa) is not shared by everyone. Perhaps due to the similarity of the names ‘Aṃśumad’ (the *mūlāgama*) and ‘Aṃśumatkāśyapa’ (the

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion on the division in the four *pādas* in the Kīraṇa and related texts, see, for example, Goodall (1998: lviii-lxv).

<sup>3</sup> For instance, the Mayamata, the Mānasāra and the Śilparatna.

<sup>4</sup> Usually, only the iconography of the Śiva *liṅga* is explained in the Āgamas in detail. See, for example, Dagens (2004: 416-417).

<sup>5</sup> The name ‘Aṃśumatkāśyapam’ is given by the CintyĀgama; see note 1 above.

<sup>6</sup> See the critical apparatus at the end of each of the chapters of the edition.

<sup>7</sup> The text deals with certain rituals not mentioned or very seldom mentioned by the majority of the Śilpaśāstras, but present in ritual texts, including the Āgamas. For example, it describes the binding of a protective thread (see KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 35d), the proclamation of an auspicious day (*puṇyāhavacanam*) and the placing of the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet in the deposit casket (*akṣaranyāsa*). For other similarities between the Kāśyapaśilpa and the Śaivāgamas, see Chapter 5.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed, for example, by Varma, who writes: “The *Aṃśumān* is one of the twenty-eight major *Śaivāgamas* and the K.Ś. [Kāśyapaśilpa] is one of its twelve *Upāgamas* (supplementary *Āgama*)... This matter has not been very clear to many and we are indebted to Mr. Diehl of Upsala for his kindness in clarifying these points...” (Varma 1970: 3 note 9).

*upāgama*), or due to the fact that the Aṃśumad is not well known given that it was never published, the Kāśyapaśilpa was often equated with the *mūlāgama*.<sup>9</sup> For example, the New Catalogus Catalogorum (NCC) states that the Kāśyapaśilpa is not the *upāgama*, but the *śilpa* portion of the *mūlāgama* Aṃśumad, which implies that it is not a separate text (NCC 1966: 1, 147). The *upāgama* Kāśyapa is also mentioned there, yet no connection with the Kāśyapaśilpa is suggested (*ibid.*, 144). There are, however, several arguments against this statement.

During my research stay in India (in spring 2000 and 2001) I came across two distinct groups of texts whose colophons contain the word ‘*aṃśumat*’. The first group represents the text that is the main focus of the present study and has been previously edited, albeit not critically – the Kāśyapaśilpa. The colophons of the manuscripts belonging to this group read: *iti kāśyapaśilpe, iti kāśyapīye, ity aṃśumān bhede kāśyape, iti kāśyape* and *ity aṃśumānkāśyape* (see note 7 above). The second group represents an unedited text, whose colophons read instead: *ity aṃśumati tantre* and *ity aṃśumāntantre*.<sup>10</sup> This text is much more substantial than the Kāśyapaśilpa and deals with ritual rather than with art and architecture. This latter text seems to be equated with the *mūlāgama* Aṃśumad: the word ‘Aṃśumadāgama’ is written above the page containing the chapter register and some of the transcripts of the text figure as Aṃśumadāgama in the catalogue of the library to which the text belongs.<sup>11</sup> This equation is supported by the fact that

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<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Kramrisch (1946: 296 note 67), who equates the Kāśyapaśilpa with ‘Aṃśumadbhedā’ (according to the Catalogus Catalogorum another name of the *mūlāgama* Aṃśumad, see New Catalogus Catalogorum 1966: 1) and Dagens (2001: 65 note 2) who writes: “[the Kāśyapaśilpaśāstra] ... est en réalité un *āgama* intitulé *Aṃśumad* ou *Aṃśumadbhedā*.” Bhattacharyya uses the name ‘Kāśyapaśilpa’ along with ‘Aṃśubhedāgama’ and ‘Kāśyapīya’ (Bhattacharyya 1963: 149, 141 and 180 respectively). Rao quotes the Kāśyapaśilpa under the name ‘Aṃśumadbhedāgama’ (Rao 1999: 255ff; cf. Kāśyapaśilpa, ed. Poona, chapter 48.38-43). It has to be noticed that the name Aṃśumadbhedā does not occur in the colophons of the manuscripts of the Aṃśumad known to me. On the other hand, it does occur, with the addition ‘*kāśyapa*’ (viz. *ity aṃśumadbhede kāśyape*) in the colophons of the manuscripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa. In this case it is perhaps plausible that the name Aṃśumadbhedā should be considered as a synonym of Kāśyapaśilpa and not of the *mūlāgama* Aṃśumad. The name Aṃśumadbhedā occurs on the first page giving the chapter directory of the Kāśyapaśilpa transcripts T158 and T297.

<sup>10</sup> As given by the colophons of the transcripts T3, T4, T158, T273, T889, T957, T1007 and T1070 of the manuscripts of the Aṃśumadāgama preserved at the Institut Français d’Ingologie, Pondicherry.

<sup>11</sup> Viz. to the library of the Institut Français d’Indologie, Pondicherry. The name ‘Aṃśumadāgama’ on the page with chapter register is found on transcripts T3, T4, T889 and T1070. As I could only see the transcripts of the manuscripts, not the manuscripts themselves, which are often part of small private libraries, there is a remote possibility that the name was added by the scribes. The equation of the Aṃśumatāntre and the Aṃśumadāgama is, however, further supported by Bhatt in his edition of the Ajitāgama where he refers to some of the manuscripts of our ‘second group’ as ‘Aṃśumadāgama’ and to those of the first group as ‘Aṃśumatkāśyapa’ (Bhatt 1964: 410-411).

the text itself refers to the Āgamic tradition.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Aṃśumattantra, the name given by the colophons, is one of the names of the Aṃśumadāgama according to the New Catalogus Catalogorum (NCC 1966: 1).

If the equation of the Aṃśumattantra and Aṃśumadāgama is right, then the texts represented by group one (the Kāśyapaśilpa) would, according to the New Catalogus Catalogorum, be a *śilpa* part of the texts belonging to group two (the Aṃśumattantra or Aṃśumadāgama). This, however, is unacceptable. As mentioned above, the colophons of the manuscripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa point to a text other than the Aṃśumadāgama, even if it is associated with it in one way or other. Secondly, several chapters of the Aṃśumadāgama deal with the same topic as the Kāśyapaśilpa, but in a totally different way. An example is the chapter describing the placing of the first bricks – one of the rituals discussed in detail in the present study. The chapter dealing with placing the first bricks of the Aṃśumad and that of the Kāśyapaśilpa do not show more mutual similarities than two such chapters taken from any two Śaivāgamas. Another argument against the assertion that the Aṃśumad and the Kāśyapaśilpa are indeed one and the same text lies in the fact that the formulaic expression, which announces the discussion of a certain topic at the beginning of each chapter, is different in both works. Such expressions are a reoccurrent pattern and are connected to a specific Āgama.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the person to whom the text is revealed is different in both works.<sup>14</sup>

On the basis of these arguments it can be concluded that the Kāśyapaśilpa and the text that calls itself Aṃśumattantra and is equated with the Aṃśumadāgama are indeed two distinct works. The Kāśyapaśilpa is thus more than just the *śilpa* portion of the Aṃśumadāgama as known to us from the manuscripts preserved in Pondicherry.<sup>15</sup> Yet is it its *upāgama*? In my opinion there is a strong evidence to support this. As noted earlier, the colophons of many of the manuscripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa give the name of the *upāgama*.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the Kāśyapaśilpa itself refers to the Aṃśumat in its first chapter just as another *upāgama*, the Mṛgendra, refers to its *mūlāgama*, the Kāmika (see Bhatt 1966: iii). These, of course, can be later additions in order to give the Kāśyapaśilpa a greater authority by ‘adopting’ it by the Āgamic tradition. However, there are additional

<sup>12</sup> See transcript T3 chapter 2.3c where ‘Kāmika and other [Āgamas]’ (*kāmikādi*) are mentioned.

<sup>13</sup> In the Kāśyapaśilpa the expression reads: “*atha vakṣye viśeṣeṇa ...*” while in the Aṃśumattantra it reads: “*... vakṣye śrūyatāṃ ravīsattama.*” In a few chapters these expressions do not occur, but this is very exceptional.

<sup>14</sup> Each Āgama is written in the form of a dialogue. The Āgamas are believed to be revealed by Lord Śiva to the ten Śivas and eighteen Rudras created by the Lord himself. Each of them transmitted one Āgama to a definite god and they, in turn, taught it to sages who instructed other sages (see Gonda 1977: 181-182). The person addressed in the Aṃśumattantra is Ravi, in the Kāśyapaśilpa it is Kāśyapa. The Kāśyapaśilpa seems thus to be a dialogue between the sage Kāśyapa and Śiva or one of Śiva’s forms.

<sup>15</sup> The only other possibility would be to assume that the Aṃśumattantra *is not* the Aṃśumadāgama. However, this does not seem very probable.

<sup>16</sup> Kāśyapa or Aṃśumatkāśyapa. See note 7 above.

arguments which make the connection between the Kāśyapaśilpa and the Āgamic tradition beyond doubt: for instance, the elaborate descriptions of the rituals (see note 6 above).

Thus, while it is impossible to be absolutely certain, it is highly plausible that the Kāśyapaśilpa is the *upāgama* Kāśyapa. In any event, the text should not be equated with the *mūlāgama* Aṃśumad.

### 2.3 The Kāśyapaśilpa and Kāśyapa

The Kāśyapaśilpa, contrary to many other architectural works, such as the Mayamata or the Mānasāra, is known under several names. Apart from many variants of the name ‘Aṃśumadāgama’ (which, as shown above, have been used incorrectly with reference to our work), the text has been known as ‘Kāśyapīya’ or ‘the Śilpaśāstra by Kāśyapa’.<sup>17</sup> The most common name, however, remains ‘Kāśyapaśilpa’, even though it does not figure in the majority of the manuscripts of the text. The name Kāśyapaśilpa probably owes its popularity to the fact that it was used for the two editions of the text; the addition *śilpa* was perhaps employed to emphasise its architectural and iconographic nature.

The Kāśyapaśilpa is traditionally ascribed to the sage Kāśyapa who learned about *śilpa* from Śiva himself, the latter often occurring as the narrator and teacher in iconographic and architectural texts.<sup>18</sup> The name Kāśyapa appears quite frequently in Sanskrit literature. A sage called Kāśyapa was the foster father of Śakuntalā as described in Kālidāsa’s work. The Aśvamedhparvan of the Mahābhārata mentions a Kāśyapa who was a good friend of the Pāṇdavas. He was the priest of Vasudeva and was regarded as a very distinguished ascetic. A few other Kāśyapas have been listed by Vettam Mani (1975: 398). Kāśyapa is a patronymic of Kaśyapa, a name which itself also occurs in Vedic and Brahmanical texts. In the Ṛgveda the name occurs only once (9.114.2), but in later Vedic texts it is more common.<sup>19</sup> According to Macdonell and Keith’s Vedic Index of names and subjects (1912: 145) “he is always a mythical character, as belonging to the distant past.” The word *kaśyapa* occurs in its normal meaning of ‘tortoise’ in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, when the *kūrma*, ‘tortoise’, which is to be placed in the first layer of the fire altar is said to be a *kaśyapa*. The tortoise is here also identified as a form of Prajāpati who created living beings: “therefore all creatures are said to be descended from Kaśyapa.”<sup>20</sup> This is an early reference to

<sup>17</sup> See, for instance, Bhattacharyya (1963) who, along with ‘Kāśyapaśilpa’, uses several other names in the references to our text.

<sup>18</sup> “In the majority of the Vāstuśāstras, Śiva who has also taught the 64 arts to Garga, is the source whence Vāstuvidyā, the science of architecture, is revealed, as in the Viśvakarmaprakāśa I.3-4, Agnipurāṇa, in the Mayamata, Kāśyapaśilpa and Mānasāra...” (Kramrisch 1946: 424).

<sup>19</sup> See MacDonell and Keith (1912: 144-145) and Walker (1968: 535).

<sup>20</sup> Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 7.5.1.5: *sarvāḥ prajāḥ kāśyapyah*. Translation: Eggeling (1894: 390).

the myth of Kaśyapa as the progenitor of all living beings, which is found later on in epic and Purāṇic texts.<sup>21</sup>

The name Kāśyapa as the great sage and a knower of architecture and art is frequently encountered in the iconographic texts. Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of the Bṛhat Saṃhitā who lived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, quotes extensively from a certain Kāśyapa.<sup>22</sup> The Bṛhat Saṃhitā, however, is certainly an earlier text than the Kāśyapaśilpa. The Kāśyapa quoted there cannot therefore be the same as the author of the Kāśyapaśilpa. He might, perhaps, be an author of a prototype of it, as some scholars have suggested.<sup>23</sup> It should be stressed, however, that the text quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala does not resemble the Kāśyapaśilpa as we know it. The Kāśyapa of the commentary to the Bṛhat Saṃhitā belongs to the North Indian tradition, while the Kāśyapaśilpa is a work on South Indian architecture. In the Mānasāra the name Viśvakāśyapa is mentioned in a list of works and authors (Bhattacharyya 1963: 178), but we do not know if this is the same Kāśyapa as mentioned by Bhaṭṭotpala. This name points again to an early text compiled by a certain Kāśyapa. Kāśyapa is further regarded as a great authority in the Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstra, the Atri Saṃhitā and in the Śilpasamgraha (Bhattacharyya 1963: 99-100). However, here also the connection with the Kāśyapaśilpa cannot be established.

Apart from the Kāśyapaśilpa, there are numerous other works ascribed to Kāśyapa, the best known probably being the Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa of the Vaikhānasa school translated into English by Goudriaan (1965). The tradition ascribes to the same Kāśyapa (the author of the Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa) “two other volumes, called Satyakāṇḍa and Tarkakāṇḍa, which are not available any more.”<sup>24</sup> In addition, Kāśyapa is known as an ancient authority on medicine, law and even music, and several works, having ‘Kāśyapa’ included in their name, are preserved in manuscript form.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See Vettam Mani (1975: 396-397).

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, commentary to Bṛhat Saṃhitā 56 and 60 where the quotations are especially frequent (ed. Bhat).

<sup>23</sup> See Kramrisch (1946: 425 note 15): “Further authorities referred to in the Commentary of the Bṛhat Saṃhitā include Kāśyapa to whom might be traced back the prototype of the Kāśyapaśilpa.” See also Bhattacharyya (1963: 99-100).

<sup>24</sup> Goudriaan (1965: 7). Goudriaan, referring to the Sanskrit introduction of the editor of the Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa, R. Pārthasārathi Bhattachar, p. 1, adds: “together these works formed the Kāśyapa-Saṃhitā (a name which is in vogue also for the Jñānakāṇḍa only).”

<sup>25</sup> For other works ascribed to Kāśyapa, see New Catalogus Catalogorum (1966: 144-145). Manuscripts of works entitled Kāśyapīyorganidhānam (a treatise on medicine), Kāśyapasamhitā (astrology) and Kāśyapadharmasāstram (dharma) figure, for example, in the catalogue of the manuscripts at the Institut Français d’Indologie at Pondicherry (numbers 3939, 3938 and 3936-3937 respectively).



## 2.4 The supposed date of the Kāśyapaśilpa

It is generally extremely difficult to establish an exact date for *śilpa* texts. “We have to realise that the Śilpaśāstra, according to its practical importance, was always exposed to additions or alterations which had to bring them ‘up to date’. So it is very difficult to find out the correct date of a Śilpaśāstra in its ancient form and to distinguish the original kernel from later additions because the language lacks all special and personal characteristics and there are seldom some hints for chronological conclusions” (Losch 1949: 154). There are a few exceptions to this general rule, such as the Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra, which can be attributed to king Bhoja and therefore would derive from the 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D. or the Tantrasamuccaya in which the date of the birth of the author is given (see Sastri 1945: iii; Mallaya 1949: ii-iii). The Kāśyapaśilpa is not one of these exceptions. As stated by Losch (1949: 154): “...for compendiums like Maya, Kaśyapa etc. it is nearly impossible to find such characteristics as to settle a certain date.”

Nevertheless, some attempts have been made to establish a date for the Kāśyapaśilpa. Kramrisch (1946: 269 note 67) situates it prior to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, before the Tantrasamuccaya and the Śilparatna. Both these works, indeed, have made use of the Kāśyapaśilpa.<sup>26</sup> Varma (1970: 3) believes that Kramrisch’s date is too late and, on the basis of the style and the way of treating the subjects, estimates that the Kāśyapaśilpa was composed during the 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Pisharoti (1939: 29) notes that the Kāśyapaśilpa and the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati give a different geographical distribution of the three traditional architectural styles, namely the Nāgara, the Vesara and the Drāvīda. On this basis he considers the Kāśyapaśilpa to be later than the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, though still earlier than the Tantrasamuccaya. A similar period is suggested by Bhattacharyya: he places the Kāśyapaśilpa together with the Mānasāra between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century A.D., but at the same time thinks that it was compiled earlier than the Mānasāra and later than the Mayamata (Bhattacharyya 1963: 179-181). Finally, Ruelius (1978: 98) dates the Kāśyapaśilpa to the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

It can be concluded that the Kāśyapaśilpa cannot have appeared later than the 15<sup>th</sup> century A.D. This date is certain: the commentary to the Tantrasamuccaya, where quotations from the Kāśyapaśilpa are found, was written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century as stated by the text itself. Nevertheless, establishing the lower limit for the timeframe of our text is more difficult. If we believe Pisharoti, according to whom the Kāśyapaśilpa is later than the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, we have to assume that the Kāśyapaśilpa cannot have been produced earlier than

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<sup>26</sup> Several passages of the Kāśyapaśilpa are found in the Śilparatna; the Kāśyapaśilpa is apparently also quoted in the Vimarśinī, the commentary written by the son of the author of the Tantrasamuccaya who lived in the 15<sup>th</sup> century AD (Mallaya 1949: iii).

late 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, it closely resembles the Mayamata, which was possibly written between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. (Dagens 1994: xliii), and to certain Āgamas, especially Dīpta and Ajita. The period after the 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. thus seems to be too late a date for the Kāśyapaśilpa. Hence, we can agree with Ruelius and assume that the Kāśyapaśilpa was probably written around 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

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<sup>27</sup> Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati quotes Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra, which belongs to the 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D. See Losch 1949: 155: “The fact that the work cites often Bhoja assigns it to a date not earlier than 1060 a.Ch.”

## Chapter 3

### Some remarks on the present edition of the three ritual chapters from the Kāśyapaśilpa

#### 3.1 Previous editions and unpublished manuscripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa

For an architectural text, the Kāśyapaśilpa had the rare fortune of being edited rather early on and not even once but twice; the first edition was already available in 1926. It was published in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, by Kṛṣṇa Vināyak Vajhe. The second edition, the work of Subrahmanya Sastri, appeared almost forty years later in 1960 (the first part) and 1968 (the second part) in the Sarasvati Mahal Series, Thanjavur.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, both editions are unsatisfactory.

The Ānandāśrama edition, in Devanāgarī script, is based on several manuscripts, the identities of which are only very vaguely indicated.<sup>2</sup> It can by no means be called critical because the readings of different manuscripts and the emendations proposed by the editor cannot be distinguished from each other. One has to agree with Pisharoti who states "If we scrutinise the text presented in the [at the time] only edition issued from the Ānandāśrama Series, it will be found that the text presented is very defective, full of all sorts of mistake" (Pisharoti 1939: 29-30). Moreover, according to Losch (1949: 152) "Kṛṣṇa Vināyak Vajhe edited the famous Kāśyapaśilpa although he only disposed of badly corrupted manuscripts."

The second edition, in Grantha script, is based on a manuscript of the Kāśyapaśilpa kept in the Sarasvati Mahal Library (Burnell No. 11078 / D. NO. 15419) and the Ānandāśrama edition (Kandaswamy 1968: iv-v). Unfortunately, it shows little improvement on the previous one and contains numerous sections that appear to be defective. The edition includes a Tamil translation, which regrettably

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<sup>1</sup> The first part deals with the iconography and contains chapters 46 to 92. The second part deals with architecture and contains the first 45 chapters.

<sup>2</sup> The main text used for the Ānandāśrama edition was apparently obtained from a Sanskrit Library (perhaps the Government Oriental Manuscript Library) in Madras, while parts of the text were obtained from the Gurjara area, Saurāṣṭra and Mālavadeśa. See Vajhe's *upodghāta* to the edition of the Kāśyapaśilpa, page 9: *kaśyapasamhitāyā grantho madrāsasaṃskṛtapustakālaye labhyate | gurjara, saurāṣṭra, mālavadeśeṣu api karmakārāṇāṃ samīpe 'sya khaṇḍā labdhāh | asmin mudraṇe teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ upayoga kṛtaḥ |*

does not try to explain the difficult or corrupted Sanskrit passages and as such does not contribute to a better understanding of the text.

The manuscripts used in both editions are by far not the only available sources of the text. Sharing the fate of many other Sanskrit works, the Kāśyapaśilpa survived in numerous, and often fragmentary manuscripts, which had been copied several times, mostly on palm-leaf. The majority of them, with the exception of some of those employed by Vajhe are scattered throughout the libraries and private collections of South India. To gather them all together is a task that borders on the impossible. Several manuscripts are listed in the New Catalogus Catalogorum (1966), but there is no complete catalogue of the private collections of manuscripts in South India. Most of these collections are very small: they may consist of a small wooden cupboard containing piles of palm leaf manuscripts. Sadly, the manuscripts are often badly damaged and form, in the first place, a tasty treat for extended families of termites rather than a study material.

During my stay in India I managed to trace and collect a number of manuscripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa. Nine of them contain chapters relevant to the present work.<sup>3</sup> These manuscripts served as a basis for the present edition of the three chapters dealing with construction rituals: *prathameṣṭakā-nyāsa*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṭakā-nyāsa*. It should be stressed that almost all the manuscripts and transcripts obtained provide a text that is far better than the one offered by the editions. Thanks to the use of various manuscripts, some of the uncertainties in the text have now been cleared up. Many such mistakes and uncertainties are the result of the earlier scribes' lack of a thorough knowledge of the ritual. They sometimes appear to have substituted technical words with those they knew and understood (see Section 3.5 below). Moreover, the lacunae, present in some manuscripts due to damaged palm leaf, could be filled and some verses could even be reinserted. This all resulted in a much better understanding of the text.

## 3.2 Editorial notes

In the present edition of the three chapters of the Kāśyapaśilpa, I decided to refrain from using the stemmatic theory of recension developed by Karl Lachman.<sup>4</sup> This method, while frequently applied by editors of ancient texts, has its limitations, as Pasquali has already observed,<sup>5</sup> which are especially significant for the Kāśyapaśilpa and cognate texts.

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<sup>3</sup> The list of the manuscripts used for the edition is given at the beginning of Chapter 4. The manuscripts are discussed more thoroughly in Section 3.4 below.

<sup>4</sup> For the evolution of this theory, see Maas (1958).

<sup>5</sup> Pasquali (1952). See also the discussion on the limitations of the stemmatic methods in Reynolds and Wilson (1975: 192-194) and in Zetzel (1993: 102ff).

One of the serious limitations of the stemmatic method is “the assumption that all surviving manuscripts can be traced back to a single archetype,” without taking into consideration interpolations and revisions (Reynolds and Wilson 1975: 193-194). Such a view may perhaps only be true for certain religious texts (namely, the Vedic texts), whose oral transmission in an unchanged form was considered of utmost importance and where the slightest alteration from the original might have had severe consequences for both the offender and the whole universe. The Kāśyapaśilpa, however, while dealing with religion and ritual, is in essence a manual for temple building and the making of images, a technical text composed with the aim of being used. Such texts are most likely to be altered by later scholars and scribes in order to bring them up to date. As Zetzel observed (1993: 111) “Works that provide practical learning of whatever sort, books that have living value for their readers, are subject to alteration precisely in order to maintain that value: they are unprotected texts.” Although this remark was made with respect to ancient Greek and Latin works,<sup>6</sup> it also proves to be applicable to the Sanskrit Vāstuśāstras. The descriptions of the temple gateways (*gopura*) provide an example of such later ‘improvement’ in South Indian architectural texts. Over the ages, the *gopuras* grew taller until they reached eleven storeys in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century AD as testified by the temple of Śrīvilliputtur (Harle 1994: 335 and fig. 263). Yet, the Kāśyapaśilpa, usually dated 11<sup>th</sup> - 12<sup>th</sup> century AD,<sup>7</sup> describes *gopuras* having no less than sixteen storeys, which seems to be a later and an over-enthusiastic interpolation. Instances of possible interpolations or quotations from other works, which are perhaps no longer extant (or simply not edited), are present in some of the manuscripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa.<sup>8</sup>

Another restriction for the application of the stemmatic method to the present study is the fact that it does not take the ‘horizontal’ transmission of the text into consideration.<sup>9</sup> Yet, it is not unthinkable that, at times, the ‘copying’ was done with the use of more than one manuscript. This might be especially true for India where, due to the short lifespan of the ‘writing material’ – the palm leaf – in the Indian climate, the copies had to be made frequently, which resulted in a very high number of corrupt readings. There were probably already mistakes in the manuscripts in the old times and the use of more than one manuscript by the scribes to revise a corrupt reading cannot be ruled out. This makes it incredibly

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<sup>6</sup> Here one can quote here Zetzel (1993: 110-111), who provides several, often amusing, examples of alterations and interpolations in ancient text provided to suit the scribe or the readers. For instance, the Digest of the Roman Law, which “consists of quotations from earlier jurists that have been altered to fit the state of the law in the sixth century”, the cookbook of Apicius, which has been supplemented with variant recipes “presumably by cooks who didn’t like the taste of what they found in an earlier version...” and the case of the copyist of the early Middle Ages who, discontented by Pomponius Mela’s comment that “the Irish are the most ignorant of all people” added “but they are not as ignorant as all that.”

<sup>7</sup> For the dating of the Kāśyapaśilpa, see Chapter 2.4.

<sup>8</sup> For instance in T2, T47 and T411 (see Section 3.4 below).

<sup>9</sup> See Reynolds and Wilson (1975: 192-193).

difficult to assign the manuscripts to ‘families’ on the basis of their common errors. Finally, this study deals with only three chapters of the Kāśyapaśilpa, which is far too little data to form a basis for a reliable manuscript tree.

The attempt to establish which manuscript should be considered the best, or most reliable, also proves futile. The Kāśyapaśilpa survived in a number of manuscripts, mainly on palm-leaf. The text of all the available manuscripts is very corrupt and almost each *pāda* shows a variant reading, which, at times, results in more than ten variant readings for one passage, none of which seem right. Certain sources seem to provide less corrupt readings than others, but this might be due to the corrections by the scribes.<sup>10</sup> With the lack of the best manuscript and in the light of all the arguments against the use of the stemmatic method for our text, it became clear that the decision of which reading should be followed had to be made verse by verse.

An important issue for preparing an edition of a relatively late Sanskrit text is the fact that it is not known whether the original text was written in correct (Pāṇini) Sanskrit. It cannot be excluded that at least some of the ‘incorrect’ grammatical and stylistic forms found in the Kāśyapaśilpa are a part of a specific language of architects and artisans. The existence of such a jargon is borne out by the rich technical vocabulary employed by the Kāśyapaśilpa and other texts dealing with architecture. It consists of numerous words not included in standard Sanskrit dictionaries (see Appendix III: Index of Architectural Terms). Whether the jargon also comprised specific grammatical forms that deviated from the norms codified by Pāṇini is very difficult to prove.<sup>11</sup> In the present edition, I decided to leave an ‘incorrect’ reading unchanged when it was given by the majority of the sources,<sup>12</sup> when it was found in several parallel texts, and when the employment of a correction would result in a too high or too low number of syllables in a verse, thus rendering it unmetrical.<sup>13</sup> In all other cases I attempted to emend the text and reconstruct (or perhaps rather construct) a reading which is as grammatically correct as possible.<sup>14</sup> Hence, there is a chance that the hypothetical

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<sup>10</sup> For corrections in transcript T1, see section 3.4 and note 21 below.

<sup>11</sup> Unusual grammatical forms found in the manuscripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa are discussed below, in Section 3.6.

<sup>12</sup> “In the majority” and not necessarily “in all manuscripts”: in some cases the reading might have been corrected by later scribes.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, *itare* instead of *itarasmin* in KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 3d.

<sup>14</sup> In his introduction to the edition of the Ajiṭāgama, Bhatt (1964: vii) states that a grammatically incorrect reading was often employed *metri causa* and for that reason should be accepted into the critical text. In the Kāśyapaśilpa, however, the majority of the errors are not caused by the desire to produce a metrically correct text – the acceptance of the incorrect variant reading only sporadically results in a metrically correct verse. To such exceptions belong *itare* instead of *itarasmin* in *garbhanyāsa* 3d (see note 9 above) and certain cases of double *sandhi* (listed in Section 3.6) employed perhaps to obtain the correct number of syllables in a verse. Contrary to the Ajiṭāgama, however, the cases of lengthening or shortening a syllable occur in the Kāśyapaśilpa in

text presented in the current edition is more correct than the original one. In so doing I was guided by the thought that it is better to present a text that is perhaps not identical to the original, but grammatically correct, than to present a text, which is neither identical to the original nor grammatically correct. Apart from the fact that it is impossible to know what the original might have looked like, a correct text is a better basis for the translation and one of my aims was to present a fairly coherent translation of the Kāśyapaśilpa, which, while reflecting the original ideas as much as possible, would be accessible not only to Sanskrit scholars, but also those interested in ritual and architecture.

### 3.3 The presentation of the text, the critical apparatus and the translation

For the convenience of the reader who wishes to compare the translation with the Sanskrit text, I have decided to include these two in a single document, one below the other. A section of the critical text – usually one verse - is given first, followed by the translation and, next, by the variant readings in small print. Each variant reading is followed by the sigla of all the sources that give it. The lacunae are indicated by square brackets and three periods: [ ... ], the conjectural readings are also indicated by square brackets. The critical apparatus is negative, which implies that only the deviations from the constituted text are reported. When the reading accepted in the text does not occur in any of the sources, it is highlighted by means of underscoring. The apparatus is followed by a commentary, which includes references to the specific verses and *pādas* of the section above. A list of sources used in the edition is given at the beginning of Chapter 4. The list of abbreviations used both in the critical apparatus and the commentary is provided in Appendix I.

In the edition, instances of gemination and degemination of consonants in ligature with semivowels (for example: *kartavyam*) were ignored if appearing in the readings accepted into the critical text. The same approach was adopted towards the orthographical variants, such as the occurrence of *anusvāra* instead of a homorganic nasal and the substitution of a voiced dental by a voiceless one (*maṇḍapa* / *maṇṭapa*). Furthermore, it must to be noted that the verse numbering and headings are my own addition.

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the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> syllable of a *pāda*, namely in places where the length of the syllable does not play a role, or in passages where the correct form would suit the metre as well as the incorrect one. See, for example, *adhikām* instead of *adhikam* in *prathameṣṭakā* 8b (3<sup>rd</sup> syllable), *prapāṃ* ... *atisundaram* instead of *–sundarām* in *garbhanyāsa* 30d (8<sup>th</sup> syllable) and *dhātūni* instead of *dhātūṃś* ca in *garbhanyāsa* 17c (the same metrical value).

### 3.4 Overview of the sources used for the edition

It is not possible, for reasons discussed above, to sketch a reliable stemma for the Kāśyapaśilpa. Nonetheless, one can draw a few tentative conclusions with respect to the mutual relation of the manuscripts and transcripts used for the edition. It should, however, be remembered that they are based on three chapters only and cannot therefore be considered valid for the whole text.

All the manuscripts and transcripts of which a copy could be obtained as well as two manuscripts, which were studied ‘in situ’ were used in the edition.<sup>15</sup> They include nine palm-leaf manuscripts and six transcripts.<sup>16</sup> Two of the palm-leaf manuscripts are in Grantha script (8561, Keevelur), one in Kannada (447), and the remaining six are in Malayalam script (16847, 16923, 18732, 20088, 20089, 20092). The transcripts (T1, T2, T47, T297, T400, T411), all written in Devanāgarī script, are fairly recent copies of manuscripts from various libraries. They were made around 50 years ago by the *paṇḍits* associated with the Institut Français d’Indologie at Pondicherry.

The analysis of the lacunae and variant readings shows that within the group of the obtained manuscripts some are copies of others: 16923 is, beyond doubt, a copy of 16847 and 18732 is most probably a copy of 20092. 16923 is visibly less old than 16847 and it differs from the latter only in being more corrupt. However, the main argument for it being a copy of 16847 lies in the fact that it reflects the damaged parts of 16847. As an example one can take the beginning of verse 3 of the *garbhanyāsa* chapter. The present reading of this passage in 16847 is ‘*ta ... t*’ instead of *tasmāt*, the lacuna being due to the end of the manuscript being damaged. 16923 repeats this lacuna in the middle of the palm-leaf. An identical situation is found in verse 4 of the same chapter,<sup>17</sup> which shows that 16923 is certainly a (direct or indirect) copy of 16847 and that it must have been written after 16847 had already suffered some damage. The readings of 16923 were therefore ignored in the edition whenever the testimony of 16847 was available.

18732 shares most of its errors and lacunae with 20092, but sometimes gives a different reading, usually more corrupt, often involving common mistakes like a repetition of a part of a word in *prathameṣṭakā* 5c.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, 20092 is clearly an older manuscript. The view that 18732 is a copy of 20092 thus seems to

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<sup>15</sup> These are: the Kannada manuscript of Sravanabelagola and manuscript of Keevelur.

<sup>16</sup> For more information, see the list of the sources at the beginning of Chapter 4. The manuscripts and transcripts are referred to by their serial number in the library to which they belong. The transcripts have the letter T preceding their serial number.

<sup>17</sup> *śā ... ram* is given by 16923 instead of *viśāṃ param*. Again, this is the present reading of 16847 due to the damaged end of the palm-leaf.

<sup>18</sup> Other examples are *purivārāṇām* for *parivārāṇām* in *prathameṣṭakā* 2a and *ṣaṣṭhi* for *ṣaṣṭha* in 10b.



be plausible, but there are no as clear indications for it as in the case of 16847 and 16923.<sup>19</sup> For example, 20092 leaves a fair amount of empty space at its edges. The edges – a very vulnerable part of a palm leaf manuscript – are therefore not damaged, at least not in the parts of which photographs could be obtained, and the comparison of the damaged parts in one manuscripts with the lacunae in the other could not be made. Nevertheless, I have decided to not include the readings of 18732 in the edition, except when they differ from 20092.

Apart from the cases of manuscripts being copies of each other, it should be noted that certain manuscripts and transcripts display great mutual similarity. For example, T297 shares a great deal of lacunae and errors with the manuscript of the Sarasvati Mahal Library (used for the 1960-1968 Thanjavur edition of the *Kāśyapaśilpa*) and with those used for the 1926 Poona edition of the text. There is even a possibility that the original manuscript of T297 was one of the sources for the Poona edition.<sup>20</sup> All the Malayalam manuscripts, namely 16847, 20088, 20089 and 20092 also exhibit several mutual similarities (especially in the *prathameṣṭakā* chapter) and it is plausible that they have a common archetype, even if not a direct one. Another group is formed by T2 and T47, which, however, also show mutual differences. Each of the remaining sources often gives a distinct reading.

Moreover, certain manuscripts and transcripts include additional passages that are not found in other sources. For instance, T1 in the *garbhanyāsa* chapter after verse 3cd, T11 after verse 46ab and T2 after verse 48. Such passages should be regarded as later interpolations.

None of the sources appear to be significantly better preserved than others. T1 seems to have a slightly lower number of simple mistakes, but a number of correct readings, at least in the *garbhanyāsa* chapter, are the result of emendations made by the scribe of T1. During my stay in India I managed to consult the origin of T1 - a palm-leaf manuscript belonging to the head priest of a Śaiva temple in Keevelur, Tamil Nadu – and to compare its *garbhanyāsa* chapter with T1. Many ‘faultless’ readings of T1 turned out to be corrections, which again demonstrates just how difficult it is to determine the original reading of a text like the *Kāśyapaśilpa*.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, the Keevelur manuscript was in such a bad state

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<sup>19</sup> It is also possible that both manuscripts have a common source. Still, the amount of common errors points rather to the first hypothesis, viz. 18723 being a copy of 20092.

<sup>20</sup> T297 is a copy of the manuscript D.13032 belonging to Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. Since Vajhe, the editor of the text, states that one of his manuscripts was obtained in Madras, there is a possibility that it was D.13032. On the other hand, T297, while being very corrupt, has sometimes a better reading than the edition made by Vahje. If D.13032 was indeed used for the edition, either T297 has been significantly corrected by its scribe or Vahje, for any reasons, decided not to employ the ‘better’ readings of D.13032.

<sup>21</sup> The corrections included, for example, *anye* instead of *anyāś* (*garbhanyāsa* 2a) given, most probably, by the Keevelur manuscript (the part of the manuscript was damaged, but the long *ā* was still visible), the corrections of sandhi: *vinyasec chyāmaṃ* instead of *vinyaset śyāmam* (26a), *tataḥ*

that a comparison of the two other chapters (*prathameṣṭakā* and *mūrdheṣṭakā*) with T1 was impossible. At the other end of the group, T297, the Thanjavur manuscript and, apparently, all the manuscripts used for the Poona edition, are sources with a relatively high number of mistakes, but again, one cannot say whether their own sources were more corrupt than other manuscripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa. Perhaps they were just copied by an undergraduate student instead of by a *paṇḍit*. Unfortunately, as already noted in Section 3.1 above, just the latter, very corrupt, manuscripts were used for the previous editions of the Kāśyapaśilpa.

### 3.5 Common errors in the manuscripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa

As mentioned previously, the manuscripts and transcripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa have a very high number of variant readings: there is hardly any verse that has survived in the same form in all of the sources used in the present study. The majority of the variant readings are caused by involuntary scribal errors. The common errors encountered in the manuscripts and transcripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa include:

- lacunae (usually small) due to the damage of the original manuscript<sup>22</sup>
- omissions of whole passages, which have dropped out by ‘saut du même au même’ - when two words in close proximity are the same or have the same beginning or ending<sup>23</sup>
- repetitions, often due to the same reason<sup>24</sup>
- the change of word order (transposition)<sup>25</sup>
- confusion of similar letters (for instance *pa* and *va* in Grantha, *anusvāra* and *-ā* in certain Malayalam manuscripts)<sup>26</sup>

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*śilpinam* instead of *tataś śilpinam* (35a) and *visarge haritālakam* instead of unmetrical *visarjjanīm haritālakam* (27d).

<sup>22</sup> For instance, in 16923, as shown above.

<sup>23</sup> For example, in the *garbhanyāsa* chapter the omission of 23cd-25ab in T1, 43ab in 8561, 16847, 16923, 20088, 20089, T400 and T411 and 50d-51ab in 16847, 16923, 20089.

<sup>24</sup> For example, the repetition of 51d-52ab in 16847, 16923.

<sup>25</sup> For example, *caturthopapīṭhasīmākā* and *tataḥ pīṭhaṃ caturthake* (*prathameṣṭakā* 9d) and (with a possible change in meaning) *kumbhamadhye* and *madhye kumbhe* (*prathameṣṭakā* 40c).

<sup>26</sup> The variants *pidhāna* – *vidhāna*, for instance in *garbhanyāsa* 11b, 31a, 39b etc. and the reading *adhikām apaṭam kuru* of T297 instead of *avataṃ* (*prathameṣṭakā* 8b). T297 is a transcript in Devanāgarī script, but its origin, manuscript D.13032 of the G.O.M.L. in Madras, is in Grantha.

Apart from the common errors, further instances of discrepancies between the manuscripts concern differences in genders of nouns, lack of concord between the adjective and the described noun in some manuscripts, presence or absence of *sandhi*, some variations in orthography and, unfortunately, very frequent cases of readings that are totally corrupt and difficult to explain, probably due to manuscripts having been damaged or the clumsiness of a scribe. Some of the incorrect or unusual readings are listed in Section 3.6 below.

It is impossible to determine if some kinds of erroneous variant readings were created by mistake, for example due to the confusion of two words with a similar spelling, or deliberately, when a scribe attempted to emend a passage, which he found difficult or corrupted. Still, in both cases, the person in question must have had a limited knowledge of the ritual. The reading *vinyaset*, ‘one should place’, can be taken as an example. This is used in some of the sources instead of *vinyāsa*, a technical term for one of the measuring cords (*prathameṣṭakā* 46c). To give another example, *jalādir*, ‘beginning with water’, has been used instead of *jayādir*, a name of a mantra (*prathameṣṭakā* 51b).

Variant readings also include synonyms. The occurrence of synonyms and words with different meanings that still ‘make sense’ for the text might be due to the original manuscript being damaged in this place and the scribe attempting to fill the gap. There is a great chance that one of the readings represents the original one, but in cases where variant readings are equally divided over the manuscripts it is extremely difficult to determine which one it might be.<sup>27</sup> Another possible explanation for the use of synonyms, proposed by Goudriaan (1965: 339-340), might be the existence of “a free tradition about the wordings of the texts in questions of details” by which “a free choice was possible out of a number of current synonyms.”

### 3.6 Unusual grammatical and stylistic forms in the Kāśyapaśilpa

Many erroneous forms encountered in the manuscripts and transcripts of the Kāśyapaśilpa can undoubtedly be blamed on the transmission. Some instances of ‘non-Pāṇinian’ Sanskrit, however, may point to the language used in the time of the compilation of the text and to the jargon of the *śilpins*.<sup>28</sup> Certain forms also apparently occur in the epic Sanskrit and in the language of the Āgamas and the Vaiṣṇava Saṃhitās, others seem to be confined to the Kāśyapaśilpa. However,

<sup>27</sup> An example might be the synonyms *vidvān* and *dhīmān* in *prathameṣṭakā* 18a.

<sup>28</sup> As expressed by Filliozat (1985: xiv): “... le sanskrit des Āgama ... ne suit pas strictement les règles du classissime pāṇinéen.” And further: “... les écarts par rapport aux règles de Pāṇini ne sont pas habituellement des fautes accidentelles, ils sont assez constants pour représenter un usage du milieu où les textes ont été rédigés.”

without a thorough study of the language of the Āgamas and Vāstuśāstras it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions.

The linguistic peculiarities of the Kāśyapaśilpa are as follows:<sup>29</sup>

- pronominal adjectives declined as nominals: *anyāś* (g. 2c), *itare* (g. 3d)<sup>30</sup>
- incorrect absolutes - *lyap* for *ktivā*: *sthāpya* (p. 32a; g. 39a; m. 28a, 34a, 52c), *snāpya* (p. 32a); *pūjya* (g. 37a, 56a, m. 17c, 41c), *tyajya* (g. 48c), *lipya* (m. 14c), *bhūṣya* (p. 35a; m. 15c, 40d)<sup>31</sup>
- incorrect absolutes: *yaṣṭvā* instead of *iṣṭvā* (m. 17c, 41c)
- the loss of -y- in optatives of present class IV: *nyaset* (p. 16d, 40b, 41a, 52b; g. 15a, 17b, 17d, 19d, 26d, 27b, 48d, 50b, 51b, 51d, 52b, 52d, m. 2d, 27c, 31b, 48d, 51a) *vinyaset* (p. 2b, 52c; g. 18b, 19a, 19c, 21d, 23d, 16a, 28b, 52a, 53a; m. 2b, 47b, 48a)<sup>32</sup>
- aberrant forms of optative: *hunet* (g. 43d, m. 35b)<sup>33</sup>
- changes in nominal stem: i-stems declined as a-stems: *trimūrte* (g. 20d); in-stems declined as a-stems: *śikhāṇḍe* (g. 21b);
- masculine singular becoming neuter singular: *prāsādam* (g. 1c), *āyāmam* (p. 23b)<sup>34</sup>
- feminine plural becoming masculine/neuter plural: *vālukaiḥ* (p. 6cd)
- masculine plural becoming neuter plural: *dhātūni* (g. 17c)
- an unusual form of absolute: *-abhiṣecya* / *-abhiṣicya* (g. 37c)
- a compound of absolute with the noun in which the noun further explains the action expressed by the absolute: *gavyābhiṣecya* (g. 37c), *stotrābhyarcya* (g. 40b), *namoccārya* (g. 50)<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Abbreviations used in the list: p. – *prathameṣṭakā* chapter, g. – *garbhanyāsa* chapter, m. – *mūrdheṣṭakā* chapter). The abbreviations referring to chapters are followed by the verse numbers and *pādas* in which the particular forms were attested. Sometimes the forms were given by all the manuscripts, sometimes only by a few of them. For details, see the critical apparatus in Chapter 4.

<sup>30</sup> Instances of pronominal adjectives inflected as nominals are also known from epic Sanskrit, see Oberlies (2003: 111).

<sup>31</sup> *lyap* for *ktivā* was attested in epic Sanskrit and in certain Āgamic texts, see Oberlies (2003: 283-284) and (Goodall 1998: lxix note 162).

<sup>32</sup> The loss of -y- in optatives of cl. IV is mentioned by Oberlies (2003: 197, esp. notes 2, 3) and by Kulikov (2001: 386 note 1187). It is discussed more thoroughly, with examples from post-Vedic Sanskrit in Kulikov (forthcoming).

<sup>33</sup> The form occurs in certain Āgamic texts as mentioned by Goodall (1998: lxix note 161) and Bhatt (1986: xii). See also Bhatt (1985: 80 note 12).

<sup>34</sup> Such confusion of genders in ritual texts has already been observed by Goudriaan (1965: 336B).

<sup>35</sup> These forms are problematic. One can wonder if they are simply mistakes of the scribes or new linguistic formations. *namoccārya* can also be seen as an example of double *sandhi*. The possibility of interpreting these forms as examples of noun incorporation was discussed by Kulikov (2002).

- double *sandhi*, most probably *metri causae*: *śivottamendranīlaṃ* (g. 20a); *tatopari* (g. 50b), *tatobhyarcya* (g. 40b), *tatocchisṣṭhavisarjanam* (m. 14b), *caiveṣṭakāpi* (m. 27b)<sup>36</sup>
- absence of *sandhi* in *-s s-* (p. 9d, 32a, 37b, 43a, 53a, 54a, g. 56d, m. 6d, 19d, 38c, 55c)<sup>37</sup>
- other irregularities of *sandhi*: non assimilation of *-n* to *-l* (g. 41c); non assimilation of *-t* to *-j* (p. 7ab); *-as/ās/is/es ś-* becoming *-aś/āś/iś/eś ś-* (p. 20a, 33b, g. 37a, 45b, 46b, m. 13d, 37d, 38b, 43c; *-as p-* becoming *-o p-* (p. 9d), *-as c-* becoming *-o c-* (g. 48b)
- lack of concord between subject and verb in person (m. 43d-45)
- lack of concord between adjective and substantive in gender (p. 8b, g. 30d, 31cd, 32acd)<sup>38</sup>
- causatives with non-causal meaning<sup>39</sup>
- *vā* between words connected by *it* (g. 30a, m. 7ab)<sup>40</sup>

Apart from the curious grammatical and stylistic forms, the Kāśyapaśilpa also uses a specific vocabulary, which includes mainly technical words not found in standard Sanskrit dictionaries, but shared with other treatises on architecture. The index of such technical terms is included in Appendix III.

<sup>36</sup> *tatopari* occurs also in Kāraṇāgama 10.39d (chapter about the placing of the crowning bricks: *mūrdheṣṭakā-nyāsa*). Numerous examples of double *sandhi* including *-as u-* changing to *-o-* are given by Oberlies (2003: 37-40). For examples from the Kiraṇatantra, see Goodall (1998: lxviii).

<sup>37</sup> According to Goudriaan (1965: 336), this feature is usual in South Indian manuscripts.

<sup>38</sup> The same is found in other Āgamas, see Kāraṇa 10.13b-d: *...yugadvārasamāyutam maṅṭapaṃ tattribhāgaikaṃ madhyame vedikāṃ kuru*.

<sup>39</sup> In some passages of our text it is not clear whether the causal meaning is intended (see *kārayet* in p. 20b, 24b, g. 3b, 6d, m. 15a, 18b, *dāpayet / pradāpayet* in g. 41c and in m. 57-58ab, *parīkṣayet* in p. 26d, *snāpayet* in g. 37d, and *bandhayet* in m. 30a). The subject of the sentence is often not specified. On the one hand, it is possible that certain actions are to be performed with the help of an intermediary agent (see Oberlies 2003: 249 note 1). On the other hand, it seems that at least in some cases the causatives in the Kāśyapaśilpa are employed to suit the metre (for a similar example, see *kārayet* in Hitopadeśa IV.5, ed Lanman 1983 and Lanman's remark on p. 143, under *ḷ*, caus.). Here the causative verbs are often employed along with non causative ones in the same context (see *nidhāpayet*, occurring alternately with *vinyaset*, in p. 36b, g. 16b, 22b, 23b, 24b and d, 25b and d). A verb with no causal meaning would also be expected in p. 33d (see the edition of the text in Chapter 4).

<sup>40</sup> The same feature was noted by Goudriaan (1965: 338) in the Vaikhānasa text Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa.



## Chapter 4

### Three chapters from the Kāyapañḍita: edition, translation and commentary

#### 4.0 Manuscripts and transcripts used in the edition<sup>1</sup>

#### Palm leaf manuscripts:

- 8561** University of Kerala, Trivandrum. Grantha. 201 palm leaves, 3600 granthas. 2 other texts included. Contains chapter index. The Aśāmadāgama starts directly after the index with: *atha vakṛye vīāṣeṇā prāsādavāstulakāñam* (leaf 14). Leaf 13 blank except for one line.
- 16847** University of Kerala, Trivandrum. Formerly preserved at Kilimanoor Palace, acquired by the University of Kerala 09.01.1956. Malayalam script. Old and damaged. The manuscript is a compilation of many texts: A. Īānaāvagurudevapaddhati; B. Aśāmadāgama; C. Aśāgahūdaya; D. Paōcapakāśāstram; E. Paōcapakāśāstravākyāni; F. Saāhitā; G. Praānaāśāstram; H. Āilpam; I. Viāvakarmeyam; J. Aōgagañitam; as well as two folios of a text on music – Saōgitacueāmani (between B and C). Begins with the invocation to Ganeāa.
- 16923** University of Kerala, Trivandrum. Formerly preserved at Kilimanoor Palace, acquired by the University of Kerala 09.01.1956. Malayalam script. Younger than 16847 and probably a copy of it. Hard cover, painted. Talipot palm.

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<sup>1</sup> For the present edition the following manuscripts and transcripts were used: for the *prathamakānyāsa* chapter: 8561, 16847, 16923, 18732, 20088, 20089, 20092, T1, T2, T297, T400; for the *garbhanyāsa* chapter: 8561, 16847, 16923, 20088, 20089, S, T1 (+ Keevelur ms), T2, T47, T297, T400, T411; for the *mūrdhakānyāsa* chapter: 8561, 16847, 16923, 20088, T2, T47, T297, T400. The texts of the two earlier editions were used for all the three chapters and designated P (the Poona edition) and Th (the Thanjavur edition).

**18732** University of Kerala, Trivandrum. Bought from Mantravâdi Krishnan Pooti. Malayalam script. Includes a commentary in old Malayalam. Not very old, perhaps a copy of 20092. A compilation, Aââumadâgama contained in section B.

**20088** University of Kerala, Trivandrum. Malayalam script.

**20089** (old number 1081A). University of Kerala, Trivandrum. Malayalam script. The manuscript is a compilation including three texts, the first being the Aââumânabhedai Kââyapîyai (up to *dvâralakâãã*). The opening 22 leaves are missing. Contains colophon with the date: 13<sup>th</sup> date of the 2<sup>nd</sup> month of 907 Malayalam Era (1732 AD).

**20092** (old number: 1084). University of Kerala, Trivandrum. Malayalam script. Old. Contains a commentary in old Malayalam mixed with Tamil. Begins with the invocation to Ganeâa.

**Keelvelur ms** - the manuscript belonged previously to the private collection of the chief priest of the Shaiva temple at Keelvelur (Taôjavur district), Aksayalinga Sivacarya, who passed away. The collection now belongs to his son who is now the chief priest at the temple. Palm leaf. Grantha script. Number of folios: 213. The manuscript is in a very bad condition. I was able to consult only the *garbhanyâsa* chapter due to the bad condition of the manuscript.

**447** Library of the National Institute of Prakrit Studies and Research, Sravanabelagola. Palm leaf. Kannaëa script. I consulted the *garbhanyâsa* chapter with the help of B.S. Sannaiah.

Transcripts:<sup>2</sup>

**T1** Transcript in Devanâgarî script of the Keelvelur manuscript (by Neelakanta Sarma), completed 24.05.1958.

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<sup>2</sup> All transcripts presented here are property of the Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondicherry, India.



- T2** Transcript in Devanāgarī script of a palm leaf manuscript from the collection of Nagaraja Gurukkal, Periyakulam.
- T47** Transcript in Devanāgarī script. Āivāgamapaddhati.
- T297** Transcript in Devanāgarī script of a Grantha manuscript from the G.O.M.L., Madras (no. D. 13032).
- T400** Transcript in Devanāgarī script of a Malayalam palm leaf manuscript from the G.O.M.L., Madras (No. R.3185). Copy completed in 1971.
- T411** Transcript in Devanāgarī script of a palm-leaf manuscript (no.11) from a private collection of Sundara Dikāitar, Tirunelveli. Gūhanirmāñādi (āilpam). Compilation.

## 4.1 The placing of the first bricks (*prathameṣṣakā*) on the basis of the Kāyapañlipa: text, translation and commentary

1 *atha vakṣye viāṣṣeña āññuṣva prathameṣṣakām |*

**Now I will tell in detail about (the ceremony of) the first bricks, listen!**

b<sup>1</sup>: *āruñuṣva*: 8561; *āññuṣve*: T297, 16847, 16923; *āru*[*tvaṣ*]: P; *ārutvaṣ*: T;  
b<sup>2</sup>: *prathameṣṣakāṣ*: 8561; *prathameṣṣakā*: 16847, 16923; *prathameṣṣikā*: T2, T297;

**Pāda ab**: the narrator here is Āiva who unravels the rules of ritual and architecture to the sage Kāyapa, see KĀ chapter 1 (*karṣṣaṣṣavidhī*).

**Pāda b**: *prathameṣṣakā* – ‘the first bricks’, should be understood here as ‘the ceremony of the first bricks’; cf. Suprabhedā, I, 28, 1: *athātai saṣṣpravakṣyāmi āññu tvaṣ prathameṣṣakām* (as given by Bhatt 1964: 55 note 2).

*[The buildings in which the first bricks are to be placed]*

1cd *prāṣṣāde mañṣeape sāle gopure ca tathaiva ca |*  
2ab *sadane parivāṣṣāṣṣā vinyaset prathameṣṣakām ||*

**One should place the first brick in a temple, in a *mañṣeapa*, in a *sāla* as well as in a gateway and in the abode of the attendant deities.**

1c: *āṣṣle*: T2, T297;  
1d: *cā tathaiva ca*: T297; *ṣṣhopure*: 16847, 16923;  
2a: *parivāṣṣāṣṣā*: 18732; *parivarivāṣṣāṣṣā*: 16923; ... *vāṣṣāṣṣā*: T2;  
2b: *prathameṣṣakāṣ*: 8561; *prathameṣṣakā*: 16847, 16923; *prathameṣṣikā*: T297;

**Pāda 1c**: *prāṣṣāda* – the term can denote the whole temple complex or the main temple building only (see Kramrisch 1946: 134). Here it seems to indicate the latter.

*sāla* – here probably an equivalent of *prākāra*, ‘wall, fence’ (see Dagens 1994: 973); cf. KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 6: *prāṣṣāde mañṣeape caiva prākāre gopure tathā |*

*parivâṛālaye caiva garbhanyāsaā tu kārayet* || and Dīptāgama 2 (p. 249):<sup>3</sup> *prāsāde mañēape caiva prākāre gopure tathā | parivāra bhavec caiva vinyaset prathameṣṣikāi* ||.<sup>4</sup> A verse identical with KĀ 1cd-2ab is given in Āilparatna 12.10.

**Pāda 2b:** *vinyaset* – for the loss of –y- in optatives of present tense class IV and for other examples from the KĀ, see Chapter 3.6.

*prathameṣṣakām* – should be understood as plural as the ceremony involves the placing of four bricks, see verses 37d-38. Yet, the singular is a common occurrence in parallel texts; cf. Āilparatna 12.8 *pādāvaāiṣṣe khāte vā vinyaset prathameṣṣakām* and 12.14,5: *sumuhūrte sunakṣatre vinyaset prathameṣṣakām*; ĪĀGDP 27.45: *sthāpayet prathameṣṣakām*; MM 12.103: *gandhadravyaiā ca bījaiā ca vidheyā prathameṣṣakā*. In all these cases the number of bricks is higher than one. See also MarīciS 9.8. Colas (1986: 125 note 60), the editor and translator of the MarīciS, adds here: “Le singulier doit ici être pris comme un singulier collectif (‘l’ensemble des briques’).”

### [Digging the foundation pit]

2cd *snigdhaā caiva tathā ‘snigdhaā dvididhaā bhūmilakṣaṇam* ||

**The characteristic of the soil is twofold: *snigdha* and *asnigdha*.**

c<sup>1</sup>: *caivā*: T1; [ ... ] *ō caiva*: 16847, 16923;

c<sup>2</sup>: *tathāsnigdhaā*: 8561, 20088, 16847, 16923, 18732, T400; *tathā ‘snigdhaā*: T1, P, Th; *tathāsnigdhaā*: T297; *tathā jigdhaā*: T2;

**Pāda 2cd:** section 2cd-8ab deals with the types of building ground and the digging of the foundation pit. The whole passage is problematic in two ways:

- in all the verses but one (verse 7) it is impossible to establish whether the text speaks about *snigdha* or its opposite *a-snigdha*. For example, 3cd can be read in two ways: a. *yā sâ-asnigdha mahī khyâtā tanuvālukasaāyutā* or b. *yā sâ snigdha mahī khyâtā tanuvālukasaāyutā*.

<sup>3</sup> Text given on the basis of the *prathameṣṣakā* chapter of the transcript T1018. It is chapter 2 according to the colophon (*iti dīptāāstre prathameṣṣikāvidhi dvitīyai*), but chapter 50 (pp. 249-253) according to the sequence in the transcript. As the verses are not numbered, the relevant page numbers will be given in brackets.

At this point it should be noted that the Dīptāgama shows, of all discussed texts, most similarities with the Kāyapaāilpa.

<sup>4</sup> As to the spelling of *parivāra*, *vinyaset*, etc., the passages from the Dīptāgama and other works quoted here are given as they appear in the available editions or manuscripts, that is, without any attempt to correct the spelling (see, for example, *vedikuñēayuk* in note 14 etc.).

- another problem is the exact meaning of *snigdha*. Dagens (MM 3.3, 1994: 11) translates the term as 'smooth', but this does not explain which type of ground is meant here.

Yet, from the parallel sources it becomes clear that the earth which is *snigdha* is, in any case, very suitable to serve as a construction ground; cf. BūhatS 53.88 (ed. Bhat) where *snigdha* is one of the qualities of an excellent ground. The same statement can be found in MaōjuārīVVĀ 1.37, ĪĀGDP 23.5 (the term used here is *susnigdha*) and the above mentioned MM 3.3 (*snigdha*). In our verse 7 a certain type of ground has first to be made *snigdha* (here the reading leaves no doubt) so that one is able to construct there a firm foundation for the future temple. Here *snigdha* can be understood as a technical term designating any ground which is 'suitable for building'. *asnigdha* can then be applied to the ground which is not suitable for building. Taking verse 7 as a starting point of the translation of the passage 2-6, it can be understood that the text speaks here about the classification of several types of ground as suitable or not suitable for building (*snigdha-asnigdha*). We find thus: the sandy ground, which is easy to dig and good to build on (3cd), loam, which is very difficult to dig (3a), but excellent to build on, and the marshy ground which is easy to dig, but unsuitable for building (4). Next, the text gives instructions concerning the depth of the foundation. The ground which is *snigdha* (suitable to build on: sand, clay) should be dug up only to the depth of one hasta (5) – so one can start building almost at once. The *asnigdha* (unsuitable ground – for example a marsh) should be dug until one sees the groundwater, then the pit should be filled up with gravel mixed with water, rammed, and in this way made suitable for building (*snigdha*, verse 7).

Many parallel texts do not give such precise instructions, but prescribe instead the digging of the soil until one finds either groundwater or rock, see ĪĀGDP 27.11: *jalāntāā āarkarāntāā vā khānayed iti kecana*; AtriS 6.8b-d: ... *yāvat toyasamāgatam āilāntāā vā khanitvā...*; MarīciS 6.3.1: ... *jalāntāā āilāntāā vā khanitvā...* MarīciS 7.3.2 adds that when the ground is hard or firm (i.e. 'difficult to dig'), one should make the foundation two, one, or of half a *hasta* deep: *jalāntāā vā āilāntāā vā dūèhaprakūtiā ced dvihastaā sārthavistāram ekahastaā vā khanitvā...*, '... on creuse jusqu'à atteindre une nappe phréatique ou la roche ou bien, lorsque la terre est dure, (on creuse) sur une profondeur de deux coudées, d'une coudée et demie ou d'une coudée' (transl. Colas 1986: 109).

- 3     *cikkañā āarkarāṇhyā ca tv āākyakhananakriyā |*  
       *yā sā snigdḥā mahī khyātā tanuvālukasaāyutā ||*

**Soil which is difficult to dig because it is loamy and because it is rich in gravel, (or soil) which is endowed with fine sand, these types of soil are called *snigdḥā*.**

a-b: missing in T47;

a: *cikkañā ārkarāḥyā ca*: T1; *cikkañā ārkarāḥyā ca*: 8561, 18732, 20092, P, Th; *āikkañā ārkarāḥyā ca*: T400; *āirkañā ārkarāḥyā ca*: T297; *āikkañā āa[rkk]arāḥyā tva*: 16847, 16923; *cikkaō ca kalotraroḥyā ca*: T2;

b: *tv āākyaā kḥananaā kriyā*: T1; *āākyaā kḥananaā kriyā*: T400; *āāākyaā kḥananaā kriyā*: 16847, 16923; *āākyaā kḥananaā kriyā*: 8561, 20092, 18732; *āākyaā kḥananaā kriyā*: Th; *āākyaā kḥananaā kriyā*: T297, P; *antyaā kḥananaā tathā*: T2;

c: *susnigdhaā iti vikhyātaā*: P, Th; *sasnigdham itri vikhyāta*: T297; *yā sāsnigdhamahī vikh[illegible]yāta*: 18732; *yāsāā snigdhamahīkyāta*: T2; *yā sāsnigdhamahīkyāta*: 8561, 20092, T400; *sā hī snigdha mahīkyāta*: T47; *sāsnigdhamahīkyāta*: 16847, 16923; *yā sāsnigdha mahīkyāta*: T1;

d: *tanuvālukasaāyutaā*: T297, P, Th; *tana [ ... ]*: 16847, 16923; *tanuvālukasaāyuta*: 18732, 20092, T1, T2, T400; *tanu(ā) vālyakaā saāyuta*: 8561; *tanuvālukayānvitā*: T47;

**Pāda ab:** in this pāda the feminine endings (see T1) have been adopted in accordance with *mahī* (soil) in pāda c.

4 *puruṣāōjalimātraā tu dūṣṣatoyasamanvitā |  
akleāāt kḥananaā yatra tad asnigdha mahī smūtā ||*

**That soil, in which (while digging) water appears (even if not more than) a handful, (and) which (in contrast to the types mentioned in verse 3), is easy to dig, that soil is known as *asnigdha*.**

a: *puruṣāōjalimātraā tu*: T297, P, Th; [ ... ] *ōjalimātre tu*: 16847, 16923; *puruṣāōjalimātreṇa*: 18732, 20092; *puruṣāōjalimātre tu*: 8561, T1, T2, T47, T400;

b: *dūṣṣatoyasamanvitā*: 18732, 20092, T1; *dūṣṣvā toyasamanvitam*: P, Th; *dūṣṣvā toyāā samanvitam*: T297; *dūṣṣvā toyasamanvitā*: T2, T47; *dūṣṣatoyasamanvitām*: T400; *dūṣṣatoyāssamanvitā*: 16847, 16923; [*preṣṣatoyasamanvitā*] (illegible): 8561;

c: *akleāāt kḥanana yat tad*: 16847, 16923; *akleāāt kḥananaā yat tat*: 18732; *akleāāt kḥananaā yat tat*: 20092; *akleāāt kḥananaā yat tad*: 8561; *akleāāt kḥananiyāā tat*: T1; *aklecāā kḥananaā yat tad*: T400; *ā[...].e[...].t āārthakḥananaā yatra*: T2; *āāēāā kḥananaā yat tat*: T297, P, Th; *āākyaā*: ed.P and Th.; *akleāākḥananaā yatra*: T47;

d: [*a*] *snigdhaākyāmahī smūtā*: 8561; *asnigdhaākyāmahīsmūtā*: 16847, 16923; *snigdhaākyā tu mahī smūtā*: 18732, 20092; *asnigdhaākyā mahī smūtā*: T400; *susnigdha sā mahī smūtā*: T1; *tadāsnigdhamahī smūtā*: T2; *tadāsnigdha mahī smūtā*: T47; *snigdhaākyātamahī tathā*: T297, P; *snigdhaākyātamahītam*: Th;

**Pāda a:** the accusative *puruṣāōjalimātraā* was interpreted here as an adverb.

**Pāda ab:** *puruṣāōjalimātraā tu dūṣṣatoyasamanvitā* should, most probably, be understood as referring to a marshy ground. Alternatively, the passage may perhaps be a hint to one of the methods of checking the moisture content of the

earth as known from parallel sources.<sup>5</sup> A pit is being dug into the surface and water is poured into it. After a few moments it is checked if the water is still present in the pit. When the water is still visible (and the amount of it did not change) it is a proof that the soil is suitable for building. When the amount of water diminishes, the soil is of inferior quality; see the commentary to Mūgendra 7.4 as well as MM 4.16, Ajita 7.9-10, 23 and ĪĀGDP 23.39cd-40. For a similar method, but with regard to a pit filled up with earth, see Kāyapaāilpa 1.37 (Poona edition).

5 *prāsādasya tu vistārād dvihastādhikavistūtaā |  
hastamātraā khaṇed vipra susnigdhaā tu mahīṭalam ||*

**When the surface of the ground is *susnigdha*, one should, o Brahmin, dig (a foundation) which is one *hasta* (deep) and which is two *hasta* wider than the width of the *prāsāda*.**

a: *prāsādasya tu vistāra*: 8561; *prāsādasya tu vistārāt*: T1; *prāsādasya tu vistāraā*: T2, T47, T400; *prāsādasya tu vistāre*: T297; *prāsādasya tu vistāro*: P; *prāsādasya tu vistārai*: Th; *prāsādasyā tu vistārā[d?]*: 16847, 16923; *prāsādasya tu vistārā[d?]*: 18732, 20092;  
b: *dvihastādhikavistūta* [*anusvāra?*]: 8561, 18732; *dvihasta... ātaā*: 16847, 16923; *dvihastādhikavistūtam*: 20092, T1, T47, T400; *dvibhāgaāatādhikavistūtaā*: T2; *dvidvihadātha vistūtam*: T297; *dvidvihadātha vistūtai*: P, Th;  
c: *hastamātraā khaṇed vipra*: 16847, 16923; *hastamātraā khaṇed viprā*: T1, T297; *hastamātraā khaṇed vipra*: 8561, 20092, T2, T47, T400, P, Th; *hastamātraā khaṇed vipra pra*: 18732;  
d: *snigdhaā tu mahīṭala*: 16847, 16923; *susnigdhaā tu mahīṭalam*: 18732, 20092, T1, T400, P, Th; *saāsnigdhan tu mahīṭalem*: T2; *susnigdhaā tu mahīṭale*: T297; *sāsnigdha tu mahīṭalā*: T47; *sasnigdhan tu mahīṭalā*: 8561;

6ab *yāvatā jaladūvāā tu tāvatāsnigdhaā khaṇet |*

**But when (the ground) is *asnigdha* one should dig until water appears.**

6a-b: *yāvat tatra jalaā dūvāā khaṇet tāvat tu bhūṭale*: P, Th; *yāvadābaladūvāan tu tāvadāsnigdhabhūvane*: T2; *yāvat tatrāojaliā dūvāā khaṇet tāvat tu bhūṭale*: T297; *yāvadā jaladūvāā tu tāvadāsnigdhabhūkhaṇet*: T400; *yāvadā jaladūvāan tu tāvat snigdha [bhū?]ā khaṇet*: 8561; *yāvadā jaladūvāā tu tāvadāsnigdhabhūkhane*: 16847; *asnidhabhūkhane*: 16923; *yavadāājaladūvāā tu tāvadāsnigdhabhūkhaṇet*: 20088; *yavadā jaladūvāā tu tāvatāsnigdhabhūvāā khaṇet*: 18732.

<sup>5</sup> This method is found already in the earliest Āilpāāstra, the Būhat Saāhitā (BūhatS 53.63, ed. Bhat).

6cd *avaṣā vālukaii sthūlaii pūrayitvā jalānvitam ||*

**Having filled up the pit, which is full of water, with gravel...**

c: *avaṣā*: T400; *anyadam vālukai*: T2; *asitair*: T47; *vālukai*: 8561, 16847, 16923, 18732, 20092; *bālukai*: 20088;

**Pāda c:** *vālukaii* (m. pl.) – should have been: *vālukābhii* (f.pl.). The confusion of genders occurs frequently in later ritual texts and in the Vāstuśāstras as well as in epic Sanskrit, see Oberlies (2003: xxxviii-xl), Goudriaan (1965: 336 B), and KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 1c.

7 *pūrayitvā sthalaā paācāj jalena samatāā kuru |  
musalair hastipādaīā ca snigdhaā kūtvā bhūhacchiraii ||*

**... (and) having filled up 'the place' (*sthala*), make (it) level with the help of the water, making it *snigdha* with stampers, 'elephant-feet' and 'big heads'.**

a: *jalaā*: T297, P, Th, 16847, 16923; *parayitvā sthalaā paācāj*: T400; *purayitvā sthalaā paācāj*: T47; *purayitvā sthalaā paācāt*: 18732;

b: *samataā*: T297;

c: *hastapādaīā ca*: 8561, T1; *avasale hastipādaīā ca*: P, Th; *avasale hastipādeā cā*: T297; *mukhair hastapādaīā ca*: T2; *musalair hastipādaīā ca*: 18723, 20092, 20088; *musalair hastapādaīā ca*: 8561; *musalai ha pādaīā ca*: 16847, 16923;

d: *būhacchire*: 8561; *būhac chilaii*: T1; *būhaā ciraii*: 18732, 20092; *būhaā [c]iraii*: 20088; *būhac chirai*: 16847; *būhac chiraii*: T2, T47, T297, T400, P, Th;

**Pāda ab:** levelling the ground using the water level as the point of reference is found in MM 6.2ab-3cd: *gūhītavāstumadhye tu samaā kūtvā bhūvaā sthalam || jalena dañēamātreñā samaā tu caturaāarakam* 'A piece of ground in the middle of the chosen site should be levelled by the water method; this must be a square of one square pole in the centre of which the gnomon should be set' (trans. Dagens 1994: 29) and in MM 14.6: *tatkhāte salilenaiva pūrite 'kṣayatā āubhā | samatvaā salilenaiva sādhayitvā vicakṣāñai* 'the sage, after having filled up the (remaining) hollow with water which, (if the enterprise is) to be successful, it will retain, must verify the horizontality of the ground with this water' (ibid., 159). The same method is prescribed by KāyapaJK 30: *vidhinā kalpīte deāe dūēhatare jalena sarvaā samam iti jōātvā...* 'On a place prepared by the right method and sufficiently firm, where he has controlled with water its being on one level in all directions...' (trans. Goudriaan 1965: 105). Apparently for this purpose in some cases water is actually poured in the pit, as is mentioned in ĪĀGDP 27.43: *āplāvya salilenātha gajair ākrāmayet sthalam*, 'having filled (it) up with water, one should

make the elephants tread the surface' (lit. one should cause someone to enter the surface with elephants).

**Pāda c:** *hastipāda* – 'elephant feet' – a kind of rammer or stamper, probably made of wood; cf. Brunner (1998: 24 note 71): "...des 'pieds d'éléphants', qui sont des dames de bois dur...", and Colas (1986: 102 note 8): "Comme le *musala*, le *hastipāda* est un type de pilon." The term occurs frequently in parallel texts, see *Ajita* 10.10: *kumayet sudūhaā samyag gajapādaī ca dārujaii*; *MarīcīS* 6.3.1: ... *jalāntāā ālāntāā vā khanitvā ālyānapohya vālukābhir āpūrya hastipādena dūhaā kūtvā...*; *ĪĀGDP* 27.44cd: *praāstatarusambhūtaiṛ hastipādair dūhaii samam...*

**Pāda d:** *būhacchira* – refers probably to yet another type of rammer. MM 14.5cd reads *ghanīkūtyebhapādaī ca kāṣṭhakhañēair būhattaraii* (*taraii* being also the reading of our manuscript 447). Other manuscripts of the MM show variant readings resembling those of the *Kāyapaāilpa*: *būhacchikhaii* (ms A), *bahiācaraii* (D) and *būhacchiraii* (E). Dagens (1994: 159) translates the fragment as "then, when this [earth] has been stamped down by the trampling of elephants as well as with large logs of hard wood..." and he adds in note 6 "Or 'with huge logs shaped like elephant foot'." *Dīpta* 2 (p. 249) includes a similar fragment with the reading *brahmaā āiraii*.

8ab *evam ādhāramānāt tu adhikam avāāā kuru |*

**Make in this way a pit which is somewhat bigger than the (temple) base.**

a: missing in 20092 and 18732; *evaā ādhāramānāni*: 16847, 16923, 20088; *evam ādhāramānāt tu*: 8561; *evaā āthāramānāā tu*: T297;

b: *tv adhikām avāāā kuru*: T1; *adhikaā āvāāā kuru*: T2; *adhikām avāāā kuru*: T297; *adhikaā tv avāāā kuru*: Th; *adhikaā mavāāā kuru*: P; *adhikaā avāāā kuru*: 8561, 16847, 20088, T47;

**Pāda a:** *ādhāra* – probably the same as *adhīṣṭhāna*, the base of the temple, see Dagens<sup>6</sup> and the *KĀ* itself, transcript T1 6.1cd-2ab, giving the list of synonyms, all meaning 'the base': *dharāṭalam adhīṣṭhānāā ādhāraā dharañi tathā || bhuvanaā pūthivī bhūmii paryāyavacanādibhii |*

### [Placing the cords]

Section 8cd-10 deals with the determining of the layout of the temple by means of cords coated with white powder and by means of stakes (Dagens 1984: 33).

<sup>6</sup> "For designating the base, apart from *adhīṣṭhāna* which is the term most frequently used, there is *masūra* (*Ajita* only) and, more rarely, *ādhāra* (*Rau* 39.20; 41.11)..." (Dagens 1984: 52).



Usually, this should happen before the digging of the foundation (see, for example, MarīcīS 7.3.1-2), hence the location of this passage after the digging of the pit is unexpected. For a short explanation of the process according to the Mayamata, see Dagens (1994: xlviii-xlix).

8cd *mānasūtrādisūtrāñi pātayet tatra deāikai* ||

**On this occasion the *deāika* has to apply the (measuring) cords, namely the *mānasūtra* and other cords.**

c: *mānasūtrāñi sūtrāñi*: T1; *mānasūtrādi sūtrāā tu*: T297, P, Th; *mānasūtrādi sūtrās tu*: T2; *mānasūtrādi sūñi*: 16847, 16923;

d: *deāika*: 20088;

**Pāda d:** *deāika* – this term is often understood as a synonym of *ācārya* (see Barazer-Billoret 1993-94: 41; Bhatt 1993-94: 81; Brunner 1998: 479). Yet, it might refer to the *ācārya* fulfilling a specific function, performing certain activity such as, for example, the determining of the ground plan (from *deāa*, ‘land’). On the other hand, the Kāyapañi does not use the term consequently, in specific situations; cf. 45b, 48b, KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 49d and variant readings of KĀ *mūrdheśakā* 53d.

9 *prathamaā mānasūtraā tu vinyāsaā tu dvitīyakam* |  
*tūtīyādhiśhānasīmāā tathopapīśhasīmakaā* ||

10ab *paōcamaā homasūtraā tu śśhaā tu pratisūtrakam* |

**First he applies the cord which determines the measurements (for the outer limits of the temple), secondly the cord which determines the ground plan, thirdly the cord which determines the measurements of the base (of the temple), then the cord which determines the measurements of the (temple) sockle. The fifth is the cord which determines the *homa* and the sixth is the cord that determines the *prati*.**

9a: *nāmasūtraā*: T400; *prathamānastu sūtras tu*: 18732; *prathanāmasūtran tu*: 16847, 16923; *prathamaā sūtranāmaā tu*: 20088;

9b: *vinyaset tu dvitīyakaā*: 16847, 16923, P, Th; *vinyasam*: T297; *vinyāsaā tu dvī[ti?]yakaā*: 20088; *vinyāsas tu dvitīyakai*: 18732;

9c: *tūtīyādhiśī asīmā ca*: T1; *tūtīyādhiśhānasīmāntaā*: T297, P, Th; *tūtīyādhiśhānasūtran tu*: T2; *tūtīyānuśhānasīmāntaā*: T400; [trī] [tī added below] *yādhiśhānasīmānta*: 8561; *tūtīyādhiśhānasīmāntaā*: 16847, 16923, 20092; *tūtīyādhiśhasīmāntaā*: 18732; *tūtīyādhiśhānasīmāā*: 20088; *tūtīyādhiśhānasūtraā tu*: T47;

9d: *caturthopapīṭhasīmakā*: T1; *tathopapīṭhasīmakam*: P, Th; *tatopapīṭhas sīmakam*: T297; *tatho[...]pīṭhasīmakā*: 16847; *-sīmakānta*: 16923 [due to the mistaken reading of the verse number given in 16847]; *tathopapīṭhasīmakā*: 20092, 18732, T400; *tatai' pīṭhaā caturthake*: T47; *tato pīṭhaō caturthake*: T2;

10a: *paācīmaā*: T1;

10b: *prakūṭisūtrakaā*: 8561, 20088, 16847, 20092, T1, T2, T400, T47; *ṛāṇhiā*: 18732;

10c: *evaā krameṇa vinyastaā*: T47; *evaā krameṇa vinyasta*: T2; *evaā krameṇa vinyāsaā*: 20092, 18732; *evaā krameṇa kartavyāā*: T297, P, Th;

10d: *dvijottamāi*: P, Th; *sūtraṛāka dvijottamā*: T297; *sūtraṛatkaā dvijottama*: 20092, 18732;

**Pāda 9-10ab**: it seems that in the present passage the first cord, the *mānasūtra*, should be understood as the general measuring cord, by which the outer limits of the temple are determined. The term occurs in other texts on architecture, for example in the Mayamata, where it has been translated as 'measuring line' and 'reference line' (see Dagens 1994: 195). The meaning of the *mānasūtra* in the MM, however, seems to be slightly different than the meaning of the term in the Kāyapaāilpa.<sup>7</sup>

*vinyāsa* – in the present passage this term seems to refer to the cord by means of which the ground plan of the temple (*vinyāsa*) is determined (drawing the ground plan is often referred to as *padavinyāsa*, see KÅ 2, MM 7, Ajita 8 etc.; the term *vinyāsa* in the meaning of a measuring cord occurs also in Mayamata).<sup>8</sup> *vinyaset tu dvitīyakam*, 'one should place the second one', given by four our sources (16847, 16923, P and Th) should be considered a mistake committed by someone not acquainted with the ritual.

In the same way as the term *vinyāsa* refers to the *vinyāsasūtra*, the terms *adhīṛhānasīma* and *upapīṭhasīmaka* refer to the *adhīṛhānasūtra* and *upapīṭhasīmakasūtra* respectively.

While the *mānasūtra* and the *vinyāsa* are used to determine the 'general' measurements of the temple, the remaining four cords are used to determine the dimensions of the specific architectural layers. These are the *adhīṛhānasīmā*, the *upapīṭhasīmaka*, the *homasūtra* and the *pratisūtraka*.

<sup>7</sup> MM 15.57-58ab explains: *antai' stambhaā bahii' stambham ājusūtraā yathā bhavet | gūhānāā bhittimadhye tu ālānāā tu tathā bhavet || prāsādānāā tu pādabhaye pānmadhye āyanāsane*. "The measuring line goes along the inside or the outside of the row of pillars (which surrounds the building) but, in houses or *āālā*, it is along the median axis and in temples exterior to their pillars and, in bedrooms, on their axis (?)" (trans. Dagens 1994: 195). *ājusūtra*, the term used in the MM, is according to Dagens the synonym of the *mānasūtra*, along with *prāmānasūtra* and *ūjusūtra*; see Dagens (1994: 956), on the basis of the MM. Dagens (1994: 33 note 13) adds: "It is from the *pramānasūtra*... that are calculated the projections of out-going elements such as forepart, ediculae...."

<sup>8</sup> MM 6.20cd-21: *garbhasūtrādivinyāsasūtraā devapadocitam || padavinyāsasūtraā hi vinyāsai sūtram iṛyate*, translated by Dagens (1994: 33) as "The cords which establish (certain placings) such as that of the foundation deposit, those which determine the positions of the gods, those with which the diagram is drawn, all are spoken of as 'determinating' (*vinyāsa*) cords."

The *adhīṣṣhānasīmā* seems to be the cord, which determines the limits of the temple base (*adhīṣṣhāna*). In the same way the *upapīṣṣhasīmaka* determines, most probably, the limits of the temple sockle (*upapīṣṣha*), the *homasūtra* determines the limits of the architectural layer situated above the foundations and below the *adhīṣṣhāna* (often referred to as *homa*, see Dagens 1984: 17, 35; 1994: 159 note 8)<sup>9</sup> and the *pratisūtra* is used to determine the limits of the uppermost layer of the *adhīṣṣhāna* (known as *prati*, see Dagens 1984: 167).

The meaning of *prakūṣṣisūtra*, given by 8561, 20088, 16847, 20092, T1, T2, T400, T47 instead of *pratisūtra*, is unclear. It may refer to '*prakūṣṣi*', which, according to Kāmika I 52.6-10, is a lower part of the architectural layer which should be established above the foundation (Dagens 1984: 35). The upper part of this layer is called *janmabhū*, *upāna* or *homa* (ibid.).<sup>10</sup>

### [The construction of a pavilion]

Section 10cd-16 describes the building of a ceremonial pavilion in which several preliminary rites will take place. Compare KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 30-35 and KĀ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 7-14.

The size of the ceremonial pavilion given in all three chapters of our text is surprisingly small. At least when one interprets *hasta*, as it is commonly done, as either the length of the arm from the elbow to the tip of one of the fingers, or the length (sometimes width) of the hand itself (see, for example, Acharya 1993: 610-611). A pavilion of nine or five *hastas* (the latter as stated in KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 7) would not be sufficient for the fire oblation and other ceremonies which are to be performed inside (one should also realise that, as stated below, such a pavilion should be able to accommodate sixteen pillars, the ceremonial platform and the fire pits!). It should therefore be assumed that, at least in the three chapters of the Kāyapaāilpa discussed here, *hasta* is a relative measure used to show the mutual proportions of various edifices and other elements (such as, for example, the ceremonial platform).

10cd *evaṣṣ krameṣṣa vinyasya sūtraṣṣakāṣṣ dvijottama ||*

11 *tasyottare prapāṣṣ kūtva navahastapramāṣṣatai |*

<sup>9</sup> For *homa* in the meaning of an architectural layer, see Raurava 41.2, MM 14.7, Āilparatna 19.102-107ab, MaōjuārīVVĀ 2.492 (ed. Marasinghe). For the layers of the *adhīṣṣhāna*, see KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 4cd. *homa* occurs in the same meaning also in the MM and in the Ajita, see Dagens (1994: 949) and Dagens (1984: 167) respectively.

<sup>10</sup> *prakūṣṣi* in the meaning of one of the architectural layers is also found in the KĀ itself: *evaṣṣ kūtva prakūṣṣyūrdhve homaṣṣ saākalpya* 'having done so, [and] having constructed a *homa* above the *prakūṣṣi*...' (KĀ 6.7, on the basis of T1) as well as in MaōjuārīVVĀ 2.492 (ed. Marasinghe). See also Colas (1986: 267): "*prakūṣṣitala* – assise de reglage."

*ṛoèääastambhasaäyuktâä vitânadhvajabhûëitâm ||*

**Having thus placed the six cords in this order, o best of Brahmins, having constructed to the north of (this area) a pavilion measuring nine *hastas*, having sixteen pillars, (and) decorated with a canopy and banners,**

a: *tasyântare prapâä kûtvâ*: T400; *prapâ kûtvâ*: 16847, 16923; *puprâä kûtvâ*: T297; *prapâä kuryân*: T47; *pravaä kuryât*: T2;

c: *ṛoèääadhvasaäyuktaä*: T2; *dvâdastaäbhasaäyukta*: 16847, 16923; *dvadaäastaäbhasaäyukta[or: ä?]*: 20088; *ṛoèääastaäbhayaä yuktaä*: T297;

d: *vidhâna dvija bhûëitâä*: T297; *vidhâna dvija bhûëitam*: P; *vidhâya dvija bhûëitam*: Th; *vitânadhvajabhûëitâä*: 16847, 16923;

**Pâda 10cd-11**: while in verses 8cd-10ab the subject of the sentences was certainly the *deâika* (mentioned in 8d), in the present passage as well as in the following ones (up to 32cd where the text mentions the head priest)<sup>11</sup> the subject is not specified.<sup>12</sup> In all these cases the impersonal ‘one’ has been used to indicate the subject.

**Pâda 11a**: *prapâ* - in architectural texts this term usually denotes a ‘light building’, a pavilion built of light materials, often without a base (Dagens 1994: 949; see also MM 25.26cd-29: *prapâlakṛaṇam*, ‘the characteristics of a *prapâ*’).

**Pâda 11cd**: the masculine-neuter adjectives *-saäyuktaä* and *-bhûëitâä* have been corrected into *-saäyuktâä* and *-bhûëitâä* to make them agree with *prapâ* (11a). For other occurrences of the lack of concord between adjective and substantive in gender, see KÅ *garbhanyâsa* 30d, 31cd, 32acd and Chapter 3.6.

12 *toraṇair darbhamâlyaiâ ca muktâdâmair alaäkûtâm |*  
*mañëapasya tribhâgaikaä vedikâyâs tu vistaram ||*

**... adorned with arches, garlands, *darbha* grass and strings of pearls, (having done so) one should make<sup>13</sup> a *vedikâ*, the width of which is (equal to) one-third of the *mañëapa*,...**

a: *darbhamâlaiâ ca*: 20088, 16847, T297, T400, P;

b: *-alaäkûtaä*: all sources;

c: *mañëapasyâ*: T297;

<sup>11</sup> In 18a the text mentions ‘the wise one’ (*vidvân*). It is not clear, however, who exactly is referred to: one of the officiating priest or perhaps the architect.

<sup>12</sup> Such a situation is frequently encountered in other architectural and ritual texts; see, for example, Goudriaan (1965: 337).

<sup>13</sup> *prakalpayet*, see 13d. In the translation of this long, sentence (10cd-14ab) the verb *prakalpayet* has to be repeated several times.

d: *vaidikāyās tu*: T297;

**Pāda b:** the masculine-neuter adjective *alaäkūtam* was, against all manuscripts, changed into the feminine *alaäkūtām* in order to agree with *prapā* (11a).

**Pāda c:** *mañèapa* – usually a pillared hall in a temple complex (Harle 1994: 43). Here (and in KÅ *garbhanyāsa* 32a), however, it should be understood as a synonym of a *prapā* (see 11a).

*tribhāgaikaä* – this construction is rather curious, to indicate ‘one-third’ *tribhāga* would be sufficient. The same expression, however, is also found in KÅ *garbhanyāsa* 11a and, in the same context as here, in 32a and in KÅ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 10c. Besides, it occurs in many parallel texts, for example in MM 12.11 and 14, 18.123 and 25.21 (in all the cases it is translated by Dagens as ‘one-third’, see Dagens 1994), MarīciS 13.2.1 (translated by Colas as ‘un tiers’), Kāraṇa 10.13, Dīpta 20 (p.307 and 310), Suprabheda 31.24.

13 *hastamātrasamutsedhaä darpañodarasaänibham |  
paritas tv agnikuñèäni mahāāsu prakalpayet ||*

...(and) which is one *hasta* high and (whose surface) resembles a flat mirror (or) a belly; around (the *vedikā*), in the cardinal directions, one should construct the fire pits,...

a: *hastamātraä taduddheyaä*: T2;

c: *paritaä cāgnikuñèäni*: T47; *paritasvani kuñèäni*: T2;

d: *mahāālasu prakalpayet*: T297; *mahāālaä prakalpayet*: P, Th; *mahāāasya prakalpayet*: T2;

**Pāda b:** *darpañodarasaähibham* - a common expression (together with *darpañodarasaäkāā*) in the Āgamas, see Raurava 25.33, 28.29, 34.21, 57.28, Ajita 98.278 etc. The meaning of the expression is unclear, but it is plausible to assume that the surface of the fire pit should either be perfectly flat (as the surface of a mirror) or concave. Cf. Nātyāāstra 2.72cd-73ab: *kūrmapiṣṣhaä na kartavyaä matsyapūṣṣhaä tathaiva ca || āuddhādarāatalākāraä raogaāîraä praāasyate* (the stage should not be constructed [in the form of] the back of a tortoise or the back of a fish, [but it] should have the shape resembling the surface of a beautiful mirror). The same term is used in KÅ *garbhanyāsa* 34c and KÅ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 12b.

**Pāda d:** *paritas* – ‘around’; should be understood here as ‘around the *vedikā*’; cf. Raurava 18.64: *paritas tv agnikuñèäni ... mahāāsu* translated by Dagens and Barazer-Billoret (2000: 74) as “autour (de l’autel) il y a ... creusets.”

14 *vedāāraä ca dhanur vūttaä abjam indrādîṣṣu kramāt |*

*hastamâtraä ca vistâraä khâtaä caiva trimekhalam ||*

... namely the square one, bow-shaped one, round one (and) lotus-shaped one, clockwise beginning in the east. The depth (of each of the fire pits) should be one *hasta* and (the firepit) should be endowed with three steps.

a: *vedââraä cânuvûtaä ca*: T297; *vedââraä ca suvûtaä ca*: P, Th; *vedââraä dhanuävûttam*: T2; *vedââradhanuävûttam*: T47; *vedââtaä dhanur ævûttam*: T400; *vedââraä sa(nu)æä vûttam*: 8561; *vedââraä dhanuæä vûtaä*: 20088, 20092, 18732; *vedâ[ ... ]ädhanuævûtaä*: 16847, 16923;

b: *abjam indradîtai kramât*: T297, P, Th; *æââram indramâdike*: T47; *æââraä indramâdike*: T2; c: *hastamâtraä ca vistâraä*: T297, P, Th; *hastamâtraä pravistâraä*: 8561, 16847, 16923, 20088, 20092, 18732.

d: *khâtaä caivâ*: T297; *khâtaä caivâttimekhalaä*: P, Th; *khâtaä samantrimekhalam*: T2; *khâtaä baddhatrimekhalam*: T47; *khâtaöcaiva trimekhalam*: T400; *khâtaä caiva trimekhalaä*: 8561, 16847, 16923, 20092, 18732; *ghataö caiva trimekhalaä*: 20088;

**Pâda ab**: a square, a bow etc. – the shapes of the *kuñëas*. The number of the *kuñëas* here is unusual: other Āgamas prescribe mostly one, five or nine *kuñëas*, not four.<sup>14</sup> Yet, KĀ *garbhanyâsa* 33cd also speaks of four *kuñëas* only.

**Pâda d**: *mekhalâ* – here: steps (circling *kuñëa*), see KĀ *garbhanyâsa* 34a. For a drawing of a fire pit with three *mekhalâs* see Mügendra (opposite page 69). For a photograph of a contemporary one, with three *mekhalâs* and decorated with *piæacûrñâ*, see Brunner (1968, planche 3).

15 *gomayâlepanaä kûtvâ prokæayet paäcagavyakaii |*  
*piæacûrñair alaäkûtya tato vai viprabhojanam ||*

Having anointed (the floor of the pavilion) with cow-dung one should sprinkle it with the five products of the cow. Then, having decorated it with ground flour and colourful powder, having given<sup>15</sup> food to the Brahmins,...

a: *gomayâlepanaä hutvâ*: T2; *gomaye lepanaä kûtvâ*: T297;

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Raurava 18.64 and 27.15. Four fire pits located in the cardinal directions occur in Raurava 30.15, but according to Barazer-Billoret and Dagens there exists also a fifth one, located in the northeast: “Ici l’on parle que de quatre creusets, mais lorsque l’on aborde le rituel il est question également d’un cinquième qui se trouve au nord-est (ci-dessous v. 31)” (Barazer-Billoret and Dagens 2000: 161 note 16). The same is found in Ajita 10.22 where the fifth fire pit is also located in the northeast: *caturaâraä dhanur vûtaä trikoñaä ca yathâkramam | aiâanye æââraakaä kuñëä pradhânam iti kîrtitam ||* In the three chapters of the KĀ edited here, however, the fifth fire pit is nowhere mentioned.

<sup>15</sup> *kûtvâ*, see 16a.

b: *prekṣayet*: 20088;

**Pāda a:** *gomayālepanaā kūtvā* – the text does not specify what exactly has to be anointed with cow-dung. Yet, it can be assumed that it is the floor of the ceremonial pavilion together with the fire pits and the *vedikā*; cf. KÅ *garbhanyāsa* 35b, *mūrdheṣṣakā* 13c, 14c and Ajita 10 and 17.<sup>16</sup>

**Pāda c:** the composition of the *piṣṣacūrñā* may vary according to the tradition and event. For instance, the paste or powder used during the *cūrñotsava* (the final part of the *mahotsava*, 'great festival') consists of turmeric, oil, ghee, fragrant substances as well as other items (Bhatt 1993-94: 79-80). Cf. also Raurava 48.28: *piṣṣacūrñāis ... lepaā* translated by Dagens and Barazer-Billoret (2000: 323): as 'l'onction de farine et poudres (colorées)'.

**Pāda d:** *viprabhojanam* – when the construction of the pavilion is completed, the Brahmins are honoured with food (see Barazer-Billoret 1993-94: 48). The same is stated in KÅ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 14ab.

16 *kūtvocchiṣṣaiṣā samudvāsyā vāstuhomaā tatai kuru |*  
*paryagnikarañāā kūtvā prokṣayet tu kuāābhasā ||*

**...having removed the remainders (of the food), one should perform<sup>17</sup> the vāstuhoma. After the ceremony of carrying the sacrificial fire around one should sprinkle (the floor of the pavilion) with kuāa-water.**

a : *kūtvocchiṣṣaiṣaiṣā*: 16847; *viprocchiṣṣaiṣaiṣā*: 20092, 18732; *samutsijya*: Th; *samudvāsyā*: 8561; *samuddhūtya* [*sūtya?* below written: *samudvāsyā*]: 20088;

b: *tatai param*: T1; *tathā kuru*: T2, T47;

c: [*pa ṣ*] *yagnikarañāā kūtvā*: 16847;

d: *prokṣayet tu kuāāḡgasā*: T2; *prokṣayed vā kuāān nyaset*: P, Th; *prokṣayed vā kuāāā nyaset*: T297;

**Pāda b:** *vāstuhoma* – 'oblation for the site'. The chapter dedicated to *vāstuhoma* in the KÅ precedes the present chapter (it is chapter 3 in both editions of the text). It begins with the list of ceremonies which require the performance of the *vāstuhoma*. The list includes the placing of the first bricks, but not the placing of the consecration deposit (*garbha*) and the crowning bricks (see KÅ 3.1cd-3ab). Indeed, our chapters dealing with the latter two rituals do not mention the *vāstuhoma*.

**Pāda c:** *paryagnikarañā* - a purification rite involving carrying the fire around the place.<sup>18</sup> In the present case, it is probably the pavilion which is purified.

<sup>16</sup> Ajita 10.24ab (the first bricks chapter): *gomayenānulipyātha mañāpaā vedisaāyutam*; Ajita 17.15ab (the *garbhanyāsa* chapter): *gomayenopalipyātha mañāpaā vedikuñāyuk*.

<sup>17</sup> *kuru* - lit. 'you should perform' (imperative, 2<sup>nd</sup> person, singular).

MarīciS 6.4.1.1, however, hints at a purification rite performed for the foundation pit: *vālukopari paryagnipaōcagavyābhyāā saāāodhya...* ‘having purified, by means of the *paryagnikaraña* and the five products of the cow, on the top of the gravel [with which the excavation pit was filled up]...’. A similar passage is given by AtriS 6.13cd.

**Pāda d:** *kuāāmbhas* or *kuāōdaka* – ‘*kuāa*-water’. Water in which blades of the *kuāa* grass are immersed. According to the SĀP it is prepared in a receptacle known as *avyakta*, which is placed in the northeast corner (see Brunner 1968: 324 note 2).

17 *sthañēilaā vedikāyāā tu aāadroñaiā ca āālibhīi |*  
*tadardhais taāēulaiā caiva tadardhaiā ca tilair api ||*

18ab *sthañēilaā kalpayed vidvān darbhaii puāpaii paristaret |*

**On the *vedikā* one should mark the ceremonial ground by means of eight *droñas* of rice, half that amount of winnowed grain (i.e. four *droñas*), and half that amount of sesame (i.e. two *droñas*). The wise one should cover it with *darbha* grass and flowers.**

17a: *vedikād ūrdhve*: T2, T47; *sthañēilā vedikāyāā tu*: 20088; *badikāyāā tu*: 16847, 16923; *vediyān tu*: 20092;

17b: *cāāadroñaiā ca āālibhīi*: T1;

17c: *tadardhais tañēile caiva*: T2; *tadardhais tañēilaiā caiva*: 16847, 16923; *tadardha taādulaiā caiva*: 8561;

17d: *tadardhaā ca tilair api*: T297;

18a: *kārayed*: T2; *kalpayet dvidvān*: 8561; *sthañēila*: 16847; *kalpayed dhīmān*: 20092, T297, P, Th;

18b: *puāpai*: 8561; *puāpaii paristaraii*: T297, Th;

**Pāda 17b:** *droña* (bucket) - a measure of capacity, probably changing over the centuries and particular to a region.

**Pāda 17cd:** one could, of course, also interpret this passage as meaning “... with four *droñas* of winnowed grain and four *droñas* of sesame.”

### [Material and appearance of the first bricks]

<sup>18</sup> “Ce rite de purification consiste à promener le feu à l’aide d’une torche, ici autour du pavillon” (Barazer-Billoret and Dagens 2000: 135 note 13, on the basis of the Rauravāgama). See also Barazer-Billoret (1993-94: 48): “Le pavillon est ensuite l’objet d’un rite purificateur qui peut se faire de deux manières: on l’enduit de bouse ou on le purifie avec le feu (rite du *paryagnikaraña*)...” The first method is mentioned in verse 15, in KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 35ab and KĀ *mūrdheāakā* 14cd.



- 18cd *āilāharmye āilābhis tu iṣṣakā iṣṣakālaye ||*  
 19 *sammiāre ca āilābhis tu dārubhis dāruharmyake |*  
*ādyeṣṣakā tu kartavyā viparīṣā tu nācaret ||*

**The ceremony of laying the first bricks should be performed using stones for a stone building, bricks for a brick building, stones for a building made of a mixture (of materials) and wood for a wooden building. One should not go against this procedure.**

- 18c: *āilāhaste*: T2; *āilābhittau*: Th; *āilābhis te āilābhis tu*: P; *āilābhis te āilābhis tu*: T297;  
 18d: *iṣṣikābhīṣikā vidhet*: T2; *iṣṣakās tv iṣṣakālaye*: 20088; *iṣṣakā hīṣṣakālaye*: 20092; *iṣṣakā iṣṣakāvidhau*: T47; missing in: T1, T297, P and Th.  
 19a: *sāmmiāreya āilābhis tu*: T400; *sammiāreya ca āilābhis tu*: 20088; *sammiāre tu āilābhis tu*: 20092; missing in T1, T297, P and Th.  
 19b: *tarubhis taruharmyake*: T47, 8561, 20088, 20092; *tarubhir taruharmyake*: T400; *tarubhis taruharmyakā*: T2; *tarubhi [ ... ] ruharmyake*: 16847; *tarubhis taruhaṣṣarmyake*: T297; *dārubhir dāruharmyake*: T1;  
 19b missing in Th; Th inserting here: *kārayet prathameṣṣakāi*;  
 19c: *ādyeṣṣakāntā kartavyā*: P, Th; *ādyeṣṣakānta kartavyā*: T297; *āveṣṣakā tu kartavyā*: 16847; *ādyeṣṣikā tu kartavyā*: T2;  
 19d: *viparīṣā vinā 'caret*: P, Th; *viparīṣā vinācaret*: T297; *viparīṣā tu nāāake*: T2, T47;

**18cd-19ab**: the 'bricks' might be thus made of several materials. Yet, it was decided to use 'bricks' as technical term in the translation in all the cases when the KĀ does not explicitly speak about stones (the pieces of wood used as 'first bricks' are, apart from the present passage, never mentioned by the text).

The prescription given in 18cd-19ab is found in several texts, see MM 12.103, Aṣṣāmad *prathameṣṣakā* 32cd-33, Kāraṣṣa 4.92b-93, Suprabhedā 27.3cd-4ab, Ajita 10.2-3, Dīpta 2 (p.250), Āilparatna 12.14b-15a, PādmaS 5.17-20ab etc. The reading of the Dīpta comes closest to our text: *āailajāi āailajāi grāhya mūṣṣmayai mūṣṣmaye nyaset | miāre tu āailam evā syād dārujair dārum eva vā ||* A similar prescription is given with regard to the crowning bricks, compare KĀ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 3cd-5ab.

- 20 *puāliāgābhīi āilābhis tu kārayet prathameṣṣakām |*  
*dvārabandhas tu kartavyai strīāilābhir viāeṣṣatāi ||*

**One should have the ceremony of the laying of the first bricks performed with masculine stones. The (ceremony of the) fixing of the door, however, should be performed especially with the feminine stones.**

- a: *puṣṣyāhā vā āilābhis tu*: T2, T47; *puāliāgādi āilābhis tu*: T400; *pulliāgābhīā āilābhis tu*: 8561; *puāliāgābhīā āilābhis tu*: T1, 16847, 20088, 20092; *puāliāgābhīi*: T297, P, Th;

b: *prathameṣṣakāi*: T297; *prathameṣṣakāi*: P; *prathameṣṣakāi*: Th; *prathameṣṣakā*: 8561, T2, T47;

c: *dvārabandhaā tu kartavyāā*: 8561, T2, T297, T400;

d: *ārikalābhir viāṣṣatai*: P, Th; *strikalābhi viāṣṣatai*: T297; *striāilā hi viāṣṣatai*: T2; *triāilābhir viāṣṣatai*: 16847; *striāilābhir viāṣṣatai*: 8561, T48;

**Pāda b:** *kārayet prathameṣṣakām* – it is not clear whether the causal meaning was indeed intended here or, whether the form *kārayet* was employed only in order to suit the metre. The use of causatives is not very consistent in the Kāyapañila. Yet, in the present translation of the Kāyapañila chapters it has been decided to retain the causal meaning (see 24b, 36b, 50d, KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 3b, 6d, 7b, 37d and KĀ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 18b, 30a, 46b) except in passages where retaining the causal meaning would result in an unlogical phrase (see 33d) and where the causative verbs occur alternately with non causative verbs (see KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 16ab-29). In these two cases the causal meaning is not reflected in the translation, but only indicated in a note.<sup>19</sup>

**Pāda c:** *dvārabandha* – most probably ‘door frame’ (the term was translated as such by Bäumer and Das 1994: 73).<sup>20</sup> This passage, most probably, points to the ceremonial installation of the door. This is an important moment in the construction of a temple and according to some texts a piece of gold should be buried beneath the door.<sup>21</sup> Passages prescribing the feminine bricks for the *dvārabandhana* (the same as *dvārabandha*) occur in the Kāraṇāgama and in the Dīptāgama<sup>22</sup> and the Siddhāntaāekhara lists *dvārabandhana* as one of the

<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that causatives are very frequent in architectural and ritual texts, with the causative verb being often translated as a non causative one. Cf. MM 12.59: *chattraā svarñe kārayet*, “the umbrella [etc.]... are to be made of gold” (Dagens 1994: 135); MM 12.42: *stambhamūle yathāyogaā garte garbhaā nidhāpayet*, “the deposit is placed according to the rule in a hole beneath a pillar...” (ibid., 131); MM 18.201: *naivedyaā ca pradāpayet*, “he must give ... offerings of food” (ibid., 301); Raurava 18.72: *sthañēilāā kārayed vedyām*, “on confectionne sur l’autel, une aire sacrificielle...” (Dagens and Barazer-Billoret 2000: 75); MarīciS 9.7.2: *nāsikāgre ... kārayed iti kecī*, “selon certains: on pose cette brique au sommet d’une fausse lucarne (nāsikā)...” (Colas 1986: 125); MarīciS 13.1.1: *kārayati*, “on fabrique ...” (ibid., 153); MarīciS 13.1.2: *garbhanyāsaā kārayet*, “on procédera au dépôt de l’“embryon”” (ibid., 154); MarīciS 13.1.2: *vimānaā kārayet*, “... on poursuit la construction du temple...” (ibid., 156), etc. The only exception is the translation of the KāyapaJK by Goudriaan where the causatives are usually translated as such, see KāyapaJK 16: *ratrav eva nidhāpayet*, “he should have them laid down” (Goudriaan 1965: 62); KāyapaJK 32: *kārayet*, “he should cause to be made” (ibid., 113) etc. On the other hand, see KāyapaJK 16: *garbharūpaā nidhāpayet*, “he should lay down the figure of an embryo” and *madhyapade nidhāpayet*, “should be... deposited... in the central part of the bowl” (Goudriaan 1965: 64). See also Chapter 3.6.

<sup>20</sup> Dagens (2001: 69) in his discussion on genders of stones and bricks translates *dvārabandha* as “le cadre (?) de la porte” and adds, referring to our verses 20-21: “si l’on en croit un texte très corrompu et d’interprétation incertaine.”

<sup>21</sup> See, for instance, Agni Purāṇa 61.

<sup>22</sup> Kāraṇā 4.94ab: *ādyeṣṣakā puāñilāyā stridhād vai dvārabandhanam* (corrected by Brunner (1998: 27) to *ādyeṣṣakāā puāñilāyā striyā vai dvārabandhanam*) and Dīpta 2 (p. 250): *sā āñilā*

important stages in the building of a temple.<sup>23</sup> The expressions *dvārabhandha* and *dvārabandhana*, however, do not occur in the *Kāyapañīpa* in the chapter dealing with the installation of the door (*dvāralakṣaṇam* or *dvāravinyāsalakṣaṇam*, chapter 17 in both editions).

The gender of stones and bricks is referred to in many parallel texts. The choice of the gender of the bricks may depend, like in the *Kāyapañīpa*, the *Āśūmadāgama*, the *Kāraṇāgama* and in *Pādma Saḥhitā*,<sup>24</sup> on the ceremony to be performed. It may also depend on the gender of the main god of the temple – for the temples of male gods male bricks are used<sup>25</sup> – or on the gender of the building itself, which is independent from the gender of its main god.<sup>26</sup> Even in the choice of bricks for a specific ceremony the texts may differ among each other. *Pādma Saḥhitā* prescribes feminine bricks for the *prathamakā* ceremony while, for example, the *Āśūmadāgama* agrees with the *Kāyapañīpa*.<sup>27</sup>

21 *napuāsakopaleṇaiva mūrḥheṣakā dvijottama |*  
*napuāsakopaleṇaiva bhittiā kuryād dūhīkūtam ||*

**O best of Brahmins, the ceremony of the crowning bricks should be performed with neuter stones; the wall should be made firm (likewise) with neuter stones.**

a: *napuāsakopalair naiva*: P, Th; *napuāsakopalai naiva*: T297; *puāāila na kartavyā*: T2; *puāāilena tu kartavyā*: T47; *napuāsakākhyāāilayā*: 20092; *napuāsakopaleṇaiva*: 8561;  
b: *mukhyeṣakā dvijottama*: T47; *mūrdhneṣika dvijottama*: T297; *mūrdhneṣika dvijottama*: P; *mūrdhneṣika dvijottama*: T2, Th; *mūrdheṣakān*: T400; *mūrdhne[ka]ṣakā*: 8561;  
c: missing in T297, P, Th; *napuāsakabaleṇaiva*: T2; *napuāsakaāilenaiva*: T47; *nupaāsakopaleṇaiva*: T1; *napuāsakopaleṇaiva*: 8561, T400;  
d: *bhittiā kuryād dūhīkūtam*: T1; *bhittiā kuryād dūhīkūtam*: 8561, T2, T47, T400; missing in T297, P, Th;

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*vyavati jōeyā dvārabandhe tu yojayet*. All the quotations from the *Kāraṇāgama*, if not stated otherwise, are given on the basis of the transcript T313a.

<sup>23</sup> Siddhāntaśekhara, p. 465, āl. 8cd-9ab as given by Brunner (1998: 7): *adhīṣṭhānasamāptau vā pūrvaā vā dvārabandhanāt | mūrdheṣakāyāi pūrvaā vā pratīṣṭhāā kārayed budhai ||*

<sup>24</sup> *ādyeṣakā tu kartavyā puāāilayās tu deāikai (Āśūmad prathamakā chapter 34ab); strilōgaāilayā caiva kārayet prathamāā ālāā | napuāsakena āilayā kuryāt mūrdhni ālāā tathā ||* (*PādmaS* 5.22). For the *Kāraṇa*, see note 20 above.

<sup>25</sup> *āileṣakāstrilōgā[di] jōātvā saāgrāhya ālpirāt | puruāā devavimānasya sthāpayet puruāṣakam* (MS 12.107).

<sup>26</sup> *puāstrīnapuāsake harmye yojayet tā yathākramam* (MM 12.107ab).

<sup>27</sup> For the way to determine the gender of bricks according to the *Kāyapañīpa* see below, verses 26cd-28ab. For a general discussion on gender of stones, bricks and buildings in Sanskrit architectural texts, see Dagens (2001).

**Pāda ab:** the same is stated by the Dīptāgama and the Pādma Saāhitā.<sup>28</sup>

**Pāda cd:** it is not clear what exactly is meant here. The Kāyapaāilpa does not mention any ceremony connected specifically with the construction of the walls (*bhitti*).

22ab *yathālabhaāilābhir vā bhittistambhādayo bhavet |*

**The pilasters and other (architectural elements) should be constructed with stones that are available.**

a: *yathāyogaā āilābhir vā:* T2; *yathālabhaā āilābhis tu:* T47;

b: *bhittistambhādikaā bhavet:* T47; *bhittistaābhādayo bhavet:* 8561, 20088, 20092, T1, T2; *bhittistaābhādayovet:* 16847; *bhittistaābhodayo bhavet:* T297, T400, P, Th;

**Pāda b:** *bhittistambha* – pilaster; found often as a decoration of the ‘storeys’ (*bhūmi*) on the outer side of the temple walls, see Dagens (1984: 55). The same as 21cd, also this passage does not seem to refer to any specific construction ritual.

22cd *vasvāgulaā samārabhya dvidvyaāgulavivardhanāt ||*

23ab *āatriāāāgulaā yāvad āyāmaā tu kalā bhavet |*

**(The bricks) are of sixteen different lengths starting with (bricks) eight aōgulas long up to (bricks) thirty-eight aōgulas long, increasing each time by two aōgulas.**

22cd-23ab: missing in T297, P, Th; 22d-23ab: missing in T2, T47.

23a: *āatriāāāgulaā yāvat:* T1;

**22cd-23ab:** a comparable statement is found in KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 8cd-9ab with the reference to the deposit casket.

**Pāda 23b:** *āyāma*, a masculine word (MW 1899: 148), is given by all our sources as a neuter. *āyāma* in neuter occurs also in Dīptāgama 2 (p. 250).<sup>29</sup> For other cases of change of gender, see KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 1c and Chapter 3.6.

23cd *āyāmārdhaā viāālaā syād viāālārdhaā ghanaā bhavet ||*

<sup>28</sup> Dīpta 2 (p. 250): *asnigdha jarjarā rukā nīsvanāsanapuāsakāi || tadeva mūrdhni vinyasya tallakāñam ihocyate* and, on p. 251: *mūrdheākā nyaset puāsāā*. For the PādmaS, see note 22 above.

<sup>29</sup> *āāāāōgulam āyāmaā āāōgulasuvistūtam tadardhaā nīpramevaā syāt...*and, further on: *trayodāāōgulam āyāmaā saptāōgulam iti smūtam*. The first fragment is certainly corrupt, but there is no doubt as to the occurrence of *āyāma* in neuter.

24ab *mānāḡgulena kartavyam anyamānair na kārayet* |

**The breadth (of the bricks) should be half the length, the height should be half the breadth. The measurements should be made in *aḡgulas*. One should not allow other standards.**

23cd-24ab: missing in T2, T47, T297, P, Th;

23c: *āyamārdhaviāālaā syāt*: 20088;

23d: *dviāālārdhaā*: 8561;

24b: *anyamānaā na kārayet*: T1; *anyamāner nā kārayet*: 16847;

**Pāda 23cd:** *viāāla* and *ghana* are not found in the Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary in the meaning of 'breadth' (or 'width') and 'thickness' ('height' in case of bricks) respectively. Still, these meanings are attested in several architectural and ritual texts. For *viāāla*, see Dagens (1984: 171; 1994: 965) and MM 12.12a where the word, as in our passage, occurs in neuter. For *ghana*, see Colas (1986: 262, on the basis of MarīcīS 17.3 and 18.1), Ajita 10.2ab, Kāmika 51.9b, 31.10c, 31.11d etc, Kāraṇa 6.10c, Suprabheda 28.7a, PādmaS 5.37b.

24cd *navāḡgulaā samārabhya dvidvyaḡgulavivardhanāt* ||

25a-c *ekonacatvariāāntaā bhedaḡjāḡgulena tu* |  
*vistāraā ca ghanaā prāgvat*

**The type of bricks measured in odd numbers of *aḡgulas*, goes from nine to thirty-nine *aḡgulas* (in length) increasing each time by two *aḡgulas*. The breadth and the height (are to be determined) in the way mentioned above.**

24cd: missing in T2, T47;

24c: *navāḡgulasamārabhyā*: T297;

25a: *ekonacatvariāāntaā*: 8561;

25b: *dvedam evāḡgulena tu*: T297; *vedām evāḡgulena tu*: P; *vedavedāḡgulena tu*: Th;

25c: *vistāraā ca ghanaā paācāt*: T1; *pragvat*: 16847; *vistāraā cā ghanaā pragvā*: T297; *vistāraā ca ghanaā ghanaā prāgvat*: T400;

**Pāda 25c:** 'in the way mentioned above' – the breadth and the height should be the same as in the case of the bricks having even number of *aḡgulas* - the breadth should be half the length and the height half the breadth (see 23cd).

The two types of bricks - measuring an even number of *aḡgulas* and measuring an odd number – are also prescribed by a few parallel texts, see MarīcīS 6.3.2.

25d *tatsaākhyā caiva ṛoēāāa ||*  
 26ab *ekādiṛoēāāāntānāā bhūmīnāā kramaāocyate |*

**Their number is said to be sixteen, corresponding to the number of storeys (of the building), which ranges from one to sixteen.**

25d: *tatsaākhyā haiva ṛoēāāa*: T297, P;  
 26a: *ekādiṛoēāāāntāā*: P; *ekādiṛoēāāānāntāā*: T297; *ekādiṛoēāāāntānāā nāntāā*: 20088;  
 26b: *bhūmīnāā akramocyate*: T297; *bhūbhīnāmakrama ucyate*: P; *bhūmīnāā krama ucyate*: Th;  
 The passage 22cd-26ab is given by T2 and T47 in a very concise way, using only two and a half verse, probably due to the damage of the original manuscript.<sup>30</sup>

**Pāda 25d**: the same as in the case of bricks with the length having even number of *aḡgulas* (22cd-23ab), also here sixteen possible measurements are given.

**Pāda 26ab**: the temple of one storey will receive thus bricks measuring either eight or nine *aḡgulas* in length, the one of two storeys a brick of either ten or eleven *aḡgulas* in length and so on. The same correspondence with the number of storeys of the building in question is given with the reference to the size of the deposit casket and of the crowning bricks; cf. KÅ *garbhanyāsa* 9 and KÅ *mūrdheṛakā* 6b.

26cd *mūdiṛakāsu puāsādi rekhābhis tu parikāyete ||*

**In the case of bricks made of clay one should have (their gender) carefully inspected, namely whether they are male, feminine or neuter, on the basis of the (number and form of the) lines.**

c: *vūdiṛakādīpuāsādi*: 8561; *mūteṛikāsu puāsādi*: T2, T297; *mūdiṛakāsupuāsādi*: 20092;  
*ādyeṛakāsu puāsādi*: T47; *mūdiṛakānapuāsādi*: T400; *mūdiṛakādīpuāsādi*: 20088, 16847;  
*mūteṛikādīpuāsādi*: P; *mūrdheṛakādīpuāsādi*: Th; *mūrdheṛakāsu puāsādi*: T1;

<sup>30</sup> T2: *vasvāḡgulaā samāraābhya dvitryaḡgulavivarddhanāt |*  
*ekonacatvariāāntāā dīrghamānāḡgulaā tane ||*  
*trayam ardhaviāālan tu tadardhaā ghanam eva tu |*  
*etat pramāñam evoktāā tatsaākhyā cai (va) ṛoēāāf ||*  
*ekādiṛoēāāāntānāā bhūmīnāā kramaāocyate |*  
 T47: *vasvāḡgulaā samārabhya dvidvyaḡgulavivardhanāt |*  
*ekonacatvāriāāntāā dīrghamānāḡgulaā tatīi ||*  
*āyāmārdhaviāālaā tu tadardhaā ghanam eva tu |*  
*etat brahmāñam evoktāā tatsaākhyā caiva ṛoēāāa ||*  
*ekādaṛādaāāntānāā bhūmīnāā kramaāocyate |*

**Pāda cd:** this passage apparently speaks only about clay bricks, while it is known from 18cd-19 that also stones and even wooden blocks can be used for the ceremony.

- 27 *ayugmā ūjurekhā ca puāliōgā sâ prakīrtitā |*  
*yugmarekhā savakrā ca strīliōgā sâ prakīrtitā ||*  
 28ab *yugmarekhā tv ayugmā vâ karñābhāsā napuāsakā |*

**(The brick) which has an odd number of straight lines is stated to be masculine and the one which has an even number of curved lines is stated to be feminine. (The brick), which has an even or odd number of diagonal lines is neuter.**

27cd not in T297, P, Th.

27a: *ayugmā rajjurekhā ca:* T2; *ayugmā rajjurekhāyā:* T47; *ayugmā ūjurekhāyā:* T297; *ayugmā ūjurekhā ca:* 8561, 20088, 20092, T400; *ayugmaūjurekhā ca:* P, Th; *ayugmaā ūjurekhā ca:* T1; *ayugmā ūjurekhāsu:* 16847;

27b: *pulliōgā sâ prakīrtitā:* 20092, T2; *puāliōgā sâ prakīrtitā:* T47, T400; *puāliōgā saāprakīrtitā:* 20088, T297, P; *pulliōgā saāprakīrtitā:* 8561; *pulliōgā sâi prakīrtitā:* 16847; Th; *puāliōgāya prakīrtitā:* T1;

27c: *yugmarekhā savakrā ca:* T2; *yugmarekhā savakrā yā:* T47; *yugmarekhā ca vakrā ca:* 20092; *yugmarekhā suvacakrā ca:* 20088; *yugmarekhā sacakā ca:* 16847; *yugmarekhā sacakrā ca:* T1, T400;

27d: *strīliōgāya prakīrtitā:* T1; *siliōgā sâ prakīrtitā:* 16847; *strīliōgā sâ prakīrtitāi:* 20092;

28 a: *yugmarekhā tv ayugmā ca:* 8561; *yugmarekhā sayugmaā vâ:* T1; *yugmarekhārca yugmakā:* T297; *yugmarekhā ca yugmatvā-:* P, Th;

28b: *karñikā sâ napuāsakā:* T1; *karñābhāsā napuāsakā:* 16847, T400; *karñābhāsā napuāsakāi:* 20088; *karñābhāsā napuāsakam:* T47; *kañhābhāso napuāsakāi:* T2 ; *kañhakā sâ napuāsakā:* 20092; *kañhā bhāsā napuāsakāi:* T297; [... ] *īañhābhā sâ napuāsakā:* P; [... ] *ñhābhāsā napuāsakā:* Th;

**Pāda 27a:** *ayugmā ūjurekhā* – the correct *sandhi* would be: *ayugmārjurekhā*, but this, on the other hand, would result in an incorrect metre (the pāda would have seven syllables instead of eight).

**Pāda 27a-c:** *ayugmarekhā* and *yugmarekhā* – may perhaps also be interpreted as ‘endowed with a single line’ and ‘endowed with a pair of lines’ respectively, see Dagens (2001: 67).

- 28cd *bhinnabindukalaäkādilūtapādasamanvitās ||*  
 29ab *varjitāni prayatnena doṛahīnās tu saāgrahet |*

**(The bricks) which are broken, which have blemishes, spots and so on (and) whose base is destroyed are carefully avoided. One should gather only those (bricks) without blemishes.**

28c: *rekḥābindukalaäkādī*: T1; *bhinnabindukalādīni*: T297, P, Th; *bhinnāvindukalaäkādī*: T400; *bhināvindukaäkādī*: 16847; *bhinnabindukalaökādī*: T2, T47; *bhinnabindukaökādī*: 8561, 20088, 20092;  
 28d: *lokapālasamanvitam*: T297, P, Th; *lūtapātasamanvitam*: T1; *lūtapāsamānvitā*: T2, T400; *lūtapātasamanvitā*: T47; *lūtapādasamanvitā*: 8561; *lūtapādaā samanvitam*: 20088; *lūtapādasamanvitā*: 20092; *cūtapādasama* [ ... ]: 16847;  
 29 a: *varjitāni prayatnāni*: T1; *vavarjitāsi prayatnena*: 16847;  
 29b: *doḥhīnāā tu saāgrahet*: T1; *doḥhīnāās tu saāgrahet*: T47, T297, P, Th; *doḥhīnās tu saāgūhet*: 8561;

**Pāda 28cd:** *bhinnabindukalaäkādīlūtapādasamanvitās* – should be understood as *bhinna-bindukalaäkādī[samanvitā]-lūtapādasamanvitās*.

-*samanvitam* and -*samanvitā* given by the manuscripts was changed to – *samanvitās* in order to agree with *varjitāni* in 29a.

**Pāda 28d:** *lūta* – probably incorrect past participle of *lū* – to cut or, perhaps, a mistake for *dhūta* (destroyed).<sup>31</sup> The prescription that one should not use bricks which are damaged is given by many parallel texts, see, for example, ĪĀGDP 27.64-65ab (65ab also given by Āilparatna 12.18): *nirdoḥāi ... supakvā lohitarucaī khañēaspoḥādivarjitāi*.

**Pāda 29a:** *varjitāni* – neutrum pl.; this reading is given by all but one sources. Still, one would expect here a feminine gender which would correspond with the feminine noun *iḥākā*, ‘brick’. For other occurrences of gender inconsistency, see Chapter 3.6.

29cd *iḥadunnatamūlaā syān natam agram udāhūtam ||*  
 30 *ūrdhvabhāgaā mukhaā khyātaā aparaā bhūgataāāakam |*  
*aāmanāā bhūgataā cāgraā ūrdhvaā hy aparam ucyate ||*  
 31 *prāgudaksthaā tu vaiānyāā āirāā vai parikīrtitam |*  
*mūlaā taditarat khyātam pramāñāā tv iḥākāsamam ||*

**(Of bricks) the base is slightly concave, the top is said to be convex. (In the case of bricks) the side which is directed upwards is called ‘the face’, the side which is facing the ground is (called) ‘the other’. In the case of stones (it is the other way round): the top faces the ground, the other side is said to look upwards.**

**The ‘head’ is best to be placed in the east, in the north or in the northeast. The ‘base’ is best to be placed in the opposite directions. The measures (of the stones) are the same as those of the bricks.**

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Kāraṇa 4.100: *bindurūpāyutāā kuñāā kuōjarākāyutāā api | dhūtayātasamāyuktaā varjayed iḥākāā budhai ||*



29c: *raṃvidūṇatakamūlasyāt*: 16847; *iṣad unnatamūlasya*: T1; *iṣad unnatamūlaṃ syāt*: 20092, T2; *yīṣad unnatamūlaṃ syān*: 8561; *iṣad unnatam agraṃ syān*: P; *iṣad unnatam agram syāt*: Th; *iṣad unnatam agraḥ syāt*: T297;  
 29d: *nataṃ agram udāhṛdam*: 8561;  
 30a: *ūrdhvavādamaḥkhaṃ khyātaṃ*: 16847; *ūrdhvaḥbhāgamukhaṃ khyātaṃ*: 8561, T297, P, Th;  
 30b: *aparaṃ bhūpatāṃśakam*: T1; *aparaṃ bhūtadāṃśakam*: T297, P; *aparaṃ bhūtadāṃśakam*: Th; *aparaṃ bhūgatāṃśam*: 16847; *ava(pa)raṃ bhūgatāṃśakā*: T400; *paraṃ bhūgatāṃśaka*: T2; *parābhūtāgatāṃśakam*: T47;  
 30c<sup>1</sup>: *aśmānaṃ*: T1; *aśmānāṃ*: 16847, 20088; *agrānāṃ*: T297, P, Th; *ayugmā*: T47; *ayugmaṃ*: T2;  
 30c<sup>2</sup>: *agratāṃ cāgrā*: P, Th; *ragatāṃ cāgrā*: T297;  
 30d: *ūrdhvaḥkhaṃ hy aparaṃ ucyate*: P; *ūrdhvaḥ hy āparaṃ ucyate*: Th; *ūrdhvā hy āparaṃ ucyate*: T297; *ūrdhvā hy aparaṃ ucyate*: 20088; *ūrdhvaṃ cāparaṃ ucyate*: T1; *mūrdhvāhyaṃ paraṃ ucyate*: T2; *mūrdhākhyāṃ paraṃ ucyate*: T47;  
 31a: *prāgudaksthakam aiśānyaṃ*: T1; *prāgudastaṃ tu vaiśyānāṃ*: P, Th; *prāgutastaṃ tu vaiśyānāṃ*: T297; *prāgudasthaṃ tu vaiśyānāṃ*: 8561; *prāgudaksthalaveśyānāṃ*: T47; *prāgutasthalaveśmānāṃ*: T2;  
 31b: *śīrṣaṃ tu parikīrtitam*: T2, T47; *śīrṣāṇāṃ parikīrtitam*: T297, P, Th; *aśīṣaṃ parikīrtitam*: T400; *aśīṣaṃ parikīrtitam*: 16847, 20088; *śīrṣaṃ syāt parikīrtitam*: 20092; *śīrṣaṃ parikīrtitam*: 8561;  
 31c: *mūlāntād itarat khyātaṃ*: T297, P; *mūlāntād itarat grāhyaṃ*: Th; *mūlaṃ taditara jñātaṃ*: T1; *mūlan tv itaraṃ khyāta*: T2; *mūlaṃ tu tritaraṃ khyātaṃ*: T47;  
 31d: *pramāṇam iṣṭayā param*: P, Th; *prāmāṇam iṣṭayāṃ param*: T297; *mānam iṣṭakayā samam*: T400; *pramāṇam iṣṭikāsamam*: T2; *pramāṇam iṣṭakāsamam*: T47; *pramāṇam iṣṭakayā samam*: 8561, 16847, 20088, 20092;

**Pāda 29c:** *iṣadunnatamūlaṃ* – should be interpreted as *iṣadunnataṃ mūlaṃ*.

**Pāda 29cd:** *unnata* might be understood as ‘in a form of a hump’; *nata* as ‘having a depression’ – in some parallel texts *agra* is said to be *nimna* (sunk, depressed); cf. Dīpta 20 p.307.<sup>32</sup>

**29cd-31:** the passage speaks about the importance of distinguishing four ‘body parts’ of bricks or stones. Two of them seem to face geographical directions (see verses 51-52ab below) and, hence, should be understood as the (shorter) sides of the stone or brick (see fig. 1 on page 70). One of these sides is called in our text *agra* (top) or *śīrṣa* (‘head’; mentioned in 31ab). The opposite side is referred to as *mūla* (‘base’). The parallel texts as well as other chapters of the Kāśyapaśilpa use, at times, also the terms *śīras* (‘head’, as synonym of *śīrṣa* and *agra*) and *pāda* or *pada* (‘foot’, as synonym for *mūla*).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *nimnam agraṃ bhavet kiṃcid tanmūlaṃ kiñcid unnatam* || *ūrdhvaḥbhāgam idaṃ jñeyam pṛṣṭha syād bhūgatāṃśakam* | Dīpta 20 (p. 307, *mūrdheṣṭakā*; chapter 60 according to the sequence in the transcript T1018). The third pāda of the verse seems corrupt – one would rather expect *ūrdhvaḥbhāgaṃ mukhaṃ jñeyam* or a similar reading.

<sup>33</sup> See KŚ 49.61 (*liṅgalakṣaṇa*, Poona edition): *prāgagrāṃ vodagagrāṃ vā śīlāṃ saṃgrāhya deśīkaḥ* | *prāgagre paścimaṃ mūlam udagagrāṃ tu dakṣiṇe* ||; Aparājitaṃcchā 40.2: *yo dakṣiṇe śīlābhāgas tatśīrṣaṃ cottare padam* | *pūrvāparakrameṇaiva hy apare śīra uttamam* ||; MarīciS 6.3.2: *evaṃ catasraḥ śīlā vātheṣṭakā vāgraṃ pādaṃ mukhaṃ pṛṣṭhaṃ ca salakṣyaivāharet* and ĪSGDP 27.64: *śīraḥpṛṣṭhavibhaktāṅgyo nirdośāḥ śubhalakṣaṇāḥ* ||

The other two parts of a stone or a brick specified in the texts are those facing upwards and downwards. According to the Kāyapañī, in case of bricks (see 30ab) the part facing upwards is called *mukha*, 'face' (*vadana* in some other texts). The technical term for the opposite part is not given in the Kāyapañī, it is only stated that this part is facing the ground.

These terms are different in the case of stones, at least according to the Kāyapañī (see 30cd). Here the part of the stone facing the ground is called *agra*. This is unusual as this term is commonly used for the part which faces one or other geographical direction, both in the case of stones and bricks (see 51-52ab and the parallel texts given in note 33 above).<sup>34</sup>

In the parallel texts the parts directed upwards and downwards (both in the case of a stone and of a brick) are referred to as *mukha* or *vadana* (both terms meaning 'face') and as *pūṣha* ('back') respectively.<sup>35</sup> As to their orientation, many texts prescribe the *mukha* of a brick to face upwards (like in KĀ 30a)<sup>36</sup> while the *mukha* of a stone should be directed downwards.<sup>37</sup> In yet other texts, the *mukha* of a stone is distinguished on the basis of the stone's original location. A stone originating from mountains or from water has its face upwards, a stone found in the ground (as opposite to one found in water) has its face downwards etc. (KāyapaJK 28, MarīcīS 15.1).

### [The preliminary ceremonies]

32ab *gavyair gandhodakāi snāpya pūrvarātre 'dhivāsayet |*

**Having bathed (the stones or bricks) with products of the cow and with (different kinds of) fragrant water one should proceed with the preliminary rites during the first part of the night.**

a: *gairvalarganyodakāi sthāpya*: T297; *gavyair gandhodakais snāpya*: T400; *divair gandhodakai snātvā*: T2; *divyagandhodakāi snigdhvā*: T47; *gandhair gandhodakai snāpya*: 8561; *gavyair*

<sup>34</sup> See also Kāyapañī 28 where it is stated that the head of a stone is the part by which the stone is seized thus, probably, not the part facing the ground. This prescription was perhaps the basis of the emendation proposed by the editor of the Thanjavur manuscript (Th): *agrānām agratāā cāpi ūrdhvaā ca parigūhya tu |*

*prāgudaksthaā tu yat āirāā tat grāhyaā parikīrtitam.*

<sup>35</sup> See MarīcīS 6.3.2 in note 33 above and Kāraṇa 4.101ab: *vadanaā hy ūrdhvaabhāgasyāt ... ān tu pūṣhakam.*

<sup>36</sup> See also Kāraṇa 4.101ab (the passage dealing specifically with bricks): *vadanaā hy ūrdhvaabhāgasyāt ... ān tu pūṣhakam.*

<sup>37</sup> *mukhaā vakāye adhobhāgaā vidhīyate dūyabhāge tu pūṣhaā syāt* (Dīpta 13.53cd-54ab), "sa face [the 'face' of the stone] est toujours vers le bas, la partie visible constituent le dos" (Dagens et al. 2004: 410) and KĀ 49.62cd (*liḡgalakāṇa*, Poona edition): *adhobhāgaā mukhaā khyātaā pūṣham ūrdhvaḡataā bhavet*. Both passages deal with stone as material for a Āiva liḡga.

*gandhodakai snāpya*: 20088; *gavyair gandhodakai snāpyā*: 16847; *gavyair gandhodakai snāpya*: 20092;

b: *pūrvarātrādhivāsayet*: T1, T2, T47; *pūrvarātre 'tha vāsayet*: 20092;

**Pāda a:** *snāpya* - an unusual form of absolute, see Chapter 3.6.

**Pāda b:** *adhivāsayet* – refers to *adhivāsa* or *adhivāsana* – a series of ceremonies preceding the installation of an image, a *liṅga*, or, as in the present case, of the first bricks. It includes the purification by means of placing (*adhivāsa*) of the object to be installed in water, in the five products of the cow or in milk for a certain period of time, the preparation of the objects in the ceremonial pavilion, the placing of the jars (*kumbha-* or *kalaāsthāpana*) and the fire oblation (*homa*). See Barazer-Billoret (1993-94: 42 ff), Brunner (1998: xii and 1968: 36 note 1) and Brunner, Oberhammer and Padoux (2000: 109). It should be noted that in the parallel texts it is rather the noun *adhivāsa* (in the expressions such as *adhivāsaā kārayet* etc.) than the verb *adhivāsayet* which is used; cf. Raurava 18.70, 25.31, 31.18, Ajita 15.5 etc.

32cd *āivadvijakulodbhūtai āivadikāsamānvitai* ||  
33 *sarvalakṣaṇasaāpanno vedācāraratai āucii* |  
*āpovagāhanaā snānaā bhasmasnānaā ca kārayet* ||

**Born in a family of Āiava Brahmins, having undergone the *āivadikā*, endowed with all the (auspicious) marks, devoted to the practice of the Veda, pure, he should bathe by immersing himself in water and by (covering himself) with ashes.**

32c: *āivadvijakuloṭpannai*: T1; *āivadvijakulodbhūtaā*: 20088, P; *āivadvijakulodbhūta*: T297; *āivadvijakulodbhūta*: 8561; *āivaā dvijakulot āilpī*: T2; *āivadvijakulo* [f] *āilpiā*: T47; *deāiko buddhimāā caiva*: 20092;

32d: *-samānvitam*: 16847, 20088, T297, P; *-samānvi*: 8561; *gandhākāsamānvitam*: T2, T47;

33a: *sarvalakṣaṇasaāpannai*: Th;

33b: *vedādhāyavūtai āucii*: P; *vedādhāyāvūtai āucii*: T297; *vedādhāyāratai āucii*: Th; *vedācārarataā āucii*: 8561; *vedācāraparai āucii*: T400; *vedācārasadāucii*: T2; *vedācāraāivadvijai*: T47; *vedāgamarataā āucii*: 20088; *vedāmaratataā āucii*: 16847; *vedāparagataā āucii*: 20092;

33c: *āpovāhanakaā snānaā*: T1; *āpovagāhanaā snānaā*: T2, P, Th; *āpovāghanaā snānaā*: T297; *āpovāghanaā snānaā*: T47; *ambhovagāhanaā snānaā*: 8561, 20092, T400; *aābhovagānai snānaā*: 20088; *aābhāvagāhanam snānaā*: 16847;

33d: *kārayet tu vicakṣaṇai*: 8561, 16847, 20088, T400; *bhasmasnānaā samācaret*: T297, P, Th; *bhasmasnānaō ca kārayet*: 20092, T2; *bhasmasnānaā ca kārayet*: T1, T47;

**Pāda 33d:** *kārayet* – one would rather expect here a verb with no causal meaning: it is the *ācārya* himself who has to bath and adorn himself with jewels etc. (see 34

below); cf. KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 45, KĀ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 38cd and Kāmika 51.<sup>38</sup> It is possible that the causative form was employed in order to suit the metre. For other cases of causatives with no causal meaning, see 20b.

**Pāda 33cd:** these two types of bath form a part of the bodily purification of the officiant; for their description in more detail, see Raurava 7-8 and Dagens and Barazer-Billoret (2000: 482-484).

- 34 *navāambaradharoṣṣāiḥ sōttariyānulepanai |*  
*gandhamālyair alaākūtya sakalīkūtavigrahaiḥ ||*  
 35ab *paścādagabhūṣāṇair bhūṣya kṣālayet prathameṣṣakāi |*

**Wearing a new garment, a turban and an upper-cloth, anointed, decorated with fragrant garlands, having performed *sakalīkaraṇa* on his body, having adorned the five parts of the body with jewellery, he should wash the first bricks.**

34a: *navāambaradharoṣṣāiḥ*: T1; *navāambaradharoṣṣāiḥ*: P; *navaābaradharoṣṣāiḥ*: Th; *navāābaradharoṣṣāiḥ*: T297; *navāambaradharoṣṣāiḥ*: 20088, 20092, T400; *navāābaradharoṣṣāiḥ*: 8561; *navāābarodharoṣṣāiḥ*: 16847; *upadharoṣṣāiḥ*: T2; *navavastradharoṣṣāiḥ*: T47;

34b: *sāsoktirā(satiryag)nulepanam*: P; *sāsokti(smyak gaā)dhānulepanai*: Th; *sāsoktiryanulepanam*: T297; *sōttariyānulepakāi*: T2; *sōttariyānukūlakai*: T400; *sōttariyānukūlakaā*: 20088; *sōttariyadukūlakā[or: tā?]*: 8561; *sōttariyānukūlakaā*: 16847;

34c: *gaṇyamālyair alaākūtya*: T297, P; *gandhadālyair alaākūtya*: Th; *gandhamālyār alaākūtyau*: T2;

34d: *sakalīkūtyavigrahaā*: 20088, T297, P;

35a: *-bhūṣyā*: T297; *-bhūṣyai*: T2; *-bhūṣyāā*: 16847, T400; *-bhūṣāṇai bhūṣyāā*: 20088; *kṣaumavastradharo bhūtvā*: T47;

35b: *kṣālayet varmaṇeṣṣakāi*: P; *kṣālayet varmaṇeṣṣakāi*: T400; *kṣālayet varmaṇeṣṣakāi*: Th; *kṣālayet varmaṇeṣṣakam*: T297; *kṣālaye varmaṇeṣṣakā*: 8561; *kṣālayet vamu(mū?)ṇeṣṣakā*: 20088; *kṣālayet vamaṇeṣṣakā*: 16847; *kṣālane prathameṣṣakā*: T2; *kṣālayet prathameṣṣakām*: 20092, T47; After 35ab T47 inserts a half *āloka*: *ādyeṣṣakopadhānaā ca kariṣya iti kalpya ca ||*

**Pāda 34d:** *sakalīkūtavigrahaiḥ* – points to a ceremony, *sakalīkaraṇa*, during which the *ācārya* transforms his body into a manifestation of Āiva by means of imposing mantras of Āiva on the hands and on the bodily parts, see Davis (2000: 47 ff) and Diehl (1956: 81). For the description of the *sakalīkaraṇa* and the appropriate mantras according to Aghoraāiva see Brunner (1963, Appendice I). Characteristics of the officiant similar to those given in 34-45ab are also found in KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 45-46ab and *mūrdheṣṣakā* 39-40ab.

<sup>38</sup> Kāmika 51.9cd-11ab (the first bricks chapter): *ācārya ādīāivas tu āivadikṣāsamanvitai || susnātas tu āucir bhūtvā sakalīkūtavigrahaiḥ | suāuklavastrassoṣṣāiḥ sōttariyas subhūṣitai || paścādagabhūṣāṇopetas saāiṣyaparicārakaiḥ ....* Almost identical passage is given by Kāraṇa 4.103-105ab.

**Pāda 35a:** *bhūṣya* – an unusual form of absolutive, see Chapter 3.6.

35cd *haimaii kârpâsasûtrair vâ baddhvâ pratisaraâ hūdâ ||*

36ab *sthañēile karñikâbâhye mahââsu nidhâpayet |*

**Having tied the *pratisara*-thread consisting of golden or cotton threads while reciting the *hūd* mantra, one should have (the first bricks) placed on the ceremonial ground in the four directions, outside the pericarp.**

35c: *homaii kârpâsasûtrair vâ*: T297; *hemaii kârpâsasûtrair vâ*: T400; *hemakârpâsasûtrair vâ*: T2, T47; *haimaâ kârpâsasûtrais tu*: 8561; *haimakârpâsasûtrair vâ*: 20088; *haimakârpâsasûtrair vâ*: 16847;

35d: *kautukaâ bandhayet dhūdâ*: 20092; *pratisaâbandhayet sadâ*: P; *pratisambandhayet pradâ*: T297; *pratisaâbandhayet sudhîi*: T2; *pratisaâbandham âcaret*: Th; *pratisûtraâ prabandhayet*: T47; *pratisaraâ bandhayet dhūdâ*: 8561, T400; *pratisaâraâ bandhayet dhûtâ*: 20088; *pratisaâraâ bandhaye?matâ?*: 16847;

36a: *sthañēile karñi* [ ... ]: T400; *sthañdilâkâbâhye*: 8561; *sthañdile karñikââ bâhye*: 20088, 16847; *sthañēile karñibâhye ca*: 20092;

36b: *mahâsâmudhidhâpayet*: P, Th; *mahâsâsu dhiyâpayet*: T297; [ ... ] *nakam*: T400;

The remaining part of the *prathameṣṣakā* chapter is missing in T400. Our verse 36ab is followed directly by a fragment of the *adhishhâna* chapter (the next chapter in the KĀ).

**Pāda 35d:** *pratisara* – a protective thread also known as *kautuka*, often bound around the first bricks or around a *Āiva liōga*.<sup>39</sup> In the *Kāyapaâlpa* it is also used for the deposit casket (see KĀ *garbhanyâsa* 38) and for the crowning bricks (KĀ *mûrdheṣṣakâ* 30ab). On the ritual use of a *pratisara* according to the *Āiva* tradition, see Brunner (1968: ix; 1998: 146 note 401). The use of *pratisara* according to the *Vaiṣṇava* tradition is dealt with by Rangachari (1931: 121). For a discussion on the differences between the *kautuka-pratisara* and a *pavitra*, see Brunner (1968: ix).

Parallel passages occur in *ĪĀGDP* 27.71ff (*kautuka*), *Ajita* 10.30 (*pratisara*), *Kumâra* 29.2186a (*raktasûtra*), *MarîciS* 6.4.1.2 (*pratisara*), *AtriS* 6.24 (*pratisara*), *Kriyâdhikâra* 5.8 (*pratisara*), *PâdmaS* 5.65 (*pratisara*), *ViṣvaksenaS* 8.16 (*kautuka*).<sup>40</sup> KĀ *mûrdheṣṣakâ* 30ab and *MarîciS* 13.2.2 prescribe a *kautuka-pratisara* also for the crowning bricks.

*hūd* – name of a mantra, see note to 43d-44a below.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *Dîpta* 20.126ff: *kautukaâ bandhayet liōge ... haimair vâ râjatair vâpi sūtrairi kârpâsakair api* "for a *liōga*, he should tie a *kautuka*-thread consisting of golden, silver or linen threads."

<sup>40</sup> One should notice here the difference in vocabulary: while the *Āiva*gamas (except *Ajita* and the present chapter of the KĀ) and the *ĪĀGDP* use the word *kautuka*, the *Vaiṣṇava* texts (with the exception of the *ViṣvaksenaS*) use *pratisara*. This is probably due to the use of the term *kautuka* in the latter texts in the meaning of 'movable image', see the examples at KĀ *garbhanyâsa* 38.

**Pāda 36a:** *karṇikā* – the pericarp of the lotus drawn on the ceremonial ground in the pavilion, see KĀ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 16 and Ajita 10.26cd-27.<sup>41</sup>

36cd *lakāraā prāgdīāo bhāge vakāraā yāmyāgocare* ||

37ab *rakāraā vāruṇe deāe yakāraā saumyāgocare* |

37c *āālipiāena saālikhya*

**Having traced with rice-flour the letter *la* in the eastern part, the letter *va* in the abode of Yama, the letter *ra* in the region of Varuṇa, the letter *ya* in the abode of Soma...**

36c: *lakāraā prati bhāge tu*: T297, P, Th; *lakāraā prāgateṣman tu*: T2, T47; *lakāraā prākdīgāme tu*: 8561; *lakāraā prāgvadīgāāme tu*: 20088; *lakāraā prāgvad digāāme tu*: 16847; *lakāraā prāgdīāāme tu*: 20092; *lakāraā prāgdīāo bhāge*: T1;

36d: *lakāraā yāmyāgocaret*: T297, P; *lakāraā yāmyāgocare*: Th; *vākāraā yāmye gocare*: 16847; *vakāraā yāmyāgocaret*: 20092;

37a: *lakāraā vāruṇāāve tu*: P, Th; *lakāraā vāruṇāāāve tu*: T297; *rakāraā varuṇēāman tu*: T2, T47; *rephan tu vāruṇēāme tu*: 8561; *rephan tu varuṇāāme tu*: 20092; *pakāraā vāruṇāāme tu*: 20088; *phakāraā vāruṇāāme tu*: 16847;

37b: *yakāraā saumyāgocaret*: T297; *yakāras saumyāgocare*: 20088; *yakāraā saugocare*: 16847;

**36cd-37c:** the letters *ya*, *ra*, *la* and *va* are considered *bījas*, the ‘seed letters’ of the four elements: *ya* is the *bīja* of wind (Vāyu), *ra* of fire (Agni), *la* of earth (Pūthivi), and *va* of water (Salila), see Brunner (1963: Appendice V; 1998: 39 note 121) and van Kooij (1972: 16). It seems that the bricks are understood here to be the representations of the elements. In the cases when five bricks are used, the fifth brick receives the *bīja haā*, symbolising ether, which completes the group (referred to as *paōcabhūta*, ‘the five elements’).<sup>42</sup> Writing the *bījas* of the elements on the first bricks occurs also in the Kumāratantra.<sup>43</sup> Some texts, however, prescribe a different set of letters.<sup>44</sup> For the letters to be written on the crowning bricks, see KĀ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 28 and the works quoted there.

<sup>41</sup> *kūtvā tu vedikāā madhye kārayet sthaṇēilaā sudhīi ... tanmadhye padmam aādalaā likhet* (Ajita 10.26cd-27).

<sup>42</sup> See Ajita 10.16 where five bricks are used: *puṇyāhaā vācayitvādaū paōcabhūtātmaṇi tu bijāni tāni vinyasya deāikai āntamānasai*. When the *bījas* of the elements are employed during the ceremony of the crowning bricks, it is the axis of the temple’s finial which receives *haā*, the *bīja* of ether.

<sup>43</sup> Kumāra 30.2203cd-2204ab: *yakārādivakārāātaā praṇavena samanvitam āālipiāarasenaiva likhitvāchchadya vastratai* on the basis of the transcript T675. The numeration of the verses continues through all the chapters.

<sup>44</sup> MS 12.103-104 (205-207): *āa, ṣa, sa, ha*, Kāraṇa 4.109: *a, ā, u* and *ī* and Kāmika (the verse is almost identical with that of the Kāraṇa) 51.16cd-17ab: *a, ā, ī* and *ī*. For the discussion on the meaning of these letters in the rituals of placing the first and crowning bricks, see Chapter 6.

- 37d *pratyekaā vastraveṣṣitam ||*  
 38 *pūrvāgraā saumyayāmye tu āṣṣau dvau cottarāgrakau |*  
*sthāpayet tu samabhyarcya pūthivyādyātmakaā kramāt ||*

...having worshipped, one should place (the bricks),<sup>45</sup> each wrapped in cloth: (one brick) in the north and (one) in the south, with the tops facing east; the remaining two (bricks) with the tops facing north. One should place (the bricks) in the right order, (the bricks) which represent the elements, namely earth and so forth.

- 37d: *-vastraveṣṣikam*: T297;  
 38 a: *pūrvāgraā saumyayāmyan tu*: T2; *-saumyayāmyā tu*: T47; *pavāgraā saumyayāmye tu*: 16847;  
 38b: *āṣṣau dvau cottarāgrake*: T2; *āṣṣau dvidvottarāgrake*: T47;  
 38c: *sthāpayet samam abhyarcya*: P, Th; *sthāpaye ki samam abhyarcya*: T297; *sthāpayet sakūḍ abhyarcya*: 20088, 16847;  
 38d: *pūthivyādyā nakai kramāt*: P, Th; *pūthivyādyā nakāi kramāt*: Th; *praviṣṣyātmanaā kramāt*: T2, T47; *pū[or: pra?]nivyādyakāraā kramāt*: 20088; *pūthivyādyakāraā kramāt*: 16847, 20092;

**Pāda 38d:** *pūthivyādyātmakaā* – refers here to the brick on which the seed letter (*bīja*) of the earth (*pūthivī*) was written, see the note by the verses 36cd-37c.

**38:** the way of placing the bricks is the same as in verse 51.

- 39 *navasaākhyān navān kuābhān sasūtrān vastraveṣṣitān |*  
*sakūrcān sapidhānāā ca nānāgandhāmbupūritān ||*  
 40ab *hemapaākajasaāyuktān madhyādikramaāo nyaset |*

One should place nine new jars starting from the centre, (the jars which are) tied with cords, wrapped in cloth, (decorated) with bundles of *kuāa* grass, provided with covers, filled with water mixed with various fragrances and decorated with golden lotuses.

- 39a: *navasaākhyā navān kuābhān*: 20092, T1;  
 39b: *sūtravastravibhūṣitān*: 8561, 20092, T47, T297, P; *sūtravastrasubhūṣitān*: Th; *sūtravastravibhāvitān*: T2; *sūtravavibhūṣitān*: 16847, 20088;  
 39c: *sasūtrān sapidhānāā ca*: T1; *sakūrcasavidhātānān*: P; *sakūrcān sapidhānāā ca*: 8561, T47, T297; *sakūrcān sapidhānāo ca*: T2; *sakūrcān sapidhānāā/-o ca*: 16847, 20088, 20092;  
 39d: *snānagandhasupūjitān*: P; *snānagandhasupūjitān*: Th; *snānagandhā supūjitān*: T297; *nānāgandhā prapūritān*: T2; *nānāgandhaprapūritān*: T47; *nāgāgandhāābupūritān*: 16847;  
 40a: *hemakampajasāyuktān*: P; *hemakampajasāyuktā*: T297;

<sup>45</sup> Or stones. For the sake of clarity, however, the term 'brick' was used if not stated otherwise by the text.

40b: *madhyamân kramaão jyaset. P; madhyamât kramaão nyaset. Th; madhyamâtramoãoonyaset. T297; madhyâdikramaão bhavet. T2;*

**39-41ab:** this passage deals with the ceremony of *kumbha-* or *kalaâsthâpana*, 'the placing of the jars', which is an indispensable part of each installation rite and of an important temple festival.<sup>46</sup> In the pots deities are invoked by means of mantras: the main deity in the central jar, other deities, or manifestations of the main deity, around it.<sup>47</sup> The number of jars may go up to one thousand and eight. According to Bhatt (1993-94: 75) "The pot represents the body of the deity, the pot as flesh, water as blood, the coconut on the top as head, the thread around as veins, the gems inside as bones, and the mantras recited why pouring water bring *prâña* or life." See also Barazer-Billoret (1993-94: 49-51).

**Pâda 39b:** *śasûtrân* – according to Diehl (1956: 109 note 1) "the thread [of the ceremonial jars] has the significance of encircling and keeping the divine."

**Pâda 39c:** *kûrca* – a bunch of *darbha* grass; *kûrca* "is defined by Dakṣinamurti Paṇḍitar as 'a substitute for the deities and for manes, whenever they are worshipped. It is made of 5 to 21 Darbha grass [leaves] (in odd numbers) twisting them and making a knot on the top.'" (Diehl 1956: 108 n 2). For a photograph of a *kumbha* with *kûrca* see Brunner (1968, planche 4).

*sapidhânâââ* – according to Barazer-Billoret (1993-94: 49) the covering of the vases, with a coconut functioning as a lid, happens after the invocation of the deities. In our passage, however, the deities have not been invoked yet: the 'placing' of the deities in the jars is mentioned in the next verse (40cd-41ab).

40cd *madhyakumbhe tu sâdâkhyââ parito lokapâlakân ||*

41 *tat tan mantraâ nyaset kumbhe dhyâtvâ gandhâdibhir yajet |  
naivedyaâ dâpayed dhîmân tato homaâ samâcaret ||*

**In the central jar one should place Sâdâkhyâ, in those standing around one should place the Guardians of the Directions. One should place the respective mantras in the jars. Having meditated one should worship with incense and other things.**

**The wise one should order the consecrated food to be offered, then he should begin the fire oblation.**

<sup>46</sup> Cf. KÅ *garbhanyâsa* 39-40ab and *mûrdheṣṭakâ* 32cd-33. See also: Diehl (1956: 96-97) for a South Indian Āiava tradition and Rangachari (1931: 122, 125-128) for the Vaiṣṇava tradition. For the photograph of the jars during the *kumbhasthâpana* ceremony, see Rangachari (1931).

<sup>47</sup> The deities might also be transformed, by means of invocation, from the temporary image into the water of the jars. The water is subsequently poured over the first (and over the crowning) bricks, see verse 53.



- 40c: *kumbhamadhye tu sādākhyam*: T1; *madhye kumbhe tu sādākhyāḥ*: 20092, T297; *madhye kumbhe smasādasyāḥ*: T2; *madhye kumbhe smasāndisyāḥ*: T47; *madhyatai kuḥbhe ta sādākhyāḥ*: 20088; *madhyakumbhe ta sādākhyāḥ*: 16847;  
 40d: *-lekapālakān*: 16847;  
 41a: *tattanmantrair nyaset kumbhaḥ*: P; *tattanmantraīi nyaset kuḥbhe*: Th; *tatra mantraḥ nyaset kumbhaḥ*: T297; *tattanmantra nyaset kumbhe*: 16847, 20088; *tattanmantranyaset kumbhe*: 20092;  
 41b: *dhyātvā gandhādīpūjayet*: T297, P, Th; *dhyātvā gandhādī* [illegible] *yajet*: 16847;  
 41c: *naivedyān napayo dhīmāḥ*: P; *nivedyān napayo dhīmān*: Th; *naivedyāntya payo dhīmān*: T297; *naivedyāḥ da dāpayed dhīmān*: 8561; *vaivedyāḥ dāpayed dhīmān*: 16847;  
 41d: *tato homa samācaret*: 16847;

**Pāda 40c:** *sādākhyā* – Sadāāiva (Brunner 1977: 756; 1963: xi-xii and xviii).

**Pāda 41c:** *naivedya* – an offering of cooked food. For the transformation of ordinary food into *naivedya*, see Davis (2000: 146) and Raurava 12.

- 42 *agnyādhānādikaḥ sarvaḥ agnikāryoktam ācaret |*  
*palāāodumbarāāvathavaḥam indrādīḥu kramāt ||*  
 43ab *samidhāi sadyamantreṇa mūlenājyaḥ tu homayet |*

**One should perform everything which is prescribed for the fire ritual, starting with the *agnyādhāna*.**

**One should offer fuel, namely *palāāa*, *udumbara*, *āvattha* and *vāva* wood, beginning in the east, while reciting the *sadya* mantra and one should offer ghee while reciting the *mūla* mantra.**

- 42a: *agnidhyānādikaḥ sarvam*: T297, P, Th; *agnyādhānādikaḥ sarvaḥ*: 20088; *agnyādhānādikaḥ sarvam*: 16847;  
 42c: *pālāāodumbaraiḥ caiva*: P, Th; *pālāāodumbarō caiva*: T297; *pālāāodumbarāāvatham*: 16847, 20088, T2; *pālāāodumbarāāvatha*: 8561, 20092; *pālāāodumbarāāvatha*: T1, T47;  
 42d: *āvatthavaḥaminduḥ*: P, Th; *āvatthāvaḥaminduḥ*: T297; *anye kāḥḥāātāhutīi*: T2; *vāvakāḥḥaii ātāhutīi*: T47; *ḥ[ā?ḥ?illegible]am indrādīḥu kramāt*: 20088; *vāvam indrādīḥu kramāt*: 16847; *vāvam indrādīḥu kramāt*: 8561;  
 43a: missing in T2, T47; *samidhāi sadyamantreṇa*: P, Th; *samidhā sadyamantreṇa*: T297; *samidhāḥ sadyamantreṇa*: 16847, 20088, 20092; *samidhas sadyamantreṇa*: T1;  
 43b: missing in T2, T47; *mūlenānyat tu homayet*: T297, P, Th;

**Pāda 42a:** *agnyādhāna* – the placing of the fire in the *kuḥḥa*. The fire is being placed in the main fire pit and afterwards in the secondary ones (Barazer-Billoret 1993-94: 51). For the description of the entire *agnikārya*, see SĀP I.4. See also KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 40cd-41ab.

**Pāda 43a:** *sadya* or *sadyojāta* is one of the five *brahmamantras* that are to be recited, each with a specific ingredient. The remaining *brahmamantras* are: *īāāna*, *vāmadeva*, *aghora* and *taḥpuruḥa* (Davis 2000: 48). These five mantras invoke five aspects of Sadāāiva, his five ‘faces’: *īāāna* the upraised face, *taḥpuruḥa* the eastern one, *aghora* the southern one, *vāmadeva* the northern one and *sadyojāta*

the western one. They are also associated with five different parts of Sadāiva's body: head, face, heart, genitals and either the feet or the entire body. The formula being uttered is: *hoā īāna-mūrdhne* etc. (Brunner 1963: xxxiii; Davis 2000: 50; Dagens and Barazer-Billoret 2000: 2 notes 6-7). See also KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 41cd-42, *mūrdheṣṣakā* 35b.

43cd *caruhomam aghoreṇa netreṇaiva tilāā tathā ||*

44ab *sarṣapaā kavacenaiva pratyekāṣṣāatāhutī |*

**(One should offer) cakes while reciting the *aghora* mantra, sesame while reciting the *netra* mantra, mustard seed while reciting the *kavaca* mantra, one hundred and eight times each.**

43c: missing in T2, T47;

43d: missing in T2, T47; *netreṇaiva tilāās tathā*: P, Th;

44a: missing in T2, T47;

44b: missing in T2, T47; *pratyekāṣṣāatāhutī*: 8561, 16847, 20092, T1; *pratyekāṣṣāatāhutī*: T297, P, Th; *pratyekāṣṣāatāhutī*: 20088;

**Pāda 43c:** *aghora* – one of the *brahmamantras*, see 43a.

**Pāda 43d-44a:** *netra*, *kavaca* – two of the six *aḡamantras*, the 'member mantras, which include: *hūd*, *āiras*, *āikhā*, *kavaca*, *netra* and *astra*. Each of them invokes a 'member' of a deity (here of Sadāiva), which represents one of his powers (Davis 2000: 48-50, Brunner 1963: xxxiv). See also KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 42a and *mūrdheṣṣakā* 36.

The lists of ingredients to be offered, each with a particular *aḡa*- or *brahmamantra*, are frequently found in the Āgamas. Sometimes they include more ingredients than given by our text. The maximum number of ingredients is eleven to correspond with the five *brahmamantras* and the six *aḡamantras*; cf. Raurava 27.26-27.<sup>48</sup> The relation of a specific ingredient with a mantra, with the exception of *sadya* for fuel, may vary; cf. Raurava 25.43-45, 30.32-34, 61.22-24, Vīrāgama 70.52-55 (as given by Bhatt 1972: 33 note 2).

44cd *dravyaā prati viāṣṣeṇa vyāhūtyāhutim ācaret ||*

**One should perform the oblation pronouncing *vyāhūti* specifically for each ingredient.**

c: *dravyaprati viāṣṣeṇa*: 16847;

<sup>48</sup> "Il y a onze ingrédients correspondant aux onze brahma- et aḡa-mantra" (Dagens and Barazer-Billoret 2000: 136 note 23).

d: *vyāhūtyā* ‘‘hutim ācaret: P, Th; *viḥūtyāhutim ācaret: T2;*

**Pāda d:** *vyāhūtyāhuti* – seems to point to an oblation during which the *vyāhūti* (*bhūr bhuvai svar*) is recited.<sup>49</sup> Raurava 18.83 gives a half-*āloka* identical with 44cd. The recitation of the *vyāhūtis* occurs also in KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 43a.

[*The ceremonies on the day of installation*]

45 *evaä jāgaraṇāä rātrau prabhāte deāikottamai |*  
*āpovagāhanādīni prāgivaiva samācaret ||*<sup>50</sup>

**In this way one should stay awake at night. In the morning the best of *deāikas* should bathe by immersing himself into the water and perform other such preparations as previously.**

a: *evaä jāgaraṇāä yātau: P, Th; evā ca jāgaraä rātrau: 20092, T2; evāä jāgarataä rātrau: 20088;*

b: *prabhāte deāikottama: 16847, 20092;*

c: *athovagāhanādīni: T2; ābhovagāhanādīni: 8561, 20092; ābhovagāhanādīni: 16847, 20088;*

d: *prāṇinaiva samācaret: P, Th;*

**Pāda a:** that means that the *homa* probably happens at night, or at least during the first part of it, see Ajita 41.47 (at the end of the *homa*): *rātrīāṣāä tato nītvā jāgareṇa samanvitai*, ‘having spent the rest of the night awake’. According to Barazer-Billoret (1993-94: 52) the rest of the night is spent reciting *mantras* and *stotras*.<sup>51</sup>

The expression *evaä jāgaraṇāä rātrau*, lit. ‘in this way there is staying awake at night’, is very often met with in the Āgamas, see Raurava 30.37: *evaä jāgaraṇāä rātrau prabhāte sumuhūrtaḥ*, Raurava 27.34: *evaä jāgaraṇāä rātrau prabhāte snānam ācaret*. See also KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 44 and *mūrdheṣṣakā* 38a.

**Pāda b:** for *deāika* see note to verse 8d.

**Pāda d:** *prāgivaiva* – see 33c where the bathing etc. are explained.

<sup>49</sup> “Ce triple mantra est celui par lequel Prajāpati a créé la Terre, l’Espace intermédiaire et la Ciel... Il est le plus souvent désigné comme le ‘(Triple) énoncé’ (*vyāhūti*), en particulier dans le *Raurava* qui comme d’autres texts agamiques lui donne une grande place” Dagens and Barazer-Billoret (2000: 24 note 9).

<sup>50</sup> *prāgiva* – perhaps for *prāgeva*?

<sup>51</sup> Or ‘with dance and music’ as stated by Virāgama 65.45cd-46ab: *svīṣam agneti mantreṇa juhuyāt tad anantaram || nūttageyasamāyuktaä rātrau jāgaram ucyate |* and by Kāraṇa 89.52cd: *geyanūttādibhir yuktaä rātrīāṣāä vyapohya ca* (as given by Bhatt 1972: 52 note 7).

- 46 *iṣṣakāi kalaāāgniā ca pūjayet tu viāṣṣatai |*  
*jayādir abhyātānaā ca rāṣṣrabhūc caiva homayet ||*

**He should worship, separately, the bricks, the jars and the fire. He should offer (while pronouncing the mantras) *jayādi*, *abhyātāna* and *rāṣṣrabhūt*.**

a: *iṣṣakakalaāāgniā ca*: P, Th; *iṣṣikakalaāāgniā ca*: T297; *aṣṣadikkalaāāgniā ca*: T2; *aṣṣadikkalaāāgniāā ca*: T47; *iṣṣakakalaāādī[ā]ā ca*: 8561, 16847, 20088;

b: *pūrayet tu viāṣṣatai*: T297, P, Th;

c: *jalādir amyadānaā ca*: P, Th; *jalādir abhyādānaiā ca*: T297; *jayādir abhyādhanāiā ca*: 20092; *jayādir abhyādhanāā ca*: T2, T47; *jayādir abhyādānaō ca*: 8561; *jayādir abhyadhānaō ca*: 16847, 20088; *jayādir abhyātānaā ca*: T1;

d: *rāṣṣraā caiva tu homayet*: T297, P, Th;

**Pāda cd:** *jayādi*, *abhyātāna*, *rāṣṣrabhūt* - a series of mantras pronounced during the oblations. Each mantra is associated with a specific intention: *jayādi* (TS. 3.4.4.1 *cittaā ca cittiā ca*) brings victory, *rāṣṣrabhūt* assures the appropriation of the villages during a war, while *abhyātāna* (T.S. 3.4.5.1: *agnir bhūtānām...*), often confused in the texts with the *abhyādhāna* (placing of the fuel),<sup>52</sup> is bringing prosperity (see Barazer-Billoret 1993-94: 57 note 52). The *homa* mentioned here is not the same as mentioned in 42-44, but a separate ceremony performed on the day of installation. See Barazer-Billoret (1993-94: 57).

One would rather expect the names of the mantras (*jayādir* etc.) to be in the instrumental case in agreement with the verb *homayet*. Yet, this passage seems to represent a list of mantras (the names of which are given in nominative), which would commonly end with '*iti*'; cf. KÅ *garbhanyāsa* 43c. On the other hand, the interpretation of the passage as a list of mantras implies that *abhyātāna* is a neuter noun, while, in fact, it is a masculine.

The form *rāṣṣrabhūc* followed by a verb for 'offering' (*homayet* etc.) occurs in parallel passages in other texts, see Raurava 61.25a, Aāāumad 7. 29, Kāraña 141.123 (as given by Bhatt 1985: 80 note 12), KÅ *garbhanyāsa* 43 and *mūrdheṣṣakā* 37.

- 47 *sviṣṣam agneti mantreṅa pūrṅāhutiā samācaret |*  
*sthāpakāi sthapatii pūjyau vastrahemāāguliyakāi ||*

**One should perform the complete oblation while reciting the mantra *sviṣṣam agne*.**

<sup>52</sup> This confusion occurs in our text as well, see the variant readings under 46c, in KÅ *garbhanyāsa* 43c and in *mūrdheṣṣakā* 37a.

**The *sthāpaka* and the *sthapati* are (to be) honoured with cloths and golden rings.**

a: *āṣṣam agneti mantreṣṣa*: P, Th; *sviṣṣam agnestu mantreṣṣa*: 16847, 20088;  
 b: *pūrṣṣāhutiā athācaret*: T1; *pūrṣṣāhuti samācaret*: 16847, 20088, T2, T297;  
 c: *sthāpakaiṣṣi sthapatiiṣṣa pūjya*: T1; *sthāpakaiṣṣi sthapatiiṣṣa pūjyo*: P, Th; *sthāpakaiṣṣi sthapatiiṣṣa pūjyā*: T297; *sthapatiṣṣi sthāpakau pūjyau*: T2; *sthapatisthāpakau pūjyau*: T47; *sthāpakaā sthapatiiṣṣa pūjya*: 8561, 16847, 20088, 20092;  
 d: *vastrahemāḡguliyakān*: T297; *vastrahē*[previously written: *vastraho*]*māḡguliyakai*: 8561; *vastre hemāḡguliyake*: 16847, 20088;

**Pāda a:** *sviṣṣam agne* – a name of a mantra (*sviṣṣam agne abhi tat pūrṣṣāhi*) occurring, for example, in the Taittirīya Brāi mana 2.4.1.4.

*agneti* – double *sandhi*: *agne + iti = agna + iti*. The same form is found in KĀ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 42, Ajita 83.200, Raurava 15.32, 18.136 and 25.76, 26.27 etc.

**Pāda c:** *sthāpaka* – the term is often understood as the chief priest during the installation ceremony (Barazer-Billoret 1993-94: 41; Brunner 1998: ix-xi and 501; Dagens 1994: 976). Yet, the same as the term *deāika* (see note to verse 8d above), *sthāpaka* may refer to the priest (*ācārya*) fulfilling a specific function. The term *sthāpaka* referring to a *function* is found, for instance, in the Nāyaaāstra (see Tieken 2001: 98-108). On the other hand again, as in the case of *deāika*, the use of the term *sthāpaka* in the Kāyapaāilpa is not consequent.

**Pāda cd:** among the various readings preference has been given to the reading *sthāpakaiṣṣi* and *sthapatiiṣṣi* (in the nominative case). The reason for that is that accepting the accusative case (*sthāpakaā sthapatiiṣṣa pūjya* given by four of our sources) would result in three persons being involved here: *sthāpaka*, *sthapati* and the person who performs the oblation in 47ab. Since the latter can only be a priest (it is him who performs oblations), accepting *sthāpakaā sthapatiiṣṣa pūjya* into the text would imply that it is a priest who rewards a priest (*sthāpaka*). This, obviously, does not seem possible; moreover, it is the patron who usually honours the priest and the architect with gifts.

On the other hand, the change of subject within one sentence is common in the ritual texts, such as the Kāyapaāilpa (see Goudriaan 1965: 337).

**Pāda d:** *vastrahemāḡguliyakaiṣṣi* – ‘with cloth and golden rings’ or ‘with cloth, gold and rings’.

48 *muhūrte samanuprāpte dvāraā niācitya deāikaiṣṣi |*  
*dvārasya dakṣiṣṣe cāḡghrimūle bhittyantarālake ||*

49ab *iṣṣakā vā āilā vā tu sthāpayed deāikottamaiṣṣi |*

**When the right moment has arrived, the best of *deāikas*, after having determined the (position of the) door, should install the bricks or the stones to the right of the door under a pillar (somewhere) in the wall.**

48b: *dvāraā nitvā 'tha deāikāi'*: T *dvāraā niācitya nesabhā*: P, Th; *dvāra niācitya ne sabhā*: T297; *dvāre niācitya deāikāi'*: T2; *dvārasta [gya? āya?] ti deāikāi'*: 20088; *dvāraṅa[sy]eti deāikāi'*: 16847; *dvāra niācitya deāikāi'*: 20092;

48c: *dvārasya dakṣiṇe vāḡghri-*: T297, P, Th;

48d: *-mūle bhaktyantarāḡghrike*: T297, P, Th; *-mūle bhityantarāiake*: 8561, 16847, 20088, T2;

49a: *iṅṅakāā vā āilāyāā tu*: P; *iṅṅakāā vā āilāyāā vā*: Th; *bhā... kāā vā āilāyāā tu*: T297; *iṅṅakāā vā āilāā vā tu*: T1; *iṅṅikā vā āilā vāpi*: T2; *iṅṅikāā vā āilāā vāpi*: T47; *iṅṅakā vā āilā vāpi*: 20092; *iṅṅakā vā āilā vā tu*: 8561; *iṅṅakā vā āilā vā tu*: 16847, 20088;

49b: *sthāpayet sthāpatii kramāt*: T297, P, Th; *sthāpaye sthāpayed deāikottamai*: 20088; *sthāpayed deāikottama*: 20092;

**Pāda 48c**: *dvārasya dakṣiṇe* – ‘to the right’ or ‘to the south of the door’, see Chapter 6.

**Pāda 48cd**: *aāghrimūle* – this prescription is found in several parallel texts, but none of them specify what kind of pillar is meant here. *aāghri* may mean either a door jamb or one of the pillars or pilasters of the *garbhagūha*, or perhaps a small object with only symbolic meaning and invisible from outside. The consecration deposit box (*garbha*) should, according to the majority of the texts, also be placed under ‘a pillar’ (see Chapter 7.1.1.2).

49cd *prāsādamaṅṅepānāā ca nīrgamasya pradakṣiṇe ||*  
50 *sālānāā gopurānāā ca praveāasya pradakṣiṇe |*  
*abhyantare tu bhittes tu gopurānāā nidhāpayet ||*

**For the main temple building and for the pavilion one should have (the first bricks) installed to the right (or to the south) of the exit; for the temple walls and gateways to the right (or to the south) of the entrance. But for the gateways one should have them installed on the inner side of the wall.**

49c: *prāsādamaṅṅepānāā tu*: Th; *prāsāde maṅṅepānāā ca*: T47;

49d: *nīrgamasya pradakṣiṇam*: P, Th; *nīrgamasyā pradakṣiṇam*: T297;

50a: *sālānāā gopurānāā ca*: T2, T297;

50b: *praveāasyā pradakṣiṇe*: T297, P; *pravesyā pradakṣiṇe*: Th;

50c: *abhyantare tu bhittes tu*: T297; *abhyantarau tu bhittau tu*: 8561, 20092, T2; *abhyantare tu bhittau tu*: 16847, 20088; *abhyantarālabhittau tu*: T47;

**Pāda 50a**: *sāla* – see 1cd.

**Pāda 50c**: *abhyantare tu bhittes tu* – in the case of the gateways the first bricks are, apparently, to be placed in the ‘inner side of the wall’, viz. the side directed towards the centre of the temple complex. For such an interpretation of *abhyantara*, see KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 48. This prescription is, apparently, valid only for the gateways, not for other structures.

The location of the first bricks and of the consecration deposit often differs according to the type of building, see Kriyādhikāra 5.16-19 (first bricks) and Kāmika 31.94ff (*garbha*).

- 51 *agram agraā tathaiāānyāā mūlamūlaā ca nairūte |*  
*agramūlasamāyuktyā agnau tu vāyugocare ||*  
 52ab *paōcabrahmasamuccārya pūrvādīkramaāo nyaset |*

**Having recited the five *brahmamantras* and beginning in the east one should place (the bricks in such a way that) two tops (are) in the northeast, two bases in the southwest and one top and one base (are) in (both) the southeast and in the northwest.**

- 51a: *agram agraā tathaiāānye*: 20092, T2, T47; *agram agraā tathaiāānyāt*: T297; *agraā agraā tathaiāānyā*: 8561; *agram agra tathaiāānyāā*: 16847; *agram agram tathaiāānyāā*: P, Th;  
 51b: *mule mule tathā 'ōgule*: T297, P, Th; *mūlaā mūlaō/-ā ca nairūte*: T2, T47; *mūlaā mūlaā ca nairūte*: 8561;  
 51c: *agnau mūle samāyuktyā*: T297, P, Th; *agramūlasamāyuktau*: 8561, 16847, T2, T47; *agramūlasamāyuktaā*: 20092, T1;  
 51d: *agnau ca vāyugocare*: P, Th; *agnau cā vāyugocare*: T297; *agnau vā vāyugocare*: T1; *tv agnau vā vāyugocare*: 8561; *agnau tu vāyugocare*: T2, T47; *tv agnau tu vāyugocare*: 8561; *agne[r?]yā vāyugocare*: 20092;  
 52a: *paōcabrahmaā samuccārya*: 20092, T2;  
 52b: *pūrvādīā kramaāo nyaset*: T1; *kuābhaā tat kramaāo nyaset*: T2; *ṣṣakā upadhānakam*: T47;

**Pāda 51c:** *-samāyuktā* – neither this reading, nor the reading of the remaining sources result, in combination with 51d, in a grammatically correct sentence.

**51:** this verse explains the eventual position of the bricks in the pit. To understand it correctly one has to refer to the verse 38 which explains the way of placing the bricks on the *sthañēila*. There the bricks are placed in such a way that the tops (*agra*) of the two of them are directed to the east. The tops of the two remaining bricks are directed to the north. The bricks placed in this way will form a square. Our verse 51 hints to it by saying that, looking at the square, there will be two tops in the northeast corner, two bases (*mūla*) in the southwest corner, and the corners of Agni and Vāyu (southeast and northwest) will have one top and one base each (see Fig. 1 below).

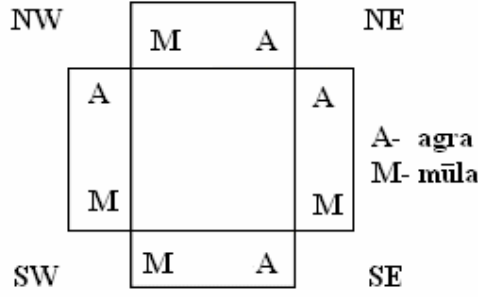


Fig. 1. The way of placing the first bricks.

This method of placing the bricks in the pit is common in the parallel sources, see, for example, Kriyādhikāra 5.12cd-13ab, AtriS 6.32cd-34ab, MarīciS 6.4.2.2. An explanation very similar to that of the KŚ is given by Ajita 10.53cd-55ab: *uttarāgrā bhavet pūrvā pūrvāgrā dakṣiṇā bhavet || paścimā cottarāgrā syāt pūrvāgrācottarā tathā | evaṃ kṛte ‘gram agraṃ ca mūlaṃ mūlaṃ ca saṃyutam || bhaved īsanirṛtyoś ca mūlāgrau vahnivāyugau |*<sup>53</sup>

**Pāda 52a:** for the *brahmamantras*, see 43a above.

52cd *tanmadhye vinyased ratnān hemapañkajasamṃyutān ||*

**In the middle of them one should place the gems together with a golden lotus.**

c: *tanmadhye vinyaset prītām*: P, Th; *tanmadhye vinyaset prītām*: T297; *tanmadhye vinyaset tasmāt*: T2; *tanmadhye vinyaset tasmīn*: T47; *tanmādhye vinyaset ranmān*: 16847;  
d: *hemapañkajasamṃyuktām*: P, Th; *hemapañkajasamṃyutaḥ*: T2; *hemapākajasamṃyutān*: 16847; *hemapañkajasamṃyutam*: T1, T47, T297, 8561, 20092;

**Pāda 52c:** *tanmadhye* – in the middle of the square formed by the bricks.

<sup>53</sup> ‘The eastern brick should point north, the southern brick should point east, the western brick should point north, the northern brick should point east. Having done so, there will be two tops and two bases for the northeast and southwest corner respectively, and the northwest and the southeast corners will have each a top and a base’. See also Kāmika 51.29: *agram agraṃ tathaiśānyāṃ pṛṣṭhaṃ pṛṣṭhaṃ ca nairṛte | pṛṣṭāgre tv anale vāyau jñātvā karmaṃ samācāret*. Suprabhedā 27.25 (transcript T360): *agram agraṃ tathaiśānyāṃ mūlaṃ mūlaṃ ca nairṛte | mūlāgrāṃ cāgni vāyavyāṃ sthāpayet tad vicakṣaṇaḥ ||*, Kāraṇa 4.121cd: *agram agraṃ ca m [sic!] aiśānyāṃ pṛṣṭhe pṛṣṭhe ca nairṛte || pṛṣṭhāgnau tv anale vāpi jñātvā karma samācāret |* A different interpretation of 51cd - *agnau mūle samāyuktyā agrau tu vāyugocare* – could, grammatically, be possible, but is, taking into consideration the parallel sources, less probable.



**Pāda 52c:** Aṃśumad *prathameṣṭakā* 61ab includes almost the same half-verse, with *dravya* ('object') instead of *ratna*: *tanmadhye vinyased dravyaṃ hemapaṃkajasamṃyutam*. Remaining parallel texts give, at times, very elaborate lists of objects to be placed in the middle of the bricks, see Chapter 7 note 4.

53 *pañcamṛdbhiḥ samālīpya kuṃbhasṭhādbhiḥ prapūrayet |  
śobhanaṃ dakṣiṇāvartaṃ vāmāvartam aśobhanam ||*

**Having anointed (the bricks) with five kinds of earth one should fill up (the space in the middle of the bricks) with the water from the jars. If the water turns to the right, it is auspicious, if to the left, it is inauspicious.**

a: *pañcamṛdbhiḥ samālikhya*: T297, P, Th; *pañcamṛtbhis samālīpya*: 8561, 16847, 20092;  
b: *kuṃbhasṭhād/-tbhis tu pūrayet*: T297, P, Th, 20092; *kuṃbhasṭhambhas tu pūjayet*: T2;  
*kuṃbhādbhir abhiṣecayet*: T47; *kuṃbhaga [ ... ] stu pūrayet*: 16847; *kuṃbhasṭhātbhis prapūrayet*: 8561;  
c: *śobhanā dakṣiṇo vaktraṃ*: T297; *śobhagan dakṣiṇāvartam*: 16847;  
d: *vāmavarttaśobhagaṃ*: 16847;

**Pāda 53a:** earth taken from various locations is sometimes placed between the bricks together with the gems or in the pit in which the consecration deposit casket is to be placed, see Chapter 7 note 4 and KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 49 (in the latter, however, there are eight types of earth, not five). It is not certain if this is meant in the present passage as well.

**Pāda 53b:** it is plausible that the jars mentioned here are the same as those used for the *kuṃbhasṭhāpana* ceremony (see verse 39-40ab).

**Pāda 53bd:** this prescription is found in many parallel texts. See Aṃśumad *prathameṣṭakā* 62: *aṣṭamṛdbhiḥ samālīpya kuṃbhatoyena pūrayet | śāntikaṃ dakṣiṇāvartaṃ vāmāvartam aśobhakam* as well as Kāmika 51.36, Suprabheda 27.27, PādmaS 7.76cd-77ab, ViṣvaksenaS 8.29, Śilparatna 12.30-31. Sometimes a flower is thrown into the water and its turn is observed, see ĪŚGDP 27 (passage in prose, following verse 71), Ajita 10.56cd-57ab.

54 *vāmāvartam bhavet samyak śāntihomaṃ samācaret |  
yāgopakaraṇaṃ sarvaṃ ācāryāya pradāpayet ||*

**In case of a left turn, one should duly perform a propitiatory oblation. One should see to it that all the implements for the oblation are given to the ācārya.**

a: *vāmāvarte bhavet samyak*: T1; *vāmāvartam bhavet samyak*: T297, P, Th; *vāmāvartta satī samyak*: T2; *vāmāvartte satī samyak*: 8561, 20092; *vāmāvartayute toyē*: T47; *vāmāvūtte tta satis samyak*: 16847;

b: *āntihomaā tu kārayet*: T297, P, Th; *āntihomasamācaret*: 16847;

c: *yāgopakaraṇāā sarjā*: P, Th; *yāgopakaraṇāā sarvā*: T297; *yāgopakaraṇat sarvam*: 16847;

d: *madhyāc chilpī prakārayet*: P; *madhyāt āilpī prakārayet*: Th; *madhyāc chilpī prakārayet*: T297; *ācāryāya pradāpayet*: 8561, T1, T2, T47; *aryāyāi pradāpayet*: 16847; *ācāryasya pradāpayet*: 20092;

**Pāda ab**: a propitiatory oblation when the water turns to the left is also prescribed by several parallel texts; cf. ĪĀGDP 27, Ajita 10.57 etc.

*iti kāāyape prathameṁakavidhipaṁalai*

**Thus ends, in the Kāāyapa(āilpa), the chapter about the ceremony of the first bricks.**

*iti kāāyapaāilpe prathameṁakāvidhiā caturthai paṁalai*: P; *iti kāāyapaāilpe prathameṁakācidhir nāma caturthai paṁalai*: Th; *iti kāāyape prathameṁivithii caturthai paṁalai*: T297; *ityāāupe ādyeṁikannām paōcamai paṁalai*: T2; *ityādyeṁakopadhānavidhis samāptai | āubham astu ... oā aiā hrīā ārīā vallidevasenā sameta ārisubrahmaṇyapādāravindābhyāā namai – gaṇapatigurukal granthāā*: T47

*ity aāūmān bhede kāāyape prathameṁakāvidhipaōcamapatalai*: 16847; *ity aāūmān bhede kāāyape prathameṁakāvidhānāō caturthai paṁalai*: 20092; *ity aāūmānkāāyape prathameṁakāpaṁalai (caturthai)*: T1;

## 4.2 The placing of the consecration deposit (*garbhanyâsa*) on the basis of the Kââyapañlipa: text, translation and commentary

1 *atha vakṣye viâṣeṇa garbhanyâsavidhiā param |  
prâsâdaā deham ity uktaā tasya prâñas tu garbhakam ||*

**Now I will speak in detail about the proper procedure of placing the consecration deposit. The temple is said to be the body. The consecration deposit is its “life-breath.”**

b: *garbhanyâsavidhiā āñu:* 447;

c: *prâsâdam deham:* 8561, T1, T2, T400, Th; *prâsâdadeham:* four Malayalam mss, T297, P.

d<sup>1</sup>: *prâñas tu:* 8561, T1; *prâñasya:* four Malayalam mss (20088 *prâñāñyā?*), T400; *prâñan tu:* T2; *prâkâro:* P, Th; *prâkâra:* T297; *prâsâda:* 447.

d<sup>2</sup>: *garbhakam:* four Malayalam mss, T1, T400, 447; *garbhagam:* T2; *vâstugarbhakam:* T297, P, Th; *madhya[am?]:* 8561.

d: *prâsâde dehim ityuktâā tasya prâs tu madhyamam:* T411.

**Pâda c:** *prâsâdam* - the occurrence of masculine words in neuter is quite common in architectural and Āgamic texts, see KĀ *prathamakâ* 23b and Chapter 3.6. *prâsâda* in neuter is found in a few other texts, see MM 19.10-12: *vimânaā bhavanaā harmyaā saudhaā dhâma nicketanaā prâsâdaā... ity evam uktâā ca paryâyākhyā hi pañèitaii* and Suprabheda 28.1cd: *yad prâsâdaā sagarbhaā tu sarvasampatkaraā bhavet*.

For the temple as a body, see Kramrisch (1946: 133), Dagens (1996) and Rastelli (2003); for the discussion about this passage, see Chapter 6.

2 *garbhahîne gūhe vipra sakûtâlaā na vâsyakam |  
aham anyâā ca devâā ca na vaseyur agarbhake ||*

**One should not dwell, not even once, o sage, in a house in which there is no consecration deposit. I and the other gods would not stay in a house, which is not endowed with a consecration deposit.**

a: *garbhahîne:* all mss, T1 (Keevelur), T2, T400; *garbhadine:* 447; *guruhîne:* T297, P, Th.

b<sup>1</sup>: *sakûtâla:* all mss, Keevelur (*-kâlavan*), T2, T297, P, Th; *sakatâlam:* T400; *sakûtâlam:* 447.

b<sup>2</sup>: *na vāsyaham*: 8561; *nāvāsahaä*: all Malayalam mss; *na vātsyaham*: T400; *na vāsyakam*: Keevelur, 447, T297, P, Th; *na āāsyakam*: T2; *na cāstviham*: T411.

c: *anyāā ca*: 8561 (probably) Keevelur, T400; *anyaā ca*: all Malayalam mss, T2, T297, P; *anye ca*: Th, T411.

*devāā ca*: 8561, Keevelur, T2, T400, Th; *devāā ca*: all Malayalam mss; *vedāā ca*: P; *vedāā ca*: T297.

d: *na vaseyur na (ña, nna) garbhake*: all mss, T400, T411; *na vaseyur nna garbhakam*: T297; *na vaseyur ma ... ke*: T2; *na vaseyun na garbhakam*: P; *na vaseyur agarbhakam*: Th; *na vaseyur agarbhake*: S; *na vāse punnagarbhake*: T1 [illegible: *gya/ya sa pa r garbhake*] Keeveur).

**Pāda ab:** *vāsyakam* – can be interpreted as consisting of *vāsyā* + *-ka* according to the type of *rāmañiyaka*. The expression *na vāsyakam* would then mean “there is no ‘dwellingability’.” Still, while the meaning of this phrase leaves no doubt, its grammatical construction remains obscure.

**Pāda cd:** *anyāā ca devāā ca* - incorrect for *anye ca devāā ca*. For other examples of pronominal adjectives declined as nominals, see 3d and Chapter 3.6.

This passage is unique for this kind of texts as I know of no other architectural text stating that the deity will not inhabit a temple in which the *garbhanyāsa* has not been performed.

3 *tasmāt sarvaprayatnena garbhanyāsaā tu kārayet |*  
*ārīpradaā prāñināā garbhaā itare 'ārīkaraā bhavet ||*

**Therefore one should have the *garbhanyāsa* performed very carefully. The consecration deposit is bestowing prosperity upon the living beings. In the other case (when the *garbha* is not there), this will be a cause of misfortune.**

b: *garbhanyāsaā*: all mss, T1, T2, T297, P, Th; *garbhanyāsas*: T400; *garbhanyāsaā samācaret*: T411.

c: *ārīpradaā prāñināā garbhaā*: all mss, T1, T400; *ārīpradaā prāñi* [ ... ]: T2; *ārīprañāā bhāñināā garbhaā*: T297, P, Th; *trividhaā prāñināā garbham itara ārīkaraā bhavet*: T411.

After cd T1 inserts a half-verse: *garbhanyāsaā na kartavyāā kartavyāā kartūnāānam*<sup>54</sup>

**Pāda cd:** *itare* – incorrect form of *itarasmin*, perhaps *metri causa*. See Chapter 3.6.

<sup>54</sup> Lit. ‘the *garbhanyāsa* should not be performed, the patron should be destroyed’, which, probably, should mean ‘if the *garbhanyāsa* will not be performed, the patron would be destroyed’. Passages proclaiming increase of wealth for those who perform a certain ritual and all kind of misfortune for those who refrain from doing so, are common among the architectural and ritual texts, see Viññāsaāhitā 13.22 *nāgarbhe dhāmi sampadai*, Mānasāra 18. 205b-206 (413-415)<sup>54</sup>: *brahmāvīññumaheāvarasya stūpipratībhāā kuru || kurvan tad yajamānaguhe nūpālaye bhuktiā muktim āvahet | yasmād akurvan nāradanaranūpatayoi kartāā ca piēā bhavet ||*

## [The location of the consecration deposit]

4 *adhīṣṭhāne prater ūrdhve bhūsurāñāā hitāya vai |  
jagatyūrdhve nūpāñāā tu upānordhve viāāā param*||<sup>55</sup>

**For the benefit of the Brahmins (the deposit should be placed) in the *adhīṣṭhāna* above the *prati*,<sup>56</sup> for the Kṛatriyas above the *jagatī*, for the Vaiāyas above the *upāna*.**

a: *adhīṣṭhāne prater ūrdhve*: all mss except 20088, T1, T400; *adhīṣṭhānai*: 20088; *adhīṣṭhāne yuter ūrdhve*: T2; *adhīṣṭhānaprater ūrdhve*: T297, P, Th.

c: *jagatyūrdhve nūpāñāā tu*: all mss, T1, 447, T400, T411; *kumudordhve nūpāñāā tu*: Th; *kumudūrdhve*: P; *kumuderdhve*: T297; *gater ūrdhve*: T2.

d: *upānordhve viāāā param*: all mss, T411; *upānordhve viāāā varaā*: T400; *kuṣipānordhve viāāā param*: S; *kumudordhve viāāā param*: T1; *jagatyūrdhve viāāā param/varam*: Th, P, T297; *va prāñordhve tu veāmavat*: T2.

**Pāda ab:** *adhīṣṭhāna* – base, see KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 8a. *prati* – here: upper string course, part of the *adhīṣṭhāna*, see note to KĀ *prathameṣṭakā* 9-10ab.<sup>57</sup>

**Pāda cd:** *jagatī*, *upāna*, *kumuda* – layers of the *adhīṣṭhāna*. For the lists of the layers of the *adhīṣṭhāna* according to different sources, see Dagens (1984) and Acharya (1993: 15-37).

Similar prescriptions concerning the location of the deposit for various *varṇas* (for *āudras* see verse 5 below) are found in several parallel works, with the levels always varying according to the text. The only constant pattern is that the highest level is reserved for the consecration deposit for the Brahmins; the members of the three remaining *varṇas* should be satisfied each with a slightly lower location, see ÎĀGDP 17.74, AtriS 10. 36b-38a, PādmaS 6.21, ViāñuS 13. 25a, VāstuV 13.20. The texts also express a warning that placing the deposit too high or too low will bring about all kind of misfortune, see: MM 12.43a, MS 64b (132A), PādmaS 6.22a. That the prescriptions regarding the location of the deposit refer to

<sup>55</sup> Or: *kumudordhve nūpāñāā tu jagatyūrdhve viāāā param* as given by T297, P and Th. The location of the deposit for the Kṛatriyas and the Vaiāyas in the KĀ differs in various sources: T1 prescribes *jagatī* and *kumuda* for the Kṛatriyas and Vaiāyas respectively; T297, P and Th prescribe the opposite: *kumuda* and *jagatī*, while all the palm leaf manuscripts, T400 and T411 have *jagatī* and *upāna*. The sequence of layers depends on the style of the temple and can vary in different texts. The layers of the *adhīṣṭhāna* are often explained in a separate chapter and in the Poona edition of the KĀ this is chapter 6. The sequence given there is (from above): *prati-kumuda-jagatī-upāna*. This agrees with all our sources except T1 (4cd) where *kumuda* appears to be below the *jagatī*. The reading of T1 could only be accepted if its *adhīṣṭhāna* chapter would support it. In the *adhīṣṭhāna* chapter of T1 (chapter 6), however, the *kumuda* is always described as being above the *jagatī*. Hence, the reading of T1 4cd has to be rejected. On the other hand, the reading of T297, P and Th is as acceptable as the one adopted in the text.

<sup>56</sup> Or 'in the upper part of the *prati*'.

<sup>57</sup> The MS uses the term *pratika*, see Acharya (1993: 317).

the patron of the construction, the *yajamāna*, becomes clear from AtriS 10.36cd: *brāhmaṇo yajamānaā cen nyased vai paṇīkopari* etc., ‘when the *yajamāna* is a Brahmin, one should place [the deposit] above the *paṇīkā*...’ and MarīciS 13.1.2: *yajamāno brāhmaṇaā cet paṇīkopari, kṛatriyaā cet kumudopari*... etc.

5 *homordhve garbhavinyāsaā āudrāṇām abhivūddhidam |  
sarvajātyarhakaā proktaā bhūmau tv ādyeṇakopari ||*

**The placing of the consecration deposit above the *homa*<sup>58</sup> gives prosperity to the Āudras. But (the placing of the deposit) in the ground on top of the first bricks is declared suitable for all the *jātis*.**

a: *homordhve*: all Malayalam mss, T1, T2, T400, T411, Th; *bhomordhve*: 8561; *homordhvaā*: T297, P.

b: *āudrāṇām abhivūddhidam*: 20088, 20089, 16847; *āudrāṇām api abhivūddhidam*: 16923; *drāviṇām abhivūddhidam*: 8561; *apavūddhidam*: T1; *rudrāṇām abhivūddhidai*: T2.

c: *sarvajātyarhakaā proktaā*: 8561, Keeveṇur, 447, T411; *sarvajātyarhakaā proktam*: T2; *sarvajātyaā ta haā proktaā*: T297; *sarvajātyantaā haā proktaā*: P, Th; *evaā jātyarhakaā proktaā*: T1; *āudrajātyarhakaā proktaā*: all Malayalam mss, T400.

d<sup>1</sup>: *bhūmau*: all Malayalam mss, T1, T2, T297, T400; *bhūmoccā* : 8561; *bhūmordhve*: T411;

d<sup>2</sup>: *ādyeṇakaā prati*: T297.

**Pāda a:** *homa* - the layer above the foundations and below the base (*adhīṇhāna*), the support of the base; see note to KÅ *prathameṇakā* 9-10ab.

-*vinyāsam* (neuter) for -*vinyāsaī* (masc., see MW 1899: 972). The same neuter form is found in 7a.

6 *prāsāde maṇḍape caiva prakāre gopure tathā |  
parivāralaye caiva garbhanyāsaā tu kārayet ||*

**One should have the *garbhanyāsa* performed for the temple, the pavilion, the temple wall, the temple gateway and for the chapel of an attendant deity.**

*prakāre*: 8561, 20088, 20089, 16847, 16923, T1, T2, T400, T411; *prāgdvāre*: T297, P, Th.

**Pāda ab:** *prāsāda* – here: the main building of the temple complex; cf. KÅ *prathameṇakā* 1c.

7ab *yatraivādyeṇakānyāsaā tatra garbhaā nidhāpayet |*

<sup>58</sup> Or ‘in the upper part of the *homa*’.

**One should have the *garbha* installed in the same location where the first bricks are placed.**

a<sup>1</sup>: *tatraiva*: 8561, T297, T411;

a<sup>2</sup>: *nyāsaā*: 8561, 16847, 16923, 20088, Keeveñur, T297, T411, P; *nyāsa*: 20089; *nyāsaī*: T400; *nyāsas*: Th; *ādyeñake nyāsāt*: T2;

b: *tat tū garbha nidhāpayet*: T297;

**[Material and appearance of the deposit casket]**

7cd *sauvarñāā rājataā tāmraā āreñhamadhyādhamāā kramāt* ||

8ab *kāāsyenaivātha vā vipra kartavyāā garbhabhājanam* |

**A deposit casket is to be made of gold, silver or copper. The casket made of gold is considered excellent, the one made of silver is considered average and the one made of copper is considered poor. Or, O sage, the *garbha* casket may also be made of brass.**

7d: *adhamaā kramāt*: 8561, T1, T2, T297; *adhamāī kramāt*: all Malayalam mss (16923 unclear reading), T400; *adhamaā bhavet*: S; *āreñhamadhyamakanyasāī*: T411;

8a: *kāāsyenaivātha vā vipra*: 8561, 20088, 20089, T2, T297, T400, T411; *kāāsyai* (*kāāmsye?*)*naivātha vā vipra*: 16847; *kosyainaivāthavā vipra*: 16923; *kāāsyenaivāyasā vāpi*: Keeveñur (?); *kāāsyenaivāyasā vāpi*: T2;

**Pāda 8a:** the reading of T1 - *kāāsyenaivāyasā vāpi* - is interesting as it gives the fifth material of which the deposit casket can be made, namely iron (*ayas*). Iron as the material for the deposit casket is not prescribed by other Āgamas.

**Pāda 8b:** *garbhabhājanam* – one of the several terms used to denominate the deposit casket in the ritual and architectural texts. The KĀ uses two terms: (*garbha*)*bhājana* and *phelā*.<sup>59</sup> The terms used by other texts along with *bhājana* include *pātra*, *mañjūñā* and *phelā* (sometimes confused with *phala*, 'fruit', by the editors).

8cd *paācāōgulaā samārabhya yāvad vai viāāad aōgulam* ||

9 *ekaikāāgulavūddhyā tu kalāsaākhyā tu bhājanam* |  
*ekādīñōāāntānāā bhūmīnāā tu yathākramam* ||

<sup>59</sup> T411 reads twice *gola* (a ball, hemisphere; see 14a and 17d) instead of *phelā*, which can either be a simple mistake by a scribe or the result of the association with the shape (and possibly the symbolism) of the Earth.

**(As to their measurements), there are sixteen (types of) caskets, from one of five *aḡulas* to one of twenty *aḡulas*, in each case the next one increasing by one *aḡula*. The measurements of the caskets depend on the number of the storeys of the building, which ranges from one to sixteen.**

8c-d-9ab: missing in T400.

9a: *ekāḡulaä vivuddhyā tu*: Keeveür;

9b: *kālāsaākhyā*: 16847 (the second *ā* of *kālā* written lower);

9d: *bhūmānāä tu*: 20088, 20089, S, T2, T297, T411; *bhūtānāä tu*: 8561, 16847, 16923, T400; *bhaumānāä tu*: T1, *bhūmānāä tu*: P, Th.

**Pāda 9b**: the grammatically correct expression would be either *kalāsaākhyā tu bhājanānām* or *kalāsaākhyā tu bhājanaä*. Nevertheless, all the sources read *kalāsaākhyā tu bhājanam*.

The same connection with the number of temple's storeys is prescribed with the reference to the first bricks; cf. KÅ *prathameḡakā* 26ab.

**Pāda 9d**: for *bhūmi* as a 'storey' see: MM 12.9b-11a and MS 12.11b-13a (22-25A). *Bhūma*, the reading given by 20088, 20089, S, T2, T297 and T411 occurs less frequently in the parallel sources.

10 *garbhabhājanatârās te tv aāghrimūlatalan tu vā |*  
*garbhabhājanavistâraä vistârasadüäonnataä ||*

**These (that is, the measures just mentioned) concern the breadth of the deposit casket. Alternatively, the breadth of the deposit casket should be equal to the bottom of the pillar; the height should be equal to the breadth.**

a: *kârās te*: T2; *narās*: 447;

b<sup>1</sup>: *tv aāghrimūla*: T297; *tv aāghrikūla*: all Malayalam mss, T400; *svāāghrimūla*: T1; *svāāghrimūle*: T2; *sāāghrimūla*: 8561; *sāāghritūla (-tala?)*: T411; *narās teḡām astaāghri mūlatantu vā*: 447;

b<sup>2</sup>: *talān tu vā*: all mss, T400, T411; *taraä tu vā*: T297, P, Th; *tadantu vā*: T1; *mūle nyasantu vā*: T2;

d: *vistârasadüäonnataä/ vistârasadüäonñataä*: all mss, T297, T400, T411, P, Th; *vistâre sadüäonnatam*: T2; *sādüäonnatan tathā*: T1.

Pāda a: *tāra*: breadth (Dagens 1984: 17). *tāra* in the meaning of 'breadth' is also used in *Vāstuvidyā* 7.22ff.

**Pāda b**: *aāghrimūla* - the text does not specify which pillar (*aāghri*) is meant here and if it is the same pillar which should be erected above the first bricks and, at times, above the deposit box (see KÅ *prathameḡakā* 48cd).



- 11 *bhājanoccatribhāgaikaā vidhānasyocchrayaā bhavet |  
bhājane dvitribhāgāntāā vidhānā lambanaā dvija ||*

**The height of the cover should be one-third of the height of the casket.  
O Brahmin, the support for the cover should be up to half or one-third of (the height of) the casket.**

a: *bhājanasya tribhāgaikaā*: all Malayalam mss, T400; *bhājanocca(m)tribhāgaikaā*: T1, T2, T411; *bhājanocca tribhājagaikam*: 447; *bhājano[dh? illegible] uparibhāgaikaā*: 8561; *bhājanoccasya bhāgaikam*: P, Th; *bhājanoccarmi bhāgaikam*: T297;  
b: *pidhānasyooghri saābhavet*: T2;  
d: *dvijai*: 8561, T297, T411;

**Pāda a:** *tribhāgaikam* – see KĀ *prathame~~akā~~* 12c and MM 12.11b.<sup>60</sup> This expression occurs also in KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 32, KĀ *mūrdhe~~akā~~* 10c.

**Pāda b:** *vidhāna* - probably instead of *pidhāna* (cover). *vidhāna* occurs often instead of or along with *pidhāna* in different manuscripts of the same text, most probably due to the similarity of the letters *va* ad *pa* in the Grantha script, see ĪĀGDP 27.75a, Ajita 17.9, PādmaS 6.24 and 6.43, MM 12.11b and 14a etc.

**Pāda d:** *ālambana* – base; here probably a ‘support’ for the cover. The exact meaning of the term, however, is unclear. It is also unclear how such a ‘support’ for the cover would look like. The parallel texts are of no help on this point: apart from MM 12.11b this term does not occur in the parallel passages.

- 12 *yavaikavyāsam ārabhya yāvārdhaā tu vivardhanāt |  
yāvat sārthā~~ayavakaā~~ tāvad bhittiviālakam ||*  
13ab *prāguktānāā tu phelānāā kramaāāi parikalpayet |*

**The side walls (of the casket) should be from one up to**

<sup>60</sup> *gūhitoccatribhāgaikaā pādāmbividhānakam*, ‘(Otherwise the width of the casket) is the third of (its) height chosen according to the rules given for pillars (?)’ (trans. Dagens 1994: 123). Dagens (ibid., note 7): ‘Meaning? The half-verse 11b (missing in one manuscript and placed after v. 12 in another one) is perhaps out of place.’ *Vidhānaka*, translated by Dagens as ‘rule’ can perhaps be understood here as ‘cover’. The entire passage could then mean: ‘the cover which is the base of the pillar (which has to be installed above the casket, see MM 12.45) is one-third of the height (of the casket). The cover measuring in height one-third of the casket is commonly prescribed by the parallel texts. On the other hand, the discussed passage from the MM and KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 11 are very similar to the point that it is possible that the MM is missing a part of the passage which in the Kāyapaāilpa constitutes pādas b and c. Both passages would then have the same meaning.’

**eight and a half *yavas* thick, increasing each time by half a *yava*. One should make (these measurements) for the earlier mentioned caskets accordingly.**

12b: *yavârdhaii koṣṭhavistutam*: T297, P, Th;

12c-d: not in T297, P, Th; *sârdhaṣṭayavakaâ yâvat tâvat bhittiviââlakam*: S;

13ab: not in T297, P, Th;

13a<sup>1</sup>: *proktâkârân*: T2; a<sup>2</sup>: *phelâyââ*: T1;

b: *kramaâai aripaṅhyate*: T2; *parekalpayet*: 447;

**Pâda 12a:** *yâva* or *yava* (the latter given by T297, P and Th) - both forms may occur with the same meaning, *yava* being usually more frequent (cf. Raurava).

**Pâda 12d:** *bhittiviââlaka* – contrary to KÂ *prathameṣṣakâ* 23cd and KÂ *mûrdheṣṣakâ* 11c and 21b (KÂ *prathameṣṣakâ* 23cd and *mûrdheṣṣakâ* 11c use the term *viââla*) *viââlaka* should be translated here as ‘thickness’, not as ‘breadth’ or ‘width’. The breadth of the deposit casket (and, hence, also of its side walls), has already been explained in 8cd-10ab.

**Pâda 13b:** *kramaâai* - for each of the sixteen types of casket (see verse 9) the thickness of the side walls should be calculated accordingly.

13cd *paṅcaviââatikokoṣṭhâni bhâjanâbhyantare kuru*||

**Make twenty-five compartments inside the casket.**

13cd – not included in T297, P, Th;

13c: *koṣṭhâdi*: T1; d: *kurâi*: T400.

**Pâda cd:** *koṣṭha* – here: compartment. Another word used by the parallel texts is *garta*, ‘hole’ (PâdmaS 6.24ab, ÂrîprS 7.8cd).

According to the parallel texts, the deposit casket should have either twenty-five or nine compartments. For the list of texts prescribing nine and twenty-five compartments, see Chapter 7 note 13. Some texts (MM 12.13cd, MS 12.19ab, Ajita 17.10ab) leave a choice between nine and twenty-five, but give prescriptions only with regard to twenty-five compartments. The division into twenty-five *koṣṭhas* agrees with the *upapîṭha* diagram of the site plan, that of nine compartments agrees with the *pîṭha* diagram.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Apart from the *upapîṭha* and *pîṭha* (having twenty-five and nine squares respectively) there exist other types of diagrams, too, for example the *paramââyika* consisting of eighty-one squares. A particular diagram (one only) is traced on the building terrain during the *padavinyâsa* ceremony, before starting the construction. Each square of a diagram is assigned to a different deity. In certain texts, the compartments of the deposit casket are referred to by the names of deities associated with the plots of the site diagram, cf. MM 12.15ab, 25cd-29, MS 12.20ab, ÎĀGDP III.27.81ab-85ab. In the KÂ there are the letters of the Sanskrit ‘alphabet’ and the names of the

- 14 *phelābhittiviāālārdhaā koṣṭhabhittes tu vistūtam |  
phelocce tricaturbhāgaā koṣṭhabhittiyudayaā bhavet ||*

**The thickness of the wall of a compartment should be half that of the side wall of the casket. The height of the wall of a compartment should be one third or one-fourth of that of the casket.**

ab not in T297, P and Th; cd not in T1;

a: *helabhittiviāālārdhaā*: 8561; *golābhitti*: T411;

b: *koṣṭhābhittes*: T411; *ekor vā bhittes tu dvijasattama*: T1;

c: *phēiocca*: 8561, 447, T297; *phaloccaā*: P, Th; *poiocce*: 20088, 20089, 16847; *poiōdvetricaturbhāgaā*: 16923;

d: *ucchrayam bhavet*: 447; *koṣṭhabhidvīṭṭi* written above *dvīṭṭi* *bhavet*: 8561; *koṣṭhabhidyudayaā bhavet*: T297; *koṣṭhabhitti dvayaā bhavet*: T411; *āyataā bhavet*: T2.

**Pāda a:** the same as in 12d the term *viāāla* should be translated here as ‘thickness’, not as ‘breadth’ or ‘width’.

*[The mantras and akṣaras to be placed]*

- 15ab *madhyakoṣṭhe nyaset kūṃā bindunādasamanvitam |*

**In the central compartment one should place *kūṃā* endowed with the *anunāsika*.**

ab not in T1;

a<sup>1</sup>: *madhyakoṣṭha*: all Malayalam mss

a<sup>2</sup>: *vyaset*: 16847, 16923; *vyaset kuābhaā*: T400; *kaṃā*: T411; *madhye phenakoṣṭhe nyase kūṃā*: T297;

b: *vindunāda*: all Malayalam mss, T400; *vī[ā?]ja* [*bindu* written above] *nāda*: 8561; *indranābha*: P, Th; *vindra nābha*: T297;

**Pāda ab:** *kūṃā* or *kūṃābija* – a mystical name of the letter *kṃā* (Singh: 1979: 114 n. 20; Brunner 1977: 130 note 23; 562-3 notes 42-43; Dagens and Barazer-Billoret 2000: 1 note 4), which here, probably, represents Āiva himself (Dagens and

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eight Vidyēāvaras assigned to or placed in the casket at the beginning of the ceremony, which serve as means of identifying the compartments later on (see verse 19 ff). The *padavinyāsa* ceremony occupies often a separate chapter, see KĀ 2 (*prāsādvāstulakāṇam*) and MM 7, but sometimes it is combined with the section dealing with the offerings for the site deities (*vāstupūjā*), see Ajita 8.

Barazer-Billoret 2000: 33 note 24). Together with the *nāda* (*anunāsika*) it forms *kṛāṅ*; cf. Kāmika 31, Kāraṇa 6, Dīpta 4, Ajita 17 and Kumāra 31.<sup>62</sup>

15cd *pūrvādyaṅkoṅheṅ parito dvijasattama ||*

16ab *anantādiāikhāñēyantaṅ mūlamantraṅ nidhāpayet |*

**Around (the central compartment), o best of Brahmins, in the eight compartments starting in the east one should place the *mūlamantras* beginning with the one for Ananta and ending with the one for Āikhañēin.**

15cd: not in T1;

15c: *tatpūrvaṅ hy:* P, Th; *tatpūrvaṅ ny:* T297; *tatpūrvādy:* T2, 447; *pūrvakādy:* T411;

16a: *āikhañēyantar:* 16923; *āikhañēyasya[or: ṅya?]nta[m? r?]:* 16847; *āikhañēyantaṅ:* P; *āikhañēyanta:* T400;

b: *mūlamantrādi [v]āpayet:* 16847; *mmūlamantrādi vāpayet:* 16923; 20088, 20089; *mūlamantādi dhāpayet:* T400;

**Pāda 15cd:** the reading *tatpūrvam* (given by T297, P and Th) is also grammatically correct. Still, in the present passage the direction in case, the east, in which one has to start placing the items is of paramount importance. The reading *pūrvādi* adopted in the text is supported by the parallel sources where the first compartment (it is usually the one in the east or in the northeast) in which an object should be placed is always indicated, see: MM 12.25, 33, Kāmika 31.35 and Dīpta 4.13ab.<sup>63</sup>

**Pāda 16b:** *nidhāpayet* - lit. 'one should cause to place'. The causal meaning if *nidhāpayet*, however, does not seem to be intended here. In the entire passage dealing with the placing of the objects in the deposit casket (up to verse 29, see especially 23) the causal verb is used alternately with the non causal *vinīyaset* and *nyaset*. See also the note to KĀ *prathameṅakā* 20b and Chapter 3.6.

**Pāda 16ab:** *mūlamantra* – the principal mantra of a deity, usually particular to the text. Still, some authors equal it with Āivamantra or *paōcākṛāra*, 'the five syllables', *oṅ namai āivāya*, or with a slightly different form depending on the caste of the worshipper and not always consisting of five syllables. See Brunner

<sup>62</sup> Kāmika 31.29cd and Kāraṇa 6.28ab: *madhyakoṅhe nyaset kūṅāṅ bindunādasamanvitam;* Dīpta 4.12: *madhyakoṅhe nyaset kūṅāṅ bindunādasamāyutam;* Ajita 17.18ab and Kumāra 31.2173ab: *teṅ koṅheṅ sarveṅ madhye kūṅākṛāraṅ nyaset.*

<sup>63</sup> MM 12.25ab: *iādīṅ nyased etāṅy aṅvādīṅyathākramam;* MM 12.33: *kapālaūlakhaṅvāṅgaṅ ... pūrvādīṅ nyaset;* Kāmika 31.35ab: *pūrvādīkramayogena cāṅyau cāṅvādīāṅsu ca...;* Dīpta 4.13ab: *pūrvādyaṅyau koṅheṅ ... nyaset.*

(1963: xxxii-xxxiii) and (Davis 2000: 129).<sup>64</sup> It seems that in the present passage the *mūlamantra* consists of a series of mantras associated with the deities belonging to the group of the eight Vidyēāvaras, namely Ananta, Sūkama, Āvottama, Ekanetra, Ekarudra, Trimūrti, Ārikañña and Āikhaññin. The Vidyēāvaras are considered the eight ‘agents’ of Āiva. Their iconography is discussed in KĀ 48. See also KĀ 48 and *mūrdheṣṣakā* 33 where they are invoked during the *kumbhasthāpana* ceremony.

Instead of the mantras of the Vidyēāvaras mentioned by the KĀ, many parallel sources prescribe placing (or pronouncing) the eight letters ‘from *ya* to *ha*’, viz.: *ya ra la va āa ṛa sa ha*, in the eight compartments around the central one. See: Kāmika 31.30ab, Ajita 17.18cd, Dīpta 4.13ab, Kāraṇa 6.28cd and Kumāra 31.2173cd.<sup>65</sup> It is further to be noticed that in the SĀP the same letters are brought into relation with the Vidyēāvaras.<sup>66</sup> It is not certain, however, if the same is intended in the Kāyapaāilpa.

16cd *tadbāhye ṛoēāāe koṛṛhe pūrvādikramayogatai* ||

17ab *ākārādivisargāntān svarān nyaset yathākramam* |

**In the sixteen compartments surrounding these (eight) one should, starting in the east, place the vowels in due order beginning with the *a* and ending with *visarga*.**

16 c: *tadbāhye*: all mss; *tadbāhya*: T400; *koṛṛha*: T297; *bāhyāṛoēāāakoṛṛheṣu*: T411;

d: *pūrvādik kramayogatai*: all Malayalam mss.

17 a<sup>1</sup>: *ākārādi*: 8561; a<sup>2</sup>: *visargānta*: P, Th; *visargāntā*: T297; *visargāntāt*: T2; *visargāntāā*: T1;

b: *svārāṇyastvā krameṇa tu*: all Malayalam mss, 8561, T1, T2, T400, T411; *sparān nyasvā krameṇa tu*: P; *svārāṇasvā trameṇa tu*: T297; *svārān nyaset krameṇa tu*: 447;

**Pāda 16c:** *ṛoēāāe koṛṛhe* – lit: ‘in the sixteenth compartment’. It should be understood here as ‘in the group of sixteen compartments’, cf. Dīpta 5 (p. 262): *prāgādi ṛoēāāe koṛṛhe svarān ṛoēāāa vinyaset*.

<sup>64</sup> “When invoking Āiva, the worshiper recites the MŪLA (“root”) mantra, ‘Oā hauā, I bow to Āiva’. Also referred to as ĀIVA and PRĀSĀDA (“lofty”), this mantra signifies Āiva in his totality” (Davis 2000: 129 and 178 n 28).

<sup>65</sup> Kāmika 31.30ab: *pūrvādyāṣṣasū koṛṛheṣu yādihāntāā ca vinyaset*; Ajita 17.18cd and Kumāra 31.2173cd: *yakārādihakārāntāā parito ṛasū vinyaset*; Kāraṇa 6.28cd: *pūrvādyāṣṣasū koṛṛheṣu yādihāntāni vinyaset*; Dīpta 4.13ab: *pūrvādyāṣṣasū koṛṛheṣu yakārādyāṣṣakāā nyaset*.

<sup>66</sup> See SĀP IV.1.46 and its translation by Brunner (1998: 38): “Après avoir déposé dans les Vases – un sur chaque Vase – les Gardiens du Monde dont le dernier est Ananta, en utilisant leurs *mantra* personnels, [le *guru*] doit rendre hommage à ces Vases, soit avec les mêmes *mantra*, soit avec leurs *mantra* propres. Les *bija* sont, à partir d’Indra: lūā, rūā, āūā, ṛūā, vūā, yūā, sūā et hūā.” It should be noted that *indrādi* translated by Brunner ‘à partir d’Indra’ may also mean ‘beginning from the east’.

**Pāda 17ab:** *svarāi* – the sixteen vowels: *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṝ, ṅ, ṅ̄, ś, e, ai, o au* together with the *anusvāra* (*aā*) and *visargai* (*ai*). The same is prescribed by Kāmika 31.30cd, Kāraṇa 6.29ab, Dīpta 5 (see above, pāda 16c), Kumāra 31.2174ab and Ajita 17.19cd.<sup>67</sup> Ajita adds that one should worship each vowel with a formula starting with the *praṇava* and ending with *namai*.<sup>68</sup>

It is not known whether the vowels were factually placed into the deposit casket, for instance after being written on a sheet of metal. The act of placing might have been entirely oral and mental as suggested by Bhatt (1993-94: 73). It is to be noted, however, that finds from Southeast Asia suggest that some form of ‘placing of the syllables’ was realized by means of letters engraved on gold foil (Lamb 1960: 79). For more information see Chapter 7.3 and Appendix IV.

*[General instruction: the objects to be placed in the casket and those to be placed in the cavity]*

While the previous two sections (directions for making the casket in verses 7cd-14 and the placing of the mantras and the *svaras* in 15-17ab) deal with two consecutive stages in the *garbhanyāsa* ritual, the present statement (17cd-18ab) breaks the chronological treatment of the ritual in order to give a brief, general instruction concerning the placing of objects in the casket and the placing of objects in the cavity in which the casket is to be deposited.<sup>69</sup>

The elaborate description of the objects to be placed in the casket and in the cavity is included in verses 19-29 (casket) and 49-53 (cavity).

17cd *ratnalohāni dhātūni phelâyābhyantare nyaset ||*

18ab *mùtkandadhānyapatrāṇi garbhagarte tu vinyaset |*

**The gems, metals and minerals one should place inside the casket. But the earth, bulbs, grains and leaves one should place in the *garbha* pit.<sup>70</sup>**

17 c<sup>1</sup>: *ratnalobhāni*: T297, P, Th;

c<sup>2</sup>: *dhātūni*: all mss, T400, T411; *dhātrāni*: T2; *dhākrāni*: T297, P; *dhānyāni*: Th; *dhātūā ca*: T1;

<sup>67</sup> Kāmika 31.30cd: *akārādivisargāntān bāhyakoṇeṣu vinyaset*; Kāraṇa 6.29ab: *akārādini bijāni prākkoṣhādīṣu vinyaset*; Kumāra 31.2174.ab: *tadbāhye koṣapūrvādi vinyaset ṅeāāasvarān*.

<sup>68</sup> Ajita 17.19cd: *tadbāhye pūrvataā cāpi svarān ṅeāāa vinyaset | tat tad akāram abhyarcya praṇavādinamo ‘ntakāi ||*

<sup>69</sup> The same sequence is employed in Dīpta 4.12ff (ed. Dagens et al. 2004). It should be noted that also 18cd is almost identical with Dīpta 4.15ab, cf. *phelaāuddhiā tatai kūtva ratnā mantrair vinikāipet*.

<sup>70</sup> The *garbha* pit - the cavity in which the deposit will be installed. The earth and so on are placed, in fact, above the deposit casket, see verses 47-48.

d: *phelavāsbyantare*: T2; *phelābhyantavakaä*: T297; *phalābhyantavaka*: P; *phalāni avarake*: Th; *golāyābhyantare*: T411; *bhelāyābhyantare*: 8561;  
 18 a: *mūtkādhānya*: T297; *mūtkandaä*: T400; *mūtkandaä dhānyalohāni*: 447;

**Pāda 17cd**: the editors of P and Th suggest the emendation of *lobhāni* (the reading of P, Th, T297) to *hemāni*. *lohāni*, however, seems a better choice and it is, moreover, supported by the rest of our sources. In many *garbhanyāsa* descriptions *loha* or, sometimes, *paōcaloha*, is used to denominate a group of metals to be placed in the deposit casket, see MarīcīS 13.1.2, Suprabheda 28.24ab. *loha* used as a generic term for metal is found already in the Arthāāstra (Chakrabarti and Lahiri 1996: 141).

*dhātūni* – incorrect for *dhātūn*, perhaps under the influence of *lohāni*. The reading of T1: *dhātūä ca* is grammatically correct, but it seems to be a later correction.<sup>71</sup> *dhānyāni*, the reading of Th, is correct grammatically and it follows the text – grains, too, are to be placed in the deposit casket (see 28cd-29ab) – but it is given by only one source.

**Pāda 17d**: *phelāyābhyantare* – a double *sandhi*. For other examples in the Kāyapaāilpa and elsewhere, see Chaper 3.6.

**Pāda 18ab**: *patrāni* – while earth, bulbs and grains are listed further on as objects to be placed in the pit, leaves are not referred to. Neither are the *lohas* given by the manuscript 447. On the other hand, leaves (mango leaves etc.) are sometimes placed in the pit for a foundation deposit according to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century practice (Rose 1909: 122).

### [Placing the objects in the casket]

After the general instructions, 18cd takes up the sequential discussion of the rites with the purification of the casket.

The section which follows (19-29) discusses in great detail the placing of objects in the casket and concludes with the closing of the casket with a tight cover. The objects deposited inside the casket are: precious stones (19-21ab), attributes of Āiva made of various metals (21cd-25), minerals (26-27) and grains (28cd-29ab).

18cd *phelāūddhiä tatai kūtva astramantram udāharan ||*

### Having purified the casket while uttering the *astramantra*...

<sup>71</sup> Both *dhātūä ca* and *dhātūni* are found as variant readings in the Ajita 10.58 (*prathamevākā* chapter): *tato lohāni dhātūä ca* etc. Other readings of the same passage: *yatrāni* (ms A) and *dhātūni* (mss C, E, F).

c: *phalaâuddhiä*: P, Th; *phelâä äuddhi tatai kütvä*: T297; *âuddhi tatai kütvä*: : all Malayalam mss; *phelââu[ddh]iä tata kütvä*: 8561; *phelââuciä tato gavyai*: T1 (Keeveür: *phelâyâä äucim tato* with dots above *âyâä*);

d: *gavyair atra udâhutam*: 447; *gavyadastrety udâharan*: P, Th; *gavyadasted udâharan*: T297; *bhadair astram udâharat*: T2; *astramantram udâharan*: T1;

**Pâda 18d**: *astramantra* – the ‘weapon-mantra’, one of the five *aḡgamantras* (see KÅ *prathameâakâ* 43c-44a) usually identified as *phaḡ* or as a formula containing *phaḡ* (van Kooij 1972: 183 and Rocher 1986: 192). For the formula and the use of *astra* see Brunner (1963: xxxv).

A number of our sources include in pâda d the term *gavya*, ‘the products of the cow’. Related works prescribe cleaning of the deposit casket with *gavya* or *paḡcagavya*, e.g. Kāmika 31.27 (*gavya*), ÎĀGDP 27.78, KJōK 16, PādmaS 6.25, MM 12.16, MS 12.24, AtriS 10.20 etc. (see Chapter 5 note 10). In some texts it is the excavation pit which is sprinkled with *paḡcagavya* (see ĀriprS 7.20). A combination of employing the products of the cow and uttering the *astramantra* occurs in Diehl’s description of the South Indian Āiva Siddhānta ‘Nittya Homam’ (1956: 124). In the same context mention is made of a *garbhâdhāna* ceremony for producing a new fire, which is ‘consecrated with the Astira Mantra in order to protect the ‘embryo’ (Diehl 1956: 125). In the present verse, however, none of the readings including the term *gavya* are grammatically correct.<sup>72</sup>

The purification intended in 18cd may have concerned especially the inside of the casket in which the objects are now to be placed. At a later stage (verse 37) the casket, already firmly closed, is to be sprinkled or consecrated with the products of the cow before it is bathed in fragrant water.

19 *māñikyaä vinyaset kûe kûâkæaram udâharan |*  
*anante vinyased vajraä sūkæme tu mauktikaä nyaset ||*

... one should place a ruby in the *kûa* (compartment) while uttering the *kûâkæara*. In the ‘Ananta’ one should place a diamond, in the ‘Sūkæma’ a pearl.

a: *māñikkaä*: Keeveür;

b: *kûamantram*: Th; *udâhutan/ä*: all Malayalam mss, T1, T411 (not T400!); missing in T297;

c: missing in all Malayalam mss and in T297; *anena vinyased*: T400;

d: missing in all Malayalam mss; *sūkæme sauktika vinyaset*: T297, P; *sūkæme mauktikaä nyaset*: Th; T297: see above;

**Pâda ab**: *kûe* – refers here not to the *kûamantra*, but to the compartment to which the *kûamantra* or *kûtâkæara* has been assigned in 15ab – to the central

<sup>72</sup> One could expect here, for example, the reading *gavyenâstram udâharan*, but it is not given by any of the sources.



compartment. This compartment receives the first of the nine precious stones, a ruby.

**Pāda cd:** *anante* etc. – in 19cd-21ab the remaining eight precious stones (once: a conch) are placed in the eight compartments assigned to the eight Vidyeāvaras and situated around the central one (see 15cd-16ab).

It not clear in our text whether the Vidyeāvaras have been assigned sequentially (*krameṇā*) or whether first the four compartments of the main directions (the four *diā*) get their share and next those of the intermediate directions (*vidiā*). In both cases the east is the starting point. A continuous sequential arrangement of the precious stones is given in MM 12.27cd-29 and MS 12.42d-45a, a *diā-vidiā* arrangement in Ajita 29.299-300, PādmaS 6.34b-36a and KJōK 45. According to the tables given by Brunner (1963: 166, 333), the eight Vidyeāvaras are associated with the east, southeast, south, southwest etc. If these associations are valid for the KĀ it may be inferred that the Vidyeāvaras are placed following the sequential arrangement (east, southeast, south etc.). On this basis, a comparison can be made between the KĀ and other texts regarding the precious stone and the respective directions. From the comparison it becomes clear that some gems are always assigned to the same compartment: the ruby in the centre, the diamond in the east or in the centre.

20 *āivottamendranīlāḥ syāt sphāṅikāḥ tv ekanetrake |  
ekarudre tu āākhaḥ syāt trimūrtau puṣparāgakaḥ ||*

**In ‘Āivottama’ there should be a sapphire, in ‘Ekanetraka’ a crystal,  
in ‘Ekarudra’ there should be a conch, in ‘Trimūrta’ a topaz.**

a: *āilottamair indranīlāḥ*: P, Th; *āilottamai indranīlāḥ*: T297; *āivoktacandranīlāḥ syāt*: T2; *āive tadindranīlāḥ syāt*: T400; *āivettadendranīlāḥ syāt*: all Malayalam mss; *āivottamendranīlāḥ syāt*: 8561, T1, T411; *āivāntarendranīlāḥ syāt*: 447;

b: *syāt sphāṅikyaikanetrake*: P; *syāt sphāṅikyaikanetrakam*: Th; *syāt sphāṅikatyekanetrake*: T297; *sphāṅikāḥ caikanetrake*: T2; *sphāṅikasyekanetrake*: 8561;

c: *ekanetre tu āākhaḥ syāt*: all Malayalam mss, T400; *āākhaḥ ca*: T411;

d<sup>1</sup>: *trimūrte*: T2, T297, P, Th;

d<sup>2</sup>: *puṣparāgakaḥ*: Th, T2; *puṣyarāgakaḥ*: all mss, T1, T297, T400, 447; *puṣkarāgakaḥ*: P; *puṣyagamakaḥ*: T411;

**Pāda a:** *āivottamendranīlāḥ* – the correct *sandhi* would be: *āivottama indranīlam*. This, however, would result in one syllable too many. Another option would be to consider *syāt* as a gloss and exclude it from the adopted text, but as it occurs in all the variant readings, it is plausible that it formed a part of the original text. In this case the possibility of a double *sandhi* in the original text should not be excluded. Double *sandhi* is fairly common in architectural literature, see verses 17c and 50

and Chapter 3.6. Besides, the version with correct *sandhi* – *āivottama indranīlāā* – is not correct metrically while the version with *syāt* is.

**Pāda b:** *sphaṇṇika* and *sphāṇṇika* – both forms exist (MW). *sphaṇṇika* seems to be more common in architectural texts.

21 *ārīkaṇṇhe sūryakāntāā syāc chikhaṇṇē tu vidūragaā |*  
*svarṇēnaiva gajāā kūtvā akāre vinyaset budhai ||*

**In ‘Ārīkaṇṇha’ there should be a sun-stone, in ‘Āikhaṇṇēi’ a cat’s eye. Having made an elephant of gold the wise one should place it in the a-compartment.**

b<sup>1</sup>: *āikhaṇṇē*: 8561, T2, Th; *āikhaṇṇēau*: all Malayalam mss, T297, T400, P; *vaiēūryāā tu āikhaṇṇēike*: T1; *vaiēūryāā tu āikhaṇṇēine*: T411;

b<sup>2</sup>: *viēūrakaā*: 8561; *vidūrakaā*: T2; *visūrakaā*: T297, P, Th; *viūrakaā*: T400; *vi[ṇṇa?]rakaā*: 20088, 20089; [...]*rakaā*: 16847, 16923;

c: *jagat kūtvā*: T297, P, Th; *gajāā kūtvā*: 8561, T1, T2, T411; *vajāā kūtvā*: 20088, 20089; *paṇṇāā kūtvā*: 16847, 16923;

**Pāda b:** *āikhaṇṇēin* appears here as a-stem;

*vidūraga* – also known as *vaiēūrya*: cat’s eye, chrysoberyl.<sup>73</sup>

**Pāda c:** *gaja* – seems the most probable of all variant readings: an elephant is the mount of Indra who is the guardian of the east and the *a*-compartment where one has to place the *gaja* is most probably oriented towards the east (see 16cd-17ab). Moreover, in some deposits of Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka small figures of elephants were found.<sup>74</sup>

**Pāda d:** *akāre* – in the same way as above, also here the compartments are indicated by the symbol or name that has been assigned to them, in this case a vowel (see 16cd-17ab). The objects placed in the ‘vowel-compartments’ (the sixteen outer compartments) include eight attributes of the main god of the temple, i.e. Āiva (listed in 21cd-25ab; an additional attribute is placed in the central compartment of the casket, see 25cd), and eight different minerals (pigments; listed in 25-26). Assuming that the vowels are assigned in the alphabetical order starting in the east, it appears that the eight attributes are placed in the compartments in the main and intermediary directions. The remaining eight compartments of the outer circle receive each a mineral (see below).

<sup>73</sup> “*vaiēūrya*: ‘oeil-de-chat’ il s’agit probablement d’une variété de chrysobéryl à l’aspect ‘oeil-de-chat’ car elle est fréquemment utilisée telle quelle (aussi bien par L.Finot dans ses *Lapidaires indiens* que dans les dictionnaires français courants); il serait cependant plus exact scientifiquement de parler de ‘chrysobéryl à effect oeil-de-chat’; cet effet chatoyant peut d’ailleurs concerner différents types de cristaux” Dagens and Barazer-Billoret (2000: 164 note 25).

<sup>74</sup> *vajra* would be another reading which could be expected, but it is not given by any of our sources.

- 22 *kapālaā rajatenaiva ikāre tu nidhāpayet |  
tāmreñaiva kūtaā kuābham ukāre dvijasattama ||*

**One should place a skull-bowl made of silver in the *i*-compartment (and) a jar made of copper in the *u*-compartment, o best of Brahmins.**

a: *kāpā[ōc?]aā rajateō caiva*: 8561;  
c<sup>1</sup>: *tāā[? ]reñaiva*: 8561; *tantreñaiva*: P, Th; etc.  
c<sup>2</sup>: *tu taā kuābham*: 8561; T297, T400, P, Th;  
d: *viprasattama*: T2; *kā uākāre dvijasattama*: T411;

**Pāda b:** for the translation of *nidhāpayet* (here and in verses 23-25 below), see the note to KĀ *prathamevākā* 20b, and verse 16b above.

- 23 *ārakūena khaivāogaā ukāre tu nidhāpayet |  
kāāsyaenaiva pinākaā tu ukāre vinyased budhai ||*

**One should place a *khaivāoga* of *ārakūna* (brass) in the *ū*-compartment. The wise should place a bow of *kāāsya* (bell-metal) in the *ī*-compartment.**

a: *tad dvāraā*: P, Th; *kadvāraā*: T297; *hārakūena khaivāogaā*: 8561; *paācāgaā*: T2;  
b: *ga-kāre*: P, Th; *gaā* crossed-out (~~gaā~~) with an *ū* written above: 8561; *gadrukāre*: T297; *ūkāre*: 447;  
c-d missing in T1; c: *kāāsye [ ... ] nākaā tu*: 16847; *kaāsonaiva vinākaā tu*: 16923; *vinākaā tu*: T297, P;  
d: *a-kāre*: 16923, T297, P; *a-kāro*: 20089; *ī-kāro*: 20088; *ō-kāre*: 8561; *ka-kāre*: Th;

**Pāda a:** *khatvāoga* – a club or staff with a skull on the top; one of the attributes of Āiva.

**Pāda b:** *nidhāpayet*: see 16b.

- 24 *sīsena paraāuā kūtvā ekāre tu nidhāpayet |  
trapuñā hariñāā kūtvā okāre tu nidhāpayet ||*

**Having made an axe of lead one should place it in the *e*-compartment. Having made an antelope of tin one should place it in the *o*-compartment.**

a-d missing in T1; a: ... *ttisena*: T400;

b: *nākāre*: Th; *kūtvaikāre*: T400; *a-kāre*: 447;  
 c: *hariñān*: 20088, 16923; *harañāā*: P; *hariñā*: 447;  
 d: *o-kāre*: 447, T411; *au-kāre*: all mss, T2, T297, P, Th; *kūtvaikāre*: T400;

25 *triāūlāā āyāsenaīva aākāre tu nidhāpayet |*  
*svarñēna vūābhaā kūtva kūākāre nidhāpayet ||*

**One should place a trident of iron in the *aā*-compartment.  
 Having made a bull of gold one should place it in the *kūākāra*  
 (central) compartment.**

a-b missing in T1;  
 b: *a-kāre*: T297; *kūtvaākāre*: T400; *makāre*: T411;  
 d: *kūavarñē nidhāpayet*: T411; *kūāsthāne niveāayet*: 447; *kūākāra nidhāpayet*: T297;

**Pāda d:** *nidhāpayet*: see 16b.

The same list of ‘weapons’ or attributes of Āiva as given in verses 21cd-25 and made each of a different metal is given in *Dīpta* 4.18-22.<sup>75</sup> An almost identical list occurs in *MM* 12.33 (‘foundation deposit for the Āiva temple’), but with the noose (*pāā*) prescribed instead of a jar and without mentioning the elephant (the total number of attributes according to the *MM* is eight, in the *KĀ* it is nine).

26 *ākāre vinyasec chyāmam ikāre tu manai āilāā |*  
*ūkāre jātiliōgaā tu ūkāre gairikaā nyaset ||*

**One should place iron in the *ā*-compartment, red arsenic in the *ī*-  
 compartment. One should place the *jātiliōga* in the *ū*-compartment,  
 red chalk in the *ū*-compartment.**

a: *vinyaset āyāmaā*: 20088, 20089, Keeveūr; *vinyaset s[y]āmām*: 8561; *vinyaset āamyāā*: Th;  
*vinyasec chamyāā*: P; *vinyasec chyāmā*: T2; *vinyasec chāmyāā*: T297; *vinyasec chyāmīā*: T400;  
 b: *manaāāilāā*: Th; *manaāāilā*: T1; *manai āilā*: T400; *manoāāilāā*: T2; *mataāāilāā*: P; *mitaāāilā*:  
 T297; *manoāāilāā*: all mss, T411;  
 c: *u-kāre*: T2, P, Th;  
 d<sup>1</sup>: *ū-kāre*: 20089, T2, T297, T400, P, Th, T411; d<sup>2</sup>: *gauri vinyaset*: 8561, T411; *gaurikaā*: T2;  
*gairika nyaset*: all Malayalam mss; *gairikāā*: T1, P, Th;

<sup>75</sup> *sauvarñēna gajaā kūtva ākāre vinyased budhai | rājatena kapālaā syād ikāre vinyased budhai*  
 || *tāmreñā kārayet kūmmam ūkāre yojya mantratai | ārakūñēna khañvāōgam ūkāre vinyased budhai*  
 || *bhramakena pinākaā syād vinyaset tu ūkārake | vaikūntakena paraāuā kūtvaikāre tu vinyaset ||*  
*aūkāre yojya hariñāā kāāsīyakamayaā purai | āyāsena kūtaāāūlam ai kāre sthāpya deāikai ||*  
*kūtva jāmunadenokāā kūñe nikāpya mantratai | evāā vinyasya bahudhā dhātavo vinyased*  
*budhai ||*

**Pāda a:** *āyāma* – iron (see Colas 1986: 152 note 4).<sup>76</sup>

**Pāda c:** *jātīliōga* – a mineral common in South India (Tamil: *cātīliōkam*), probably a kind of pyrite.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, one may suspect in our text a corruption from *jātīhiōgula* or *jātīhiōgulya*, a term occurring in many parallel texts, for example in MS 12.40cd (79A) and MM 12.25cd (the latter translated by Dagens 1994: 127 as ‘cinnabar’).<sup>78</sup>

**Pāda d:** *gairika* – red chalk (Acharya 1934: 113) or hematite (Dagens 1994: 127).

27 *saurāṣṭra*ā caiva śkāre aikāre tv aōjanaā nyaset /  
gorocanaā tathaukāre visarge haritālakam ||

**(One should place) *saurāṣṭra* in the ś-compartment, collyrium in the ai-compartment, yellow orpiment in the au-compartment, *haritālaka* in the *visarga*-compartment.**

a<sup>1</sup>: *saurāṣṭra caiva*: Th; a<sup>2</sup>: *ī-kāre*: Th, T411; *ī-kāra*: P; *ā-kāre*: 20089;

b<sup>1</sup>: *e-kāre*: 8561, T297, P, Th, 447; *ekere*: T411; b<sup>2</sup>: *tv aōjanaā*: P, Th; *tv aḥjanā*: T297; *aōjanā*: T2; *tv ajana*: T411;

c: *gorocanan tu aukāre*: T2, T411; *gorocanaā tathāākāre*: P, Th; *gorocanaā tathākāre*: T400; *gorocane tathākāre*: T297; *gorocana tv eēhau[?]kāre*: 8561;

d: *visarjjanīye trikālakaā*: all Malayalam mss, T400; *visarjai nīye ritālakaā*: 8561; *visarjjanīā haritālakaā*: Keeveūr (*visarge haritālakaā*: T1), *visarge hāritālakaā*: 447; T411; *visarge aritālakaā*: T2; *visarjye nīladhārakaā*: P, Th; *visajja nīladhārakaā*: T297;

**Pāda a:** *saurāṣṭra* – “a kind of amalgam of zinc or copper, bell-metal, brass” (MW 1899: 1255). The term *saurāṣṭra* occurs in certain parallel sources, for example in the Raurava<sup>79</sup> and in the MarīciS.<sup>80</sup>

**Pāda c:** *haritālaka* – the same as *haritāla*, yellow orpiment; T297, P and Th read here *nīladhāraka*. The meaning of this term not clear, it might be understood as a dark blue pigment, perhaps indigo (according to Shah 1958-61: 118, *nīla* means

<sup>76</sup> See also Dagens & Barazer-Billoret (2000: 164 note 28): “*āyāma*: le nom laisse supposer un mineral de couleur noire ou bleue-noire mais le terme est employé à propos des émeraudes, la couleur serait peut-être celle d’une pierre verte.”

<sup>77</sup> Brunner (1986: 27 note 4) mentions that the Suprabhedha lists *jātīliōga* as a red pigment, but she is not able to identify it.

<sup>78</sup> KāyapaJK 85 lists *jātīhiōgulikamanaāīlāōjanagorocanān* as *dhātus*. Goudriaan (1965: 260) translates it: “the minerals *jāti*, vermilion...” etc. and adds that *jāti* is, probably, the same as *jatu* ‘lac, gum’ (ibid., note 17). It is likely, however, that *jātīhiōgulika* is to be taken as a single word referring to ‘vermillion’. In other occurrences of the term it appears from the context that *jātīhiōgula/jātīhiōgulya* cannot be divided (MM 9.110, 12.25; MS 12.40).

<sup>79</sup> According to Dagens and Barazer-Billoret (2000: 164 note 29): “*saurāṣṭra*: il semble que ce soit un metal (au Tamilnad on désigne sous ce nom un alliage de cinq métaux utilisé dans la fabrication des cloches et des statues, mais il n’est pas certain que ce soit celui dont on parle ici.”

<sup>80</sup> Here *saurāṣṭra* is equated by Colas (1986:152 note 5) with *saurāṣṭri* ‘alun’ (K<sub>2</sub>(SO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>2</sub>).

indigo); *trikāḷakaä*, the reading of all the Malayalam manuscripts and of T400, is certainly corrupt.

**Pāda d:** *visarge* – in the *ai*-compartment. With *haritāla* the placing of the minerals in the casket is completed. As noted previously (see note to 21d), the 16 outer compartments receive the attributes of *Āiva*, which are placed in the compartments in the main and intermediary directions, and minerals, which are placed in the compartments laying in-between. It is interesting to mention that the arrangement of certain groups of objects in the *garbha* casket in the MM, the MS and the *ĪĀGDP* (the texts where, just as in the *Kāyapañḷpa*, a casket of twenty-five compartments is used) is identical: in all four texts the precious stones are to be placed in the eight compartments surrounding the central one and in the middle. The eight minerals are assigned to those of the sixteen outer compartments which are situated between the main and intermediary directions (see MM 12, MS 12 and *ĪĀGDP* 27). The distribution of objects in the deposit casket in several texts, such as the MM, the MS, the *ĪĀGDP* and the *Suprabheda* is easy to trace as the deposit casket there is, as it were, a miniature of a ground plan of twenty-five plots known in the architectural literature as *upapīṭha*. The compartments of the deposit casket are referred to by the names of deities associated with the plots of the *upapīṭha* plan (see note 8 above).

28 *tattadbījaä anusmūtya vinyaset tu krameña tu |*  
*yavā nīvāraāāli ca priyaògutilasarāpam ||*

**Having recollected one by one the *bīja-mantras* one should place in due order the seven kinds of grain:<sup>81</sup> barley, wild rice, unhusked rice, panic seed, sesame, mustard, ...**

a: *tadbījaä samanasmūtya*: P, Th; *tadvījaä anusmūtyaä*: T297; *tattadbījaä/-vījaä anusmūtya*: all Malayalam mss; *tattadvījaä anusmūtya*: T411;

b: *tatkrameña tu*: P, Th; *krameña tu*: T297; *vinyaset tu krameña ca*: T1; *kamena tu*: 20089;

**Pāda d:** *priyaògu* - panic seed (MW 1899: 711); translated by Dagens and Barazer-Billoret as 'millet' (2000: 596), and as 'riz brun' (2000: 164).

29 *mudgāni saptabījāni pūrayed garbhabhājanam |*  
*pidhāya ca pidhānena susnigdhaä sudùhaä kuru ||*

**... green gram. (With these) one should fill the *garbha* casket. Having covered it with a lid, make (the surface) smooth and firm.**

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<sup>81</sup> *saptabījāni*, see 29a.

a: *ratnāni*: all Malayalam mss, T400; *mudgāni sveta bijāni*: T2; *mudgāni satpabījāni*: T411;  
 b: *garbhabhājane*: T2, P, Th;

**Pāda a:** the reading *ratnāni* given by all Malayalam manuscripts seems out of place: the gems were placed in the casket already before and the text clearly states that now seven kinds of grain, *saptabījāni*, are to be deposited.

With placing the seven kinds of grain the distribution of the objects in the deposit casket is completed. It is not clear in which compartments the grains are to be placed. In the MM, MS and the IĀGDP the grains are deposited in the outer row of compartments, in the main and intermediary directions (in the Kāyapaīlpa these compartments are occupied by the attributes of Āiva).<sup>82</sup>

### [The construction of a pavilion]

The present section deals with the construction of a temporary pavilion meant for preparatory rites; cf. KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 10cd-16 and KĀ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 7-14. The text does not specify which ceremonies are indeed performed inside the pavilion.

30 *prāsādasyottare vāgre paōcaṣṣaptahastakām |*  
*ṣoēāṣṣtaābhasaāyuktāā prapāā kūtvātisundarām ||*

**To the north of the temple or in front of it one should build<sup>83</sup> a very beautiful pavilion, measuring five, six or seven *hastas* and having sixteen pillars.**

a: *prāsādasyottare cāgre*: P, Th, T297; *prāsādasyottare vāgre*: Keeveūr (T1 *cāgre!*), 8561, T2, T400, T411, 447; *phoā* [da written but crossed-out] *sya[ā?]cottare vāgre*: 20089; *phāādasya[nya]ccottare* [ ... ]: 20088; *phālādasyaccottare vāgre*: 16847; *phālādasyadvottare vāgre*: 16923;

b: *paōcaṣṣaptahasta vā[pā?]*: 8561; *paōcaṣṣaptahasta vā*: T1, T2, T400; *paōcaṣṣaptahastaā kaā [kā]*: 16847; *paōcaṣṣaptahastaā*: T297, T411;

c: *saāyuktaā*: all mss, T1, T297, T400; *staōgasaāyuktaā*: T2;

d: *prapāā kūtvātisundaraā*: all mss, T1, T297, T400, T411; *prapā kūtvā 'tisundaraā*: P; *prapāā kūtvā tu sundaraā*: T2, 447;

**Pāda a:** *prāsāda* – most probably the temple which is being built.

**Pāda d:** *prapā* – see KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 11a.

<sup>82</sup> For the objects to be placed in the deposit casket in the parallel texts, see Chapter 7.1.1.2.

<sup>83</sup> The absolutives *kūtvā* (30d) and *ācchādya* (31a) are translated as optative in order to avoid a very long sentence (ending with *prakalpayet* in 32b).

*atisundarâm* - all manuscripts but one read *-sundaram* (masc. or neuter sg.) instead of *-sundarâm* (fem. sg.), which would correspond with the feminine noun *prapâ*. It has been decided to emend the text here in order to obtain the correct gender ending. For similar cases, see verse 1 and 31-32, KÅ *prathameṣṣakâ* 11cd and 12b, and Chapter 3.6.

31 *vitānenordhvaä ācchādya taraāgaii staābhavēṣṣanaaii |*  
*dvāratorañasaäyuktāä darbhamâlādibhūṣṣitām ||*

**One should cover<sup>84</sup> (the pavilion) from above with a canopy, (the pavilion which is endowed) with 'waves', pillar wrappings and which is equipped with doors and arches and decorated with *darbha* grass and garlands.**

a: *vidhānenordhvaä*: T297, P, Th; *vitānenordhvaä*: all mss, T2, T400; *pidhānasyordhvaä*: T1; *pitānenordhvaä*: T411;

b: *taraāgastaābhavēṣṣanaä*: 8561, T1, T411; *taraāgaii staābhavēṣṣanaä*: all Malayalam mss, T400; *taraāgaii staābhavēṣṣanaaii*: P, Th; *taraāge staābhavēṣṣanaaii*: T297; *taraāgastaābhavēṣṣitaä*: T2;

c: *saäyuktaä*: all sources;

d: *darbhamâlādibhūṣṣitaä*: 8561, T1, T2, T297, T411, P, Th; *darbhamâlāvibhūṣṣitaä*: all Malayalam mss, T400;

**Pāda a:** *vitāna* - canopy, cover; cf. KÅ *prathameṣṣakâ* 11d, KÅ *mūrdhemeṣṣakâ* 9d, Dīpta 4 and Raurava 18.<sup>85</sup>

**Pāda b:** *taraāga* – 'wave'. Acharya (1993: 193) describes *taraāga* as "an ornament or moulding employed in capitals terminating by undulating lines" while Dagens (1984: 61) calls it "a decoration consisting of 'waves' which correspond to what G. Jouveau-Dubreuil called 'rouleaux' or 'copeaux' (Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde t. I p. 94)."

*staābhavēṣṣana* – wrappings for the pillars (Goudriaan 1965: 180).

**Pāda cd:** the masculine-neuter endings *-saäyuktaä* and *-bhūṣṣitaä* were changed into the feminine ones *-saäyuktāä* and *-bhūṣṣitāä*, which correspond with the feminine noun *prapâ* (30d).

<sup>84</sup> *ācchādya*. As in the verse 30, it was decided to translate the absolute as optative. Long sentences in which subsequent activities are expressed by means of absolutes are a common occurrence in the Āgamas, cf. Raurava 25.32-33: *prāsādasyāgrato vaiāe mañēpaä caturaarakam | vitānādyair alaākūtya madhye tv akāakareṣṣa tu || vyāsaä tu vedikāyā ca tadvedāāena tuōgakam | darpañodarasaäkāāā kartavyāā sopavedikam ||*, 'devant le temple ou au nord-est, on décore un pavillon carré avec des tentures, etc.; au centre il y a un autel dont la largeur est de deux coudées et don't la hauteur est le quart de cette (largeur); (sa surface supérieure) est lisse comme un miroir et il possède un socle' (trans. Barazer-Billoret and Dagens 2000: 122).

<sup>85</sup> See Dīpta 4 (p. 263, transcript T1018): *prapāä kūtva... vitānadhvajasaäyuktaä*; Raurava 18.62ab: *mañēpaä vä prapāä väpi vitānādyair alaōkūtam*.



- 32 *mañèapasya tribhāgaikāā madhye vediā prakalpayet |  
hastamātrasamutsedhāā tālamātrām athāpi vā ||*

**In the middle (of the pavilion) one should prepare a *vedi* (a platform) measuring one-third of the pavilion, with a height measuring one *hasta* or one *tāla*.**

- a: *tribhāgaika*: T411; *tribhāgaikam*: all sources but T411;  
b: *madhyavediā*: all Malayalam mss, T411; *madhye vediā*: T1; *madhye vedi*: T297;  
c: *hastamātraā samutsedhaā*: T297; *samucchedaā*: 447; *-utsedhaā*: all remaining sources;  
d: *tālamātram*: all sources;

**Pāda a:** *mañèapa* = *prapā*;

*tribhāgaikām* – see 11a, KĀ *prathamevākā* 12c and KĀ *mūrdhevākā* 10c.

The prescription that the *vedi* or *vedikā* should measure one-third of the ceremonial pavilion is found in several texts; for the examples from the Ajita and the Raurava, see Dagens (1984: 111). Compare also KĀ *prathamevākā* 12cd and *mūrdhevākā* 10cd.

**Pāda a-d:** *tribhāgaikām*, *-utsedhāā*, *-mātrām* – also here it has been decided to change the masculine-neuter endings into the correct feminine ones. Yet, the situation here is slightly different than that in verses 30-31. The terms *tribhāgaikām*, *-utsedhāā* and *-mātrām* refer to the *vedi*, which, though a feminine word, can be understood as masculine or neuter by someone not well acquainted with Sanskrit. Therefore, it should not be excluded that the original text read *tribhāgaikaā*, *-utsedhaā* and *-mātram*. It is much more difficult to assume that such a mistake has taken place in the case of *prapā*.

- 33 *paritas tv agnikuñèāni mahāāsu dvijottama |  
caturaāraā dhanur vūtaā padmaā prāgvādiāu kramāt ||*

**O best of Brahmins, around (the vedi), in the main directions, (should be arranged) the fire pits: the square one, bow-shaped one, round one (and) lotus-shaped one, clockwise beginning in the east.**

- b<sup>1</sup>: *mahāāsu*: 8561, T1, T400; *mahāāsu[āu?]*: 447; *mahāākhāsu*: all Malayalam mss; *mahāāāsasu*: T411; *mahāāāāā*: P, Th; *mahāāāā*: T297; *mahāāāā*: T2;  
b<sup>2</sup>: *dvijottamaī*: T297; *dvijottamaā*: 16923;  
c: *dhanu vūtaā*: T297, T411;  
d: *indrādiāu kramāt*: 8561; *prāgvādiāu kramāt*: T2; *padma*: T400;

**Pāda a:** *paritas* – see KĀ *prathamevākā* 13d.

**Pāda cd:** identical fire pits are prescribed by KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 14ab.

34 *trimekhalāsamāyuktaā nābhiyonisamanvitam |  
darpaṇodarasaākāāā kuṇēavedīsthalaā kuru ||*

**Provide the fire-pits and the sacrificial platform with three steps, *nābhi* and *yoni*, and make the surface resembling a flat mirror (or) a belly.**

After 34a the rest of the chapter is missing in 20088;

a: *mekhala*: all Malayalam mss, T2, T297, T400, P, Th;

b: *nābhir yonisamānvitā*: T297;

d: *kuṇēavedīsthalaā kuru*: P, Th; *kuṇēavedīsthalaā kuru*: T400; *kuṇēāā vedīsthalaā kuru*: Malayalam mss, T297; *kuṇēāā vedīā sthalaā kuru*: 8561; *kuṇēavedīā sthalaā kuru*: T1; *kuṇēayonisthalaā kuru*: T2;

**Pāda a:** *mekhalā* – here: steps circling the *kuṇēa* on the outside; cf. KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 14d. For a photograph and a drawing of a *kuṇēa* with three *mekhalās*, see Brunner (1968, planche III) and Bhatt (1962, opposite p. 69) respectively.

**Pāda b:** *nābhi* – a figure of a lotus marked in the centre of a *kuṇēa*; *yoni* – a figure in the form of a leaf of the *aāvāttha* tree marked on the upper *mekhalā*, in the middle of it. It is marked on the side which is faced by the officiating priest (Brunner 1963: 231-2, note 8).<sup>86</sup>

**Pāda c:** *darpaṇodarasaākāām* – see note to KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 13b. The same expression occurs also in KĀ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 12b.

35 *tatai ālpinam udvāsyā gomayālepanāā kuru |  
piṣṣacūrñair alaākūtya puṇyāhaā prokṣāṇāā kuru ||*

<sup>86</sup> See also a description of a *kuṇēa* with *nābhi* and *yoni* in Raurava 14.6b-7ab: *ūrdhve yonir abhoṣṣavat | vedākṣavyomamātraā tu yonivyāsārdham unnatam || abhyantaramukhāā yonīā kuṇēamadhye ‘mbujaā likhet, “sur la (plus haute) se trouve la ‘vulve’ qui a la forme d’une lèvre (inférieure) d’éléphant; la largeur de cette vulve est de quatre, deux et un seul doigt et sa hauteur est la moitié de sa largeur. La ‘vulve’ fait face à l’intérieur du creuset et au centre de ce dernier il faut dessiner un lotus”* (trans. Dagens and Barazer-Billoret 2000: 52), and the description in MM 25.45,5-46,5: *sarvakuṇēakam akarṇayonikam || vūttasannibham atho tadākūti vā yugeṣṣarasamātravaipulam | vyāsavedaguṇābhāgatuōgakaā nābhim abjam iva kuṇēamadyame ||* “A firepit should however always have a vulva which is not to be at a corner. In the centre of a firepit there is a lotus which is its navel; this lotus is round, its diameter being four, five or six digits and its height a quarter or a third that” (trans. Dagens 1994: 463). For drawings of a *kuṇēa* with *nābhi* and *yoni*, see Bhatt (1985, between pp. 54-55) and Brunner (1963, pl. VIII).

**Having sent away the artisan, anoint (the *mañēapa*) with cow-dung; having decorated it with ground flour and colourful powder, proclaim it a meritorious day and sprinkle (the area) with water.**

a: *tataā āilpinam udvāsya*: 8561, T411, Keeveour (*tatai āilpinaā*: T1); *tathā āilpinaā udvāsya*: T2; *tac chilpivatam udvāsya*: T297, P, Th; *tatai āilpim samaäkütva*: S; *tatas tatkañāā udvāsya*: 16847, 16923, 20089, T400;

c: *piñacūrñā alaäkūtya*: 20089; *piñacūrñā alaökūtya*: T2;

d: *puñyāhaprokñāā*: 8561, T400, T411; *puñyāhaā prokñāyet*: T297, P;

**Pāda a:** *tatas tatkañāam udvāsya*, the reading of 16847, 16923, 20089 and T400, is certainly corrupt, but it might be a mistake for *tatas takñakam udvāsya*, 'having sent away the carpenter'.

It seems that the artisan is sent away when the part requiring physical work is completed and that he does not assist in the following rituals, such as the binding of the protective thread, the placing of the jars and the fire oblation. He appears again to receive his reward before the final placing of the deposit casket in the prescribed location (verse 47ab) and he assists in the installation of the casket (47cd); cf. KĀ *mūrdheñakā* 13, 40 and 43.

A similar pattern occurs in Raurava, for example in 31.27 where the *āilpin* is sent away after the building of the *mañēapa* has been completed and before the preparation of the ceremonial ground (*sthañēila*),<sup>87</sup> in Raurava 30.56, after the installation of the *piñēikā* for a *liōga* and before the fire oblation,<sup>88</sup> and in Kāmika 51.5ab (the chapter dealing with the first bricks) again after the building of the *mañēapa*.<sup>89</sup>

**Pāda 35b:** *gomayālepanaā kuru* – cf. KĀ *prathameñakā* 15a and *mūrdheñakā* 13c, 14c.

**Pāda d:** *puñyāhavācana* – a ceremony done by sprinkling consecrated water and a proclamation stating 'let the day be meritorious' (Bhatt 1993-94: 74). Dagens and Barazer-Billoret (2000: 74 note 42) add that *puñyāha* "est un rite védique destiné à sacrifier la journée afin de bien commencer le rituel." Both readings given by our sources: *puñyāhaā prokñāā* and *puñyāhaprokñāā*, are correct. The same variant reading occurs also in Raurava 30.56.

**Pāda c:** for *piñacūrñā*, see KĀ *prathameñakā* 15c.

36 *vedyūrdhve sthañēilaā kütva caturdroñais tu āālibhii |  
tilatañēulalājaiā ca darbhaii puñpaii paristaret ||*

<sup>87</sup> Raurava 31.27: *tatai āilpinam udvāsya puñyāhaprokñāā kuru*.

<sup>88</sup> Raurava 30.56: *sthañā ca samatāā kütva tatai āilpivisarjanam | puñyāhaprokñāā kütva gavyābhīñcanaā kuru*.

<sup>89</sup> Kāmika 51ab: *visūjya āilpinaā paācād gomayena tu lepayet*.

Having prepared a ceremonial ground on the platform with four ‘buckets’ of rice one should strew about sesame, winnowed grain, fried rice, *darbha* grass and flowers.

a: *vedī dve sthañēile kuryāt*: P, Th; *vedirdhve sthañēile kuryāt*: T297; *vedyordhve sthañēilaä kütvä*: 8561; *vedyardhve sthañēilaä kütvä*: 20089; *vedyürdhva*: T411;  
 b: *caturdroñaiä ca äâlibhii*: Malayalam mss, T400; *caturdroñaii suâlibhii*: T1;  
 c: *tilatañēu [+ bhū? nū? pū? written slightly lower] lalājaiä ca*: 8561; *tañēulaä tilalājaiä ca*: T2;  
 d: *darbhaii puṁpaii paristarat*: 16847; *darbhai puṁpaii paristarat*: 16923;

**Pāda a:** *vedyürdhve* – in the majority of our sources this pāda is corrupt. Still, it leaves no doubt that the *sthañēila* is to be made on the *vedī*; cf. KĀ *prathameṣakā* 17ab and Raurava 18.72: *sthañēilaä kāraved vedyām aṣṣadroñaiä ca äâlibhii* || *tilatañēulalājaiä ca darbhaii puṁpaii paristaret*.

**Pāda b:** *droñā* – ‘bucket’, a measure of capacity.

[The preliminary ceremonies]

37 *gandhapuṁpādibhii pūjya digdevān svasvamantratai* |  
*gavyābhiṁcyā phelāä tu snāpayed gandhatoyakaii* ||

Having worshipped the gods of the directions with incense, flowers and so on while reciting for each god his own mantra, having sprinkled the casket with the products of the cow, one should bathe it with fragrant waters.

a: *pūjyā*: T297, P;  
 b: *digdevā nāmantrakaii*: T297, P; *digdevān nāmantrakaii*: Th; *digevān svasyamantrakaii*: T2; *diāidevān svamantratai*: T1;  
 c: *gavyābhiṁcyā phalaä tu*: P, Th; *gavyābhiṁcyā phelaä tu*: T297; *gavyābhiṁcyā phelāä tu*: 447; *gavyābhiṁcyā phelān/m tu*: T2, T411, 8561; *gavyādibhivyavelān tu*: T400; *gavyābhiṁcyā phelāyām*: T1; *gavyādi pheñātman tu*: 20089, 16847; *gavyādi pheñāt[*tu mā?*]n tu*: 16923;  
 d: *sthāpayet gandhatoyakaii*: 8561, T411; *sthāpayed gandhatoyagaii*: T2;

**Pāda a:** *pūjya* – an unusual form of absolutive, see Chapter 3.6.

**Pāda c:** *gavyābhiṁcyā*, the reading of T297, P, Th, S, and *gavyābhiṁcyā*, the reading of 8561, T1, T2, T411, are examples of an unknown formation: a compound of an absolutive with the noun in which the noun expresses the means with which the action is carried out. The same formation occurs in 40b (*stotrābhyarcya* in Th). In both cases the verb is preceded by the preverb *abhi-* and the noun should be translated as instrumental (‘having sprinkled with *gavyā*’, ‘having worshipped with *stotrās*’). A similar expression occurs in 50a (*namoccārya* in P, Th). Here, however, the noun forms the object of the absolutive (‘having uttered “*namai*”’). See also Chapter 3.6.

The form *-abhiñecya* (given by T297, P, Th and 447) is unusual with *guṇa* of the stem.

38 *tantunā kautukaā baddhvā navavastreṇā veṇṇayet |*  
*sthañēile tu nidhātavyāā kūākāram udāharan ||*

**Having tied the *kautuka* (around the casket) by means of a thread one should wrap (the casket) in a new cloth. The casket should be placed on the ceremonial ground while pronouncing the *kūākāra*.**

a: *tantunā kautukaā baddhvā*: T297, T400; *tantunā kautukaā bandhvā*: T2;

b: *vanavastreṇā veṇṇayet*: T297, T400;

c: *sthañēile sthāpayet phelām*: T1; *sthañēile tu vidhātavyāā*: T411; *nidhātavyāā*: 20089;

d: *udāhṛtam*: P;

**Pāda a:** *kautuka* – here: a synonym of *pratisara*, see KÅ *prathamākā* 35d. When used in ritualistic and iconographic texts the term *kautuka* has two distinct meanings. According to the first meaning it is an image used for offerings (see Kavi in Introduction to the Atri Saāhitā, page xi), which should resemble the main image of the temple (AtriS 4.6b: *dhruvaberānurūpaā tu kautukaā kārayed budhai*); it has also been referred to as ‘movable image’ (Colas 1986: 261 s.v. *kautuka*, *kautukabera*, and *kautukabimba*; see also Goudriaan 1965: 192 where *kautukasthāpanavidhi* has been translated as ‘the establishment of the movable image’). According to the second meaning, *kautuka* it is a thread (*kautukasūtra*) also known as *pratisara*. It is this latter meaning of *kautuka*, which is intended in the present passage as well as in KÅ *mūrdhākā* 30ab.

One should note here that the tying of the *kautuka* around the deposit casket occurs only in the Kāyapaāilpa, in Dīpta 4.26c and in Kumāra 29.2186a (in the latter it is called *raktisūtra*). The majority of the parallel texts prescribe this ceremony only for the first bricks and for the Āiva *liōga* (for the examples, see KÅ *prathamākā* 35d).

**Pāda c:** *sthañēile tu nidhātavyam* – the placing of the deposit casket on the ceremonial ground occurs also in other texts, see Kāmika 31. 64ab: *phelām uddhūtya hastābhyāā vinyaset sthañēilopari*.

**Pāda d:** *kūākāra* – the letter *kā*, see 15a.

39 *parito'au ghañān nyasya sasūtrān sapidhānakān |*  
*sakūrcān vastrasaāchannān gandhāmbuparipūritān ||*

**Having placed the eight jars all around, tied with cords, provided with covers, (decorated) with bundles of *kuāa* grass, enveloped with cloth, filled with fragrant water...**

a: *parito 'au ghañyastvā*: P; *parito'au ghañyastvā*: T2; *parito 'au ghatān nyastvā*: T1, T297; *parito'au ghañyastvā*: Th; *parito'au ghatānyastvā*: 16923; *parito'au [ka added beneath] ghañyastvā*: 20089; *parito'au ghañyastvā*: 16847; *parito'au ghañyastvā*: 447; *parito'au ghañyastvā sthāpya*: 8561; *parito'au ghañyastvā ...*: T411;  
 b: *sarvasūtrā[ḥ] sābhidhānakān*: 20089; *sarvasūtrān sābhidhānakān*: 16847, 16923; *sasūtrān savidhānakān*: P; *sasūtrān sāvīdhānakān*: T297, T400, T411; *sasūtrasyo vidhānakau*: T2;  
 c: *sakurcavastrasaāchannān*: 8561; *sakurcavastrasaōchinnān*: T411; *vastrasaāyuktān*: T1; *vastrasaācchinnān*: T2; *sakūrcānāstrasaāchānān*: T2;  
 d: *gandhāābuparipūritān*: all mss, T1, T400; *gandhāābai paripuritān*: 447; *gandhāābupūripūritān*: T2; *āuddhagandhāābupūritān*: T411; *gandhān pūrpūritān kramāt*: T297; *sa(gandhān paritai' kramāt)*: P, Th;

**Pāda a:** *paritas* – probably around the deposit casket which is on the *sthāñēilla*.

**Pāda b-c:** *sasūtrān, kūrca* – see KĀ *prathame'aukā* 39b-c.

40 *vidyeāādhipakuābhāās tñ sthāpyābhyarcya svamantratai' |  
 kuñēānā paōcasaāskāraā kūtva homāā samārabhet ||*

**... having placed the jars dedicated to the Vidyēāvaras, having worshipped them with their own mantras, having performed the five sacraments for the *kuñēās*, one should begin the fire oblation.**

a: *viāve[āva: added by the scribe]rādikuābhasthe*: P; *viāveāvarādikumbhasthe*: Th; *vidyeāvarādikuābhesthe*: T297; *vidyeāādhipakuābhāaste*: T2; *vidyeāādhipakuābhāās tñ*: T1; *vidyeāādīdhāpakaābhāaste*: T400; *vidyeāādhipakuābhasthi*: 447; *vidyeāādīdhāpakaābhāaste*: Malayalam mss; *vidyeāādībhīi' kuābhā [sta crossed-out] s te*: 8561; *vidyeāādībhīi' kuābhāās te*: T411;  
 b<sup>1</sup>: *stotrābhyarcya*: Th; *stotrābhyarca*: P, T97; *sthāpyābhyarcya*: 8561, T1, T2, T411, 447; *tatobhyarcya*: Malayalam mss, T400; b<sup>2</sup>: *svatantratai'*: 16847, 16923;  
 c: *kuñēānā paōcasaāskāraā*: T297, P, Th; *kuñēāni paōcasaāskāraā*: Malayalam mss, 8561, T1, T2, T400; *kuñēāni paōcasaāskārān*: T411; *kuñēān paōcāpisaāskarān*: 447;  
 d: *kūtva homāā samācaret*: T297, P, Th; *kūtva homāā samārabhet*: 8561, T400, T411; *kūtva sa homāā samārabhet*: 20089; *k[ ... ]ā homa samārabhet*: 16847, 16923;

**Pāda ab:** besides *vidyeāādhipakuābhāās tñ* given by T1, one could also read *vidyeāādībhīi' kuābhāās te* given by 8561, T411, 'these are the jars with (viz. containing) Vidyēāvaras and other items' and consider thus pāda a as a separate statement.<sup>90</sup> Reading *vidyeāādībhīi'* implies that the jars contain other 'items' besides the Vidyēāvaras and the fragrant water mentioned in 39, which is probable

<sup>90</sup> A similar construction is found in 10b (*tārās te*).

as the jars used for the *kumbhasthāpana* ceremony are often filled with various objects, such as precious stones etc.<sup>91</sup> Yet, accepting *vidyēādibhīi kuābhās te* into the texts results in having no object for *sthāpya* (pāda b). For that reason it has been decided to accept the reading of T1.

**Pāda b:** *sthāpya* – an unusual form of absolutive, see Chapter 3.6.

**Pāda c:** *paōcasaāskāra* – this passage may either refer to the *saāskāras* preparing the *kuñēas* for the fire ceremony<sup>92</sup> or to the five rituals (*paōcasaāskāra*) performed to make the fire fit to be used in the fire oblation (see SĀP I.4.16-43 and Raurava 15.7-18ab). The latter is a short type of *agnikārya*. The fire acts here as a child of Āiva and as in the case of a human child certain ceremonies or sacraments have to be performed before the fire-child is fit to partake in the *homa*. These five ceremonies, which in Hindu tradition start with the conception of the child, are the *garbhādhāna* (which is performed with the *sadyojāta* mantra), *puāsavanam* (*vāmadeva* mantra), *sīmantam* (*aghora* mantra), *jātakarma* (*tatpuruā* mantra) and *nāmakarañam* (*īāna* mantra). The five mantras are chanted and flowers, *lāja*, and *tila* are offered in the *kuñēa* in the ceremonial pavilion.<sup>93</sup>

41ab *agnyādhānādikaā sarvam agnikāryoktam ācaret |*

**One should perform everything which is prescribed for the fire ritual, starting with the *agnyādhāna*.**

a: *agnidhānyādikaā sarvaā*: T297;

**Pāda 41a:** *agnyādhāna* – ‘the placing of the fire’. See KĀ *prathamakā* 42a.

41cd *samidāyacarūn lājān tilatāñēulasarāpān ||*

42 *hūdayādīāāōgaiā ca īānena krameña tu |  
homaā kūtva viāēēña pratyekāāātātāhutīi ||*

**Having sacrificed into the fire fuel, ghee, cakes, fried grain, sesame, winnowed grain (and) mustard seeds, each substance in its own specific way and each with its own mantra, namely the six *aōgamantras* starting with *hūdaya* and the *īāna* mantra, (having thus**

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Rau 18.74: *parito āu ghañān sthāpya nānāgandhāmbupūritān | savastrān kūcasaāyuktān sasūtrān sāpidhānakān || saratnān sahirānyāāā ca sthāpayet sadyamantratai*.

<sup>92</sup> This ceremony, performed when the *kuñēas* are still empty, is described in SĀP I.4.3-8.

<sup>93</sup> As explained to me by the *pañēits* of the Kuppuswamy Sastri Research Institute, Mylapore, Madras.

**sacrificed these substances into the fire) each a hundred-and-eight times,...**

41c: *samidhājya*: T2; *carūllājān*: 20089; P, T400;

d: *tilasarāpatañēulān*: 8561, T1, T411, 447; *tri ... tañēulān*: T2;

42a: *juhūyādīāa[illegible]aiva*: Malayalam mss; *hūdayādīāaāgaiā ca*: T1, T2, T400, T411; *hūdavādīāaāgaiā ca*: 447; *hūdayādīāu saāgaiā ca*: P, Th; *hūdayādīāu saāghaiā ca*: Th;

b: *īānena krameña tu*: T1, T2, T297, T411, P, Th; *īānādīkramena tu*: Malayalam mss, T400;

d: *pratyekāāatāhutiā*: all Malayalam mss, T1, T400; *āhutiī*: T2, T411; *āhutiī*: T297, P, Th;

**Pāda 41cd**: similar lists are very common in other Āgamas. Sometimes they include additional ingredients, each to be offered with a particular *brahma-* or *aḡamantra*, see KĀ *prathameākā* 43d-44a.

**Pāda 42a**: *hūdayādīāaāgaiā* – refers to the six *aḡamantras*: *hūd*, *āiras*, *āikhā*, *kavaca*, *netra*, *astra*. See KĀ *prathameākā* 43cd-44ab.

**Pāda 42b**: *īāna* – one of the five *brahmamantras*. The other four are: *sadyojāta*, *vāmadeva*, *aghora* and *tatpuruā* (Davis 2000: 48-50). See KĀ *prathameākā* 43a.

43 *dravyānte vyāhutiā hutvā mūlenaiva āatāhutiī |*  
*jayādir abhyātānaā ca rāārahūc caiva homayet ||*

**... at the end of the (oblations with the) substances, after having performed hundred oblations while pronouncing the *vyāhūtis* (and) the *mūlamantra*, one should offer (while pronouncing the mantras) *jayādi*, *abhyātāna* and *rāārahūt*.**

ab: missing in the Malayalam mss, 8561, T400 and T411;

a: *vyāhutiā*: T1, T297; *vyāhutiī*: P, Th; *dravyahomāhutiā*: T2; *bhūmyadevyāhutiā hutvā*: 447;

b: [ ... ]: T2; *mule naiva vaāatāhutiī*: 447; *āatāhutiim*: T1;

c: *jayādir abhyātānaā ca*: 16847, 16923, T1, P, Th; *jayādir abhyātāneā ca*: 20089; *jayādir abhyādhānaā ca*: T400, T297; *jayādir abhyādhānaō ca*: T411; [ ... ] *naā ca*: T2;

d: *cāārahūc caiva homayet*: 20089; *rāārahūc caiva homayet*: 16847, 16923; *rāārahū [bhū]c caiva homayet*: T400; *rāārahūc ca kramād dhunet*: T411; *rāārahūc caiva homayet*: T297; *rāārahūc caiva homayet*: 8561, T1; *rāārahūc [bhūc caiva] homayet*: P, Th; *rāārahūc caiva homayet*: T2;

**Pāda a**: *vyāhuti* or *vyāhutiī* – the mantra *bhūr bhuvai svar*, see KĀ *prathameākā* 44cd.

*dravyānte vyāhutiā hutvā* – this pāda is found frequently in other Āgamas see Raurava 61.24cd, Suprabhedā 27.66, Ajita 10.41 and 15.36, Aāūmad 7.28cd-29, Pūrvakāraña 136, Kāraña I. 141. 122, Cintya 2. 131.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>94</sup> The readings of the Suprabhedā, Aāūmad, Pūrvakāraña, Kāraña and Cintya as quoted by Bhatt in his Ajitāgama and Rauravāgama editions, viz. Suprabhedā (Bhatt 1964: 50 note 16), Aāūmad



The accusative singular *vyāhūtiā* (given by T1, T297) occurs along with the accusative plural *vyahūtiī* (given by P and Th) in Āgamic texts. Yet, the singular (*vyāhūtiā*) is found more frequently (see the texts given above).

**Pāda cd:** for *jayādir*, *abhyātāna* and *rābhūt* see KĀ *prathameṣakā* 46cd. The mantras are also mentioned in KĀ *mūrdheṣakā* 37ab.

**Pāda d:** *hunet* – the reading of T411, it is probably a very irregular form of *hu*, *juhoti*: to offer. The form is sometimes found in the parallel texts, see Chapter 3.6.

[*The ceremonies on the day of installation*]

44 *evaā jāgarañāā rātrau prabhāte sumuhūrtake |*  
*sunakatre sulagne tu sutithau ca suvāsare ||*

**In this way one should stay awake at night. At dawn, at a good moment, under an auspicious lunar mansion, under an auspicious ascendant, on an auspicious lunar day, on an auspicious day...**

a: *evaō ca jāgarau*: T2;

b: *mūhūrtake*: 8561;

c: *sunakatre sulagne ca*: T1, T2; *suālagne tu*: 20089;

d: *sutithau tu suvāake*: 16847, 16923, T1, T297, T400, T411, P; *sutithau tu suvāsare*: T2, Th; *suvā[illegible]ke*: 8561;

**Pāda a:** *evaā jāgarañāā rātrau* – see KĀ *prathameṣakā* 45a.

45 *āivadvijakule jātai svācāryai āivadikaitai |*  
*snānadvayasamāyuktai sakalikūtavighrahi ||*

46ab *sitavastrottarīyāā ca sitamālyānulepanai |*

**... the good ācārya, born in a family of Āaiva Brahmins, who obtained āivadikāā, (should) bathe twice, perform sakalikaraña on his body, wear a white (lower) garment, a white upper garment and a white garland; his body should be smeared with a white ointment.**

45a: *ādīaivakule jātaā*: T1; *āivadvijakule jātai*: T297; *āivadvijakāle jāta*: 20089; *āivadvijatale jā[ ... ]tas*: 16847; *āivadvijatale jā[ ... ]tas*: 16923;

45b: *svacchāryā āivadikaitai*: T297; *tv ācāryai āivadikaitai*: T400; *sa vācyāā āivadikaitai*: T411;

*svavācyā āivadikaitai*: 8561; *svācāryāā āilpīlakānaā*: T2; *-āivadikaitā*: T1;

45c: *-samāyuktā*: T297; *-samāyuktā*: T1;

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(Bhatt 1972: 9 note 3), Pūrvakāraña (Bhatt 1988: 175 note 3), Kāraña (Bhatt 1985: 80 note 12), Cintya (Bhatt 1972: 42 note 2).

45d: *sakalatrai savigrahai*: P, Th; *sakañik[ü?a?]tavigrahai*: 20089;

46b: *sitamālyānulepanāi*: 20089, T1, T400; *sitamālye nu locitai*: T297;

**Pāda 45a:** *ādiāivakule jātaä* – the reading of T1 meaning ‘born in a family of Ādiāiva Brahmins’ hints to a special category of Āiva Brahmins, who alone qualify to be priests in Āiva Siddhānta temples (Davis 2000: 173 note 21).

**Pāda 45c:** *snānadvaya* – this expression occurs frequently in parallel sources, see Raurava 16.14, 30.31, 19.3. It alludes, most probably, to the bathing with water as well as with ashes mentioned in KĀ *prathameṣakā* 33cd.

**Pāda 45d:** *sakalīkūtavigrahai* – for this ceremony see the explanation at KĀ *prathameṣakā* 34d.

The passage 45-46ab refers most probably in its entirety to the *ācārya*. Still, when read on its own, it misses a verb. On the other hand, when combined with the next verse (46cd-47ab), it would be the *ācārya* who has to reward the *ācārya* (or ‘another *ācārya*’) for his work while the parallel sources clearly show that it is the patron who has to honour the priest and the artisan.<sup>95</sup> Another possibility would be to take 45-46ab as referring to the patron, but such an interpretation is not very convincing either. Many parallel texts speak explicitly about the *ācārya*, not the patron, who has to perform *sakalīkaraṇa* and so on.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, such an interpretation would imply that the patron has to be a Āiva Brahmin, while KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 4-5 allows the patron to be a member of any caste. Yet another possibility of interpreting 45-47ab would be to assume that all the adjectives describing the *ācārya* were originally in accusative case (see in this connection -*jātaä* in T1, *ālpilakṣaṇāä* in T2, -*dīkṣitaä* in T1 and -*samāyuktaä* in T1).

If 45-46cd is to be read as one sentence, it has to be assumed that the subject of the sentence has changed (for similar cases in the KāyapaJK, see Goudriaan 1965: 337) or that the transmission of the text is defective; cf. a similar passage in Kāraṇa 10.32-34ab (the chapter dealing with the installation of the crowning bricks).<sup>97</sup>

46cd *ācāryāä pūjayet tatra vastrahemāḡulīyakaii* ||

<sup>95</sup> MarīcīS 13.1.2: *yajamāna ācāryādīn vastrottarīyābharaṇair alaḡkūtya dakṣiṇāä dadyāt*. See also the reading of T411 given in the critical apparatus under verse 47ab.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Raurava 30.30cd-31ab: *ācāryalakṣaṇopetas tv ācāryo mūrtipās tathā || snānadvayasamāyuktai sakalīkūtavigrahai*, Raurava 16.15: *snānadvayasamāyuktai soṇṇāi sotтарыakai*, Kāmika 31.28a-c and Kāraṇa 60.26cd-27a: *deāikas samalaḡkūtya vastrai paḡcāḡgabhūṇāi || sakalīkūtadehas* and Dīptādyāgamasya paṇalāi (PL 69 verso): *rātri āṇāä vyapohya prabhāte ca vimānasya garbhasthāpanam ārabhet | ācārya snātvacamyā sakalīkaraṇādikaä kūtva...* where there is no doubt that the epithets refer to an *ācārya*. See also KĀ *prathameṣakā* 32cd-35ab.

<sup>97</sup> Kāraṇa 10.32-34ab: *tatai prabhāte vimale snānāä kūtva tu deāikai | navavastroddhūṇāāuklamāyair vibhūṇitai || hemāḡulīyakaṇakaii kuṇēalādyair alaḡkūtam | muhūrte samanuprāpte sthāpanāä tu samārabhet || ācāryāä pūjayet tatra vastāḡulīyakādibhii |*

47ab *āilpinaā pūjayet tatra vastrair ābharañādibhīi |*

**(The patron) should honour on that occasion the *âcārya* with cloths and golden rings. Then he should honour the artisan with cloths, ornaments and so on.**

T411 misses 46cd-47ab and reads instead: *yajamānena pūjāō ca kārāyitvā svamūrdhani | yajamānas suprasannā vastrahemādibhūāñāīi | âcāryāā pūjayet pūrvaā tadante āilpipūjanam.*

46c: *âcāryāā pūjayet paācāt:* 8561; *âcāryāā pūjayet samyak:* Malayalam mss, T1, T400 (*samyag*); *âcāryāā āilpinau samyak:* T2; *âcāryā(n)t pūjayet tatra:* T297; *âcāryān pūjayet tatra:* P, Th;

46d: *vāstuhomāāgūlīyakāīi:* Malayalam mss;

47a: *āilpinaā:* 8561; *āilpināī:* P, Th; *āilpināā:* T297; T411 – different reading, see verse 46;

47b: *vastrair ābharābharañādibhīi:* 16847, 16923; *vastrāīā cābharañādibhīi:* T1;

**Pāda 46d:** *vastrahemāōgūlīyakāīi* - or: with cloth, gold and rings.

**46cd-47ab** – as noted above, the subject of the verb *pūjayet* is the patron, *yajamāna*. It is he who has to offer gifts to the *âcārya* and to the *āilpin*. The gifts and the honorarium mentioned here are seen as '*âcāryavaraña*', the act of accepting the *âcārya* as the person worthy of performing the ceremony.<sup>98</sup> The *pūjā* and the gifts do not replace the honouring of the *âcārya* which takes place after the ceremony has been accomplished. The latter gift is usually referred to as *dakṣiñā*. In the Āgamic texts, however, the word *dakṣiñā* is often used in the context of *âcāryavaraña*. For the honouring of the *âcārya* before the actual installation of a deposit box, the first bricks, the crowning bricks or a *liōga*, see KĀ *prathamakā* 47, Raurava 27.36 and 30.48, Suprabhedā 31.16cd, MarīciS 13.1.2 and 13.2.1 (using the word *dakṣiñā*) and Kāraña 10.34 (using the word *pūjā*).

47cd *garbhasthānaā praviyātha kartā cācāryāāilpinau ||*

48 *āāadhā vibhājed bhittīā bāhyatāā caturas tyājet |*  
*trīñi cābhyantare varjya āāāāā bhājanaā nyaset ||*

**After the patron, the *âcārya* and the artisan have entered the *garbhasthāna*, (the *âcārya*) should divide the (thickness of the) wall in eight parts. He should place the casket in the part which remains after he has counted four parts from the outside and three parts from the inside.**

<sup>98</sup> "... a day prior to the day fixed for consecration, it is important to select the chief priest (*âcārya* or *guru* also called *sthāpaka*) and the other priests to participate in the fire-ritual and other rites... and to entrust the entire responsibility to the chief priest. This sequence is technically called *âcārya-varaña*" (Rao 1994: 51).

47 d: *kartā kūrcā(cā cā)rya āilpi ca*: P; *kartā kūrcārya āilpi ca*: T297; *kartrā cācārya āilpi ca*: Th; *kartāvycāryaāilpināā*: T2; *kartācācāryaāilpināā*: T411; *kattau vācāryaāilpinau*: T400; *kartā cācāryaāilpibhii*: T1; *kartāvācāryaāilpinau*: Malayalam mss; *kartā cācārya āilpinau*: 8561, 447; 48 a: *viābhajet*: 20089; *vibhajet*: 16847, 16923; *bhitti*: T297, T411; b: *vāhyato caturas tyajet*: 16847, 16923; *vāhyato cāturas tyajet*: 20089; *bāhyato caturaā tyajet*: T2; *bāhyato caturas tyajet*: T400; *bāhyataā cāturas tyajet*: T411; *bāhyataā caturaā tyajet*: T1; *bāāhyato catunyajet*: T297; *bāhyataā catvaras tyajet*: 8561; c: *vābhyantare*: 8561, T1; *varjyā*: T297; *varjyāā*: T411; *tyajya*: 447; *trīni cābhyantare nityāā*: 16847, 16923, T400; *trīni cābhyantare nitya*: 20089; d: *bhājana nyaset*: 16847, 16923; *āāāāāo bhājanā nyaset*: T297; *āāāāā bhājanaā nyaset*: 20089; *āāāāāāi bhājananaā nyaset*: 8561; After verse 48, T2 inserts two additional verses: *ādyāāakānām āsthānāā yat tat sthāne garbhasāāsthitiī | jhāālakhye tu yauvaō ca tatra cordhve sthagarbhakam || nicātāoghre [nighāta?] tu yad vastraā garbhasāāsthāpanānyatai | tadūrdhvam ādheāāikā sthāpyam evāā tat kramaā ucyate*.<sup>99</sup>

**Pāda 47d:** *ācāryaāilpinau* – it seems that only the main *ācārya* and the main *āilpin* enter the *garbhasthāna* to perform the final placing of the casket. *ācāryaāilpibhii*, the reading of T1, is grammatically better, but it is not supported by other sources.

**Pāda 48a-d:** this passage contains three subjects (the *kartū*, *ācārya* and the *āilpin*), but the verbs are in singular (*vibhajed* etc.). It is thus not clear from our text who is the agent of the verbs. Yet, it seems probable that the activities (*vibhajet*, *tyajet*, *varjya*) are done by the *ācārya* in the function of a *deāika*, who is mentioned in the following verse (see 49d).

*āāāadhā vibhajed bhittiā* – the text does not specify which wall has to be divided. In verses 4-5 it was said that the deposit casket has to be placed in the *adhīāāhāna* or even lower. The *adhīāāhāna* in South Indian architecture is a support, *ādāhāna*, for the *garbhagūha*, and the walls proper are built on top of it (see Meister 1989: 167-170).

Another issue is how the wall is divided, its length or its thickness. Since the text speaks of outside and inside parts, it may be concluded that it is the thickness which is divided. Yet, dividing the thickness of the wall creates a problem: the ‘remaining part’ would probably never be large enough to house a deposit casket. A solution would be to install the casket in such a way that its central point is in the ‘remaining part’.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>99</sup> The first two pādas state that the *garbha* should be placed in the same location as the location of the first bricks. The following four pādas, however, seem corrupt and it is not clear what is their meaning. *jhāāāla* refers perhaps to the *jhāāālastambha*, a ‘pillar rising from top of base’ (Dagens 1994: 936) and *nicātāoghra* (or perhaps *nighātāoghra*) refers perhaps to the *nikhātastaābha*, a ‘pillar whose bottom is sunk into base’ (Dagens 1994: 943). According to the final two pādas the first bricks should be placed ‘above’ something.

<sup>100</sup> This interpretation was suggested to me by Parameswaran Namboodiripad of Manakkaleppadi, a Nambootiri Kerala Brahmin, who performed the ceremony himself.

Determining the location of the deposit box by means of dividing the wall is found in several parallel texts.<sup>101</sup>

It should be noted that the casket is probably not placed yet. The present verse is only giving prescriptions for the location of the casket, but the actual placing is referred to in verse 55, that is, after the earth, bulbs and grains have been placed in the pit.

*[Placing the items in the deposit pit]*

The following section (49-53) describes elaborately what was briefly said in verse 18ab, namely the placing of lumps of earth, bulbs and seeds in the *garbha* cavity.

49 *hūnnadīsasyavalīmīkahalasthe kulīrāvāṇe |*  
*nāgavūṣabhaūḍoge cāmamud gūhya deāikāi ||*

**The *deāika*, having taken eight kinds of earth, namely (earth) from a pond, a river, a grain-field and an ant-hill, (earth sticking to) a plough-share, (earth) from a crab-hole, (earth rooted up by) a tusk of an elephant and (dug up by) a horn of a bull...**

a: *bhūmitrinadīvalmīka*: T2; *bhūnnadīsasyavalīmīka*: 8561; *hrū[mī?]**nadīsasyavalīmīka*: T411; *yacchannadī sasyavalīmīka*: T400; *hūnnadīvyasyavalīmīkāḥ*: Malayalam mss; *hūnnadīsasyavalīmīkāḥ* T1, T297, P; -*valmīka*: Th;

b: *halaste 'ōgulīrātāṇe*: P, Th, T297; *halasthāḥ kuīrāvāṇe*: T1; *halasthāḥ kuīrāvāṇe*: T400; *halasthāḥ kuīrāvāṇe*: 8561; *halas ca kulīrāvāṇe*: T411; *hastikulīrāvāṇe*: T2; [ ... ] *kuīrāvāṇe*: Malayalam mss;

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Kāmika 31.104: *bhittīvyāsenā cāmāḥāḥ bahīr āḥācatuṣṣṭayam | antas trīn antare nītvā garbhāḥ samyag vinīkṣipet*, the commentary of Āṅkara, the son of the author, to TantraS 12.6: ...*bhitter vistāraḥ vibhajya...*, Dipta 5 (p. 264): *āṅadhā vibhajed dhīmān bāhyatac cāvīranyaset | trīṇi cābhyantare tyajya madhyekāḥse vinīkṣipet*, Kāraṇa 6.82cd-83ab: *āṅadhā vibhajed bhittīḥ vedāḥāḥ bāhyatas tyajet || trīṇi cābhyantare kṛtvā madhekāḥāḥ tu nīkṣipet*. The dividing of the wall is also found in ViṣṇuS 13.25: *dvārasya dakṣiṇe bhāge tratīyāḥāḥ dvīḥāḥite | gomūtreṇāplute nyasyed dvāramūlasya pāravatāi* and in Skandasaḥhitā: *bhittīḥ tu paṅcadhā bhāḥktvā trīṇi bāhye parītyajet | antarekāḥ tu tanmadhye...* (the latter as given by Mallaya 1949: 135). According to TantraS 12.6 the final location of the deposit box depends on the deity for which it is installed: *nāgair bhittitīḥ vibhajya caturo bāhye vīhāyāḥāḥkān antas trīn akhīlāḥ gobhīr ajīte ḥāḥ dvau ca ḥānmātura | bhūtais trīn apī caikakāḥ vitanuyād garbhāḥ parāḥāḥ sthīḥāḥ*, 'In the temple of all Gods, having divided the vistāra [breadth] of the (internal) wall by eight, leave four parts outside and three inside and in the remaining part (which is the fifth from outside and fourth from inside) lay the Garbha; in the case of Viṣṇu, in the one part that remains when six parts and two parts are kept outside and inside respectively out of a division into nine parts; and in the case of 'Ānāmātura', in the one part that remains when three parts are kept out and one part inside out of a division into five parts" (trans. Mallaya 1949: 39).

c: *nāgāvūṣabhaūoge ca*: P, T297; *nāgadante vūṣe āūoge*: Malayalam mss; *nāgadante vūṣaūoge*: 8561, T2, T400, T411; *nāgadante vūṣaūoge vā*: T1;

d: *amudgrāhya deāikai*: T1, Th; *amudrāhya deāikai*: P; *tac cāmaā grahya deāikai*: T2; *vāṣakū[or: mū]tguhya deāikai*: T400; *cāmamūt gūhya deāikai*: 8561, T411; *vāṣamūt gūhya deāikaā*: 16847, 16923; *vāṣamūt gūhya deāikai*: 20089;

**Pāda a:** *hūn* – perhaps a mistake for *hrad*. The characters for *hū* and *hra* are very similar, both in Grantha and Devanāgarī, hence the mistake is possible. The correct form, however, would be *hrada*: ‘pond’, ‘lake’. *Hrada* occurs often in lists of locations where one has to collect the earth, see *ViṣṇuS* 13.29, *Hayaāīrṣa* 12.11, *MM* 12.5, *AtriS* 10.2, *ĪĀGDP* 27.91.

**Pāda b:** *-halasthe* etc. – lit. ‘(the earth sticking) to a plough-share’ etc. The locative seem to have been transposed from the other parts of the compound: ‘in the pond’, ‘in the river’ and, in the same way, ‘on the plough-share’.

**Pāda c:** *nāgāvūṣabhaūoge* - lit. ‘(the earth) on the tusk of an elephant and on the horn of a bull’. Still, parallel sources speak about the earth *ploughed up* by the tusk of an elephant and ploughed up by the horn of a bull; cf. *MarīciS* 13.1.1: *gajadantodbhedād vūṣaviāāñodbhedāc ca ... mūttikām āharet*, ‘one should fetch earth from a (spot) ploughed up by the tusk of an elephant and ploughed up by the horn of a bull’. *BūhatS* 60.9 (ed. Bhat) speaks of earth turned up by a bull.<sup>102</sup> Goudriaan (1965: 63 note 14) remarks with regard to the kinds of earth to be put into the deposit casket according to the *KāyapaJK* 16: “The kinds of clay needed represent all aspects of cultivated and uncultivated soil. The animals mentioned all have the habit of grubbing in the soil, just like the boar, and thus reminding one of an act of fertilizing it. ... Clay from an anthill and clay dug up by a boar were prescribed in *Ātapata Brāhmaṇa* 14, 1, 2, 10 and 11 (for the pravargya ceremony during the Agnicayana).”

**Pāda d:** for *deāika*, see *KĀ prathameṣakā* 8d.

50 *garbhagarte tam āpūrya kandān nyaset tatopari |*  
*madhye aābujakandaā syāt pūrve kumudakandakam ||*

... having filled up the *garbha*-cavity with this (eight kinds of earth), he should place the bulbs upon it. In the middle there should be a bulb of a lotus, in the east a bulb of the white lotus.

a: *garbhagarte namocārya*: P, Th; *garbhagartenamāccaryāā*: T297; *garbhagarte tamāpūrya*: 16847, 16923, T400, T411, 447; *garbhagartte tamāpūryya*: 20089; *garbhagarta tamāpūrya*: T1; *garbha[illegible]tamāpū[ ... ]*: 8561; *garbhahitte tamāpūrya*: T2;

<sup>102</sup> *dvipavūṣabhodhataparvatavalmikasaritsamāgamataṣu padmasaraiṣu ca mūdbhii*.... The earth is used here to “bath” an image of a deity before the installation.

b: *kandān nyaset tatopari*: P, Th; *kandān nyaāstvēā mūdopari*: T297; *kandānyasvā mūdopari*: T2; *kandān nyastvā mūdopari*: S; *kandaā nyastvā mūdopari*: T1, T411; [ ... ] *nyastvā mūdopari*: 8561; *tandāsyasstvēhūdopari*: T400; *tadānyas[?]a hūdopari*: Malayalam mss;  
 c: *madhye tv aābudakaādaā syāt*: Malayalam mss; *madhye aābujakandaā syāt*: T2; *madhye tv aābujakandaā ca*: T1; *madhye tv aābujakañāā sya*: T411; *madhye tv aābujakandaā syāt*: 8561; *madhye tv aāsundakandaā syāt*: T400; *madhyame tv ambujaā nyasyāt*: P, Th; *madhyame tv ambujān nyasyāt*: T297;  
 d: missing in Malayalam mss;

**Pāda b:** instead of *tatopari*, several of our sources read *mūdopari*, which makes sense equally well.

**Pāda c:** *ambuja*: the lotus *Nymphaea Nelumbo* (MW 1899: 83).

**Pāda d:** *kumuda*: the lotus *Nymphaea Pubescens* Willd (white). See: Colas (1986: 153, note 13); *Nymphaea lotus* L. (white). See: Goudriaan (1965: 331).

51 *dakṣiṇe cotpalaā kandaā saugandhiā paācime nyaset |  
 saumya uāīrakandaā syād bījān tadupari nyaset ||*

**In the south one<sup>103</sup> should place an *utpala* bulb; a *saugandhi* in the west. In the north there should be an *uāīra* bulb. On the top of this one should place the seeds.**

a-b: missing in Malayalam mss except 16847, 16923; c missing in 20089;

a: *dakṣiṇe cotpalaā nyastvā*: T400;

b: *saugandhi*: T2; *saugandhaā*: 8561; *paācimā nyaset*: T297;

c: *uāīrakandaā syād*: P, Th; *kaāerukandaā ca*: T1; *kaāerukandaā syāt*: 16847, 16923; *kuāerukandaā syād*: T400; *tv uāerukandaā syāt*: 8561; *kuāerukandaā syāt*: T297; *tu āerukandaā syāt*: T411; *tu āe kukundaā syāt*: T2;

d: *bijaā*: T1, T297; *bijaā*: 20089; *bijaā*: T411; *dvijaā*: 16847, 16923; *bijān tamupari*: T2; *nāmupari*: 8561;

**Pāda a:** *utpala* – the lotus *Nymphaea Stellata*, “comporte des petals ‘bleus, lancéolés, moins rayonnants que dans le lotus blanc, au nombre de douze à quatorze’ (Bénisti),” Colas, page 153, note 13.

**Pāda b:** *saugandhi* – the lotus *Nymphaea Alba* (Dagens 1970:725).

**Pāda c:** *uāīra* - *Andropogon muricatus* Retz. (Goudriaan 1965:334); *kaāeru*, the reading of 16847, 16923, T1 and T400, denotes the root of *Scirpus Kysoor*, “a kind of grass with a bulbous root” (see MW 1899: 265).

52 *pūrve tv vinyasec chāliā vrīhiā vai dakṣiṇe nyaset |  
 paācime kodravaā nyastvā māṣam uttarato nyaset ||*

<sup>103</sup> The agent of the verbs in the verses 50-53 is most probably the *deāika* mentioned in 49.

**In the east one should place unhusked rice, in the south one should place rice; having placed *kodrava* in the west one should place *māṣa* in the north.**

51d-52ab: given twice in 16847, 16923: after our verse 50c and here.

a: *chālīā*: T1; *chālī*: 20089, T400; *chālī*: T297; *vinyaset āālīā*: 8561, T411;

b: *vrihi vai dakṣiṇe nyaset*: T411; *vrihi vai dakṣiṇā nyaset*: T297; *vrihiā*: 16847, 16923;

c: *godravaā vidyān*: P; *kodravaā vidyān*: Th; *kodravaā vidyāt*: T297; *pāācime kodravaā nyasya*: T411; *pāācime kodravaā nyastvā*: Malayalam mss, 8561, T1, T2, T400, 447;

d: *māṣamudgaā tato nyaset*: T2; *uttare[to inserted] nyaset*: 20089;

**Pāda c:** *kodrava* – a kind of grain, *Paspalum scrobiculatum* (Dagens 1994: 928);

**Pāda d:** *māṣa*: the pulse *Phaseolus Radiatus*, gram, “used for offerings and for making coatings” (Dagens 1994: 957); broad beans (Colas 1986:152 note 7); known as ‘black gram’ in South India;

53 *pāvake vinyasen mudgaā nairūtyāā kaākubījakaā |  
priyaōguā vāyudigbhāga aiāānyāā tu kulutthakam ||*

**In the southeast one should place *mudga*, in the southwest the grain of *kaōku*, *priyaōgu* in the northwest, in the northeast the *kuluttha*.**

a: *mudga*: T411; *vinyaset mudga*: 16847, 16923; *vinyaset mutgaā*: 8561, 20089; *pāvake vinyasen muttāā[dgaā]*: T400; *pārake vinyasen māān*: P; *pāvake vinyasen māāā*: Th;

b: *kuru pūjakaii*: T297, P, Th; *kakubījakam*: T2; *kaākuvījakaā*: 16847, 16923; *kaōgubījakaā*: 447;

c: *vāyudigbhābhā[sic!]ge*: 20089; *priyaāguā vāyudigbhāge*: 8561; *priyaāgu vāyubhāge tu*: T1; *priyaā vāyudigbhāge*: T297; *tilaā vāyudīā[gbhā]bhāge*: T2; *-bhāge*: 16847, 16923, T400, T411;

d: *aiāānyāā tu kulutthakam*: 8561, T400; *aiāānyāā tu kulasthakaā*: 20089; *aiāānyān tu kulasthakam*: T2; *maiāānyān tu kulasthakaā*: 16847, 16923; *aiāānyāā tu kulasthakam*: T1; *aiāānye tu kulutthakam*: Th; *aiāānye tma kulutthakam*: T297; *aiāānye tma kulasthakam*: P; *kulattham iāagocare*: T411;

**Pāda a:** *mudga* - green gram; “des fèves” (Dagens and Barazer-Billoret 2000: 164); “des haricots” (Brunner 1998: 102).

**Pāda b:** *kaōku* or *kaōgu* – a kind of panic seed (MW 1899: 243); Italian millet, *Panicum Italicum* (Dagens 1994: 923).

**Pāda c:** panic seed, see 28d.

**Pāda d:** *kuluttha*: probably the same as *kulattha*, ‘horse gram’, *Dolichos biflorus* (Dagens 1994: 927).

54 *evaā nyasya hūdaā mantraā tato vai garbhabhājanam |  
sarvātodyasamāyuktaā nūttageyasamanvitam ||*



- 55 *jayaābdasamāyuktaā brahmaghoṣasamanvitam |  
prāsādabijam uccārya sthāpayed garbhabhājanam ||*

**Having thus placed (the grains), one should next place the *garbha* casket while reciting the mantra '*hūḍ*', with (the accompaniment of music of) all instruments and with dancing and singing, (one should place the casket) while shouting 'victory', chanting the Veda and uttering the *prāsādabija*.**

54a<sup>1</sup>: *eva*: Malayalam mss;

54a<sup>2</sup>: *nyastvā*: Malayalam mss, 8561, T1, T2, T400, T411, T297; *nyasya*: P, Th;

54a<sup>3</sup>: *hūdaā mantrāḥ*: P, Th; *hūdaā mantra*: T297; *hūda mātraā*: T1; *hūdāmantrī*: Malayalam mss, 8561, T400, T411; *nādamantraā*: T2;

54b: *tathā vai*; P, Th; [ *tato vai*: 8561;

54c: *sarvātodya*: 8561, T1, T400; *sarvātodyasamāyuktā*: T411; *sarvātodyasamāyuktaā*: 20089; *sarvātodyasamaā yuktaā*: 16847, 16923; *sarvato 'dya*: T2; *sarvavādyasamāyuktaā*: T297, P, Th;

54d: *nūttageyasamākulam*: Malayalam mss, 8561, T1, T400; *tattadbhedasamākulam*: T2;

55a: *samāyuktā*: T411;

55b: *samāyutam*: 8561, T411;

55c: *prāsādaā bijam*: T411; *prāsādā bijam*: T297;

**Pāda 54c:** *ātodya*, given by 8561, 20089, T1, T400 and T411, and *vādyā*, given by T297, P and Th, are synonyms, both meaning 'a musical instrument'.

**Pāda 55c:** *prāsādabija* – *hauā*, "le *bija* de Āiva par excellence" (Brunner 1963: xxxiii). It forms a part of the *prāsādamantra*, which is the same as the *mūlamantra*, the mantra evoking Āiva in his totality (Davis 2000: 186).<sup>104</sup>

**54-55:** it seems that the fragment refers to two parts of the installation ceremony. The first part consists of 'popular entertainment' and includes music, dance and singing (54). The second part is more solemn and consists of recitation of the Vedic texts (55).

- 56 *gandhapuṣpādibhīḥ pūjya prāsādaā garbhabhājanaā |  
āilābhīā ceṣṭakābhir vā sudhayā sudūhaā kuru ||*

**Having worshipped the *prāsāda* (and) the *garbhabhājana* with flowers, incense and so on, make (the ground) firm with stones or bricks and with mortar.**

b: (in T297, P and Th = *pāda d*): *prādādaā ... [ ... ]*: P, Th; *prāsādaā ... nam*: T297; *prāsādaā garbhabhājanam*: 447; *garbhabhājane*: 8561; *prāsādaā garbhabhājanaā*: Malayalam mss;

<sup>104</sup> The term *prāsādabija* occurs also in the Aāumad (transcript T3, *āktigarbha* chapter 31cd); *prāsāda* in the meaning of *prāsādamantra* or *prāsādabija* occurs in Raurava 25.54, 48.35 and 48.59.

c: (in T297, P and Th = *pāda a*): *dārubhīī eṣṣakābhir vā*: 8561; *āailair vā iṣṣakābhir vā*: P; *āailair vā ceṣṣakābhir vā*: T1; *āilair vā ceṣṣakābhir vā*: T2; *āailair vā iṣṣakābhir vā*: T297; *āilābhīā ceṣṣakābhir vā*: Malayalam mss, T400; *āilābhīā ceṣṣakābhīā ca*: T411; *āilābhir iṣṣakābhir vā*: Th;  
 d: (in T297, P and Th = *pāda b*): *sudhāyāā sudūēhaā kuru*: T2; *sudhāyā sudūēhaā kuru*: Malayalam mss, T297, P, Th; *saukatais sudūēhaā kuru*: T1;

**Pāda a:** *pūjya* – an unusual form of absolutive, see Chapter 3.6.

**Pāda b:** *prāsādaā garbhabhājanaā* – the temple is not built yet. What is meant here, is perhaps that one should worship the place for the future *prāsāda* or the base (*adhīṣṣhāna*), which might be completed already. Another possibility would be to assume that the readings of the manuscripts are corrupt and read *prāsādagarbhabhājanaā*, ‘the deposit casket of the (future) temple’.

**Pāda d:** *sudhāyā sudūdhāā kuru* - according to the archaeological reports, some of the deposit receptacles of Sri Lanka were indeed fixed with mortar (see Longhurst 1939: 9).

57ab *garbhanyāsavidhīī khyātas tatas tv ekatalaā āūñu ||*

**The procedure for the *garbhanyāsa* has been proclaimed. Listen (what I have to say) next about the *ekatala*.**

a: *garbhanyāsavidhikhyātai*: 8561; *garbhanyāsavidhikhyātaā*: T297; *garbhanyāsavidhīī khyātaā*: T1; *garbhanyāsavidhīā khyātaā*: 20089, T2; *garbhanyāsavidhīā proktan*: T411; *garbhanyāsavidhīī khyātaā*: 16847; *garbhanyāsavidhī khyātaā*: 16923;  
 b: *tatas taikatalaā āūñu*: 16847, 16923; *tatas tv ekatataā[laā] āūñu*: T297; *tastastv ekavidhīā āūñu*: P; *tatas tv ekavidhīā āūñu*: Th; *tatasvekatatalaā gūham*: T2; *tatas tv ekatalaā gūham*: T411;

**Pāda b:** *ekatala* – a temple having one storey. In the *Kāyapaāilpa* the *ekatala* chapter follows the *garbhanyāsa*.

*ity aāūmānbhede kāyape*

**Thus ends, in the *Aāūmānbheda Kāyapa* (i.e. the *Kāyapaāilpa*) (the chapter about the ceremony of placing the consecration deposit).**

*iti kāyapaāilpe*: P, Th; *iti kāyape*: 8561, T297; *iti kāyapiye*: T411; *ity aāūmānkāyape*: T1; *ity aāūmadbhede kāyape*: T400;

### 4.3 The placing of the crowning bricks (*mûrdhneṣṣakâ*) on the basis of the Kââyapaailpa: text, translation and commentary

1ab *atha vakṣye viâṣṣeṣṣa mûrdhneṣṣakâvidhiā param |*

**Now I will speak in detail about the proper procedure of placing the crowning bricks.**

b: *mûrdhneṣṣaka*: 8561; *mûrdhneṣṣakâ*: 16847, 20088, T1; *mûrdhnyeṣṣaka*: T2;

*[The location of the crowning bricks]*

1cd *âikharasyodayârdhânte mahânâsyavasânake ||*  
 2 *âaktidhvajâvasâne vâ mûrdhneṣṣakâs tu vinyaset |*  
*tâvad yadâ samâptaâ tu tadâ mûrdhneṣṣakâs nyaset ||*

**One should place the crowning bricks half way up the height of the *âikhara*, on the level of the *mahânâsî* or on the level of the *âaktidhvaja*. As soon as that much (i.e. the part of the roof where the bricks are to be placed) is finished, one should place the crowning bricks.**

1c: *âirasyodayârdhânte*: 8561; *âikharasyodayardhve vâ*: T1; *âikharasyodayârdhaâ ca*: T2, T47;  
 1d: *mahânâsyavasânake*: 8561, T1;  
 2a: *âa[kṣ]idhvajâvasâne vâ*: 8561; *âaktidhvajâvasâ[deṣ]hâ*: 16847; *âalidhvajâvasâne vâ*: P;  
*âaktidhvajâvasânena*: T2, T47;  
 2b: *mûrdhneṣṣakân tu vinyaset*: 8561, T1; *mûrdhneṣṣakâs tu vinyaset*: 16847, 20088;  
*mûrdhneṣṣakââ ca vinyaset*: Th; *mûrdhneṣṣakââ tu vinyaset*: P, T400; *mûrdhnyeṣṣikân tu vinyaset*:  
 T2; *mûrdhveṣṣakâ tu vinyaset*: T297; *mûrdhni? karatu vinyaset*: T47;  
 2c: *tâvad yathâ samâptaâ tu*: 8561; *tâvat yadâ samâptaâ tu*: T297; *yâvat yadâ samâptaâ tu*: P,  
 Th; *yâvat yadâ samâptaâ tu*: P; *tad dhi dyâvasamâpte tu*: T1; *tâvad adyâsamâptiâ tu*: T47;  
 2d: *tadâ mûleṣṣakâ nyaset*: 8561; *tadâ mûrdhneṣṣakââ nyaset*: 16847, T1; *tadâ mûrdhneṣṣakââ*  
*nyaset*: T47, T400; *tadâ mûrdhneṣṣakâ nyaset*: 20088; *tadâ mûrdhe dvijottamai*: Th; *tadâ mûrdhe*  
*dvijo 'ṣṣamai*: P; *tadâ mûrdhne dvijo 'ṣṣamai*: T297; *tadâ mûrdhney aṣṣakââ nyaset*: T2;

**Pāda 1c:** *āikhara* - the crowning dome-like element forming the summit of a South Indian temple (Harle 1994: 43, 166, 519 note 4).<sup>105</sup>

Both the reading accepted in the critical text (*āikharasyodayārdhānte*) and the reading of T1 (*āikharasyodayordhve vā*, 'or on the top of the height of the *āikhara*') are grammatically correct. The reading *āikharasyodayārdhānte*, however, is supported by MM 18.145 where the crowning bricks are said to be placed half way up the *āikhara* (*āikharārdhe*).

**Pāda 1d:** *nāsī* - lit. 'nose', a decorative projecting element. *nāsī* in the upper part of the temple indicates either a small niche sheltering an image of a deity and located on the temple's *grīva* ('neck' - the recessed element directly under the *āikhara*, also known as *kañṭha* or *gala*) or a false dormer-window of the *āikhara* itself (Dagens 1984: 48, 81; Acharya 1993: 280-281). There are usually eight *nāsī* on the *āikhara*: four placed in the cardinal directions and four in the intermediary directions. Those placed in the cardinal directions are bigger and hence called *mahānāsī*, 'the big *nāsī*', (and these are referred to by our text) contrary to the smaller intermediary ones called *anunāsī* or *alpanāsī*, see Dagens (1984: 81) and Ajita 14.81cd-82ab: *catasraā ca mahānāsyaā caturdikṛu vyavasthitāi | antarāle 'thavā kuryād anunāsīcatuṣṭayam*.<sup>106</sup> The *nāsī* and *mahānāsī* can be seen, for example, on the *āikhara* of the Būhadiāvāra Temple in Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu (see Kramrisch 1946: 187 fig. h and Harle 1994 fig. 247).

*mahānāsyaavasānake, āaktidhvajāvasāne* – from *avasāna*, 'stopping, resting place' (MW 1899: 105), might be understood as 'where the *mahānāsī* | *āaktidhvaja* ends'. That means either as 'at the base' or 'at the top' of the *mahānāsī* | *āaktidhvaja*. The expression *avasāne* is also found in MarīciS 9.7.2: *āikharotsedham aṅgabhāgaā kūtvā taccatuṣṭapaōcaāāāāvasāne mūrdheṣṭakāā sthāpayet | nāsikāgre nāsikañṭhe vā kārayed iti kecit*.<sup>107</sup>

**Pāda 2a:** *āaktidhvaja* – this term is not found in dictionaries and in list of Sanskrit architectural terms. From the parallel texts where the term occurs (often in relation to a *nāsī* or a *nāsikā*) it becomes clear that a *āaktidhvaja* is a kind of a pole, a vertical decorative element of the *nāsī*, placed most probably on its top. Its name may originate from *āakti*, 'spear'. In the Kāyapaāilpa itself *āaktidhvaja* is mentioned in 21.5-7 (T1) in connection with the *nāsikā* and is stated to be

<sup>105</sup> In a North Indian temple, the term *āikhara* refers to the whole tower-like superstructure topped by a large stone (*āmalakā*). The Kāyapaāilpa, however, being a South Indian text, concentrates mainly on South Indian architecture.

<sup>106</sup> 'Four *mahānāsī* are situated in the four directions. Or rather one should make four *anunāsī* in between'.

<sup>107</sup> *nāsikañṭhe* – wrong for *nāsikānte*? Colas (1986: 125) translates the fragment as follows: 'On divise la hauteur du toit en huit parties: on pose la brique de couronnement (*mūrdheṣṭakā*) à la limite de la quatrième, cinquième, ou sixième partie. Selon certains: on pose cette brique au sommet d'une fausse lucarne (*nāsikā*) ou à l'attique (*kañṭha*) d'une fausse lucarne (*nāsī*) (du toit)'.

surmounted by a 'patra' or a 'āūlaka'.<sup>108</sup> For the occurrences of the term *āaktidhvaja* in architectural texts, see MS 15.36,<sup>109</sup> ĪĀGDP 28.36, MM 18.71 (this passage has not been translated), 19.19, 22.41,<sup>110</sup> Dīpta 20 (p. 310),<sup>111</sup> Kāraṇa 10.2<sup>112</sup> and Āilparatna 35.4-7.<sup>113</sup>

3ab *māsapakarkavārādyān anapekṣya samācaret |*

**One should act without considering the month, the fortnight of the lunar month, the constellation and the day.**

3a-b not in T47, T297, P and Th.

3a: *māsaā pakarkavārādyā*: 8561; *māsapakarkavārādaḥ*: T1; *māsaā pakṣya vārādyā*: T2; *māsaā pakarkavārādyā*: 16847; *māsaā pakarkavārādyā*: 20088;

3b: *sv anapekṣa[-pekṣ?] rtaṃ ācaret*: 8561; *sulagne ca samācaret*: T1; *svanapekṣya samācaret*: T2; *anapekṣya samācaret*: T400;

**Pāda 3a:** -*ādyān* – conjectural emendation for -*ādyā*.

**Pāda 3ab:** - this statement is surprising. The position of the stars is usually of great importance in India and the day or even time of an important activity should

<sup>108</sup> KĀ 21.7cd (T1): *āaktidhvajopariṣat tu patraā vātha saūlakam*. The reading given by the Poona edition seems to be corrupt: *āaktidhvajopariṣat tu patraā bādhasasūkalam* (here chapter 22.7cd).

<sup>109</sup> Acharya (1934: 155 note 1) in his translation of MS 15.77 interprets *āaktidhvaja* as “projecting ornament looking like an emblematic spear” and he adds that “it is placed above the vestibule (nose).” Yet, in his Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture (1993: 476) Acharya translates *āaktidhvaja* as “a moulding of the column” referring to the same passage from the MS (viz. MS 15.77).

The term *āaktidhvaja* seems to appear also in MS 33.134 and 137 as quoted by Acharya (1993: 280), but the passage is not found in the Mānasāra and according to the word index included in the edition of the text *āaktidhvāja* occurs only in 15.77.

<sup>110</sup> Translated respectively as “the projection of the large false dormer windows” (Dagens 1994: 313), and as “a pole” (Dagens 1994: 371). According to the word index of the MM, the term *āaktidhvaja* occurs also in MM 23.88 and 23.95, but these two fragments refer, in fact, to a *āaktistambha*, the flag pole which should be erected in front of the altar.

<sup>111</sup> The *mūrdheṣṣakā* chapter on the basis of T1018. According to the text itself it is chapter 20, but chapter 60 (pp.306-310) according to the sequence in the transcript. As the verses of the transcript are not numbered, the page numbers will be given, in brackets, after the chapter number.

<sup>112</sup> Kāraṇa comes closest to the KĀ, cf.: *mahānāsyantakaā vāpi āaktidhvajasamaā tu tam | mūrdhnāikānāā tatkāle vinyaset vidhipūrvakam |*

<sup>113</sup> Āilparatna 35 follows closely KĀ 21, at least in the first part, but in the Āilparatna the *āaktidhvaja* has to be provided on the top with three *āikhās* or with a *patra* instead of *patra* or *āūla* as prescribed by our text: *evaā āaktidhvajaā kāryāā tadūrdhve triāikhaā nyaset | patraā vā vinyaset tatra...* (Āilparatna 35.7a-c). In KāyapaJK 32, on the other hand, tridents have to be placed on the top of the *mahānāsi* and not on the top of the *āaktidhvāja*: *mahānāsiāikhāgreṣu tātreṇā 'yasena vā triāūlān kūtvā sthāpayet*, ‘having made *triāūlas* of copper or of iron, install them on the summits of the *mahānāsi*'.

be carefully chosen by an astrologer (cf. 42cd-43ab). Perhaps one should assume that in this stage of construction (i.e. when the temple is almost finished) the building should not be interrupted and should thus continue disregarding whether the position of the stars is auspicious or not. Yet, such a prescription is in disagreement with what is said in 42cd-43ab.

On the other hand, the verse might perhaps be understood as referring only to the act of making the bricks, as the material and dimensions of the bricks are being explained in the following section (3cd-6). A simple manual work like this could perhaps be done on any day. Still, such a statement remains very unusual.

*[Material and appearance of the crowning bricks]*

- 3cd *âilâbhis tu âilâharmye iṣṣakâs tv iṣṣakâlaye ||*  
 4 *dârubhir dâruharmye tu kartavyaâ âivam icchatâ |*  
*mîâradravyakûte harmye yaddravyeṇâ kûtaâ âirai' ||*  
 5ab *taddravyeṇaiva kartavyâ mûrdhneṣṣakâ dvijottama |*

**By him who desires (this event) to be auspicious (the ceremony of laying the crowning bricks) should be performed using stones for a stone building, bricks for a brick building and wood for a wooden building. The crowning 'bricks' for a building made of various materials, o best of Brahmins, should be made of the same material as the top.**

3cd not in T297, P and Th.

3c: *âilâbhis tu mahâharmye*: T2;

3d: *iṣṣaka tv iṣṣakâlayet*: 16847; *tv iṣṣakeṣṣakayâ tadâ*: T1; *sv iṣṣikâṣṣastrikâlayet*: T2; *iṣṣakâdîṣṣukâlaye*: T400; *iṣṣakââ ceṣṣakâlaye*: T47;

4 not in T297, P and Th.

4a: *dârubhi[r dâ]ruharmye tu*: 8561;

4b: *kartavyâ âubham icchatâ*: T1; *kartavyaâ âubham icchatâm*: T2; *kartavyaâ âubham icchatâ*: 8561, T47;

4c: *mîâradravyâkûte harmye*: 16847;

4d: *yaddravyena âiraâ kûtam*: T2; *yaddravyena âirai' kûtam*: T47; *yaddravyeṇâ kûtaâ âirâ*: 16847;

5a-b not in T295, P and Th.

5a: *taddravyeṇâ prakartavyâ*: T1; *taddravyeṇaiva kartavyaâ*: 8561, 16847, 20088, T2, T47, T400;

5b: *mûrdhneṣṣakâ dvijottama*: 20088, T1; *mûrdhneṣṣaka dvijottama*: T2; *mûrdhneṣṣakââ dvijottama*: T400; *mûrdhneṣṣakâ dvijottamâi'*: T47; *mûrdhneṣṣakâ dvijottamâi'*: 8561; *mûrdhneṣṣa dvijottama*: 16847;

**3cd-5ab**: the same prescription is given with regard to the first bricks, see KÅ *prathameṣṣakâ* 18cd-19.

5cd *ekādyanekabhūmānāā harmyāñāā tu viāṣṣatai ||*  
 6 *iṣṣakāvyaṣam āyāmaā ghanaā cādyeṣṣakām iva |*  
*prakuryād iṣṣakāā vipra tatai sthāpanam ārabhet ||*

**As (has been stipulated in connection with) the first bricks, o Brahmin, one should make the (crowning) bricks, (i.e.) their length, breadth and height, each time different, in accordance with the (height of the) building, which may have from one to several storeys. After that one should begin the installation.**

5c: *ekādyanekabhūmināā*: T1; *ekādyanekabhūmyanta*: Th; *ekānekakuābhānāā*: T2; *ekānekakakumbhānāā*: T47; *ekādya[m?]**ekabhūmānāā*: T400; *matūkādyanekabhūmānāā*: 8561; *ekādaāānyekabhūmānām*: 16266;  
 5d: *harmyāñān tu viāṣṣatai*: 8561, 16847, 20088. T2, T400;  
 6a: *āāṣṣikāvyaṣam samāyāmaā*: T297; *iṣṣikāvyaṣam āyāmaā*: T2;  
 6b: *ghanaā cṣṣakam eva hi*: T2, T47;  
 6cd not in T297, P, Th.  
 6c: *kuryāt tadīṣṣikāā vipra*: T2; *kuryāt tadīṣṣakāā vipra*: T47; [ ... ] *kuryād iṣṣakāā vipra*: T400; [illegible] *kuryād iṣṣakā vipra*: 8561; *kuryād iṣṣakāā vipra*: 16847, 20088;  
 6d: *tatas sthāpanam ārabhet*: 8561, T400; *tatasthāpanam ārabhet*: 16847; *tat tat sthāpanāā ārabhet*: T2; *tasya sthāpanam ārabhet*: T47;

**Pāda 6b**: for the dimensions of the first bricks, see KÅ *prathameṣṣakā* 22cd-25. The size of the crowning bricks, the same as the size of the first bricks and of the deposit casket, depends on the size of the entire temple and more precisely on the number its storeys: the more storeys, the larger the bricks and the casket; cf. KÅ *prathameṣṣakā* 16ab and KÅ *garbhanyāsa* 9.

**Pāda 6c**: *iṣṣakāā* - one should understand it as a 'collective singular'; see KÅ *prathameṣṣakā* 1b.

### [The construction of a pavilion]

Section 7-14 describes the building of a ceremonial pavilion in which several preliminary rites will take place. Compare KÅ *prathameṣṣakā* 10cd-16 and KÅ *garbhanyāsa* 30-35.

7 *prāsādasyāgrato vaiāe saumye vā yāmyagocare |*  
*navāṣṣasaptaṣṣapaōcahastaā vā mañēapaā tatai ||*  
 8ab *tadvistārasamāyāmaā caturaāraā samaā kuru |*

**Make there, in front of the main temple building, in the northeast, in**

**the north or in the south, a pavilion measuring nine, eight, seven, six or five *hastas*, completely square, with its length equal to its breadth.**

7a: *prāsādasyāgratas tv iāe*: T1; *prāsādasyāgrato deāe*: P, Th; *prāsādāgre syato caiva*: T2; *prāsādasyāgrake caiva*: T47; *prāsādasyograto vaiāe*: 16847, 20088;

7b: *saumye vā harmyagocare*: T1; *saumye vāyau ca gopure*: Th; *saumye vāyau ca gopure*: P; *saumye vāyavyagocare*: T2, T47; *saumye vā yātha gopure*: T297; *saumye vā yāmyagecare*: 16847;

7d: *hastaā vā mañēpaā statam*: T1, T297; *hastaā vā mañēapas tatam*: T400; *hastaā vā mañēapaā tatam*: P, Th; *mañēapasya tu vistūtam*: T2, T47; [illegible] *staā vā ma [ ... ] pa [ā?]statai*: 8561; *hastaā vā mañēapas tatai* [or: *mañēapaā tatai?*]: 16847; *hastaā vā mañēapas tatai*: 20088;

8 a: *tadvistārasamaā yāmaā*: T2;

8b: *caturaārasamaā gurui*: T1; *caturaārasamaā kuru*: T47, T297; *caturagrasamaā kuru*: T2;

8cd *mañēapaā vā prapā vātha æøèäästaābhasaāyutam* ||

9 *caturdvārasamāyuktaā catu~~æ~~orañabhū~~æ~~itam* |

*taraāgam aāghrive~~æ~~ā ca vitānadhvajasaāyutam* ||

**(This) pavilion or ‘light building’ has sixteen pillars, four doors, and is decorated with four arches, it has wave-like ornaments and pillar wrappings, and is endowed with a canopy and a banner.**

8c-d not in T47.

8 c: *mañēapaā vā prapā vātha*: P; *mañēapaā vā prapāā vātha*: 8561, 20088, T1, T400; *mañēapaā ravistaābhaā vā*: T2; *mañēapaā vā prapāā taā vā atha*: 16847;

8d: *æøèäästaābham eva vā*: T2;

9 not in T47; 9a-b not in 8561.

a: *catudvārasamāyuktaā*: T297; *catustorañadvāraā vā*: T2;

b: *catustorañasaāyutaā*: T297, P, Th; *yatnālaokūtabhū~~æ~~itam*: T2;

c: *ææèææana~~æ~~va(saākhyāka)*: Th; *ææèææā ca navaā caiva*: P; *taraāghram aāghrive~~æ~~ā ca*: T1; *vastrāòghrive~~æ~~anaō caiva*: T2; *taraā~~æ~~ navaā caiva*: T297; *turagāāghrive~~æ~~anaā caiva*: 20088, T400; *taraāga[illegible]ve~~æ~~anaā caiva*: 8561; *raògāòghrive~~æ~~anaā caiva*: 16847;

d: *vitānadhvajabhū~~æ~~itam*: T2; *vinānadhvajasaāyutam*: 16847, 20088, T400;

**8cd-9**: this passage has been translated separately from 10-12 in order to avoid an unnecessarily long sentence.

**Pāda 8c**: *prapā* – see KÅ *prathame~~æ~~akā* 11a.

**Pāda 9b**: *catu~~æ~~orañā* - emendation for *catustorañā*.

10 *muktāsragnarbhamālābhir alaäkūtya viā~~æ~~tai* |

*mañēapasya tribhāgaikam madhye kūtvpavedikam* ||



**Having decorated (the pavilion) in a special way with strings of pearls, garlands and *darbha* grass, having built in the middle of it a socle measuring one-third of the pavilion itself,...**

Not in T47.

a: *muktāśraḡdarbhamālābhīḥ*: T1; *muktādāmair alīpuṣpair*: T2; *muktāśra*[? ṛ mat] *darbhamālādibhir* [di added above]: 8561;

b: *darpmālāvibhūṣitam*: T2; *alaṅkṛtya viśeṣatam*: 20088;

c: *maṅḡapasya tribhāḡaikāḡ*: Th; *maṅḡalsya tribhāḡaikāḡ*: P; *maṅḡapasya tribhāḡaika*: 8561, T1; *maṅḡalasya tribhāḡaikaḡ*: T297;

d: *madhye kṛtvā tu vedikām*: P, Th; *madhye kṛtvā tu vedikam*: T297; *madhye kṛtvopavedikām*: 8561, T1; *madhye vediḡ prakalpayet*: T2;

**Pāda c:** *tribhāḡaikam* – see KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 12c.

**Pāda d:** *upavedika* – according to Dagens, whose basis is the Raurava, it is a socle under the central platform (*vedikā*, *vedī*) of a sacrificial pavilion, also known as *upāna* (Dagens 1984: 111, 116).<sup>114</sup> Brunner (1968: 331), on the other hand, translates literally *upavedī* as a ‘secondary platform’.<sup>115</sup> In the present verse the term *upavedika* is probably used in the meaning of ‘socle’.

The *upavedika* is not mentioned in the *prathameṣṭakā* and *garbhanyāsa* chapters of our text.

11 *vedāḡgulonnataḡ veśam upavediyugāśrakam* |

*śeṣaḡ vediviśālaḡ tu bhānumātraḡ tadunnatam* ||

12ab *bhānudvayāḡgulaḡ coccaḡ darpaḡodararasannibham* |

**The *veśa* should be four *aṅgulas* high and it should be quadrangular like the *upavedī*. The remaining part (of the *upavedī*) has the breadth of the *vedī* and is twelve *aṅgulas* high. (The *vedī*) is twenty-four *aṅgulas* high and (its surface) resembles a flat mirror (or) a belly.**

11 not in T47. 11cd not in T2. 12ab different in T2 and T47, see below at 12cd.

11a: *vedāḡgulonnataḡ deśam*: P; *vedāḡgulonnataḡ deśam*: Th; *vedāḡgulānte taḡ veśam*: T1; *hastamātronnataḡ caivam*: T2; *vedyāḡ talonnataḡ veśam*: 8561; *vedāḡgulonnataḡ vedim*: 20088;

11b: *upavediyugātrayam*: P, Th; *upavediyugātrayam*: T297; *upade ca yugāśrakam*: T1; *upavediyugāḡgulam*: T2;

<sup>114</sup> See Raurava 18.38d-39: *vedikāḡ kuru* || *yugāśraḡ vātha vṛttaḡ vā tanmūle sopavedikam kṛtvā...*, ‘construct (there) a *vedikā*; having made a square or round *upavedika* at its (*vedikā*’s) base...’. The term included by Dagens in the word index of the Raurava is *upavedikā* (fem.). Still, the same as in the case of the KŚ, many of the manuscripts of the Raurava read *upavedika*.

<sup>115</sup> This translation is supported by Kāraṇa I.135.23 (as quoted by Bhatt 1972: 5 note 12): *madhyāḡse vedikāḡ kuryāt tacchaturthāḡśakonnatāḡ | vedikāyāś ca paritāś copavediḡ prakalpayet*, where the *upavedī* is constructed around the *vedikā*, not below it and functioning as its socle.

11d: *bhānumātraā tam unnatam*: 8561, 16847, 20088; *bhānumātrasamanvītam*: T1;

12a: *bhānudvayāāguloccaā tu*: T297, P; *bhānudvayāāguloccaā tu*: Th; *bhānudvayāāgulaā cordhvam*: 8561;

**Pāda 12b:** *darpañodarasannibham* – see note to KĀ *prathamewākā* 13b and KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 34c.

**11-12ab:** this passage might be translated in several ways, none of them being fully satisfactory. One of the problems here is the exact meaning of *veāa*. This term does occur sporadically in texts on architecture, but it is never satisfactorily explained. Dagens, basing himself on the Raurava, interprets *veāa* and *veāana* as ‘a recess of a moulding’, contrary to *nirgama* or *niākrānta*, ‘the projection’ (Dagens 1984: 39, 172)<sup>116</sup> and Acharya (1993: 474) translates it as ‘an entrance, a gate, a gateway, a band, an architectural moulding’. In the present passage *veāa*, most probably, is used in the meaning of the recessed part of the *upavedika*.<sup>117</sup>

Another problem of 11-12ab is the double prescription given for the height: in 11d (*unnata*) and in 12a (*ucca*). It can perhaps be assumed that the first prescription refers to the part of the *upavedika* minus the recess (*veāa*, the height of which was already explained in 11a), while the second one refers to the *vedi*: it is the *vedi* which is on top of the *upavedika* and, hence, the expression *darpañodarasannibham* (12b), ‘(whose surface) resembles a flat mirror or a belly’ should refer to the former (compare KĀ *prathamewākā* 13b and KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 34c).

12cd *mahāāsv agnikuñēāni caturaārāñi kalpayet ||*

### One should construct square fire-pits in the cardinal directions.

12c: *iha cāgnikuñēilāni*: P; *iha cā gnikuñēāni*: Th; *iha āāgnī kuñēalāni ca*: T297;

T2 and T47 have a different reading. Instead of the verse 11cd-12cd in the present edition T2 reads (no verse numbers given in the transcript):

*sudhām iāim alaōkūtya darpañodarasannibham ||*

*kuēyānāā mānuāō cāpi nava paōcaāikhāgnikā |*

*caturaāraā caturdikāu vūttābhaāprathamāgni ca ||*

T47 reads (after verse 8ab of the edition; the verse numbers as given by the transcript):

*kuñēāni mānuāe caiva navapaōcaāivāgnikam |*

*caturaāraā caturdikāu vūttābhaā prathamāgni ca ||8||*

**Pāda 12cd:** compare KĀ *prathamewākā* 13cd-14 and KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 33-34.

<sup>116</sup> For *veāa* as a part of a ceremonial platform (*vedi*), see, for example, Raurava 33.20ab: *aōgānāā veāaniākrāntam adhiāhānoktavat kuru*, ‘Pour le rentrant et la saillie des moulures fais comme il a été dit pour les soubassements’ (trans. Dagens and Barazer-Billoret 2000: 179).

<sup>117</sup> It should be noted that in one of the readings of verse 45c *veāa* is a synonym of *vedha*, ‘depth’, which supports its present interpretation as a recessed part (see 45c, T1).

- 13 *atha vā vālukaii sthūlaii sthañēilaā parikalpayet |  
gomayālepanāā kūtvā tatai āilpivisarjanam ||*

**Or, one should rather make a ceremonial ground with coarse sand. After the anointing with cow-dung is finished, the artisan should be discharged.**

c-d: not in T2, T297, T47, P, Th.

8561 misses a-b and the beginning of c is written at the bottom of the PL.

a: *atha vā vālukai stūlai*: T297, P; *atha vā vāluke sthūlaii*: T2; *atha vā vālukai sthūlaii*: 16847, 20088;

b: [...]: T297, P, Th; *tañēilaā parikalpayet*: 16847;

c: *gomayālepanāā vipra*: T47;

d: *āilpinaā tu visarjayet*: T1; *tataā āilpivisarjanam*: 20088; *tataā āikhivisarjanam*: 16847; *bhojanaā ca punaā āucii*: T47;

T47 has a concise version of verse 1-15ab:

*gomayālepanāā viprabhojanaā ca punaā āucii |  
sthañēilaā pātayed dhīmān aṅdroṅaiā ca āālibhii ||9||*

**Pāda ab:** *atha vā...* - 'or rather'; the fire oblation may be performed in the *kuñēas* or on a *sthañēila*. See Ajita 15.17-18: *vedikāyāā caturdikāu kuñēe vā sthañēile 'pi vā || homaā kuryād vidhānena ...*, 'in the four directions around the *vedikā*, in the *kuñēa* or on the *sthañēila*, one should perform the fire oblation according to the rule'.

**Pāda c:** *gomayālepanāā kūtvā* - cf. 14c, KĀ *prathameṅkā* 15a and *garbhanyāsa* 35b.

**Pāda d:** *tatai āilpivisarjanam* - cf. KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 35a.

- 14 *brāhmañān bhojayet tatra tatocchiṅṅavisarjanam |  
punaā ca gomayāā lipya puñyāhaā vācayet tatai ||*

**On this occasion one should give food to the Brahmins and remove the food remains afterwards. After anointing (the floor of the pavilion) once again with cow-dung, one should announce that it is an auspicious day.**

Not in T297, P, Th. For T47 see verse 13.

b: *tatocchiṅṅāā visarjayet*: T1; *talocchiṅṅāā visarjayet*: T2; *ta tatocchiṅṅavisarjanam*: 16847;

c: *punaā ca gomayair lipya*: T1; *punaā ca gomayair gavya*: T2; *punaā ca goma* [illegible] *lipya*: 8561;

d: *puñyāhaā vācayet tadā*: T1; *tatai puñyāha vācayet*: T2; *puñyāhaā vācayet ttatai*: 16847, 20088;

**Pāda b:** *tatocchīṣṣavisarjanam* – double *sandhi*, see Chapter 3.6.

**Pāda c:** *lipya* – an unusual form of absolutive, see Chapter 3.6.

*punaā ca gomayaā lipya* – cf. 13c, KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 15a and KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 35b.

**Pāda d:** *puñyāha* – for the ceremony of the *puñyāhavacanam*, ‘the proclamation of an auspicious day’, see KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 35d.

15 *sthañēilaā kārayed vedyām aṣṣadroñaiā ca āālibhīī |*  
*tadardhais tañēulair bhūṣya tadardhaiā ca tilair api ||*

**On the platform one should order a ceremonial ground to be prepared by means of eight *droṇas* of rice. Having adorned it with four *droṇas* of winnowed rice and with two *droṇas* of sesame,...**

a: *sthañēilaā kārañair dadyād*: Th; *sthañēilaā kārañair dadyād (kārayed ardhādy)*: P; *sthañēilaā kārayed dhīmān*: T1; *sthañēilaā pādayed vidvān*: T2; *sthañēilaā pātayed dhīmāñ*: T47; *sthañēilaā kārañair vidyāt (kārayed vidvān)*: T297; *sthañēilaā kārayed evam*: 8561;  
c: *tadardhais tañēulais tubhyaā*: Th; *tadardhais tañēulais tubhyaā*: P; *tadardhaā tañēulair bhūṣya*: T2; *tadardhe tañēulais tubhyaā*: T297; *tañēulaiā ca tilair lājaiī*: T47;  
d: *tañēulārthaā tilair api*: T2; *kalpayet sarvaāobhitam*: T47;

**Pāda a:** *vedyām* – has been adopted in the text on the basis of parallel passages which prescribe the *sthañēila* to be made on the *vedi*. See KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 17, KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 36, Raurava 18.72, Dīpta 20 (p.307) etc.

**Pāda b:** *droṇa* (bucket) – a measure of capacity, see KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 17b.

**Pāda c:** *bhūṣya* – an unusual form of absolutive, see Chapter 3.6.

**Pāda cd:** for an alternative interpretation of the sequence *aṣṣa... tadardha... tadardha*, see KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 17cd.

16 *lājaiā caiva paristīrya āvetābjaā parikalpayet |*  
*nānāpuṣpaiī kuāair darbhaiī paristīrya vicakṣāñaiī ||*

**...having strewn about fried rice, one should make a white lotus. The wise one, having strewn about various flowers, *kuāa* and *darbha* grass,...**

Not in T47.

a: *lājaiā caiva pari [ ... ] rya*: 16847;

b: *āvetāābujaparistare*: T2; *āvetāsthaā parikalpayet*: 8561;

c: *nānāpuṣpaiī kuāai darbhaiī*: 16847; *navapuṣpaiā ca darbhaiā ca*: T2;

d: *paristīrya vicakṣāñaiī*: T2; *paristīrya vicakṣāña*: T297; *paristīrya vicakṣāñam*: 20088; *paristīrya vicakṣāña* [? illegible]: 8561;

**Pāda b:** *āvetābja* – drawing a lotus with eight petals on the *sthañēila* is frequently mentioned in the parallel texts, see Ajita 15.23, 17.17, Kāraṇa 10.17 etc. There is no information with what material the lotus is being drawn, but one may assume that it is either grain or coloured chalk. The drawing of the lotus on the *sthañēila*, however, is not mentioned in the *prathamaṅkā* and the *garbhanyāsa* chapters of the KĀ.

17 *manonmanīā karṇikāyāā vāmādīā ca daleṣv api |*  
*gandhapuṣpādibhir yaṣvā svasvamantrair viāṣatai ||*

... having worshipped Manonmanī on the pericarp and (the *āaktis*) beginning with Vāmā on the petals with incense and flowers, each with her own mantra,...

Not in T47.

a: *manonmanī karṇikāmadhye*: T2; *manonmanī karṇikāyāā*: T297;

b: *dāṣu vyomādīāaktayai*: Th; *tu daleṣu vyā[dalāyā]mādi āaktitai*: P; *tu dalair vāmādīāaktitai*: T297; *tu daleṣu vāmādīāaktayai*: 8561, 16847, 20088; *tu daleṣu vāmādīāaktayai*: T400; *dale vāmādīāaktayai*: T2;

c: *gandhapuṣpādibhī yaṣvā*: Th; *gandhapuṣpādibhir yaṣva*: 8561; *gandhapuṣpādibhī pūjya*: T1; *gandhapuṣpādir abhyarcya*: T2; *gandhapuṣpādibhir yaṣyā*: T400;

d: *sasyamātrair viāṣatai*: T297, P, Th; *svasvamantrair viāṣatah*: 8561; *svasamantrair viāṣatai*: 16847; *svastimantrair viāṣatai*: T2;

**Pāda a:** Manonmanī – the *āakti* of Sadāāiva (Brunner 1998: xxv note 26, Davis 2000: 125).

**Pāda b:** Vāmā – one of the *āaktis* belonging to the group of six or nine. See Brunner (1998: 168-169, 494). The worship of Manonmanī on the pericarp and of the *āaktis* on the petals of a lotus is not uncommon in various Āiva rituals (see for example Ajita 34.12-13). Besides, a vizualisation of the lotus throne (*padmāsana*), with Manonmanī residing in the centre and the Vidyēvaras<sup>118</sup> together with their *āaktis* (beginning with Vāmā) residing on the petals is part of the ritual of invoking Āiva into the *liṅga* (see Davis 2000: 122-125).

*vāmādīā ca daleṣv api* of T1 is preferred above *tu daleṣu vāmādīāaktayai* of the majority of the manuscripts, the latter reading having ten instead of the required eight syllables.

**Pāda c:** *yaṣvā* – an unusual form of absolute, see Chapter 3.6.

### [Material and appearance of the axis of the finial]

<sup>118</sup> The eight 'agents' of Āiva, see KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 16ab.

18ab *lohajaä dārujaä vātha stūpidañëää tu kārayet |*

**...one should commission the axis of the finial (to be made either) of metal or of wood.**

a: *lohajaä dārujaä vā'tha*: P; *lohajaä dārujaä vāpi*: T2, T47; *lohajaä dārujaä caiva*: 8561;  
b: *stūpidañëää ca kārayet*: P, Th; *sthūpidañëää tu kārayet*: T1, T297, T400; *sthūpidañëää tu meva hi*: T2, T47; *sthūpidañëää tu hārayet*: 8561; *stūpidañëää tu kārayet*: 20088;

**Pāda 18b:** *stūpi* - this form is given by 16847, 20088, P and Th, while T1, T2, T47, T297 and T400 read *sthūpi*. Both forms are often found in architectural texts as variant readings, see Raurava 26.28, 26.36, 39.21, Ajita 15.5 and 6, 15.10, MM 11.20, 15.58 etc. Other examples of words where the aspirated *tha* occurs instead of the unaspirated *ta* are *sthūpikā* and *sthambha*.<sup>119</sup> It should be noted that only the forms with unaspirated *ta* are included in the Sanskrit dictionaries.<sup>120</sup> In the present edition the forms with the inaspirated plosive (*stūpi* and *stambha*) were adopted.

18cd *asanaä khadiraä vātha tintriñīsāraä eva vā ||*  
19 *madhūkaä padmarañëukaä æaè ete taravaï smütāi |*  
*hemarājatātāraä vā trayas saāmiāram eva vā ||*

**Asana, khadira, the inner part of tintriñi, madhūka, padma or rañëuka - these are the six types of wood which are prescribed (for making the axis). Or it is to be made of gold, silver, copper, or a mixture of these three.**

18c-d not in T47.

18c: *āsanaä khādiraä vā 'tha*: P; *āsanaä khādiraä vātha*: Th; *panasaä khadiraä sālaä*: T1; *asanaä khādiraä vāpi*: T2; *āsanaä khadiraä vātha*: T297; *asanaä [khād? Illegible] naä vātha*: 8561; *āsanaä khadiraä vātha*: 16847; *asamaä (naä?) khadiraä vātha*: T400;

18d: *tintiñīsāram eva vā*: P, Th; *trintriñīsāram eva ca*: T2; *tintriñīsāram eva ca*: T297; *tintrañivāraä eva vā*: 16847; *tintriñivāram eva vā*: 20088; *tintriñipāram eva vā*: T400;

19 not in T47.

19a: *mayūraä padmakañëūraä*: T297, P, Th; *madhūkaä stabakaä caiva*: T1; *madhukaä pa[ddv?]araäbūkaä*: T2; *madhūkaä pa[ä? illegible]rañëūtaä*: 8561; *ma[illegible] kaä patmara[ ... ]kaä*: 16847;

19b: *bhavit taddāruvattamaä (sāravat)*: Th; *bhavit taddāruvattamaä*: P; *bhavete dāruvat smütam*: T297, *æaè ete sārādāravaï*: T1; *æaèetair sthūpidāruvat*: T2; *æaè ete taravasmütāi*: 20088; *æaè ete tarava[illegible]ta*: 8561; *[ææketaravastatāi?]*: 16847;

<sup>119</sup> For the latter, see variant readings of KĀ *prathame* 53b.

<sup>120</sup> See MW (1899) and Apte (1970). The term *stūpi* (or *sthūpi*) does not occur in the dictionaries of MW and Apte, but it is most probably derived from *stūpa*, so the form with unaspirated *ta* deserves preference over the form with aspirated *tha*.

19c: *hemam uditaā tāmraā vā*: P, Th; *hemajaā rajataā tāmraā*: T1; *svaṛṇāā rajatalohaā vā*: T2; *hema vā rajataā tāmraā*: T297; *he[another he written above the line]maā rajatatāmraā vā*: 8561;

19d: *trayasaāmiāram eva vā*: 20088, T400, Th; *trayasaāmiāra eva vā*: P; *trayasāmmiāra eva vā*: T297; *ayasā miāram eva vā*: T1; *idamiāran tu meva vā*: T2; *trayasamiāram eva vā*: 16847;

**Pāda 18c**: *asana* - Terminalia Tomentosa; *khadira* - Acacia Catechu; *khādira* in T2, P and Th is probably a variant of *khadira*. Both occur, for example, in MM 15.105.

**Pāda 18d**: *tintriṇī* - Tamarindus indica;<sup>121</sup>

**Pāda 19a**: *madhūka* - Bassia latifolia.<sup>122</sup> *padma* is translated by Dagens as ‘a tree (used for temples only, perhaps Juniper communis)’, see Dagens (1994: 945).<sup>123</sup> Varma (1970) identified *padmaka* as Prunus padum while according to the Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit English dictionary *padmaka* means ‘the wood of Cerasus Puddum’ (MW 1899: 585).

*rañēuka* (or *rambūka* etc., see the variant readings of 19a) is problematic. None of the forms given by our sources occur in the dictionaries or lists of plants and trees. The parallel lists of trees found in Ālparatna 34.5 and Kāraṇa 10.7 are not very helpful as they read, instead of *rañēuka*, respectively *rajjūka* and *ēuñēuka*, which are not found in the dictionaries either.

*stabaka* in T1 (instead of *padmarañēuka*), meaning ‘a cluster of blossoms, bunch of flowers’, might be a synonym of *stambaka*, which occurs in the list of trees given in MM 18.164 and 29.172.<sup>124</sup>

**18cd-19ab**: the names of the trees are all treated as neuter words, even if some of them are, in fact, of masculine gender, for instance *asana*, *khadira* and *madhūka*.<sup>125</sup> The confusion of genders occurs very often in the architectural texts and in the Āgamas; cf. the parallel passages in Dīpta 20 (p. 308): *asanakhadiraā vātha tintriṇīsāram eva tu* || *madhūkapadmañēūt ææ ete dāruvismūtai* and in Kāraṇa 10.7-8ab: *asanakhadiraā vāpi madhukaā patmaēuñēukam* | *tilakaā trīṇīsāraā ca candanaā campakaā tathā* || *etair vūkæaii prakartavyaā stūpidañēāā viææatai*. The same situation is encountered in our pāda 19cd where the metals are treated as if being of neuter gender.

20 *ūrdhvabhūmyaāghrituōgaā tu stūpidañēāyataā bhavet* |

<sup>121</sup> The expression *tintriṇīsāra* is found also in Ajita 15.6 (mss B and F). *Trīṇīsāra* is found in Kāraṇa 10.7.

<sup>122</sup> For all the trees mentioned in this passage, see Dagens (1984: 27; 1994: Index), Colas (1986: Index 4), Goudriaan (1965: Appendix 2), Varma (1970: Glossary B and Index) and MW (1899).

<sup>123</sup> He refers here to MM 15. 112 and 29.172 where *padmaka* (not *padmā*) is included in the list of various trees.

<sup>124</sup> In both passages *stambaka* is not translated; it is not included in the Index at the end of the edition, either.

<sup>125</sup> See MW (1899: 118, 336 and 781 respectively). Compare also MM 15.112.

- 21 *mûrdhaâilopariâât tu stûpyantaä vâ tadâyatam ||*  
*ûrdhvabhûmyaâghrivistâraä stûpimûlaviââlakam |*  
*tasyâgram aògulavyâsaä mûlâd agraä kramât kuâam ||*

**The axis of the finial should be as long as the pilaster of the upper storey. Or the axis should stretch from the crowning stones to the top of the finial.**

**The width of the base of the (axis of the) finial is equal to the width of the pilaster of the upper storey. Its top measures one *aògula* and (the axis of the finial) is tapering towards the top.**

20b-d missing in 8561, T2 and T47;

20a: *ûrdhvabhûmy agnituògaä tu*: T297, P, Th; *ûrdhvabhûmyaâghrivistâraä*: 8561, 16847, 20088, T400; *ûrdhvabhûmâòghrivistâraä*: T2, T47;

20b: *sthûpidañâyataä bhavet*: T1, T400;

20c: *mûrdhni âailopariâât tu*: 20088, T1, T400, P; *mûrdhni âailopariââd vâ*: T297; *mûrdhna âailo upariâât*: 16847;

20d: *sthûpyantaä vâ tadâyatam*: T1, T400;

21 a missing in 8561, T2 and T47;

21a: *ûrdhvabhûmeâ ca vistâraä*: Th; *ûrdhvabhûmyatra(meâca) vistâram*: P; *ûrdhvabhûmyatravistâram*: T297;

21b: *sthûpidârûviââlakam*: T1; *mûle vogran tum aògulam*: T2; *mûle câgraä tum aàgulam*: T47; *sthûpivyûlavîââlakam*: 8561;

21c: *tasyâgraä aògulavyâsa*: 8561; *tasyâgram aògulavyâse*: T297, P; *tasyâgraä aògulaä vyâsam*: 16847, T1; *tasyâgraä aògula[illegible] vyâsam*: 20088; *âmûlâgrayugâraä vâ*: T2; *âmûlâgrayugâraä vâ*: T47;

21d: *mûlât dârukramât kuâam*: Th; *mûlâd dârukramât ku(ku)âam*: P; *mûlâd agraä kramât k[ur?u?]âam*: 8561; *mûlâd aâgraä kramât kuâam*: 16847; *mûlâd agraä kamât kuâam*: 20088; *mûlâdârut kramât kuâam*: T297; *trikhañean tum athâ 'pi vâ*: T2; *trikhañeaä tum athâpi vâ*: T47;

**Pâda 20a:** the reading *ûrdhvabhûmyaâghrivistâraä* given by the majority of our sources seems to be the result of a confusion of two pâdas having the same beginning, viz. 20a and 21a, which is a common scribal mistake. The reading *aâghrituògaä tu*, given by T1, T297, P and Th instead of *aâghrivistâraä* and adopted in the text seems, moreover, much more probable: it is the length and not the breadth of the axis that should be equal to the length of the pillar of the upper storey, see MM 18.122ab, Kâraña 10.8 and Dîpta 20 (p. 308).<sup>126</sup>

*ûrdhvabhûmyaâghri* - 'the pilaster of the upper storey', points most probably to a decorative element on the outer side of the temple's superstructure. The temple is divided into a number of (mostly) fictive 'storeys' (*bhûmi*, *tala*), which are

<sup>126</sup> MM 18.122ab: *ûrdhvabhûmyaòghriñâyâmvistâraä pâdatai samam*, translated by Dagens as "Its width at the bottom and its height are equal to those of a pillar of the upper storey"; Kâraña 10.8: *pâdayâmasamaä dirghaä pâdaviâkambhivistûtam*, 'the length should be equal to the length of the pillar, the breadth the same as the diameter of the pillar'; Dîpta 20 (p. 308): *pâdayâmasamaä dirghaä vistâraä pâdasaâmitam* 'the length should be equal to the length of the pillar, the breadth measuring as much as (that of) the pillar'.



decorated with small scale versions of various architectural elements, among them pillars and pilasters.

**21:** most likely, this verse continues with the description of the axis of the finial (*stūpidañēa*). For this reason *stūpi* in 21b (*stūpimūlavīālakam*) should be understood as *stūpidañēa*; *tasya* in 21c should be understood as *stūpidañēasya* ('of the *stūpidañēa*'). This interpretation is supported by the parallel texts. According to several of them it is the axis of the finial (and not the *stūpi* itself) that tapers gradually towards the top to reach the width of one *aḡgula* (see Kāraṇa 10, Dīpta 20, Suprabhedā 31, MM 18). Moreover, this interpretation of verse 21 is further supported by T1, which in 21b speaks of *sthūpidāruvīālakam*, 'the width of the wooden (axis) of the *stūpi*'. In the parallel texts the *stūpidañēa* is said to be made of wood, while the *stūpi* is preferably made of metal, stucco or clay (see Dagens 1984: 20).<sup>127</sup>

22 *tuḡge guṇāāāe tv aāāā tu mūle vedāāram ācaret |*  
*vasvāāā madhyame tv agre vūttākāā prakalpayet ||*

**In case the length (of the axis of the finial) is divided into three segments the bottom part should be made square, the middle part octagonal, the top round.**

a: *tuḡgāñāt samaāāā tu*; Th; *tuḡgāñāt samaā(yāmāt samāā)āā tu*; P; *tuḡgāñā tvam aāāā tu*; T297; *tuḡge guṇāāāe tv eāā tu*; T1; *tuḡge guṇāāāe tv aāāe tvā*; 8561;  
b: *mūle vedābhram ācaret*; T297; *mūlavēde samācaret*; 8561;  
c: *vāāāmadhyasamaā tv agre*; Th; *vāāāā madhyasamaā tv agre*; P; *vasvāāāā madhyame tv agre*; T1; *vasvāāā madhyame katvāāre*; T297; *vasvāā me tv agre*; 16847;  
d: *vūttākāā prakalpayet*; 8561; *vū[illegible]kāāā prakalpayet*; 20088;  
T2 and T47 give here different versions - T2: *padmocaā samavedāgraā | tadūrdhvemaāavūttakāi*; T47: *padmoccasamavedāāāā | tadūrdhve aāavūttakam*;

23 *caturaāropariāāt tu sarvā vūttam athāpi vā |*  
*kartavyāā tasya mūle tu āikhīpādaā tu yojayet ||*

**Or, the part above the square part should, in its entirety, be round. To its (the axis') base one should attach a *āikhīpāda*.**

a: *catur agrordhva kartavyāā*; T2; *caturaāordhve kartavyāā*; T47;  
b: *sarvavūttam athāpi vā*; 8561, 16847; *vūttam aāāgram eva hī*; T2; *vūttam aāāāram eva hī*; T47;  
c: *ka kartavyāā tasya mūle tu*; 16847; *kartavyāā dañēamūle tu*; T2, T47;  
d: *āikhā pāntu yojayet*; Th; *āikhāpāntu yojayet*; P; *āikhīpādaā suyojayet*; T1; *āikhāpādaā tu yojayet*; T297; *āikhīpādasya yojayet*; T2, T47;

<sup>127</sup> The Kāyapaāilpa itself differs on this point from the parallel texts, see 18ab-19.

**Pāda 23ab:** the axis of the finial with the form described here is known from many parallel texts, see MM 18.123, Dīpta 20 (p.308) and Kāraṇa 10.9. Suprabhedā 31.9cd-10ab prescribes the axis to be of three parts, the same as verse 22 of the KĀ. This type of *stūpidañēa* resembles a Āiva *liḍga*, which also consists of three parts.

**Pāda 23d:** *āikhipāda* – lit. ‘peacock’s foot’, most probably a kind of support for the axis of the finial. This term occurs in a few parallel texts, see MM 18, Ajita 15.10 and Kāraṇa 10.10-11. MarīcīS 13.2.3 speaks of *mayūrāḍghri*, which also means ‘peacock’s foot’. On the other hand, *āikhipāda* may also be translated as ‘the support for the tenon’ (*āikhā*). MS 18.76 (153) mentions *kīlādhāra*, ‘a support or base of the axis’, which has to be attached to the axis of the finial (the latter is here called *stūpikīla*). MarīcīS 13.2.2 also speaks about *ādhāra*, ‘support’, for the axis, which might have the same meaning as the *mayūrāḍghri* mentioned in 13.2.3.

For *āikhā* (tenon), see verse 26 below.

24a-c *dañēamūlasamavyāsaā tadvyāsatriguṇāyataā |*  
*tadvyāsārdhaghanopetaā*

**The *āikhipāda* should be as wide as the bottom of the axis and three times as long as it is wide. It is half as high as it is wide.**

b-d not in T297, P and Th.

c-d different in T2 and T47.

a: *dañēamūlasamaā vyāsam*: T1, T2, T47;

b: *triguṇāā triguṇāyatam*: 16847, T1; *āyataā triguṇāā bhavet*: T2, T47; *tadvyāsaā triguṇāyataā*: 8561, 20088;

c: *tadvyāsārdhaghanopetaā*: 16847, 20088, T400; *tadvyās[illegible]tañopetaā*: 8561; *ghanaā vyāsārdhamānaā vā*: T2, T47;

**Pāda 24c:** *vistārārdhaghanopetaā* – the same expression occurs in Ajita 15.10: *vistārārdhaghanopete*. The proportions of the *āikhipāda* are mentioned by a number of parallel texts. In most of the cases the length is three times the width; cf. Ajita 15.10, Kāraṇa 10.10, MM 18.124.

24d *pūrvāgraā uttarāgraā vā ||*  
25 *baddhvā taā madhyame cchidre dañēamūlaā suyojayet |*  
*dañēamūlatribhāgaikaā āikhāvyāsaā samāarakam ||*  
26 *āikhipādaghanaā tasya dīrghaā syād yojayed dūèham |*  
*dañēamūlāgrayoi pañāā yojayel lohajaā budhai ||*

**Having positioned the base of the axis in the hole in the middle one should fix it in such a way that its top faces either east or north. The tenon has the thickness that is one-third of that of the base of the axis and it is square. Its (tenon's) length should be equal to the height of the *āikhipāda*. One should fix it firmly. The wise one should attach a metal band to both ends of the axis.**

24d: *madhye chidraā prakalpayet*: T2, T47; *purvāgraā cottarāgrakaā*: 8561, 16847, 20088, T1, T400.

25 not in T297, P and Th. T2 and T47 give only two verses:

T2: *pūrvāgram uttarāgraā vā | baddhvā chidreṇa daṇḍakāi ||*

T47: *pūrvāgram uttarāgram vā | badhvā chidreṇa daṇḍakāi ||*

25a: *badhvāntar madhyame cchidre*: T1;

25b: *daṇḍamūlaā sayojayet*: 16847;

25c: *daṇḍamūlaā tribhāgaikaā*: 8561, T400;

25d: *āikhavyāsaā samāārayam*: T1;

26 not in T2 and T47.

a-b not in T297, P and Th.

a: *āi[kha?]pādaghanaā tasya*: 8561; *āikhapādaghanaā tasyā*: 16847; *āikhipādaghanaā [illegible]sya*: 20088;

b: *dirghāyāā yojayed dūḥam*: T1; *[illegible]dyojayed dūḥaā*: 16847;

c: *daṇḍāā daṇḍāgrayor api*: Th; *daṇḍāā daṇḍāgrayor api [ ... ]*: P; *daṇḍāādaṇḍāgrayopari*: T297;

d: *yohyollohajaā budhai*: T297; *yojayel lobhajaā budhai*: 8561; *yojayet lohajaā budhai*: 16847;

**23cd-26:** the method of fixing the axis of the finial is explained here. It is done by the tenon (*āikhā*)<sup>128</sup> and mortise (*chidra*) technique. One can observe that the length of the tenon is equal to the height of the support (*āikhipāda*), which may suggest that the *chidra* is situated in the support (see Fig. 2 below).<sup>129</sup> In this way the depth of the *chidra* would match the length of the tenon.

<sup>128</sup> For *āikhā* as 'tenon' see Varma (1970), Colas (1986) and Dagens (1994: 969).

<sup>129</sup> This is suggested by T2 and T47; see the variant readings of 24d. Cf. also MarīcīS 13.2.3: *mayūrāḡhriā vinyasya, tasyordhve suḡire mahisūktena sthūpikīlāā pratīḡhāpayet*, 'On place le 'pied de paon' ... Sur la partie supérieure de ce ('pied de paon'), dans l'orifice, on dispose l'axe du motif de couronnement, en s'accompagnant de l'hymne de Mahī' (trans. Colas 1986: 159).

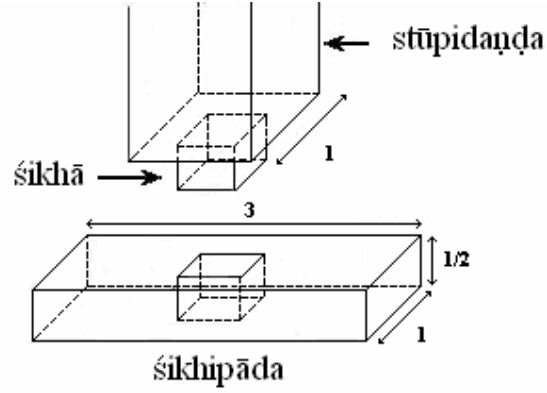


Fig. 2. The way of fixing the axis of the finial (*stūpidaṇḍa*) to the roof.

**Pāda 25b:** *suyojayet* – an unusual combination of the prefix *su-* with a verb.

**Pāda 26c:** *paṭṭa* – a band of metal used for fixing and strengthening, see MM 30.19, 31.24 etc.

*[The preliminary ceremonies]*

Both, the bricks and the axis are now made and the ceremonial pavilion is constructed and prepared. The following ten verses (27-37) deal with the ceremonies which take place before the installation of the bricks and the axis on the summit of the temple. These ceremonies, most probably, take place in the pavilion.

27a-c *prakṣālya pañcagavyais tu daṇḍam caiveṣṭakāpi ca |*  
*karṇikāyāṃ nyased daṇḍam*

**Having washed the axis and the bricks with the five products of the cow, one should place the axis on the pericarp.**

27a-b not in T2 and T47.

27a: *prakṣālya pañcagavyena*: T1;

27b: *daṇḍam caiveṣṭakā api*: Th; *daṇḍam caiveṣṭakām api*: T1; *daṇḍam caiveṣṭakāpi cā*: 8561; *daṇḍam caiṣṭakāpi ca*: 16847;

27c: *karṇikāyāṃ nyaset daṇḍam*: Th; *kaṇḍikāyāṃ nyased daṇḍam*: T47; *karṇikāyāṃ nayed daṇḍam*: 8561; *karṇikāyā nyased eṇḍam*: 20088;

**Pāda 27b:** *caiveṣṭakāpi ca* – double *sandhi*, probably *metri causa*: the correct *sandhi*, *caiveṣṭakā api ca*, would result in having nine syllables in the pāda instead of the required eight.

**Pāda 27c:** *karṇīkāyām* - on the pericarp of the lotus drawn on the *sthaṇṇīla* constructed in the ceremonial pavilion, see verse 16.

27d *ākrādīṣu mahādīāi* ||  
 28 *catasras tv iṣṣakāi sthāpya ālīpiṣṣamayair jalaii* |  
*pūthivyādīni bījāni daṇṇēantaā hi likhed budhai* ||

**Having placed four bricks in the cardinal directions beginning with the east, the wise one should write, with water mixed with rice-powder, the *bījas* from the *pūthivībīja* to the (*bīja* for the) axis.**

T2 and T47 have a different reading of 28d and insert a half verse after it. See below.

27d: d: *kramād eva mahādīāi*: Th; *kumādīku(kramādīāa)mahādīāi*: P; *ākrādīṣu yathākramam*: T1; *āāākādīṣu mahādīāi*: T2; *kumādī kumaēādīāi*: T297; *ākrādīṣu mahāniām*: 16847;  
 28a: *catasras tv iṣṣakāi sthāpyāi*: Th; *cavāras tveṣṣā(catasras tv iṣṣakāi)sthāpyāi*: P; *catvāratve ṣṣāsthāpya*: T297; *catvāras tveṣṣakāi sthāpya*: T1; *catvāras tveṣṣakā sthāpya*: 20088, T400; *catvāras tveṣṣakā stāpya*: 8561; *catvāra tveṣṣakā sthāpya*: 16847; *catudik ceṣṣakāi sthāpya*: T2; *caturdik ceṣṣakāi sthāpya*: T47;  
 28b: *āilāvīṣṣābhakair jalaii*: Th; *āilādīṣṣambhakair jalaii*: P; *āālipiṣṣalikhair jalaii*: T2, T47; *āilāvīṣṣamayair jalaii*: T297;  
 28c: *pūthivyādīparījāni*: Th; *pūthivyādīparījāni*: T297, P; *pūthivyādīo ca bījāni*: T2; *pūthivyādīāā ca bījāni*: T47;  
 28d: *daṇṇēāā tu vilikhet budhai*: Th; *daṇṇēāā tu vilikhed budhai*: P; *daṇṇēāās tu vilikhed budhai*: T297; *daṇṇēante vilikhet budhai*: T1; *caturdiō miṣṣikālikhet*: T2; *caturdig iṣṣakāā likhet*: T47;  
 T2 and T47 insert an extra half verse here:  
 T2: *paācimādiā laparayahaā tat tad bhūtasyaṃ ālikhet* |  
 T47: *paācimādiā yavaralahaā tat tad bhūtasyaṃ ālikhet* |

**Pāda 27d:** *mahādīāi* – a singular ('in the main direction') for plural.

**Pāda 28a:** *sthāpya* – an unusual form of absolutive, see Chapter 3.6.

**Pāda 28cd:** this fragment is either corrupt or extremely elliptical. Yet, its meaning is clear: one should write the 'seed letters' (*bīja*) on the four bricks and on the axis of the finial. The first *bīja* should be the one of *pūthivī*, 'earth'. On the basis of the comparison with parallel passages it may be assumed that the remaining *bījas* to be written are those associated with wind, fire, water and ether, completing the group of five elements (*paōcabhūta*).<sup>130</sup> These are the *bījas ya* (wind), *ra* (fire), *la* (earth), *va* (water) and *haā* (ether).<sup>131</sup> The first four should,

<sup>130</sup> See verses 49-50 where the four bricks are referred to as 'having the nature' (*ātmaka*) respectively of earth, water, fire and wind.

<sup>131</sup> See the readings of T2 and T47 in the critical apparatus (verse 28) where, in an additional half verse, these five *bījas* are prescribed. The *bhūtas* mentioned there point to the *paōcabhūta*, 'the five elements' (*tat tad bhūtasya* - 'for each *bhūta*'). See also Ajita 15.11-12: *taā prakālyeṣṣakābhīā ca vinyased akāraṇī ca | yakārādivakārāntaā catasūṣṣv iṣṣakāsv apī || raktēna dhātūrāgeṇa piṣṣenaiva sitēna vā | haākāraāstūpidaṇṇē tu vinyaset tu samāhitai ||*; Suprabheda 31.3cd-5: *āālipiṣṣamayenātha lekhayed akāraṇī tu || yakāraā pūrvadhāge tu rakāraā dakāiṇē*

presumably, be written on the bricks, the last one on the axis.<sup>132</sup> It should be mentioned that the five elements are traditionally connected in the Āiava tradition with the five beings: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īvara and Sadāāiva, known as the five Kāraṇēāvaras (Brunner 1963: Appendice V and Davis 2000: 97; see also the note under 31b). These five are, next, ‘placed’ in the bricks and on the axis (see 30cd-31ab) and they are mentioned again in verse 48.

The number of crowning bricks prescribed by the Kāyapaīlpa is four. Certain texts, however, mention five bricks. It seems that the role of the fifth brick is comparable to the role played by the axis of the finial in the texts where four bricks are prescribed: the fifth brick receives the *bīja ha* or *haä*, which elsewhere was reserved for the axis of the finial (this happens, for example, in Suprabhedā 31.5, see note 26 above). The presence of five objects is important in order to maintain the correspondence with the five elements and the five Kāraṇēāvaras.

29ab *prāgdīāṅakām ārabhya gandhapuṣpādibhir yajet |*

**Beginning with the brick in the east, one should worship with incense and flowers.**

29a: *prāgādīdikramāt darbha: Th; prāgdīāy āṅakramād darbha: T297, P; prāgādīm iṅim ārabhya: T2; prāgādīdīām ārabhya: T47; prādhidhiṅakam ārabhya: 8561;*  
 29b: *gandhapuṣpādīnārcayet: T2, T47; daṅēāṅ puṣpādibhir yajet: T1;*

**Pāda 29a:** –*iṅakām* (fem.) instead of –*iṅakām* (masc. or neuter) given by the manuscripts.

29cd *svaṅṅarājatātāmrair vā sūtraiṅ kārpaśakais tu vā ||*

30ab *kautukaä bandhayed vidvāṅ svasvabījam anusmaran |*

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*tadā | lakāraä paācime caiva vakāraä ca tathottare || mākāraä madhyame nyastvā pūthag vastreṅa veṅayet | hakāraä madhyame nyastvā pūthag vastreṅa veṅayet; Dīpta 20 (p.308): ... iṅakāyāä tata āṅu || yakāraäpūrvav allīkhyā ... [ ... ] | lakāraäpaācime sthāpya vakāraä cottarālikhet ||* (here the *bījas* are different for the crowning ‘bricks’ made of stone and for the genuine brick ones). Kāraṅa 10.19cd-20ab prescribes different set of letters: *āāä, āää, saä* and *haä* preceded by *oä*. It does not mention the *bīja* for the axis. 10.39, however, states that the axis should be installed while reciting the *īāna* mantra. *īāna* is one of the five *brahmamantras* connected with the element ‘ether’, whose mantra (*haä*) is prescribed for the axis according to the texts quoted above. The four *bījas* associated with the elements were also written on the four first bricks, see KĀ *prathamēṅakā* 36cd-37c.

<sup>132</sup> Perhaps *daṅēāntāä hi likhed budhai* given by some of our sources in 28d is a corruption of *daṅēānte haä likhed budhai*, ‘the wise one should write *haä* on the end of the axis’.

**The wise one should have a *kautuka* tied (around the bricks) by means of golden, silver, copper or cotton threads. While recollecting *bijas* for each of them,...**

29c-d missing in T47.

29 c: *sauvarṇaiī rājatais tāmraii*: Th; *suvarṇarajatātāmrair vā*: T297, T400; *suvarṇarajatais tāmraii*: T1; *svarṇasūtraii kautukaā syāt*: T2; *svarṇāā rajatatāāmrair vā*: 8561; *svarṇarājatātāmrair + ?*: 16847;

29d: *sūtraii kārṣāsajais tu vā*: T1; *sūtraii kārṣāsakais tathā*: T2; *sūtraii kārṣāsikau tu vā*: T400; *sūtraā kārṣāsikais tu vā*: 16847, 20088;

30 a-b different version in T47.

30 a: *kautukaā bandhayed vipraī*: Th; *kautukaā bandhayed vipra*: P; *rakṣābandhanamantreṇā*: T2; *ṣṣābandhanakaā kūtṣvā*: T47; *jatukaā mathayed viprās*: T297;

30b: *svasvabījam udāharan*: T1; *svayaā bijanayasmaran*: T2; *svarṇamūtrādhastatāi*: T47;

**Pāda 30a:** *kautuka* – see KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 35d and KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 38a.

30cd *brahmaviṣṣṇuā ca rudraā ca īāvaraā ca sadāāivaā* ||

31 *āakreṣṣakādidaṇṇēantaā adhidevān kramān nyaset |  
naivedyaā dāpayet teṣṣām tāābūlaā ca nivedayet* ||

**... one should place the Adhidevas in this order: Brahmā, Viṣṣṇu, Rudra, Īāvara and Sadāāiva, beginning with the bricks being in the east and ending with the axis. One should offer them the consecrated food and betel leaves.**

30c: *brahmāṇāā viṣṣṇuā rudraā ca*: Th; *brahma viṣṣṇuā ca rudraā ca*: P; *brahmaviṣṣṇu ca rudraā ca*: T1; *brahmāviṣṣṇuā ca rudraā ca*: 16847, 20088, T2, T47; *brāhmaviṣṣṇuā ca rudraā -*: T297, T400; *brahmāviṣṣṇuā[ṣṣ?] ca rudraā[ā] ca*: 8561;

30d: *īānaā ca sadāāivam*: T1; *īāvaraā ca sadāāivai*: 20088, T2, T47; *ceāvaraā ca sadāāivai*: T297, T400; *īācaāca sadāāivam*: 16847;

31. 16847 confuses 31 and 32 (but gives 32 one again below): *pratyekaā navavastreṇā cchādyā āekeṣṣakādidaṇṇēantaā adhidevān kramā nyaset | naivedyaā dāpayet tāsāā tāābūlaā ca nivedayet* ||

31a: *iṣṣakāsu ca daṇṇē ca*: Th; *āakeṣṣakādidaṇṇēantam*: P; *āakeṣṣakādi daṇṇēantaā*: T297; *cakreṣṣikādidaṇṇēantaā*: T2; *cakreṣṣakādi daṇṇēantaā*: 8561, T47; ... *krādī daṇṇēantam*: T400;

31b: *adhidevān kramād yajet*: T1; *adhidevān kramā nyaset*: 8561, 20088; *adhidevādimārjayet*: T2; *adhidevān samarcayet*: T47;

31c: *naivedyaā dāpayed eṣṣāā*: P, Th; *naivedyaā dāpayet paācāt*: T2, T47; *naivedyaā dāpayed āsāā*: T297; *naivedyaā dāpayet tāsāā*: 8561, 20088, T400;

d: *tāābūlaā tu nivedayet*: T1;

**Pāda 31b:** *adhideva* – ‘agents’ of Āiva, subordinate deities employed by Āiva to fulfil his commands (Davis 2000: 32). Here these are the five Kāraṇēāvaras:<sup>133</sup>

<sup>133</sup> See Raurava 48.7 where the Adhidevas are being offered the *naivedya*.

Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īvara and Sadāiva, a group of ‘agents’ particularly important in Āiva ritual, each of them associated with one of the five elements (earth, water, fire, air and ether respectively). For more detailed information, see Davis (2000): 118-119, 183. The five Kāraṇēāvaras are again mentioned in 48.

A similar passage is found in Dīpta 20 (p. 309), but there the Kāraṇēāvaras are placed all on the axis.<sup>134</sup>

**Pāda 31c:** *naivedya*: an offering of cooked food, specially prepared. See KĀ *prathameṣakā* 41c. Exactly the same passage (31cd) is given by Dīpta 20 (p. 308).

The reading *teṣām*, given by 16847, 20088 and T400, seems more appropriate than *tāsām* given by 8561, 20088 and T400: the *naivedya* should be given to the gods, not to the bricks, even when they are ‘inhabited’ by the gods.<sup>135</sup>

32 *pratyekaā navavastreṇā chādayet kūrcaśāyutam |*  
*abhitai kalaān au sakūrcān sâpidhânakân ||*

**One should cover each (stone), provided with bunches of *kuāa* grass, with new cloth. (Having placed)<sup>136</sup> around (the stones) eight jars, (decorated) with bunches of *kuāa* grass, having covers,...**

d not in T47.

a: *pratyekaā navavastreṇā*:- Th; *pratyekaā navavastreṇā*: P; *pratyekaā caiva vastreṇā*: T1; *pratyeka navavastreṇā*: 20088; *pratyeka navastreṇā*: 8561; *pratyekaā navasūtreṇā*: T2;

b: *cchādayet kūrcaśāyutam*: 20088, T1, T297, Th; " *cchādayet kūrcaśāyutam*: P; *cchādayet kūrcaśāyutam*: 16847, T400; *veṣayet kūrcaśāyutam*: T2, T47;

c: *abhitai kalaān au*: P; *abhitai kalaān au*: T297; *abhitai kalaān au ca*: T2; *abhitai* [illegible] *ān au*: 8561;

d: *sakūrcān sâpidhânakâi*:- T2; *sakūrcān sâpidhânakân*: 16847, 20088;

**Pāda d:** *kūrca* – see KĀ *prathameṣakā* 39c.

33 *gandhābupūritān vastrahemapuṣpasamanvitān |*  
*śasūtrān pallavopetān auvidyēāvarādhipān ||*

<sup>134</sup> The same might be intended by MM 18.124cd. This half-verse mentions five figures in connection with the *āikhipāda*: *abhramaā tu yathā bhūmau paōcamūrtisamanvitam*. Dagens (1994: 283) translates it as “it is solid as if on the ground (?) and decorated with five images (?)”. He adds (ibid., note 49) that this half-verse “is probably out of place.” The ‘five figures’, however, may point to the five Kāraṇēāvaras (which are often referred to as *paōcamūrti*). In this case, one should translate 124d as “(it should be) possessing the five *mūrtis*” instead of “decorated with five images,” retaining the main meaning of *samanvitam*, viz. ‘possessing’, ‘endowed with’.

<sup>135</sup> Kāraṇa 10.23a reads *naivedyaā dāpayet tāsāā* (10.23a), but the Kāraṇēāvaras are not mentioned in the entire chapter.

<sup>136</sup> Supply *sthāpya* from 34a.



... filled with fragrant water, (decorated) with cloth, gold and flowers, with cords and twigs, (the jars) whose regents are the eight Vidyēāvaras...

Not in T47.

8561a-b reads: *vastrahemapuṅpasamanvitān*.

a: *gañēāmbupūrikaā vastra-*: P; *gañēāmbu pūrikaā vastraā*: T297; *gandhāābupūritān paācāt*: T2; *nandhāābupūjitān vastra-*: 16847;

b: *hemapuṅpasamanvitam*: T2, T297;

c: *phalapallavaśāyuktān*: T297, P, Th; *śasūtrān palavopetaā*: T2;

d: *āṅṅau viāveāvarādhipān*: T297, P, Th; *āṅṅavidyēāvarānvitān*: T1; *āṅṅavidyēāvarādhi vā*: T2; *āṅṅavidyēāvarādhipā* [illegible]: 8561; *āṅṅavidyēāvarādhipān*: 16847;

**Pāda d:** *vidyēāvara* – the group of eight most powerful ‘agents’ of Āiva: Ananta, Sūkama, Āivottama, Ekanetra, Ekarudra, Trimūrti, Ārikañṭha, Āikhañṭin. The Vidyēāvaras rule over groups of ‘lesser agents’, such as the Kārañēāvaras etc., see 31b, KĀ *garbhanyāśa* 16ab and Davis (2000). The ritual mentioned here is *kumbha-* or *kalaāsthāpana* (see KĀ *prathameṅkā* 39-41ab). For a diagram showing the position of the jars belonging to the Vidyēāvaras in the *kumbhasthāpana* ceremony, see Davis (2000: 65).

34 *sthāpya svamūlamantreṅa naivedyāntāā samarcayet |*  
*tato homāā prakartavyam agnyādhānādikaā kuru ||*

... one should worship (the deities in the jars) with their own *mūlamantra* and, finally, with the consecrated food. After that the *homa* should be performed. Proceed, beginning with the ceremony of placing the fire.

a: *śāsthāpya svasvamantreṅa*: T297, P, Th; *sthāpayen mūlamantreṅa*: T2, T47; *dañēāt svamūlamantreṅa*: T400; [illegible] *sthāpya svamū kū lamantreṅa*: 8561; *dañēāpya svamūlamantreṅa*: 16847; *dañēāvyaśam mūlamantreṅa*: 20088;

b: *naivedyan tu samarcayet*: T2; *naivedyāā tu samarpayet*: T47; *naivedyāntāā samarppayet*: 16847, 20088;

c: *tato homāī prakartavyai*: Th; *tato homāī prakartavyo*: P; *tadā homāā prakartavyāā*: T2; *tatho homāā prakartavyam*: 16847;

d: *agnyādhānādipūrvakam*: Th; *hy agnyādhānādikaā kuru*: P; *agnikāryeṅadaā kuru*: T2; *agnikāryoktamārgataī*: T47; *agnyādhānādikaā kuru*: 8561; *agnyādhānāntādikaā kuru*: 20088;

**Pāda a:** *sthāpya* – see the translation of 32cd. For the grammatical form of *sthāpya*, see Chapter 3.6.

**Pāda c:** *homaā prakartavyāā* – the correct form would be *homāī prakartavyo*, with *homa* in the masculine gender. Still, almost all the sources have *homa* in neuter gender, perhaps under the influence of Tamil and Malayalam *hōmam*,

which is a neuter word (A.G. Menon, personal communication). The same pāda occurs in Ajita 40.70c. There two manuscripts give *homa* in neuter: *tato homaä prakartavyaä*, while the rest has it in masculine: *tato homai prakartavyai*.

[The fire oblation]

35 *samidājyacarūā lājayavān sadyādibhir budhai |*  
*ātam ardhaä tadardhaä vä pratyekaä juhuyāt kramāt ||*

**The wise one should make an oblation of fuel, ghee, 'cakes', fried grain, barley, each a hundred, fifty or twenty-five times, (while reciting mantras) starting with the *sadya*.**

a-b very corrupt in P: *samidhājyacarulījayarān sadyadivir budhai*.

b and d not in T2 and T47.

a: *samidājyacarūn lājān*: T1, T2, T47, Th; *samidāja carūā lājān*: T297; *samidhājyacarū* [illegible] *lāja*: 8561; *samidhājyacarū lāja*: 16847, 20088;

b: *sadyādibhir hunet budhai*: Th; *yavaä sadyādibhir budhai*: T1; *yavān sadyadivir budhai*: T297; *yavān sadādibhir budhai*: T400; *dhānyaä savyādibhir budhai*: 8561; *yavān sarādibhir budhai*: 16847, 20088;

c: *āataä vätha āatārdhaä vä*: Th; *āataä vä āatam ardhaä vä*: T297, P; *āatāārdhakaä hunet*: T2; *āatam āottaraä hunet*: T47; *āatam ardhaä tadardhaä ā*: 16847; *āatam ardha tadardhaä vä*: 16847;

**Pāda b:** *sadya* - one of the five *brahmamantras* (the *paōcabrahma* of 36a) that are to be recited, each with a specific ingredient, see KÅ *prathameākā* 43a. The *brahmamantras* are also mentioned in KÅ *garbhanyāsa* 42b.

36 *paōcabrahmaäaägaiā ca kaurikābījamukhyakāi |*  
*ājyena juhuyāt dhimān pratyekaä paōcaviāātii ||*

**The wise one should make an oblation with ghee, while reciting the five *brahmamantras* and the six *aōgamantras*, the *kaurikā* and the *bījamukhya*, each oblation twenty five times.**

a: *parabrahmaäaägaiā ca*: P, Th;

b: *kaurikābījamukhyavai*: P; *kaurikābījamukhyavai* : T297; *kaurikābījamukhyake*: 16847; *kaurikābījam uccaran*: T1; *īāikābījamukhyagai*: T2; *īāakābījamukhyakāi*: T47;

c: *ājyena juhuyāt dhimān*: T1; *ājyena juhuyāt dhomaä*: T2;

d: *pratyekaä paōcaviāātii*: 16847, T47, T297, P, Th; *pratyekaä paōcaviāātii* [ā?]: 8561;

**Pāda a:** for the *aōgamantras*, see KÅ *prathameākā* 43d-44a. The *aōgamantras* are also mentioned in KÅ *garbhanyāsa* 42a.

**Pāda b:** *kṣurikā* – an *astramantra*. The whole formula reads *oā āiā chiā* or *oā āiā chiā kṣurikāstrāya phaḥ* (see Raurava 1.15cd and Dagens and Barazer-Billoret 2000: 5 note 21).

*bījamukhya* – name of a mantra (see Raurava 1.11cd-15ab). For *brahma-* and *aḡamantras*, see KĀ *prathameṣakā* 43-44ab and *garbhanyāsa* 42a respectively.

37 *jayādir abhyātānaiā ca rāṣṣrabhūc caiva homayet |  
brahmādibījamantrais tu pūthak spūṣvā daāāhutii ||*

**One should offer (while pronouncing the mantras) *rāṣṣrabhūc*, *abhyātānas* and *jayādir*. Having touched (the bricks and the axis), there should be, for each of them, ten oblations with the mantras containing the *bījas* of the *brahmantra* and so on.<sup>137</sup>**

d different in T2 and T47.

8561 gives c-d: *brahmādimantrais tu spūṣvāāmāni daāāhuti*.

a: *jayādyair abhyātānaiā ca*: Th; *jayādir āṣṣradhānaiā ca*: T297, P; *jayādir abhyādhānaiā ca*: 8561, 16847, 20088, T2, T400; *jayādir abhyādhānaiā ca*: T47;

b: *rāṣṣrabhūdbhiā ca homayet*: Th; *rāṣṣrabhiā caiva homayet*: P; *rāṣṣrabhiā caiva homayet*: T297; *rāṣṣrābhūc caiva homayet*: 20088; *rāṣṣramūc caiva homayet*: 8561; *rāṣṣrabhūteceva homayet*: 16847;

c: *brahmādibījamantreṇa*: T2, T47;

d: *hutvā "jyāiā ca tathāhutiī"*: Th; *hyaṣvābhyā(hutvā "jyā)ni tathā "huti*: P; *hyaṣvāāyāni tathāhuti*: T297; *spūāyāni daāāhutiī*: T400; *sviṣam agneā āatāhutiī*: T2; *sviṣam agneā chatāhutiī*: T47; *spūāmāni daāāhutiī*: 16847; *spūā[tya?]ni daāāhutiī*: 20088;

**Pāda ab:** for the grammatical form of *jayādir*, see KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 43c. For the grammatical form of *rāṣṣrabhūc* and for the meaning of *jaya*, *abhyātāna* and *rāṣṣrabhūt* see KĀ *prathameṣakā* 46cd.

**Pāda c:** the *brahmantras* are repeated here (see 36a). The same occurs in Raurava 29.22-26: ...*paōcabrahmāḡaiī pratyekaā tu āatāhutiī ...tato jayādibhir hutvā brahmāḡaiāca daāāhutiī*. Here, too, the *brahma-* and *aḡamantras* are recited in the first part of the *homa* and then repeated again together with the *jaya* and so on at the end of the oblation.

**Pāda d:** *spūṣvā* ('having touched') – the text does not specify what has to be touched, but one may assume that these are the bricks and the axis. An oblation, in which various objects, for example, the parts of a *liḡga* or the pedestal during the *liḡga* installation, are touched with a bunch of *kuāa* grass during the recitation of specific mantras, is frequently mentioned in parallel sources. See Raurava 27.28, 29.24, 57.90, Cintya 2.132<sup>138</sup> etc., and Barazer-Billoret (1993-94: 51-52).

<sup>137</sup> Pāda d may also be translated in a slightly different way, taking *pūthak* together with *spūṣvā*: 'having touched [the objects] one by one'.

<sup>138</sup> The latter as given by Bhatt (1972: 42 note 2).

Such an oblation is often referred to as *sparāâhutî*. It frequently constitutes the second part of the *homa*.

The variant readings of pāda d are very diverse and the majority of them are corrupt, perhaps due to the damage of the original manuscript in this place. The reading of T1 (*pūthak spūānvā daââhutîi*) was adopted on the basis of the comparison with parallel sources (see above: Raurava 27.28 etc.).

*[The ceremonies on the day of installation]*

38 *evaâ jâgarañaâ râtrau prabhâte vimale âubhe |  
âcârya mûrtipaii sârdhaâ snânaâ kûtvâ vidhânatai ||*

**In this way one should stay awake at night. At dawn, on a bright, auspicious day, the *âcârya* together with the attendants, after taking a bath according to the rule,...**

a: *kûtvâ jâgarañaâ râtrau*: Th;

b: *prabhâte vipule âubhe*: P; *prabhâte vimalaiâ âubhe*: 8561;

c: *âcâryai' âilpibhis sârdhaâ*: Th; *âcâryamûrti vai sârdhaâ*: P; *âcâryo mûrtipais sârdhaâ*: 8561, 16847, 20088, T1; *âcâryai' mûrtipaii sârdhaâ*: T297; *âcâryasthâpako âilpî*: T2; *âcâryai' sthâpakai' âilpî*: T47;

d: *sahaisthûpyena sthâpayet*: T2; *sahasthûpyaina sthâpayet*: T47;

**Pāda a:** the *homa* referred to in the preceding passage most probably happens at night, see KĀ *prathamevākā* 45a and *garbhanyāsa* 44a.

**Pāda c:** *mûrtipa* – lit. 'guardian of a *mûrti*'. The term refers to an attendant of the officiating priest (see Brunner 1998: ix-x). It is also a term for one of the deities ruling over the manifestations (*mûrti*) of Āiva (= *mûrteâvara*; see Barazer-Billoret 1993-94: 53-54).

39 *navavastradharoñîñî bhasmarudrâkâadhârakai |  
sitayajôopavîtâèhyai' sitamâlyânulepanai ||*

**...(the *âcârya*) wearing a new cloth and a turban, covered with ashes and wearing a *rudrâkâ*-rosary, having a white sacrificial cord, a white garland,  
his body smeared with a white ointment,...**

T2 has a different reading in b and inserts a half verse (between b and c): *uññîñî apuñpamâlâô ca svarñapaôcâôgabhûññai' ||*

T47 gives a different reading from here. T2 gives a different reading from the following verse.<sup>139</sup>  
 a: *navavastroṣṣadharaiḥ*: Th; *nakha stradharoṣṣadharo* (*navastroṣṣadharo*): P;  
*navavastrodharoṣṣadharo*: 20088; *navavastradharoṣṣadharo*: 8561; *navavastrottarīyaō ca*: T2;  
 b: *bhasmarudrākṣadhākaiḥ*: 20088; *kaṣṣakāḍgulikūṣṣalaiḥ*: T2;  
 c: *navayajōopavitāḥyāiḥ*: Th; *evaā yajōopavitāḥyāiḥ*: P; *etaā yajōopavitodhyā*: T297;  
*sītayajōopavitāḥyā*: 16847, T400; *sītayajōopavitāḥyāā*: 20088; *sītayajōopavitaō ca*: T2;  
 d: *sītamālyānulepanam*: 20088, T2; *sītamālyanulepakaiḥ*: 8561;

**Pāda a:** *navavastradharoṣṣadharaiḥ* – emendation on the basis of KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 34a.

40 *hemāḍgulīyakaṣṣakakuṣṣealādyair alaākūtaiḥ |*  
*yajōasūtraā vināāḥair bhūṣṣañair bhūṣṣya āilpī ca ||*

... (the *ācārya*) adorned with golden rings, bracelets, ear-rings and other ornaments, and the *āilpin* who has adorned himself with all ornaments except the *yajōasūtra*...<sup>140</sup>

a: *hemāḍgulīyakaṣṣakā*: 20088, T297; *homāḍgulīyakaṣṣaka*: 16847;  
 c: *yajōasūtrādīsaāyuktaā*: T297, P, Th; *yajōasūtreṣṣa sahita*: T1; *yajōasūtraā vinā āḥer*: 16847;  
*yajōasūtraā vinā āḥaiḥ +r*: 20088; *yajōasūtraā vinā* [hy written above] *bhe* [ta written above]  
*ḥair*: 8561;  
 d: *bhūṣṣañair bhūṣṣya āilpinam*: T1, Th; *bhūṣṣañair bhūṣṣi āilpinam*: P; *bhūṣṣañair bhūṣṣi āilpinām*:  
 T297; *bhūṣṣañair bhūṣṣya āilpī ca*: 16847, 20088, T400; *bhūṣṣañair bhūṣṣya* [illegible] *lpi ca*: 8561;

**Pāda d:** *bhūṣṣya* – an unusual form of absolute, see Chapter 3.6.

*āilpī ca* - the reading was adopted on the basis of the *Āilparatna*. In a parallel passage, *Āilparatna* 34.16b reads: *yajōasūtraā vinānyais tu bhūṣṣitenātha āilpinā*, 'together with the *āilpin* who is adorned (with other ornaments) except the *yajōasūtra*...', which seems a good solution. Such a reading is not given by any of our sources, but one has to bear in mind that the *mūrdheṣṣakā* chapter of the

<sup>139</sup> The readings of T2 and T47 show considerable differences from now on.

T47 (in the transcript itself verses 24-28):

*evaā jāgaraṣṣā rātrau prabhāte vimale āubhe |*  
*ācāryaiḥ sthāpakaiḥ āilpī saha sthūpyaina sthāpayet ||*  
*sthāpako daṣṣeapāniṣṣāā iṣṣakāā ca ghaṣṣānālān |*  
*sthāpakaiḥ āilpisaāyukto gūhaā gatvā tataiḥ param ||*  
*pādaprakṣāṣāṣānāā kūtvā gavyādīn mārjayej jalaiḥ |*  
*prokṣayed astramantreṣṣa āivamantreṣṣa sthāpayet ||*  
*tarjanyaāḍgulimātreṣṣa āikhare mūrdhni chidrakam |*  
*tanmadhye tu tato vipra mūrdheṣṣakānidhāpanam ||*  
*iṣṣakāsthūpidaṣṣāā ca brahmasūtrasya sthāpanam |*  
*uttarābhimukhaiḥ āilpī prāomukhaiḥ sthāpako 'pi vā ||*

<sup>140</sup> Pāda cd may also be translated in a slightly different way: "with the *āilpin*, who has adorned himself with the remaining ornaments with the exception of the *yajōasūtra*..."

Āilparatna largely depends on the Kāyapaāilpa. There is a possibility that the reading given by the Āilparatna is based on the original manuscript of the Kāyapaāilpa, now lost.

As far as the manuscripts of the Kāyapaāilpa itself are concerned, half of them give the word *āilpin* in the nominative (although the form is incorrect: *āilpi* instead of the expected *āilpī*), the other half give the accusative: *āilpinam*. Accepting the former reading results in the entire sentence (38b-42ab) being grammatically imperfect. On the other hand, the reading giving the accusative *āilpinam*, while being grammatically correct seems, at the same time, out of place. The acceptance of the accusative would mean that it is the *ācārya* (who is the subject of the entire sentence 38b-42ab) who adorns the *āilpin* with ornaments and so on, while it is usually the task of the *yajamāna*. Moreover, accepting the reading *āilpinam* would further result in verses 38b-40c lacking the predicate. A similar problem was encountered in KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 45-46ab.

- 41 *ācāryo mañēpaä gatvā dañēakaghānalān |*  
*gandhapuṣpādibhir yaṣvā homāä kūtṵā jayādibhīi ||*  
 42ab *svīṣam agneti mantreṇa pūrñāhutiä samācaret |*

... the *ācārya*, having entered the pavilion, having worshipped the axis, the bricks, the jars and the fire with incense, flowers and so on, having performed a *homa* while reciting (the mantra) *jayā* etc., should perform the complete oblation with the mantra *svīṣam agne*.

41c-d not in T2 and T47.

T2 inserts here: *alindhaä sthāpayec caiva āilpiä saäpūjya deāikam*.

41a: *sthāpako mañēpān gatvā*: T2; *sthāpako dañēapānīṣāä*: T47; *ācāryo mañēpaä kūtṵā*: 8561, 20088; *ācārye mañēpaä kūtṵā*: 16847;

41b: *dañēnāpīṣakāā ca tāi*: Th; *dañēnāṣvaghānalān*: T297, P; *dañēakaghānalān*: T1; *da[ñēe? ñēai] ṣva ṣvā ghānalān*: 8561; *dañēakā [ ... ] ānalāi*: 16847; *iṣikā ca ghānalān*: T2; *iṣakāā ca ghānalān*: T47;

41c: *gandhapuṣpādibhīi pūjya*: Th; *gandhapuṣpādibhir yaṣvā*: T400;

42 not in T47.

42 a-b not in T2.

42b: *pūrñāhuti samācaret*: 8561, 16847; *pūrñāhuti* [illegible] *mācaret*: 20088;

**Pāda 41c**: *yaṣvā* – an unusual form of absolutive, see Chapter 3.6.

**Pāda 42a**: for this mantra see KĀ *prathameṣakā* 47a.

**41-42ab**: the fire oblation mentioned here is not a reference to verses 35-37, but a separate ceremony on the day of installation. The same is found in KĀ *prathameṣakā* 46cd.

- 42cd *sthīrarāyudaye vipra ubhayarāyudaye 'pi vā ||*

**During the rise of an 'immovable' zodiac sign or, o Brahmin, during the rise of both constellations,...**

42c: *sthirarāyudaye vāpyu-* Th; *sthirarābhyudaye vipro-* P; *sthirarāyudaye vipro-* T1; *sthirarābhyudaye vipra:* T297; *sthirarāyodayaā vipra:* T2;  
42d: *-bhayarāyudaye 'pi vā:* T1, P, Th; *ubhayarāyudaye pi va:* 8561; *udayarāyudaye pi vā:* T400; *ubhayeṣu ca sthāpayet:* T2;

**Pāda c:** *sthirarāi* – *vūṣa*, *siāha*, *vūcika* and *kumbha* (taurus, leo, scorio and aquarius), see Kramrisch (1941: 174 note 5). The same term is found in KāyapaJK 32 (*mūrdheṣṣakā*) and SaSū 2.20.3 (*āilanyāsa*).

**Pāda d:** *ubhayarāi* – 'both constellations' may perhaps refer to the Aāvins (Gemini) And it is a corruption of *udayarāi* (the reading of T400) 'a constellation in which a planet is seen when on the horizon' (MW 1899: 186).

43 *jīve vā āukrasāyukte tayor dūṣe 'tha vā punai' |*  
*ācāryai āilpibhiā caiva rohan [tau] tadgūhopari ||*

**...when there is a conjunction of Jupiter with Venus, or again, when both are visible, the ācārya together with the āilpins, while climbing the top of the building,...**

not in T47.

T2 reads: *sthīravāraā guruāukre minduvāsarasaāyutau |*

c-d not in T2.

a: *mīne vā āukrasāyukte:* Th; *mīvo(ne)vā āukrasāyukte:* P; *jīvo vā āukrasāyukto:* T1; *jīvo vā āukrasāyukte:* T297; *jīvo vā āukrasāyuktau vā:* 8561;

b: *taloādrī ṣe thavā punai:* Th; *talodriṣe 'tha vā punai:* P; *tayor dūṣena vā 'tha vā:* T1; *talodūṣe 'tha vā punai:* T297; *tayor dūṣe tha vā punai:* T400; *ta[y]e [dū] dūṣe [illegible] tha vā punai:* 8561; *tayor hūṣte tha vā punai:* 16847, 20088;

c: *ācāryāāilpibhiā caiva:* P; *ācāryāā ilpibhiā caiva:* 16847, T297, T400; *ācāryāā ilpibhiā caivā:* 20088; *ācāryāāilpibhiā cai:* 8561;

d: *nehyantau tu grahopari:* T297, Th; *ne hyantaunugrahopari:* P; *yogyatoāmagūhopari:* T1; *rohyantau tadgūhopari:* T400; *rāhyotau gūhopari:* 8561; *ārohyātau gūhe pari:* 16847; *-rohyatau gūhopari:* 20088;

**Pāda d:** all the variant readings are grammatically incorrect. The various (incorrect) verbal forms given by the sources are in dual number (*rohyantau* etc.), while they are followed by a verb in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular (*prokṣayec*, see 45a). One would rather expect here the present participle *rohan*. Yet, the ending *tau* given by almost all the sources remains impossible to explain.

44 *vīkṣya mūrdheṣṣakāsthānaā hīnādhikyaā tu nāārite |*

*mārjanyā mārjayitvā tu paōcagavyakuāodakaii ||*

**...having scrutinized the place for the crowning bricks, namely if the place on which the bricks are to be laid down is not too small or too big, having cleaned it with a broom, with the five products of the cow and the *kuāa*-water,...**

not in T297, P and Th.

different version in T2 and T47, see below.

a: [ ... *sa*] *vīkṛya*: 8561; *vīkṛya mūrdhneṣṣakāsthānaā*: 20088, T1;

c: *mārjanyā māñēayitvā tu*: T1; *parjanyā mārjayitvā ta*: 16847; *pa[sth written below]rjanyā mārjayitvā tu*: 20088;

d: *paōcagakavyāā kuāodakaii*: 16847;

**Pāda d:** *kuāodakaii* – see KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 16d.

45 *prokṛayec chivamantreṇa tatai sthāpanam ārabhet |*  
*tarjanīvedhamātreṇa āikhare suāiraā kuru ||*

**... should sprinkle (the place) while reciting the Āivamantra. Then, one should begin the installation.  
Make in the *āikhara* a hole one *tarjanī* deep.**

not in 8561, T297, P and Th.

T2 inserts here: *jīvadūk sahito vā 'pi sthāpayed deāikottamai ||*

*sthāpako āilpisaāyuktaā gūhaā gatvā tatai param |*

*pādaprakṛālanaā kūtvā gavyādīn mārjajey jalaii ||*

T47 inserts here: *sthāpakai āilpisaāyukto gūhaā gatvā tatai param ||*

*pādaprakṛālanaā kūtvā gavādīn mārjayec jalaii |*

a: *prekṛayec chivamantreṇa*: 20088; *prokṛayet tatra mantreṇa*: T2; *prokṛayed agramantreṇa*: T47;

b: *tata sthāpanam ārabhet*: 16847, 20088; *āivamantreṇa sthāpayet*: T2, T47;

c: *sthāpates tarjanīveāa*:- T1; *tarjanīvedhamātre va*: 16847; *tarjanīvedhamātre ca*: 20088; *tarjanyaōgulimātreṇa*: T2; *tarjanyaōgulimātreṇa*: T47;

d: *mātraiva āikhare suāim*: T1; *āikhare mūrdhni cidrukam*: T2; *āikhare mūrdhni chidrakam*: T47;

**Pāda d:** *tarjanī* – lit. 'the fore-finger, index-finger'.

46 *puñyāhavācanaā kūtvā mūrdheṣṣakā nidhāpayet |*  
*iṣṣakāstūpikumbhaō ca gehāā kūtvā pradakṛiṇam ||*

47ab *nānālaākārasāyuktaā kūtvā harmye tu sthāpayet |*

**Having proclaimed it an auspicious day one should have the crowning bricks installed. One should install the bricks and the jar of the finial**



**on the building, which is provided with various ornaments, after having circumambulated the building.**

46a and (partly) b not in 8561.

46d different in T2 and T47.

46a: *puṇyāhavācanaā vakṣya: P; vakṣya: T297; kartavyaā tu tato vipra: 16847, 20088, T1, T2; kartavyaā tu kūto vipra: T400; tan madhye tu tato vipra: T47;*

46b: *mūrdhneṣṣakāā nidhāpayet: P; mūrdhneṣṣaka nidhāpayet: 16847, T297, T400; mūrdhneṣṣakāā nidhāpayet: T1; mūrdhneṣṣakān nidhāpayet: T400; mūrdhneṣṣakān etān: 8561; mūrdhneṣṣakānidhāpanam: T47;*

46c: *iṣṣakāī stūpikalpyāā ca: Th; iṣṣakāstūpikalpaā ca: P; iṣṣakā stūpikūrbāā ca: T297; iṣṣakāī sthūpikuābhāāā ca: T1; guṣṣakā sthūpikuābha [illegible]: 8561; iṣṣikāsthūpidaṇeāo ca: T2, T47;*

46d: *bāhyadhāmapradakṣiṇam: Th; bāhyadhāmapradakṣiṇe: P; bāhyadhāmaā pradakṣiṇe: T297; vahnidhāmapradakṣiṇam: T1; [illegible] dhāma pradakṣiṇam: 8561; brahmasūtrasya sthāpayet: T2; brahmasūtrasya sthāpanam: T47;*

47 a not in 8561.

47a-b not in T2 and T47.

47a: *nānālaākārasaāyuktāi: P, Th;*

47b: *kūtvā harmye 'hulepayet: T297, P, Th; kūtvā harmye tu ropayet: T1; kūtvā vedikopari vinyaset: 8561; kūtvā harmye tatat sthāpayet: 20088;*

**Pāda 46a:** *puṇyāha* – for the ceremony of the *puṇyāhavacanam*, see 14d and KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 35d.

This pāda is different in various manuscript. The reading *kartavyaā tu tato vipra*, given by 16847, 20088, T1, T2 and *kartavyaā tu kūto vipra* given by T400 when read together with pāda b (almost the same in all the sources and, probably, close to the original text) result in a grammatically incorrect sentence. Therefore the reading of T297, P and Th was adopted, which is the only one grammatically correct when read together with pāda b.

**Pāda 46c:** *iṣṣakāstūpikumbhaō ca* – refers either to the finial in the form of a jar or (considering that the plural ending *–kumbhān* given by T1 is correct) to the jars used previously during the *kumbhasthāpana* ceremony (see 32-33 and 53).

**Pāda 47c:** it is not clear if the *ācārya* and the *āilpin*, after the final preparation of the place for the bricks, indeed descended from the roof of the temple to perform the *pradakṣiṇa* and, possibly, other rites.<sup>141</sup>

47cd *uttarābhimukho bhūtvā ācāryo mantracetasaī ||*

48 *brahmaviṣṇū ca rudraā ca iāvaraā ca sadāāivam |*  
*vicintya svasvamantraīā ca catasras ceṣṣakā nyaset ||*

<sup>141</sup> In a comparable passage from Kāmika 61.17-18a the *pradakṣiṇa* is performed before the climbing of the temple: *gūhītvā ceṣṣakāā sthūpiā kūta dhāmapradakṣiṇai āruhya āikharam.*

**The *âcârya*, facing north, with his mind concentrated on the mantras, having reflected upon Brahmâ, Viãnu, Rudra, Îâvara and Sadâiva each with his own mantra, should place the four bricks.**

47c: *uttarâbhimûkhobhûtâ*: 8561; *uttarâbhimukho âilpî*: T2; *uttarâbhimukhai' âilpî*: T47;  
 47d: *âcârya 'nanyacetasâ*: Th; *âcârya mantracetasâ*: P, T297; *âcaryo mantracetasâ*: 8561; *tv âcârya mantravit tatai'*: T1; *prâòmukho sthâpako 'pi vâ*: T2; *prâòmukhai' sthâpako 'pi vâ*: T47;  
 48b-d different in T2.  
 48a: *brahmâñaä viãnuä rudraä ca*: Th; *brahmaviãnuä ca rudraä ca*: P; *brahmâ viãnuä ca rudraä*: T297, T400; *brahmâviãnumaheâasya*: T2; *brahmaviãnumaheâasya*: T47; *brahmâviãnuä ca rudra* [illegible]: 8561; *brahmâ viãnuä ca rudra*: 16847; *brahmâviãnuä ca rudraä ca*: 20088;  
 48b: *îânaä ca sadââivam*: T1; *ceâvaraä ca sadââivai'*: T297, T400; *mantreñaiva tu vinyaset*: T2, T47; *îâvaraä ca sadââivam*: 8561; *îâvara tva sadââivam*: 16847; *îâvaraä ca sadââiva* [illegible]: 20088;  
 48c: *vicintya svasvamantrais tu*: P, Th; *vicintya svasvamantreña*: T1; *bijâyai svasvamantreña*: T2; *bijâää ca svasvamantreña*: T47;  
 48d: *catasras tv iãakâ nyaset*: Th; *catasro hîãakâ nyaset*: P; *caturaä ceãakâ nyaset*: T1; *catvâro tv iãakân nyaset*: T297; *catvâras tveãakâ nyaset*: 8561, 20088, T400; *aãottaraâataä japet*: T2, T47; *catvâraä ceãakâ nyaset*: 16847;

**Pâda 48c:** the mantras are probably those associated with the five elements: *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va* and *haä* which, in turn, are associated with the five Kârañeâvaras: Brahmâ, Viãnu etc. See 28cd.

49 *pûthivyâtmakam aãmânaä saumyâgraä ââäkare suæei |*  
*suæeä câgneyam ââritya prâgagraä tv ambhasâtmakam ||*

**Having laid the stone having the nature of earth in the northeast corner of the hole in such a way that its top faces north and the stone having the nature of water in the southeast corner of the hole in such a way that it faces east...**

a: *pûthivyâtmakeä kramaä tu*: P, Th; *pûthivyâtmakeä tu*: T297; *pûthivyâtmakam aãman tu*: 20088, T400; *pûthivyâtmakamantras tu*: T2, T47; *pûthivyâtmakam*[illegible]*âraä tu*: 8561; *pûthivyâtman aãman tu*: 16847;  
 b: *saumyâgraä ââäkareu ca*: P, Th; *saumyâgraä ââäkare sudhîi'*: T1; *saumyâgraä ââäkareu æe*: T297; *saumyâgre ââäkare suæaii'*: 16847, 20088, T400; *saumyâgraä ââäkare suæe*: 8561; *saumye gûhâääageæu vai*: T2; *saumye grahâääakeæu ve*: T47;  
 c: *suæe sthânemayââritya*: T297, Th; *suæe sthâne mayâ*: P; *suæe svââgeyam ââritya*: T1; *suæaiä câgneyam ââritya*: T400; *su* [illegible] *gn yam âârityâ*: 8561; *suæirâsvââramââritya*: T2, T47; *suæais tv âgneyam ââritya*: 16847, 20088;  
 d: *prâgagraä rava bhasâtmakeä*: Th; *prâgagraä ravambhasâtmakam*: P; *prâgudagraäsu – sâtmakam*: T1; *prâgagraä svambhasâtmakam*: T297; *prâgagras tv aãbhasâddhikam*: T400; *prâgagraäs tv aãbhavâtmake*: 8561; *prâgagrastvaãbhasârdhakai'*: 16847; *prâgagraäs tv aãbhasârdhakeä*: 20088; *saumyâgraö ca svanâtmanâ*: T2, T47;

**49:** the main problem here and in verse 50 is the interpretation of the forms *suṣe* and *suṣaiā* found in the variant readings as none of them are correct grammatically. As far as I see, there are two possible interpretations: (1) accepting *suṣe* as an incorrect form of locative singular of *suṣi*, 'hole', instead of the correct form *suṣau*; (2) assuming that the original text gave the genitive singular of *suṣi* (*suṣei*, *suṣeā* etc.).

50 *suṣer nairūtam āritya saumyāgraā tv analātmakam |*  
*suṣer vāyavyam āritya prāgagraā marutātmakam ||*

**...having laid the stone having the nature of fire in the southwest corner of the hole in such a way that its top faces north, having laid the stone having the nature of wind in the northwest corner of the hole in such a way that it faces east...**

a: *suṣe narūtyam āritya*: T297, P, Th; *suṣe nairūtyasomāgraā*: T1; *suṣair nairūtam āritya*: 16847, T400; *sauṣai nairūtam āritya*: 20088; *suṣe naiūtam ārityā*: 8561;

b: *saumyāgraā salilātmakam*: T297, P, Th; [ ... ] *āalātmakam*: T1; *saumyāgraā tv analātmakam*: 16847, T400; *saumyāgra svana[la]tmakam*: 8561;

c: *suṣe vīyavyam āritya*: P, Th; *suṣe priyavyam āritya*: T297; *suṣe vāyuā samāarītya*: T1; *sūṣair vāyavyam āritya*: 16847, 20088, T400; *āucer vā 'tha vyagram āritya*: T2; *āucer vāthasyamāarītya*: T47; *suṣer vāyavyam ārityā*: 8561;

d: *prāgagraā marutātmakam*: 8561, 20088, T400, P, Th; *prāgagraā mārutātmakai*: 16847; *prāgagrā mārutātmakam*: T297; *prāgudagraā marutātmakam*: T1; *prāgagraō ca mudagrakam*: T2; *prāgagram udagrakam*: T47;

**Pāda 49-50:** the crowning bricks are placed in a square in the same way as the first bricks: two bricks have to point north, the other two have to point east, see KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 51.

51ab *evaā kramān nyased aāmān suṣiā niāchidram ācaret |*

**... and in this order one should place the stones. One should make the cavity (in such a way that it will be) without cracks.**

51a: *kramāt nyasyeṣṣakās tv evaā*: Th; *evaā kramān nyased* [ ... ] *t*: P; *evaā kramān nyased aāma*: T1; *evaā kramān nyased aāān*: T297; *evaā kramā nyased aāmān*: 8561, 20088; *evaā kramā nyased* [ ... ] *ān*: 16847; *evaā krameña phelā ca*: T2; *evaā krameña phelā su-*: T47;

51b: *sunicchidraā samācaret*: P, Th; *svanicchidrasamācaret*: T297; *suṣiraō cidram ācaret*: T400; *suṣirāā nicchidran tu vā*: T2; *-ṣiraā niāchidraā tu vā*: T47; *suṣiraā niāchidram ācaret*: 8561; *suṣiraniāchidram ācaret*: 16847, 20088;

**Pāda 51b:** a similar passage is found in MM 18.147: *pūrvam eveṣṣakāsthānāā niāchidraā tu dūèhikūtam*, ‘the position of the bricks has been consolidated beforehand and any holes found there have been filled in’ (translation Dagens 1994: 287). According to Dagens (1994: 287 note 59) the cavity should be ‘without holes’ in order to make it watertight. Dagens bases himself here on MM 12.4 where the foundation pit is being filled with water and the consecration deposit (*garbha*) should finally be placed in water (as stated in MM 12.112). MM 12, however, refers exclusively to placing the first bricks and the consecration deposit. There is no indication that the crowning bricks should be placed in water.

51cd *māñikyaā maratakaā ca vaièūryam indranīlakam* ||

**Having placed<sup>142</sup> the *māñikya* ruby, emerald, cat's eye, sapphire, ...**

51c: *māñikyaā ca marakataā*: Th; *māñikyamaratakaā caiva*: P; *māñikyaā marakataā caiva*: T1; *māñikkaā maratakaā caiva*: 16847, T297; *māñikyaā maratakaā caiva*: 20088, T400; *mañikkaā maratakaā caiva*: T2; *māñikyaā marakataā caiva*: T47; [illegible] *añikyaā marakataā caiva*: 8561;

51d: *vaièūryā tv indranīlakam*: 8561, T297, P, Th; *vaièūryā cendranīlakam*: T1; *pravālam indranīlakam*: T2, T47;

**Pāda 51d:** *vaièūrya* - cat's eye or a type of chrysoberyl, see KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 21b.

52 *mauktikaā sphāṇikaā caiva padmarāgaā pravālakam |  
vajraā madhyādiṣu sthāpya āaktibījam anusmaran* ||

**...pearl, crystal, *pādmaraāga* ruby, coral and diamond, beginning in the middle, while recollecting the *āaktibīja*,...**

a: *mauktikaā sphāṇikaā caiva*: T297, Th; *mauktikasphāṇikaā caiva*: 8561; *vaièūryam puṣparāgaā ca*: T2, T47;

b: *padmarāgapravālakaā*: 8561; *padmarāgaā pravālakam*: 16847, 20088; *vajraā gomedakaā nyaset*: T2; *vajragomedhakaā nyaset*: T47;

c: *vajraā madhye ca saāsthāpya*: Th; *vajraā madhye diṣu(āi) sthāpya*: P; *vajraā madhye diṣu sthāpya*: T297; *mantraā madhyādiṣu sthāpya*: 16847; *āaktibījāi smarec caiva*: T2; *āaktibījaā smarec caiva*: T47;

d: *caturdik bhūmibījakaii*: T2, T47;

**Pāda b:** *padmarāga* – a ruby was listed already in 51c (*māñikya*). These two, *māñikya* and *padmarāga*, are probably two different species of rubies. A list that includes both *padmarāga* and *māñikya* is also found in Raurava 30.41-43. In the

<sup>142</sup> Supply *sthāpya* from 52c.

KĀ, the list of gems to be placed in the consecration deposit casket does not mention *padmarāga*; cf. KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 19-21ab.

**Pāda c:** *sthāpya* – an unusual form of absolute, see Chapter 3.6.

*vajrā madhye ca saāsthāpya* – this and similar readings given by T297, P and Th suggest that the diamond is placed in the middle. This, however, is not a common practice. Usually it is ruby that is placed in the middle, the diamond being placed in the east, see KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 19 and Table XX (distribution of gems according to different sources). Hence, the reading of T1, T400, 8561 and 20088, according to which the distribution of the stones should start from the middle, seems much more plausible.

**Pāda d:** *āktibīja* – the text does not provide any additional information which might help to explain the meaning of *āktibīja* here. *āktibīja* might be a *bīja* of one specific *ākti*, which may differ according to the tradition.<sup>143</sup> On the other hand, *āktibīja* may also be interpreted as ‘the *ākti* and the *bīja*’ or ‘the *bījas* of the various (against specific) *āktis*’.<sup>144</sup>

53 *tadūrdhve sthāpayet stūpidañēam īānamantratai |*  
*kalaāasthodakaii prokṛya dañēam aāmānaṣ eva ca ||*

... one should install the axis of the finial on the top of it with the (recitation of the) *īānamantra*.

Having sprinkled the axis and the stones with the water from the jars...

a: *tadūrdhve sthāpayet sthūpi*:- 8561, 16847, T1, T2, T47, T297; *tadūrdhvaā sthāpayet sthūpi*:- 20088;

b: *-dañēam īānam āāritam*: T1; *-dañēam īānamantrakaā*: 8561;

c: *kalaāasthodakai prokṛya*: 16847; *kalaāodakam atha prokṛya*: T2, T47;

d: *dañēāā cāpy aāmapaōcakam*: Th; *dañēāā cāmapaōcakam*: P; *dañēam aāmānam eva ca*: T1; *dañēāā cāmapaōca ca*: T297; *dañēāō cātma pa deāikai*: T400; *dañēāā cātmakadeāikai*: T2, T47; *dañēāō [cāōca] paōcavat*: 8561; *dañēāō cātmaka ca deāikai*: 16847; *dañēāā cātma va deāikai*: 20088;

**Pāda b:** *īāna* – one of the five *brahmantras*, associated with the activity of grace and the upraised face of Sadāiva (Davis 2000: 183). See KĀ *prathameṣakā* 43a and KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 42a. The element associated with the *īāna* is ether, whose *bīja* (*haā*) was placed on the axis previously (28cd; for the association of

<sup>143</sup> SĀP I.3.30 mentions *āktimantra*, which is followed by *vauṣaṣ*. According to Brunner (1963: 130 note 2), the whole mantra would read: ‘*oā hauā āktaye vauṣaṣ*’.

<sup>144</sup> Compare Dīpta 20 (p.310): *...pūrvādīni kramen nyastvā māñikkaā madhyame nyaset || navabījasamāyuktaā navavarñāni vinyaset |* On the other hand, *bīja* in Dīpta may also mean ‘grain’ as it is the case, for example, in the Ajita 15.46 where it is listed together with metals (*loha*).

the *brahmamantras* with the five elements, see Davis 2000: 50). The recitation of the *îânamantra* during the placing of the axis of the finial occurs in several parallel texts, see Kâraña 10.39cd: *îânenena tu mantrêña sthûpidañëää tatopari*, Dîpta 20 (p.310): *tanmadhye sthâpayet sthûpim îânenena tu mantratai*.

**Pâda d:** the present reading is a construction. The meaning of the pâda, however, is clear: it points to the final part of the installation during which the water from the jars (consecrated previously during the *kumbhasthâpana* ceremony, see 33d) is poured over the crowning bricks (or crowning stones) and over the axis of the finial. The deities, invoked in the jars during the *kumbhasthâpana*, are thus transposed into the bricks and the axis. This ceremony is often referred to as *kumbhâbhiñeka*. A comparable ceremony is performed during the installation of a *liôga* or a temple image. See Barazer-Biloret (1993-94: 61-62) and Bhatt (1993-94: 75-76).

54 *tattanmûrtiä samabhyarcya gandhaii puæpaii sudhûpakaii |*  
*gulâäbhasâ ca sudhayâ stûpiä baddhvâ tu niâcalam ||*

**...having worshipped the various *mûrtis* with fragrant flowers, incense and molasses, having fixed the finial with plaster so that it does not move...**

a: *tat tan mûrtii samabhyarcya*: T297, P, Th; *garte mûrtiä samabhyarcya*: T1; *tat tan mûrtis taddhyânao ca*: T2; *tat tan mûrtyuktadhânaä ca*: T47;

b: *gandhaii puæpaiä ca dhûpakaii*: T1, T297, P, Th; *gandhaii puæpai sudhûpakaii*: 8561; *arcayed gandhapuæpakaii*: T2, T47;

c: *galâäbhasâ ca sudûdhaä*: P, Th; *galâmbhasâ ca sūdâyâs tu*: T297; *galamiârasudhâ iævi*: T2; *gulamiârasudhâm iæviä*: T47; *gulâbhasâ ca su [ ... ] yâ*: 16847;

d: *sthâpayec câstu (t tat tu) niâcalam*: Th; *sthâpayed vâstuniâcalam*: P; *sthûpiä badhvâ tu niâcalam*: T1; *sthûpiä baddhvâ tu niâcalam*: 8561, 20088, T400; *bimbaä baddhvâ tu niâcalam*: T297; *badhvâ tatssthûpiniâcalam*: T2, T47; *stûpiä baddhvâ tu [ ... ] âcalaä*: 16847;

**Pâda a:** *mûrti* – here, probably, the five Karañëâvaras known as *paôcamûrti*: Brahmâ, Viæñu, Rudra, Îâvara and Sadâäiva, which have been ‘placed’ on the bricks and on the axis previously (see 31).

55 *tato 'vaææää âikharaä kartavyaä coditaä yathâ |*  
*âikharopariæât stûpiä præguktavidhinâ kuru ||*

**... next, the remaining part of the *âikhara* should be made in the way as has been taught. Place the finial upon the *âikhara* in accordance with the prescriptions given previously.**

a-b not in T2 and T47.

a: *tato vaiṣṣāḥāḥ āikharaḥ*: Th; *tato 'vaiṣṣāḥāikharaḥ*: P; *tato (paōca ca) āṣṣā tu*: T1; *tato 'vaiṣṣāḥāikharaḥ*: 8561, 16847, T297; *tat to (tan to?) yavaāṣṣā āikharaḥ*: 20088;

b: *kartavyaā coditaā mayā*: Th; *kartavyaā syoditā tathā*: P; *kartavyaā svoditaā yathā*: T1, T400; *kartavyasyoditaā yathā*: T297; *kartavyaā veditas [tā?] [ya?] thā*: 8561; *kartavyaā [ ... ] oditaā yathā*: 16847;

c: *āikharopari stūpiā ca*: Th; *āikharopariṣṣhāc ca stūpiā*: P; *āikharasthopariṣṣāt tu*: T1; *āikharopariṣṣyā stūpiā*: T297; *āikharopariṣṣāt sthūpiā*: T400; *āikharasyopariṣṣāt tu*: T2, T47; *āikharopariṣṣās stūpiā*: 8561; *āikharopariṣṣā stūpiā*: 16847; *āikharopariṣṣāt sthūpiā*: 20088; d: *sthūpiā prāguktavartmanā*: T1; *sthūpiā prāguktavat kuru*: T2, T47;

**Pāda b-d:** *uditaā* and *prāguktavidhinā* – the rule of making the *āikhara* and the *sthūpi* has been explained in the KĀ chapter 20 in T1 (chapter 21 in the Poona edition).

56 *karālādīn tatai kuryān niācalaā sudūḥaā yathā |*  
*suvarṇarajatair vātha tāmrair vācchādayed gūham ||*

**Then one should make *karāla* and so on in order to fix (the finial) firmly. One should cover the building with gold, silver or copper.**

a-b not in T2 and T47.

a: *karālamudgīmukhyais tat*: Th; *karālādyais tataā kuryāt*: T1; *kārālādīā tata [illegible] kuryāt*: 8561; *kārālādīā tatai kuryāt*: 16847, 20088;

b: *kuryāt tu niācalaā dūḥam*: Th; *niācalaā su [illegible] ḥaā yathā*: 8561;

c: *svarṇair vā rajatair vātha*: T297, Th; *svarṇenaivā rajatair vā 'thā*: P; *svarṇaiā ca rajatair vātha*: T1; *svarnaō ca rajataā vā 'tha*: T2; *suvarṇāā rajataā vātha*: T47; *svarṇai rajatair vātha*: 8561; *suvarṇarajatair vā ga*: 16847;

d: *tāmrair vā 'cchādayed gūham*: P; *tāmraiā ca cchādayed gūham*: T1; *tāmreṇā sudhayā kriyā*: T2, T47;

**Pāda a:** *karāla* – a type of coating or mortar or one of its ingredients. Th mentions in this place also *mudgī*, another type of mortar (Dagens 1994: 275 note 35). Interestingly, *karāla* is listed as one of the items used during the construction of the Sun temple at Konarak as testified by the Baya Cakaēā, an Oriya manuscript on the financing of the construction of the Sun temple at Konarak (Bonner 1972: 58). According to Bonner (ibid., 63) *karāla* is a 'mixture of lime-water with brick-powder, kendu-juice and guḥ'. According to MM 18.93, however, *karāla* is *abhayākṣabijamātraāarkarāi syui karālakāi*, 'gravel stones the size of *abhaya* or *akṣa* fruits' (translation Dagens 1994: 275).

57 *kāōcanālaākūtāā dhenum ācāryāya pradāpayet |*  
*dakṣiṇāā dāpayet tasmai daāniṣṣkāā hiraṇmayam ||*

**One should see to it that the *âcârya* is presented with a cow adorned with gold. One should take care that he receives a *dakṣiṇâ* of ten golden *niṣkas*.**

after a-b end of T47.

a: *kûtârdhe gââ ca bhūmiâ ca*: Th; *kâōca talakûtârdhe ca*: P; *kâōcanâlaäkūtaâ hy etat*: T297;

*kâōcanâlaäkûtadhenu*: 16847; *kâōcanâlaäkûtâdhenuâ*: 20088; *gobhūhirañyadânaō ca*: T2, T47;

b: *mâcâryâya pradapayet*: P; *âcâryâya pra [ ... ] âpayet*: 16847; *sthatîsthâpakasya tu*: T2; *sthatîpatei sthâpakasya tu*: T47;

c: *dakṣiṇââ sthâpayet tasmai*: 8561; *dakṣiṇââtaniṣkaō ca*: T2;

d: *daâaniṣkaâ hirañmayai*: 16847; *daâaniṣkaâ hirañyakam*: T1; *madhyaman tu tadardhakam*: T2;

58 *yâgopakaraṇââ sarvam âcâryâya pradâpayet |  
âilpinââ pūjayet paâcât gobhūmikâōcanâdibhiḥ ||*

**One should see to it that all the implements (used) for the oblation are given to the *âcârya*. Then one should honour the *âilpin* with cows, land, gold and so on.**

T2 inserts here: *adhamaâ paōcaviââa syât dâpayet deâikottamai |*

c-d different in T2, see below.

a: *yâgopakaraṇââ caiva*: T2;

b: *âcâryâya ca dâpayet*: P, Th; *sthatîpako sthatî bhavet*: T2;

c: *âilpinai pūjayet paâcât*: Th; *âilpino bhojayet paâcât*: P; *âilpinai bhojayet paōca*: T297; *âilpinââ pūjayet paâcât*: 16847;

d: *gobhūmiâ kâōcanâdhibhiḥ*: 8561; *gobhūâ ca kâōcanâdhibhiḥ*: 16847;

59ab *evaâ yai kurute martyai sa yâty udayaâ phalam ||*

**The person who acts in this way obtains prosperity as reward.**

59ab not in T2.

a: *evaâ yai kurute martyas*: 16847, T400; *evaâ yai kurute martya*: 8561; *evaâ [illegible] rute martyai*: 20088;

b: *sa yâti âubhadaâ phalam*: T297, Th; *so 'thâgniâ âubhadaâ phalam*: P; *sa yâty abhyudayaâ phalam*: T1; *sa yâdi hyâhalaâ phalam*: 8561; *sayâdity uditaâ phalam*: 16847; *ssayâdabhyuditaâ phalaâ*: 20088;

T2 inserts here: *prîtîâ cet sthatî devân prîto bhavati nityaâai | anyathâ râjarâñrâni ãñmâse tu vinaâyati || evam âha mahâvîñui purâdevamaheâvarai |*

*iti kââyape mûrdhneṣakâ paṣalai*



**Thus ends, in the Kāyapa (i.e. the Kāyapaīlpa), the chapter about the ceremony of the crowning bricks.**

*iti kāyapaīlpe mūrdhneṣṣakāvidhānā nāma dvicatvāriṣṣāi paṭalai: Th; iti ārikāyapaīlpe mūrdhneṣṣakāvidhānā dvicatvāriṣṣāi paṭalai: P; ity aāūmānkāyape mūrdhneṣṣakāvidhi paṭalai (ekacatvāriṣṣāi): T1; iti kāyape mūrdhneṣṣakāvidhānā catvāriṣṣāi paṭalai: T297; ity aāūmadbhede kāyape mūrdhneṣṣakāvidhānā catvāriṣṣāat paṭalai: T400; ity aāūmān bhede kāyape mūrdhni iṣṣi sthūpi pratīṣṭhāvidhin nāma catvāriṣṣāat paṭalai: T2; iti mūrdhneṣṣakopadhānavidhipaṭalai: T47; ity aāūmān bhede kāyape mūrdhneṣṣakāvidhānā dvicatvāriṣṣāatipaṭalai: 16847; ity aāūmān bhede kāyape mūrdhneṣṣakāvidhānā dvicatvāriṣṣāatipaṭalai: 20088;*

## 4.4 Analysis of the ritual structure of the *prathameṣakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣakā* on the basis of the *Kāyapañilpa*

### 4.4.1 *Prathameṣakā*

#### 4.4.1.1 Introductory statement, prescriptions for the location and the preceding preparations

The description of the ceremony of placing the first bricks in the *Kāyapañilpa* starts with a formulaic expression (*atha vakṣye vācāṣā*), which can be found at the beginning of almost every chapter of this text (1ab). The following verse lists the structures for which the ceremony should be performed, which include the main temple building, the pavilion, the enclosure, the gate, and the shrines of the attendant deities (1cd-2ab). Next, the prescriptions for digging the foundation pit are given. The depth of the foundation depends on the type of ground on which the temple is to be built. The excavated pit is filled up with gravel (2cd-8ab). When this is done, one should proceed with marking the layout of the various parts of the temple (8cd-10ab).

#### 4.4.1.2 The temporary pavilion: its construction and purification

For the sake of the preliminary ceremonies, a temporary pavilion, referred to as *mañḍapa* or *prapā*, has to be built to the north of the temple under construction. The description of the pavilion is fairly detailed. It is nine *hastas* long, has sixteen pillars, gateways and a canopy. Further to this, it is decorated with banners, garlands, *darbha* grass and strings of pearls. A platform (*vedikā*) is constructed in the middle of it. Its length is one-third of that of the pavilion, it is one *hasta* high and its surface resembles a flat mirror or a belly. Around the platform there are four fire pits (*kuñḍa*) in the cardinal directions, namely a square one, a bow-shaped one, a round one and one in the shape of a lotus. Each fire pit is surrounded by a rim with three steps (10cd-14).

When the construction is completed, the surface of the pavilion is anointed with cow-dung, sprinkled with the five products of the cow and adorned with patterns made with ground flower mixed with coloured powders (*piṣṭacūrṇā*). Next, Brahmins are given food, and the oblation for the site (*vāstuhoma*) and the purification of the pavilion with fire (*paryagnikaraṇā*) are performed. Finally, the pavilion should be sprinkled with water in which the blades of the *kuā* grass were

immersed. Then the ceremonial ground (*sthañēila*) should be prepared on the *vedikā* using rice and other grains along with the *darbha* grass (10cd-18ab).

#### 4.4.1.3 Intermission about material and appearance of bricks

At this point the text gives the description of the first bricks. It states that the 'bricks' are always to be made of the same material as the temple. Hence, genuine clay bricks are prescribed for a brick building, stones for a stone building and pieces of wood for a wooden building. The text, nevertheless, uses 'brick' (*iṣṣakā*) along with 'stone' (*āilā*, *upala*, *aāman*) as a general technical term.<sup>145</sup> Next, the size of the bricks is dealt with. The Kāyapaāilpa prescribes two types of bricks: those measuring an even number of *aōgulas* and those with an odd number, but it does not explain the situation in which a specific type should be used.<sup>146</sup> The breadth of the bricks should always be half of the length; the height should be half of the breadth. It appears that there is a relationship between the size of the bricks and the size of the temple: the higher the number of the temple storeys, the larger the first bricks. Our text gives measurements for bricks destined for temples with between one and sixteen storeys.

Not only the size of the bricks is of importance, but also their gender. According to the Kāyapaāilpa, the first bricks should be masculine and the crowning bricks (used in the *mūrdheṣṣakā* ritual) should be neuter. The text gives prescriptions on how to determine the gender of a brick and of a stone, but these are, unfortunately, not very clear. Apart from determining the gender of the bricks, one should also determine the 'parts of their body', namely the top or head, base, face and back. This is important, for during the preliminary rites and during the final installation the tops and bases of the bricks should face the appropriate geographical directions (18cd-31).

#### 4.4.1.4 Preliminary ceremonies with regard to the bricks

After describing the first bricks in detail, the text continues with the preliminary ceremonies, such as bathing the bricks with bovine products, tying the protective thread (*pratisara*) around them, writing the seed letters of the four elements

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<sup>145</sup> The exception is the passage, in which the distinction between the clay bricks and the stones is of importance (KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 26cd-31). The wooden 'bricks' are not mentioned except for 19b (where it is stated that they should be used in a wooden building) and it can be assumed that they were hardly ever employed as the majority of the Hindu temples in India are built of stone and brick, not of wood.

<sup>146</sup> It is possible that the bricks measuring even number of *aōgulas* should be used for buildings which, too, measure even number of *aōgulas* etc., but such an explanation is not found in the Kāyapaāilpa.

(earth, fire, water and wind) on them, placing the jars (*kumbha-* or *kalaâsthâpana*) and performing the fire oblation (*homa*). It may be assumed that these ceremonies take place in the previously constructed pavilion. After the protective thread is tied around them, the bricks are wrapped in cloth and placed on the *sthâñeila*, each facing a prescribed direction, where they presumably remain during the *kumbhashtâpana* and the *homa*. The rites should be performed by a temple priest (*âcârya*). This priest should be born in a Āaiva Brahmin family and must have undergone the initiation according to the rules of the Āaiva schools. On the day of the ceremony he should bathe with water and with ashes, he should wear new clothes, adorn himself with five types of ornaments and perform the ceremony of *sakalîkaraña* by means of which he will transform his body into a manifestation of Āiva.

The *kumbhasthâpana* is performed with nine jars in which deities are invoked by means of mantras: Sâdâkhya (Sadââiva) in the central jar, the Guardians of the Directions (*lokapâlas*) in the jars around. The deities are worshipped and offered specially prepared food (*naivedya*). After that, the fire is ceremonially placed in the *kuñèas* and the fire oblation begins. The text lists the ingredients that are offered as well as the mantras pronounced during the oblation, to which the *brahma* and the *aògamantras* belong. The fire oblation, most probably, takes place at night (32ab-44). The passage ends with the phrase *evaâ jâgarañaâ râtrau* ('in this way one should stay awake at night'), which is found in the same place in all the three chapters investigated (45a).

#### 4.4.1.5 Installation

The next passage describes the ceremonies performed on the actual day of installation. In the morning, the *âcârya* prepares himself for the installation of the bricks (45b-d). First, he worships the bricks, the jars and the fire and, then, performs the fire oblation with the mantras *jayâdi*, *abhyâtâna* and *râærabhut*. Next, he performs the 'complete fire oblation' (*pûrñâhuti*) with the mantra *svîæam agne* (46-47ab). Before the final installation of the bricks, the patron should honour the priest and the artisan with various gifts (47cd).

Subsequently, the prescriptions concerning the place of installation are given. In order to establish the location of the first bricks it is necessary to first determine the position of the door. The bricks should be placed to the right or to the south of the exit, inside the wall. Their position differs according to the type of building in which they are installed. It is important to place the bricks in such a way that they face the appropriate directions: the tops of two of them should face east, the tops of the other two should face north (48-52ab). In the middle of the bricks, which form a square, various gems and a golden lotus are placed (52cd). Next, the bricks are anointed with five types of earth, and the water from the jars (most probably the jars used during the *kumbhasthâpana*) is poured among the

bricks. If the water turns to the right, this is seen as an auspicious sign; if it goes to the left, one should perform propitiatory oblation (*âântihoma*; 53-54ab). The text ends with a reminder that all the implements for the oblation should be given to the *âcârya* (54cd).

#### 4.4.2 *Garbhanyâsa*

##### 4.4.2.1 Introductory verses and the prescriptions for the location

The *garbhanyâsa* chapter begins in the same way as the chapter dealing with the first bricks by giving the formulaic expression *atha vakāye viāeñā*. The next half-verse is of great importance since it alludes to the meaning of the ritual: it makes comparisons between the temple and a human body and between the consecration deposit (*garbha*) and the 'life-breath' (1cd). It should be noted that passages dealing with the function or meaning of the ritual are extremely rare in the architectural and ritual texts such as the *Kāyapañipā*.

Next, the text gives two verses stressing the importance of performing the *garbhanyâsa*. It is said that the *garbhanyâsa* will bestow prosperity upon those who perform it and it will fail to do so if it is absent. It should, therefore, be carried out with great care. Moreover, the text adds that neither *Āiva* nor any other deity will stay in a building where no consecration deposit (*garbha*) has been installed (2-3). Such statements are not found with regard to the two other rituals: the placing of the first bricks and the placing of the crowning bricks.

The following section deals with the location of the consecration deposit. The list of the structures in which one should install the deposit is exactly the same as in the case of the first bricks. The location of the deposit within a building depends on the patron's caste: the higher the patron's caste, the higher the architectural layer in which the *garbha* should be installed (4-7ab).

##### 4.4.2.2 Form and material of the deposit container

Having explained the location, the text provides the instructions for how the deposit container (*garbhabhājana*, *phelā*) should be made. It should be constructed of metal, that is, of gold, silver, copper or brass and divided into twenty-five compartments. Its size, just as in the case of the first bricks, is dependent on the number of the temple's storeys: the higher the temple, the bigger the deposit casket. Again, sixteen possible measurements are given, which correspond with temples having from one to sixteen storeys (7cd-14).

#### 4.4.2.3 Mantras assigned to the deposit container

Following the instructions for making the casket, the text proceeds to prescribe how mantras and vowels (*svara*) should be 'placed in' or assigned to each of the compartments of the casket. It now becomes apparent that the casket has five rows of five compartments. In the central compartment the *kūṃa* (the letter *kā*) is placed together with the *anunāsika*, in the eight compartments around are placed the *mūlamantras* of the eight 'agents' of Āiva, the eight Vidyēāvaras, and the sixteen outer compartments receive the sixteen vowels of the Sanskrit alphabet (15-17ab). The procedure for 'placing' the *kūṃa* and the vowels is not precisely known. It may be that the act was performed entirely orally and meditatively. It should, however, be noted that certain finds in Southeast Asia suggest that some form of 'placing of letters' was realised by means of engraving them on gold foil (see Chapter 7.3).

#### 4.4.2.4 Objects to be placed in the deposit container

The following verse interrupts the chronological treatment of the ritual and gives a brief, general instruction concerning the placing of objects in the casket and the placing of objects in the cavity in which the casket is to be deposited (17cd-18ab). The activities mentioned here are described in detail in 19-29 and 49-53 respectively.

After the casket has been washed and the *astramantra* pronounced, the placing of the symbolic items can begin. The text provides detailed lists of items and specifies the compartments in which they should be placed. The objects include nine precious and semiprecious stones, nine attributes of Āiva made of various metals, eight minerals and seven types of grain. When filled up, the casket is firmly closed with a lid (18cd-29; for the distribution of the items, see Table XX).

#### 4.4.2.5 Temporary pavilion: its construction and purification

The following passage gives the directions for how the temporary pavilion should be constructed. The *mañēpa* or *prapā* described here is very similar to the one constructed for the first bricks ceremony, but it may also be erected in front of the temple, not only in the north of it. Akin to the *prathameṃakā* chapter, it has sixteen pillars, doors and gateways and a canopy. Furthermore, it is decorated with garlands and bunches of *darbha* grass. However, instead of the banners and strings of pearls mentioned in the *prathameṃakā* chapter, it is adorned with pillar-wrappings and 'wave-like ornaments'. Compared to the pavilion prescribed for the first bricks ceremony, it is slightly smaller: five, six or seven *hastas* instead of

nine. Yet, just like the pavilion during the *prathamakâ* ceremony, it has a platform in its centre, which is one-third in length of the entire pavilion. The platform is here referred to as *vedi*, which is a common synonym of *vedikâ*, the term used in the chapter dealing with the first bricks. It should be one *hasta* high (the same as in the first bricks chapter) or else one *tâla* and its surface should resemble a flat mirror or a belly. The fire-pits are identical to those used in the *prathamakâ* ceremony (30-34). It is surprising that the section dealing with the *mañèapa* occurs here and not directly after the description of the deposit casket (after verse 14) as the ceremony of placing the objects in the casket would most probably take place in a pavilion. In the *prathamakâ* and *mûrdhakâ* chapters the section dealing with the *mañèapa* comes first and it is immediately followed by the description of the ceremonies performed inside (for instance the writing of the letters of the first and crowning bricks, a ritual parallel to that of placing the letters in the deposit casket).

When the building of the pavilion has been completed, the artisan (*âilpin*) is sent away. Next, in the same way as in the case of the ceremony of the first bricks, the surface of the pavilion is anointed with cow-dung and decorated with ground flower mixed with coloured powders. The ceremony of giving food to the Brahmins (KÅ *prathamakâ* 15d-16a) is not mentioned. Instead, the proclamation of the meritorious day (*puñyâhavâcana*) is performed and the ceremonial ground (*sthañèila*) is constructed. The description of the ceremonial ground is the same as in the *prathamakâ* chapter (35-37ab).

#### 4.4.2.6 Preliminary ceremonies with regard to the container

The preliminary ceremonies with regard to the container are then explained. These include tying the protective thread (here called *kautuka*, not *pratisara* as in the *prathamakâ* chapter), placing the jars (*kumbhashtâpana*) and performing the fire oblation (*homa*). Several activities mentioned here bring the ceremony of the first bricks to mind. The casket, like the first bricks, is first purified by washing it with the five bovine products and fragrant waters and, after the protective thread has been tied around it, it is wrapped in cloth and placed on the *sthañèila*. In the descriptions of the *kumbhashtâpana* and the *homa* only slight differences with the *prathamakâ* chapter can be found. Eight jars are used instead of nine and the deities invoked are different: the eight *Vidyêavaras* instead of *Sâdâkhyâ* and the eight *lokapâlas*. During the *homa* the *brahma-* and the *aògamantras* are pronounced, but, in addition, the five *saâskâras* for the fire pits are mentioned and the mantras *jayâdi*, *abhyâtâna* and *râvurabhût* are uttered now, not on the day of installation as it was the case during the *prathamakâ* ceremony. In the same way as in the first bricks chapter, the *homa* is performed at night and the section concludes with the phrase *evaâ jâgarañââ râtrau* (37cd-44a).

#### 4.4.2.7 Installation

The next section describes the ceremonies performed on the day of installation and the installation itself. It begins by describing the characteristics of the *âcârya*. This passage also occurs in the *prathamâakâ* chapter, but in a different place, namely before the tying of the protective thread around the bricks. In the following verses, the text mentions that the *âcârya* and the *âilpin* are honoured by the patron and a few prescriptions are given for the installation of the casket: the thickness of the wall (in the case of the main temple building it would probably be the wall of the *garbhagûha*) should be divided into eight equal parts; the casket is placed in the part that remains after one has counted four parts from the outside and three parts from the inside (44-48).

The following passage discusses the placing of lumps of earth, bulbs and seeds in the cavity in which the deposit casket is to be installed. This ceremony was briefly mentioned in verse 18 when general instructions for placing the objects into the casket and the cavity were given. The Kââyapaâlpa prescribes eight types of earth, five bulbs (mainly of lotuses) and eight types of grain (49-53).

The last part of the chapter deals with the final installation of the casket. The placing of the casket is accompanied by a ceremony that appears to consist of two parts. During the first part music is played, there is dancing and singing. The second part is more solemn and includes the recitation of the Vedic texts (54-55).

The casket is covered with stones, bricks and mortar. Next, a *pûjâ* is performed using incense and flowers. The propitiatory oblation (*âântihoma*) performed in case something goes wrong is not mentioned here (56). In a final statement the subject of the next chapter (*ekatala*, i.e. temples with one storey) is announced (57ab).

#### 4.4.3 Mûrdheakâ

##### 4.4.3.1 Introductory statement and the prescriptions for the location

After the formulaic expression *atha vakâye viâeñâ*, the text deals with the location of the crowning bricks. While in the two preceding chapters the types of buildings in which the ceremony should be performed are specified, this is here not the case. The only thing that is explained is the location of the bricks within a temple. They should be placed half way along the *âikhara* (the crowning dome-like element) in the vicinity of protruding architectural elements referred to as *mahânâsî*. The exact location of the bricks is difficult to determine given that the text uses technical terms, which are not found in standard Sanskrit dictionaries (1-2).



#### 4.4.3.2 Form and material of the bricks

The following section is devoted to the description of the appearance and the material used for the bricks. It begins with the statement that the work should start without considering the month, day and the position of stars. Even if this passage only refers to the physical work of baking the crowning bricks, such a statement is highly unusual as the exact day and even time of commencing any activity prescribed by architectural and ritual treatises are, usually, of the utmost importance.

Next, the prescription known already from the *prathameṣṣakā* chapter, namely that clay bricks should be used only for brick buildings, stones for stone buildings and wood for wooden ones, is repeated here. In addition, it is stated that in case of buildings constructed from more than one material the crowning bricks should be made of the same material as the roof. As the gender and 'body parts' of the bricks are not mentioned and the dimensions should be 'the same as those of the first bricks', this section is much shorter than its counterpart in the *prathameṣṣakā* chapter (3-6).

#### 4.4.3.3 Temporary pavilion: its construction and purification

The next section deals with the temporary pavilion. Again, its description resembles those given in the two other chapters, but the location where it should be constructed and its length are different. In the present chapter, the pavilion stands in front of the future temple, to the north, northeast or to the south of it and is five, six, seven, eight or nine *hastas* in length. Again, it has sixteen pillars, doors, gateways and a canopy. Moreover, it is decorated with all the ornaments mentioned in the previous chapters, such as garlands, bunches of *darbha* grass, strings of pearls, wave-like ornaments and pillar-wrappings. As in the case of *prathameṣṣakā* and *garbhanyāsa* a platform should be constructed in the middle of the pavilion and its length should be one-third of that of the pavilion. This time, however, the platform is more elaborate and consists of three parts (7-12).

After this, certain activities, which were prescribed at least in one of the previous chapters, are mentioned. The floor of the pavilion is anointed with cow dung (the same as in the other two chapters), the artisan is sent away after completing the construction of the pavilion (the same as during the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony), the Brahmins are given food (as during *prathameṣṣakā*) and the *puṅyāhavācana* is performed (again, as during *garbhanyāsa*). The directions for making the *sthāṅṅīla* are identical to those found in the two other chapters. A new element is the tracing of the figure of a white lotus on the *sthāṅṅīla* and the worship of the goddess Manonmanī together with the *āaktīs* (13-17).

#### 4.4.3.4 Intermission about the axis of the finial

The next section deals with the material and appearance of the axis of the temple finial (*stūpidañēa*). The axis of the finial seems to play as important a role in the *mūrdheṣṣakā* ritual as do the crowning bricks themselves. This becomes clear from the fact that it receives one of the five seed letters (*bija*) associated with the five elements (the other four *bījas* are written on the crowning bricks, see below). The section ends by explaining the ways in which the axis should be fixed to the roof (18-26).

#### 4.4.3.5 Preliminary ceremonies with regard to the bricks

After the directions for performing the ceremony of writing the letters on the crowning bricks and the axis have been given, the tying of the protective thread (*kautukā*), the *kumbhasthāpana* and the *homa* are described. As in the case of the first bricks and the deposit casket, the crowning bricks and the axis are first washed and then, after the protective thread has been tied around them, they are wrapped in cloth and placed on the *sthañēila*. The letters written on them are the same as those prescribed for the first bricks. A new element is the placing of the five deities, namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īāvāra and Sadāāiva, on both the bricks and the axis. The offering of consecrated food (*naivedya*), which according to the *prathameṣṣakā* chapter should be distributed after the *kumbhasthāpana*, is here mentioned twice: before and after the *kumbhasthāpana*. There are eight jars used in the *kumbhasthāpana* ceremony, as in the case of the *garbhanyāsa*, and the deities invoked in them are also the same (the eight Vidyēāvaras). During the fire oblation, which should be performed at night, the *brahma-* and the *aḡgamantras* are recited, as during the *prathameṣṣakā* and *garbhanyāsa*. The fire oblation ends with the mantras *jayādi*, *abhyātāna* and *rāṣṣrabhūt*, as in the first bricks chapter (27-37).

#### 4.4.3.6 Installation

The final section deals with the ceremonies performed on the day of installation. After the expression *evaā jāgarañāā rātrau* the requirements of the *ācārya* are given. Then, the worship with incense and flowers and the 'complete oblation' (*pūrñāhuti*), during which the mantra *sviṣṣam agne* is recited, is performed (38-42ab). The *pūrñāhuti* and the uttering of the mantra *sviṣṣam agne* are also prescribed in this place in the *prathameṣṣakā* chapter.

When the auspicious moment arrives, the *ācārya* and the artisans climb the roof of the temple and prepare the place for the bricks. After that they circumambulate the temple carrying the bricks and the finial (or: the bricks, the jars and the finial). Subsequently, the way of installing the bricks is explained. It appears that they are placed in the same way as the first bricks: two of them are facing north, the other two are facing east. Nine gems are deposited in the middle of the bricks. The list of gems given here is not present in the *prathameṣṣakā* chapter. Finally, the axis of the finial is fixed on the top of the gems (42cd-53ab).

The assembly of bricks and gems is then sprinkled with the water from the jars and the five deities are worshipped. The finial of the temple is fixed with mortar and the roof is covered with gold, silver or copper (53cd-58). The chapter ends with a description of the honorarium for the priest and the artisan and with the praise for the person who performs the ceremony (59ab).

#### 4.4.4 Concluding remarks

The three construction rituals in the Kāyapaīlpa - the placing of the first bricks, the placing of the consecration deposit and the placing of the crowning bricks – appear to evince virtually identical schemes. Each consists of separate ceremonies, a kind of ‘ritual blocks’, which are the same in all three rituals or, at least, in two of them (see Table XX). The only exceptions in this regard are the activities that are specifically connected with only one of the three rituals. The digging of the foundation pit, the measuring of the ground plan and the *vāstuhoma* are thus described exclusively in the chapter that deals with laying the first bricks, while the installation of the temple finial is discussed only in the chapter dealing with the crowning bricks.

Not only the ceremonies of which the three discussed rituals consist are the same. The expressions used in their descriptions are also often identical. To these belong, for instance, the expression *darpaṇodarasañibha* (‘resembling a flat mirror or a belly’) referring to the surface of the *vedi*, the phrase *evaā jāgaraṇāā rātrau* which appears at the end of the passage dealing with the *homa* and the list of mantras, beginning with *jayādir*, uttered during the fire oblation.

As noted above, certain ceremonies are mentioned in the descriptions of only two of the three rituals. These include sending away the *āilpin* after anointing the floor of the pavilion with cow-dung (the dismissal of the *āilpin* occurs only in the *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṣakā* chapters), placing the ritual objects on the *sthāṇēila* (only in the *prathameṣṣakā* and *garbhanyāsa* chapters), decorating the pavilion with *piṣṣacūrṇa* (only in the *prathameṣṣakā* and *garbhanyāsa* chapters) and distributing food among the Brahmins (only in the *prathameṣṣakā* and *mūrdheṣṣakā* chapters). The sequence of certain ceremonies and activities, too, may vary in each of the three chapters. One example is when the *āilpin* is dismissed. In the description of the *garbhanyāsa*, sending the *āilpin* away is

mentioned before the application of the cow-dung to the floor of the pavilion. In the *mûrdheṣṣakâ* chapter, however, the *âilpin* is sent away only *after* the floor has been anointed. Another example is the tying of the protective thread and the writing of the letters on the bricks and the axis mentioned in the *prathameṣṣakâ* and *mûrdheṣṣakâ* chapters. In the first bricks chapter the thread is being tied and then the letters are written. In the chapter about the crowning bricks the sequence is reversed.

It is not clear how one should interpret the aforementioned differences between the descriptions. Yet, it is plausible that certain activities are not described in all three chapters due to the elliptical nature of the Kââyapaâilpa. It does not necessarily mean that they did not take place. There is no reason why the *âilpin* should not be sent away in the course of the *prathameṣṣakâ* ritual. In the same way, one would expect the ritual objects, endowed with the protective thread, to be placed on the *sthañṇēlla* not only during the ceremonies of the first bricks and the consecration deposit, but also during the ritual of the crowning bricks. Further on, the pavilion is, most probably, decorated with *plāṣacūrṇa* and food is distributed among the Brahmins during all three rituals. Therefore, it may be assumed that the ceremonies and activities only mentioned in the descriptions of two rituals were presumably performed during all rites. They are not mentioned in all the chapters simply because their occurrence in a certain ritual was a well-known fact for the readers of the Kââyapaâilpa.

As for the differences in the sequence of some ceremonies, it might be assumed that either the priests were given a certain amount of freedom or that the Kââyapaâilpa is rather imprecise, again, probably due to the fact that the readers would already be fairly familiar with the rituals.

## Chapter 5

### Broader textual context: the *prathameṣṣakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṣakā* rituals in the related texts

#### 5.1 Introduction

The Kāyapaāilpa is not the only work to mention the *prathameṣṣakā*, the *garbhanyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṣakā*. These three rituals are described in a number of specialised Sanskrit texts, which deal with architecture or ritual. The first group of texts includes the Mānasāra, Mayamata, Āilparatna, Tantrasamuccaya, Viāvākarma Vāstuāstra and the Samarāḍgaṇa Sūtradhāra. The second group consists of the ritual treatises of the Vaiṣṇava schools of the Vaikhānasas and Pāocarātras and the works of the followers of the Āiva Siddhānta, the Āivāgamas.<sup>1</sup> Further to this, the *prathameṣṣakā* and the *garbhanyāsa* are also mentioned in certain Purāṇas: the *prathameṣṣakā* in the Viṣṇudharmottara and in the Agni Purāṇa, the *garbhanyāsa* only in the Agni Purāṇa. Both Purāṇas reveal traces of influences from ritual and architectural texts (see notes X-Y below).

The earliest well-documented reference to the ceremony of placing the first stones is included in the 6<sup>th</sup> century work on astrology and architecture, the Būhat Saāhitā.<sup>2</sup> The passage consists of a single verse and the ceremony is significantly different to the one described in the Kāyapaāilpa: there are eight instead of nine stones and their location is not specified. A *prathameṣṣakā* rite as known from the Kāyapaāilpa seems to be a later development, at least in the light of the available textual sources. It is described for the first time in the aforementioned ritual treatises of the Āivas and the Vaiṣṇavas, of which the earliest surviving examples (dealing with the placing of the first bricks) are assumed to have been compiled around 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>3</sup> The same genre of

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<sup>1</sup> A list of texts mentioning the *prathameṣṣakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṣakā* rituals together with the relevant chapters and verse numbers is given in Appendix II. It should be emphasised that this list is not exhaustive. It includes all the works that I had access to, but several more texts exist, many of which have not yet been edited and were unavailable.

<sup>2</sup> Būhat Saāhitā 52.110 (ed. Dvivedi; 53.112 ed. Bhat). For the date of the Būhat Saāhitā, see, for example Bhat (1981: xi) and Kramrisch (1946: 5 note 7).

<sup>3</sup> It is extremely difficult to give an exact date of a Sanskrit ritual or architectural text. Nevertheless, the 8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries AD are sometimes suggested as a likely period for the compilation of the Āivāgamas, see Goudriaan (1979: 21-22): "There is no unanimity about the date of the oldest Āivāgamas, but it is quite plausible that the most important of them were in vogue as sacred texts about 800 A.D. at the latest" and Davis (2000: 3), who writes: "... a corpus of Āiva āgama and paddhati texts [was] compiled in roughly the eighth through twelfth

texts also provides the first available descriptions of the *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdhewākā*. The Āilpa- and Vāstuāstras dealing with these rituals are all of a later date: they are most probably not earlier than 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>4</sup> The date of the relevant chapters of the Viñudharmottara and the Agni Purāṇa cannot be established with precision. According to some, the Viñudharmottara might be earlier than the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, the relevant chapter of the Agni Purāṇa, however, is certainly of a later date.<sup>5</sup>

The analysis of the textual sources reveals an interesting pattern - the descriptions of the three rituals occur mainly in South Indian texts and almost never in North Indian ones. This applies to both architectural and ritual treatises. Moreover, *mūrdhewākā* is not only absent in *all* North Indian works, but also in those originating from Kerala and in one that presumably enjoyed a great popularity there.<sup>6</sup> Compared to *mūrdhewākā*, the *garbhanyāsa* seems to have been slightly more popular. It is included in three non-southern texts: the Agni Purāṇa, the Hayaāirā Pāocarātra and the Viāvakarma Vāstuāstra.<sup>7</sup> *Prathamewākā*,

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centuries." A similar period was suggested for the Vaikhānasa and Pāocarātra works containing the descriptions of the three rituals discussed. The tentative dates given for some of the works dealing with the *prathamewākā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdhewākā*, are: Atri Saāhitā 6<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> AD (Bhattacharyya 1963: 139); Kāyapajōanakaṇḥa 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> AD (Goudriaan 1965: 10 note 13); Marīci Saāhitā 8<sup>th</sup> AD (Varma 1970: 3) or between 800 and 1000 (Gonda 1977: 145-146); according to Colas (1986: 7-8), the editor of the Marīci Saāhitā, however, it is impossible to establish the date of the text with certainty. On the other hand, according to Goodall the South Indian Āivasiddhānta texts quoted in the present study are of a much later date, probably not earlier than 12<sup>th</sup> century AD (see Goodall 2004: xiii-xxxiv).

<sup>4</sup> The dates suggested for certain architectural treatises dealing with the rituals discussed, are: Mayamata late 9<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> AD (Dagens 1994: xlili), Vāstuvidyā 10<sup>th</sup> AD (Varma 1940: ii), Tantrasamuccaya 15<sup>th</sup> AD (Unni 1988: 9; Sastri 1945: i-iv) and Āilparatna 16<sup>th</sup> AD (Losch 1949: 154). The 6<sup>th</sup> century proposed by Acharya for the Mānasāra seems to be too early a date. According to Bhattacharyya the text is not earlier than the 11<sup>th</sup> AD and perhaps even as late as the 15<sup>th</sup> AD (Bhattacharyya 1967: 190, 194). This view is also shared by Dagens (1994: xlv).

<sup>5</sup> The Viñudharmottara Purāṇa is usually dated ca. 7<sup>th</sup> AD (Kramrisch 1946: 5 note 7). Winternitz (1981: 553) dates it from 628 to 1000 AD. On the other hand, Bhattacharyya (1963) proposes a rather early period: 6<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD, and Shah, the editor of the text, suggests 450 – 650 AD for the 3<sup>rd</sup> *khaṇḥa* which mentions the placing of the first bricks (Shah 1958: xixff). As far as the Agni Purāṇa is concerned, it is impossible to establish a date for the entire text. Its forty-first chapter, however, dealing with the placing of the first brick and with the *garbhanyāsa*, is a shortened version of chapters 11-12 of the ritual text Hayaāirā Pāocarātra, dated 9<sup>th</sup> century AD (Winternitz 1985: 652) or late 9<sup>th</sup>- early 10<sup>th</sup> century AD (Gonda 1977: 54-55).

<sup>6</sup> The Tantrasamuccaya, the Vāstuvidyā and the Viñu Saāhitā. For the date and origin of the Tantrasamuccaya, see Sastri (1945: iii) and Mallaya (1949: ii-iii); for the presumed Kerala origin of the Vāstuvidyā, see Varma (1940: ii); for the Viñu Saāhitā as the source of the Tantrasamuccaya, see Ganapati Sastri at the Preface to the 1990 edition of the text (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications) and Mallaya (1949).

<sup>7</sup> Hayaāirā is considered a North Indian text as it enumerates northern regions of India and mentions *nāgarī* alphabet, but it does not mention the southern regions and the South Indian scripts (Gonda 1977: 55). The Viāvakarma Vāstuāstra is considered a 'West Indian' text (Shah

mentioned by seven North Indian texts,<sup>8</sup> appears to be the most common. As noted above, it also seems to be the earliest of the three rites as it is the only one mentioned in the *Būhat Saāhitā*.

## 5.2 The similarities

The passages dealing with the three rituals in all of the aforementioned texts are fairly similar to each other and they bear several resemblances to the descriptions of the rituals in the *Kāyapaāilpa*. Here the *prathameṣṣakā*, the *garbhanyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṣakā* also consist of several ‘building blocks’ – ceremonies with which the entire ritual is constructed. The ‘blocks’ are generally the same as in the *Kāyapaāilpa* (see Chapter 4.4 and Table 3). They include the construction of a temporary pavilion together with the central platform and the fire pits,<sup>9</sup> the preliminary ceremonies performed within the pavilion such as purifying the ritual objects with the products of the cow,<sup>10</sup> tying the protective thread around them<sup>11</sup>

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1989: 214-215), which should presumably be understood as ‘Northwest Indian’ text. The name *Viāvakarma* is rather connected with the north than with the south of India (see Shukla 1998: 67).

<sup>8</sup> To these belong the *Būhat Saāhitā*, the *Viāñudharmottara* and the *Agni Purāña*, the *Hayaāirā Pāōcarātra*, the *Viāvakarma Vāstuāāstra*, the *Samarāōgaña Sūtradhāra* (the work of king Bhoja of Dhārā, see Shukla 1998: 25) and the *Āaiva* ritual text *Somaāambhupaddhati*. The latter is not truly a North Indian work: it is preserved in manuscripts found in Nepal as well as in the south of India. The southern group, however, seems to be posterior and contains more additions and mistakes (Brunner 1998: lii-lxi). The fact that the text does not mention the *garbhanyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṣakā* rituals and the way in which the *prathameṣṣakā* is described there, however, support the link between the *Somaāambhupaddhati* and the ritual texts of North India.

<sup>9</sup> For the first bricks: *Kāmika* 51.1cd-4, *Kāraña* 4.88-91ab, *Dīpta* 2 (p.251; here the central platform and the fire pits are not mentioned, but the description of the pavilion is fairly similar to that given by the *KĀ*), *Suprabheda* 27.2 (the pavilion is only mentioned here), *Ajita* 10.19d-29ab, *Aāūmad (prathameṣṣakā)*, *ĪĀGDP* 27.46, *MarīcīS* 6.4.1.1, *AtriS* 6.12ab (the pavilion is only mentioned here) and 6.14-15 (the description of the fire pits), *KJōK* 30 (the pavilion and the fire pits are only mentioned here), *PādmaS* 5.45-47, *ViāvaksenaS* 8.11 (the pavilion is only mentioned; the text hints to another chapter dealing with the construction of the pavilion in detail), *SaSū* 35.13cd (*vedī* mentioned), *AgniP* 41.1cd; for the *garbhanyāsa*: *Kāmika* 31.18-22, *Kāraña* 6.15-19c, *Dīpta* 4.25 and the verses included in the Appendix to chapter 4 (Dagens et al 2004: 68-69), *Ajita* 17.12-14, *Kumara* 28.2170, *MarīcīS* 13.1.2; for the crowning bricks: *Kāmika* 60.3cd-4, *Kāraña* 10.12cd-15ab, *Dīpta* 20 (p. 307), *Suprabheda* 31.1cd-2ab, *Ajita* 15.14-20, *MM* 18.127cd.

<sup>10</sup> For the first bricks: *Kāmika* 51.11cd, *Kāraña* 4.105cd, *Ajita* 10.15d (it is said that the bricks must be cleaned, but the products of the cow are not mentioned), *ĪĀGDP* 27 (passage in prose following verse 71); for the deposit casket: *Kāmika* 31.27cd, *Kāraña* 6.26ab, *Suprabheda* 28.10ab, *Ajita* 17.11cd (cleaning the casket is mentioned, but not the products of the cow), *ĪĀGDP* 27.78ab, *AtriS* 10.20c, *KJōK* 16, *HayaP* 12.23cd, *PādmaS* 6.25b, *ViāñuS* 13.26cd, 36ab, *MS* 12.24ab, *MM* 12.16; for the crowning bricks: *Kāmika* 60.7cd-8ab, *Kāraña* 10.18ab, *Suprabheda* 31.10cd, *MM* 18.133cd-134ab.

<sup>11</sup> For the first bricks: *Kāmika* 51.12ab, *Kāraña* 4.106ab, *Dīpta* 2 (p. 252), *Aāūmad (prathameṣṣakā)*, *ĪĀGDP* 27 (passage in prose following verse 71), *MarīcīS* 6.4.1.2, *AtriS* 6.24b, *Kriyādhikāra* 5.8cd, *PādmaS* 5.65cd-66ab, *ViāvaksenaS* 8.16ab; for the deposit casket: *Dīpta*

and wrapping them in cloth,<sup>12</sup> placing the jars,<sup>13</sup> fire oblation<sup>14</sup> and *puñyâhavâcana*.<sup>15</sup> Almost all the texts list the desired characteristics of the ritual objects, such as the bricks, the casket and the axis of the finial,<sup>16</sup> and many stress the importance of distinguishing the tops (also called 'heads'), feet, etc. of the bricks<sup>17</sup> as well as their gender.<sup>18</sup> The statement that the first and crowning

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4.26c, Kumâra 29.2186a; for the crowning bricks and the axis of the finial: Kâmika 60.10a, Kâraña 10.21a-c, 24c, Dîpta 20 (p. 308), Ajita 15.13b-d, MarîciS 13.2.2.

<sup>12</sup> For the first bricks: Kâïika 51.17d, Kâraña 4.110ab, Suprabheda 27.15ab, Ajita 10.31cd, Aäâumad (*prathamewakâ*), ÎĀGDP 27 (passage in prose following verse 71), MarîciS 6.4.1.1, 6.4.1.2, AtriS 6.22cd, Kriyâdhikâra 5.9ab, KJöK 30, PädmaS 5.60ab, ViävaksenaS 8.16cd; for the deposit casket: Kâmika 31.63a, Kâraña 6.51ab, Suprabheda 28.27cd, Kumâra 29.2186b, AtriS 10.34cd, MarîciS 13.1.2, PädmaS 6.9cd, MM 12.21ab; for the crowning bricks and the axis of the finial: Kâmika 60.10b, Kâraña 10.21d, 24d, Dîpta 20 (p. 308), Suprabheda 31.5, 11ab, Ajita 15.27ab, MM 18.135cd.

<sup>13</sup> For the first bricks: Kâmika 51.19-20, Kâraña 4.111cd-113ab, Dîpta 2 (p. 252), Suprabheda 27.16-17, Ajita 10.32-37, Aäâumad (*prathamewakâ*), ÎĀGDP 27.50cd-52 and in the passage in prose following verse 71, MarîciS 6.4.1.2, PädmaS 5.48, 51cd-54ab, ViävaksenaS 8.17-22, AgniP 41.2a, 4cd; for the deposit casket: Dîpta 4.26d, MS 12.25-26ab, MM 12.18cd-19; for the crowning bricks: Kâmika 60.10cd-11ab, Kâraña 10.25cd-26, Dîpta 20 (p. 309), Suprabheda 31.6-7, Ajita 15.28-30ab, MM 18.131-133ab.

<sup>14</sup> For the first bricks: Kâmika 51.21cd-24, Kâraña 113cd-115, Dîpta 2 (p. 252), Suprabheda 27.18-20ab, Ajita 10.37-44, Aäâumad (*prathamewakâ*), ÎĀGDP 27.53-57, MarîciS 6.4.1.2, AtriS 6.16-19, Kriyâdhikâra 5.2cd-5ab, 14-15, 24, KJöK 30, PädmaS 5.63-64, ViävaksenaS 13.8cd-12ab, TantraS 1.83-88, AgniP 41.9cd-11; for the *garbhanyâsa*: Kâmika 31.64cd-68ab, Kâraña 6.52-59, Dîpta 4.27cd, , Suprabheda 28.28cd-30ab, Ajita 17.34-37, Kumâra 29.2186cd-2188, ÎĀGDP 27.94cd-100, AtriS 10.13-17ab, KJöK 16, MarîciS 13.1.2, HayaP 12.34cd-39, PädmaS 6.10cd-16, ViävaksenaS 13.36cd-40ab, MS 12.28cd-33ab, TantraS 1.116-120; for the crowning bricks: Kâmika 60.12-14, Kâraña 10.28-31, Dîpta 20 (p. 309), Suprabheda 31.11cd-16ab, Ajita 15.30cd-36, AtriS 10.47cd.

<sup>15</sup> For the first bricks: Ajita 10.16a, 24c, Aäâumad (*prathamewakâ*), ÎĀGDP 27.48ab, MarîciS 6.4.1.1, 6.4.1.2, AtriS 6.24a, ViävaksenaS 8.15c, 33c, VV 6.5ab, SaSû 35.16cd, 24cd; for the *garbhanyâsa*: Kâmika 31.16d, 22d, 76b, Kâraña 6.19d, Suprabheda 28.11b, Ajita 17.6a, ÎĀGDP 27.78d, AtriS 10.17d, KJöK 16, PädmaS 6.25a, MS 12.21d; for the crowning bricks: Kâmika 60.5d, Kâraña 10.15d, Ajita 15.13a, 21cd, ÎĀGDP 34.12ab.

<sup>16</sup> The first bricks: Kâmika 51.6-9ab, Kâraña 4.95-101ab, Dîpta 2 (p.250-251), Dîpta 27.4cd-14ab, Ajita 10.1-4, Aäâumad (*prathamewakâ*), ÎĀGDP 27.64-70, MarîciS 6.3.2, HayaP 11.19-23ab, PädmaS 5.16-24ab, 32cd-44ab, ViävaksenaS 8.12cd-14, MS 12.95cd-98, MM 12.103cd-108ab; Āilparatna 12.14, 5cd-24, TantraS 12.4, AgniP 41.3-4ab; the deposit casket: Kâmika 31.7-14ab, Kâraña 6.7cd-12, Dîpta 4.8-12ab, Suprabheda 28.3-9, Ajita 17.6-11ab, Kumâra 29.2164-2169ab, ÎĀGDP 27.75-77, AtriS 10.10cd-12ab, KJöK 16, MarîciS 13.1.1, HayaP 12.20-21ab, PädmaS 6.23cd-24, ViävaksenaS 13.23cd-24ab, MS 12.11cd-19, MM 12.9-15ab, Āilparatna 12.32-45, TantraS 1.96b, 12.5, VV 6.13cd-15ab, AgniP 41.20cd-21ab; the crowning bricks: Kâraña 10.3-7, Dîpta 20 (p. 306-307), Ajita 15.2-4, MarîciS 13.2.1, MM 18.117-121ab; the axis of the finial: Kâraña 10.7-12ab, Dîpta 20 (p. 308-309), Suprabheda 31.8-10ab, Ajita 15.6-10, ÎĀGDP 34.9-11, MarîciS 13.1.2, MM 18.66cd-77, 121cd-127ab.

<sup>17</sup> For the first bricks: Kâraña 4.100cd-101ab, Suprabheda 27.13, Ajita 10.4d, ÎĀGDP 27.64ab, MarîciS 6.3.2; for the crowning bricks: Dîpta 20 (p. 307).

<sup>18</sup> Mentioned in the first bricks chapter: Kâraña 4.94, Dîpta 2 (p.250, 251), Suprabheda 27.14ab, ÎĀGDP 27.68cd-70ab, PädmaS 5.17-24ab, 32cd-35, MS 12.98cd, 107, MM 12.105cd-107ab,



'bricks' should, in fact, be of the same material as the building in which they are to be installed is found in a great number of texts as well.<sup>19</sup> The same is true for the prescription that, after the installation, water should be poured among the first bricks and its flow observed. A right turn means success for the act of building and for the performers of the ritual, a left turn is inauspicious and, in such an event, a propitiatory oblation (*āntihoma*) should be performed.<sup>20</sup> The way of installing the first bricks may slightly differ between the texts, but it is often stressed that their tops should face east and north.<sup>21</sup> With respect to the *garbhanyāsa*, long lists of objects to be placed into the deposit casket are given (see Chapter 7.1.1.2) and in many works the architectural layer in which the *garbha* is to be installed is dependent on the caste of the patron.<sup>22</sup>

## 5.3 The differences

### 5.3.1 The differences determined by the geographical origin of the texts

The differences between the descriptions of the three rituals in the texts are generally not very large. Yet, as mentioned previously, it is possible to make a distinction between the works originating in the south of the subcontinent and those originating in the north. In addition to the fact that none of the North Indian texts describe the *mūrdheṣṣakā* and only very few of them deal with the *prathameṣṣakā* and the *garbhanyāsa*, the prescriptions for the location of the first bricks and the deposit box in North Indian texts differ from those given in the South Indian treatises. Thus, while according to all South Indian works the first bricks and the *garbha* should be installed to the right or to the south of the door

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Āilparatna 12.16, 5-17, 5ab; mentioned in the crowning bricks chapter: Kāraṇa 10.3ab, Dīpta 20 (p. 306).

<sup>19</sup> The first bricks: Kāraṇa 4.93, Dīpta 2 (p.250), Suprabheda 27.3cd-4ab, ĪĀGDP 27.70cd, HayaP 11.23cd-24ab, PādmaS 5.43cd-44ab, MS 12.98ab, MM 12.103cd, Āilparatna 12.14, 5-15, 5, AgniP 41.4ab; the crowning bricks: Kāmika 60.1cd, Kāraṇa 10.5ab, Dīpta 20 (p. 306), Ajita 15.2, MM 18.119-120.

<sup>20</sup> Kāmika 51.35-36, Kāraṇa 4.123-124ab, Dīpta 2 (p. 252-253), Suprabheda 27.26cd-28ab, Ajita 10.55cd-57, Aḍāumad (*prathameṣṣakā*), ĪĀGDP 27 (passage in prose following verse 71), PādmaS 5.76cd-77ab, ViṣṇuS 13.19cd-20ab, ViṣṇvakṣenaS 8.29, Āilparatna 12.30-31ab, TantraS 1.93 (in the two latter texts the propitiatory oblations in case of the water turning left are not mentioned).

<sup>21</sup> Kāmika 51.29, Kāraṇa 4.121cd-122ab, Dīpta 2 (p. 252), Suprabheda 27.25, Ajita 10.53-55ab, ĪĀGDP 27 (passage in prose following verse 71), MariciS 6.4.2.2, AtriS 6.32cd-34, Kriyādhikāra 5.12cd-13ab, PādmaS 5.73cd. Āilparatna gives several possibilities of placing the bricks during the final installation depending on the number of the bricks used in the ritual, according to one possibility the tops should point east and north, see Āilparatna 12.16, 5ab.

<sup>22</sup> Kāmika 92cd-93, Kāraṇa 6.81-82ab, Suprabheda 28.32cd-33, ĪĀGDP 27.74, AtriS 10.36cd-38ab, Kriyādhikāra 5.30cd-31ab, PādmaS 6.21, ViṣṇuS 13.25ab, TantraS 12.6d, Vastuvidyā 13.21.

(at least in the case of temples), according to the North Indian treatises they are placed either in the centre of the foundation pit (the deposit box) or under the walls of the future building and in the centre (the first bricks).<sup>23</sup> The expression *dvāradakṣiṇe*, 'to the right' or 'to the south of the door', frequently employed in the South Indian texts, is not found.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, all three non-South Indian works describing the *garbhanyāsa* do not mention the compartments of the deposit casket. It might be that this information has been omitted simply because it was something that was well known to the performers of the ritual. Nonetheless, all the South Indian texts speak explicitly about a casket divided into compartments. The distribution of the items in the appropriate compartments plays an important role in the *garbhanyāsa* descriptions in the South Indian texts.

### 5.3.2 The differences determined by the religious affiliation of the texts

Among other things, the differences between the Āiava and the Vaiṣṇava treatises relate to the mantras pronounced and the deities invoked and worshipped during the rituals. In the Āiava texts, the gods belonging to the entourage of Āiava are worshipped and the mantras associated with Āiava are uttered, for instance the *brahma-* and the *aḡgamantras*, which are believed to invoke specific aspects of the Lord.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, writing the letters on the first and crowning bricks and on the axis of the finial as well as the ceremonial 'placing' of the letters inside the

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<sup>23</sup> For details, see Chapter 7.1.1.1 and 7.1.1.2. The prescriptions concerning the exact location of the first bricks in some North Indian texts are not very clear. SĀP IV.1 prescribes either five or nine bricks placed under the walls of the future temple and in the middle on top of jars filled with various items. HayaP 12.1-7ab gives similar prescriptions: nine bricks should be placed in the eight directions and in the middle, on the top of jars. It is not clear, however, if here the bricks should also be in the corners of the foundation or, perhaps, in the centre of it. AgniP 41 is an incomplete repetition of HayaP 12. According to SaSū 35.27cd-28ab the first brick should be deposited in the southeast corner of the *vāstu* (the building ground), the other bricks should be placed clockwise in the remaining corners. In VDhP 94 the bricks are to be placed in the intermediary directions, but it is not clear if in the corners of the building ground or in the middle of it. According to VV 6 the first stone should be placed either in the northeast or in the west, but it is not said how many stones there are and if they should form a square.

<sup>24</sup> For the *garbhanyāsa* according to the North Indian texts, see HayaP 12.9cd-52, VV 6 and AgniP 41.18-30; for the *prathameṣṣakā*, see HayaP 11-12.9ab, VV 6, SĀP IV.1.1-108, SaSū 31 and AgniP 41.1-17.

<sup>25</sup> For the significance of these mantras, see Chapter 4.1 *prathameṣṣakā* 43a. The *brahma-* and *aḡgamantras* are pronounced during the *prathameṣṣakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṣakā* according to: Kāmika 51.23cd, Kāraṇa 4.114cd-115, Dīpta 2 (p. 252), Suprabhedā 27.20ab, 19cd, 26ab, Ajita 10, ĪĀGdP 27.55ab, Ajita 17.35cd, Kāraṇa 6.55c, Dīpta 4 (Appendix to chapter 4), Suprabhedā 28.29b, ĪĀGdP 27.97, Kāmika 60.14cd, Kāraṇa 10.28ff, Dīpta 20 (p. 309).

deposit casket appear to be practices followed by the Āiava schools only.<sup>26</sup> Apart from the Āivāgamas, the placing of sacred syllables on the bricks is only mentioned in the Mānasāra, probably due to the influence of the Āiava ritual texts.<sup>27</sup> The depositing of *akṣaras* into the casket is not found outside the group of the Āivāgamas. The Vaiṣṇava texts, on the other hand, consider Viṣṇu to be the highest deity and use mantras and prayers associated with Viṣṇu, such as the *ekākṣara* (AtriS 10.40, 41, Kriyādhikāra 5.12ab, 15ab), *viṣṇusūkta* (AtriS 10.42ab, Kriyādhikāra 5.3cd, 5ab, 14cd) and the formula *idaṁ viṣṇuī* (KJōK 16). Moreover, the Vaikhānasa descriptions of the *prathameṣṣakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṣakā*, as other ritual passages of this school (see Goudriaan 1970: 161), are characterised by a frequent use of Vedic mantras, for instance, the *puruṣasūktam*.<sup>28</sup>

A difference between the Āiava and the Vaiṣṇava texts may also be found in the lists of objects that should be placed together with the bricks or inside the deposit casket. The Āiava texts prescribe, along with several other items, the attributes of Āiva<sup>29</sup> while the Vaiṣṇava ones list the symbols of Viṣṇu.<sup>30</sup> Slight differences are also found in vocabulary. For example, certain technical terms are used exclusively or mostly by texts of a specific religious orientation. The term *sthaṇḍila* (ceremonial ground usually made of rice on which the ritual objects are placed during the preliminary rites) is used in the Āiava texts,<sup>31</sup> while in the Vaiṣṇava tradition the term is omitted and the expression 'heap of grain' is used

<sup>26</sup> All the Āivāgamas with the exception of the Suprabhedāgama mention the placing of letters in the deposit casket, see: KĀ *garbhanyāsa* 15ab, 16cd-17ab, Kāmika 31.29-30, Kāraṇa 6.28-29ab, 10.19cd-20, Ajitā 17.18-19, Dīpta 4.12-13ab, Kumāra 29.2173-2174ab. For writing the letters on the first bricks, see: KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 36cd-37ab, Kumāra 30.2203cd-2204ab, Kāmika 51.16cd-17ab, Kāraṇa 4.109, Aḍāmad (*prathameṣṣakā* chapter). For writing the letters on the crowning bricks, see KĀ *mūrdheṣṣakā* 28cd, Kāmika 60.8cd-9ab, Kāraṇa 10.19-20, Dīpta 20 (p. 307-308), Suprabhedā 3cd-5, Ajitā 15.11-12.

<sup>27</sup> See MS 12.103cd-104 and 18.200ab.

<sup>28</sup> The *puruṣasūkta* is mentioned in AtriS 6.17ab and Kriyādhikāra 5.2cd as well as in many chapters of the Vaikhānasa texts, which do not describe one of the three rituals discussed here. Other, frequently mentioned, mantras include *brahma jajōanam* (KJōK 16), *medinī devī* (AtriS 10.41ab), *ā tvāhāraṁ* (KJōK 30) and the *dhruvasūkta* (AtriS 6.35ab, Kriyādhikāra 5.13cd). The mantra *ā tvāhāraṁ* is, according to Goudriaan (1965: 319), "perhaps [the same as the] *dhruvasūkta*." This identification is indeed supported by the fact that the *dhruvasūkta* occurs in the same place in AtriS 6 and Kriyādhikāra 5 as *ā tvāhāraṁ* in Kāyapajōanakāṇḍa 30, viz. during the final installation of the first bricks.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, Kāmika 31.52, Dīpta 4.18-22, Suprabhedā 28.25cd-26ab. In the MM, an architectural text, but influenced strongly by the Āiava Siddhānta school, the objects to be placed in a consecration deposit for a Āiava temple, including the attributes of Āiva, are explained first (MM 12.33). The objects appropriate for other deities are listed at the end of the chapter.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, AtriS 10.9cd, MarīcīS 13.1.1, HayaP 12.18cd-19ab, PādmaS 6.8cd, ViṣṇuS 13.34cd-35ab, TantraS 12.103cd.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 17a, *garbhanyāsa* 36a, *mūrdheṣṣakā* 13b, 15a, Kāmika 51.12.c, Kāraṇa 4.108a, Dīpta 2 (p. 251), Ajitā 17.14c, MM 12.20b, MM 18.129a, MS 12.27cd etc.

instead.<sup>32</sup> The term *kautuka* (protective thread) is more frequently used in the Āiava texts than in the Vaiṣṇava ones, the latter preferring its synonym *pratisara* (the Kāyapaīlpa uses both terms; see note to KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 35d). The Vaikhānasa works, moreover, employ specific names for the fire altars, which have already been used since Vedic times, such as *āhavanīya* and *gārhapatya* (AtriS 6.14, Kriyādhikāra5.3-5, KJōK 30, MarīciS 6.4.1.2 etc.),<sup>33</sup> while the Āiava texts use the general term *kuñḁa*, ‘fire pit’ (see, for instance KĀ *prathameṣṣakā* 13c, *garbhanyāsa* 33a and *mūrdheṣṣakā* 12c).

### 5.3.3 The differences between the ritual and the architectural texts

A few differences between the ritual and the architectural texts can also be observed. The first group is characterised by many mutual similarities (also between works of different religious orientation), while the architectural treatises generally exhibit greater variation. Almost every architectural work has its own way of describing the three rituals. The exceptions are the Mayamata and the Mānasāra, which show several similarities to each other. Their descriptions of the three rituals are almost identical, although the one in the Mānasāra is more detailed. Another difference between the architectural and ritual texts is fairly predictable: the first group gives, in general, more technical-architectural details and fewer ritual ones (for instance the tying of the protective thread is mentioned only in the ritual texts, see note 11 above). This is especially so in the chapters dealing with the *prathameṣṣakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṣakā* of the Vāstuvīdyā, Viāvakarma Vāstuāstra, Samarāḁgaṇa Sūtradhāra and the Āilparatna. The last one includes whole passages from the Kāyapaīlpa and other ritual works, but omits most information on ritual. The Tantrasamuccaya and, in a certain sense, the Mayamata and the Mānasāra are exceptions among the architectural works as they provide a fair amount of ritual detail. A specific position is occupied by the Agni Purāṇa. Its chapter 41 dealing with the *prathameṣṣakā* and the *garbhanyāsa* is a shortened version of Hayaāirāa Pāōcarātra 11-12<sup>34</sup> (Agni Purāṇa omits the list of objects to be placed into the deposit casket and certain rituals, for example the *homa*, described in the

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Kriyādhikāra 5.7ab, 29ab, AtriS 10.34, KJōK 16, MarīciS 13.1.2, PādmaS 6.9ab.

<sup>33</sup> This is connected with the fact that among the Vaikhānasas the oblations are offered into the fire following the old Vedic tradition (Goudriaan 1965: 8; see also KJōK 44 and 62).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. AgniP 41.5-8 - HayaP 11.26cd-30ab, AgniP 41.10ab - HayaP 11.36ab, AgniP 41.11cd-12a - HayaP 11.38a-c, AgniP 41.14 - HayaP 12.4, AgniP 41.16-19ab - HayaP 12.7cd-10, AgniP 41.-20cd - HayaP 12.20ab, AgniP 41.21cd-29a - HayaP 12.41cd-50a (AgniP omits HayaP 47cd-48ab), AgniP 41.30cd-31 - HayaP 12.53-54ab, AgniP 41.33-37ab - HayaP 12.58cd-62. The Agni Purāṇa appears to be a compilation work containing passages from several ritual texts (see note 35 below). Moreover, according to Bhattacharyya (1963: 175f) the Hayaāirāa Pāōcarātra is older than the Agni Purāṇa. It seems therefore that the above mentioned passages from the Agni Purāṇa are borrowings from the Hayaāirāa and not the opposite.

Hayaãîræa), while its chapters 92-94, which describe a different way of placing the first bricks, are an almost exact copy of the Åaiva ritual text Somaãambhupaddhati (IV.1; see Brunner 1998: lix-lxi).<sup>35</sup>

### 5.3.4 Minor differences between the texts

The remaining differences between the texts describing the *prathameãakâ*, *garbhanyâsa* and *mûrdheãakâ* mainly concern details such as the sequence in which certain ceremonies and activities are described (it should be remembered that this is not necessarily the real sequence in which the ceremonies were performed),<sup>36</sup> the number of fire oblations, the ingredients offered in the fire during the oblations, the size and the way of decorating the temporary pavilion, the measurements of the bricks and the deposit casket, and so forth. These data are different in almost every text even within the largely uniform group of the Åaivãgamas.

Differences between the texts are also visible in the way in which specific topics are divided over the chapters. *Prathameãakâ*, *garbhanyâsa* and *mûrdheãakâ* do not always occupy a separate chapter as it is the case in the Kãâyapaãilpa. Moreover, certain preparatory ceremonies may either be included in the chapter dealing with one of the three rituals or they may constitute a chapter of their own. For example, the purification of the building ground, the digging of the foundation pit and the *vãstuhoma* may or may not be a part of the *prathameãakâ* chapter. The same applies to certain 'ritual blocks' constituting the main ritual. They are often explained in detail in the course of the description of the ritual, but sometimes they are only mentioned there, the full description being given elsewhere. The construction of the temporary pavilion, for instance, might

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<sup>35</sup> In fact, no less than thirty-one chapters in the Agni Purãña appear to be borrowed from the Somaãambhupaddhati. These are chapters 72 up to 103 with the exception of chapter 91. This patchwork-like nature of the Agni Purãña was already noticed by Hazra (see Rocher 1986: 135) who adds that chapters 123 to 149 of the Agni Purãña are a summary of the Yuddhajayãrãva.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, Kã *garbhanyâsa* where the placing of the objects in the deposit casket is described before the directions for constructing the pavilion. As the placing of the objects in the casket seems to happen inside the pavilion, one would expect the description of the pavilion to precede the description of placing the objects.

be described in detail in the chapter dealing with a specific ritual (as in the *Kāyapañilpa*) or in one dealing only with pavilions (as in the *Mayamata* and the *Mānasāra*). Among the *Āivāgamas* as a group, the division in chapters is uniform. In other groups of texts, however, each individual text seems to go its own way in this respect. Again, the *Mayamata* and the *Mānasāra* form a separate group as in both the *garbhanyāsa* and the placing of the first bricks constitute chapter 12 and the *mūrdheṣṣakā* is described in chapter 18.

## 5.4 Concluding remarks

On the basis of the analysis of the textual sources it appears that the *prathameṣṣakā*, the *garbhanyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṣakā* were known among the followers of various religious schools, but they seem to have enjoyed the greatest popularity in the south of India. From the 'technical' point of view<sup>37</sup> the way of performing these rituals was based on the same scheme regardless of the religious orientation of the performers. It consisted of several consecutive ceremonies, which were the same in the majority of the texts.

As shown above, all available textual sources can be classified using one of following criteria: geographical origin, religious orientation and genre (architectural or ritual). Following this division, the *Kāyapañilpa* belongs to the South Indian group of texts because the first bricks and the consecration deposit are to be installed to the right of the door, and it is a *Āiva* text for the deities invoked and the mantras used during the rituals are mainly *Āiva*. Besides, the three chapters of the *Kāyapañilpa* dealing with the *prathameṣṣakā*, *mūrdheṣṣakā* and the *garbhanyāsa* stand much closer to the parallel passages in the ritual texts than to those found in the architectural works. The most significant similarities can be found between the three chapters of the *Kāyapañilpa* and the parallel ones in the *Āivāgamas*, especially those of the *Dīptāgama*.<sup>38</sup> These similarities concern the style, the vocabulary, certain ritual details and the chapter division. In this regard, the reader's attention should be drawn to certain phrases, such as *evaṁ jāgaraṇāṁ rātrau* (see *KĀ prathameṣṣakā* 45a), the expressions used to describe the temporary pavilion, the central platform and the fire pits (such as *tribhāgaika*, 'one-third' and *darpaṇodarasañibha*, 'resembling a belly or a flat mirror', see *KĀ prathameṣṣakā* 12b and 13b), all of which occur frequently in the *Kāyapañilpa* as well as in the *Āgamas*. Other similarities include the performance

<sup>37</sup> The discussion on the supposed function of the *prathameṣṣakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṣakā* is included Chapter 6.

<sup>38</sup> Cf., for example, *KĀ garbhanyāsa* 15-19ab and *Dīpta* 4.12-15ab, *KĀ garbhanyāsa* 21cd-23 and *Dīpta* 4.18-20ab, *KĀ garbhanyāsa* 26-27 and *Dīpta* 4.23-24, *KĀ mūrdheṣṣakā* 57ab and *Dīpta* 20 (p. 310) etc. See also Chapter 4.1 note 1 and the quotations from the *Dīpta* given in the edition chapters.

of the *sakalikaraṇa* (see KĀ *prathameśakā* 34d), ‘placing’ the *akṣaras* in the deposit casket, the way of preparing the ceremonial ground (*sthañēila*)<sup>39</sup> and so on. Finally, the chapter division in the Kāyapaīlpa follows that of the Āivāgamas, that is, each of the three rituals is described in a separate chapter, the three chapters are scattered over the entire text and they usually do not follow each other directly.

The correspondences between the three chapters of the Kāyapaīlpa and the parallel passages in the ritual texts demonstrate that the Kāyapaīlpa is not an ordinary Āilpaśāstra, despite it having been labelled as such in many publications, the name under which it is commonly known (viz. *Kāyapaīlpa*), and the fact that it contains many chapters dealing chiefly with architecture and iconography. The special relation of the Kāyapaīlpa with the Āivāgamas further supports its identification as the *upāgama* Kāyapa of the *mūlāgama* Aśāumad (see Chapter 2.2).

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<sup>39</sup> Cf. KĀ *prathameśakā* 17, *garbhanyāsa* 36, *mūrdheśakā* 15, Kāmika 51.12.cd-13, Kāraṇa 4.106cd-107ab etc.





## Chapter 6

### The function and meaning of the *garbhanyāsa*, the *prathameṣṭakānyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa* as expressed by the textual sources

#### 6.1 The *garbhanyāsa*

The principal function of the *garbhanyāsa* as revealed by the textual sources is to bring prosperity and welfare to human beings in general and to those who perform the ritual in particular.<sup>1</sup> According to several works, those who perform the ceremony will obtain success and all their wishes will be fulfilled.<sup>2</sup> Surprisingly, the positive influence of *garbhanyāsa* for the building (here: a temple) in which the deposit is installed is only explicitly mentioned by one text<sup>3</sup> and the protection offered by the deposit to the settlement (in which a deposit is installed) is promised by no more than two texts.<sup>4</sup>

Failing to perform the ritual leads to destruction: of the house and land,<sup>5</sup> of the patron<sup>6</sup> or, simply, ‘of everything’.<sup>7</sup> The Kāśyapaśilpa, moreover, warns that

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<sup>1</sup> *yat prāsādam sagarbham tu sarvasampat karam bhavet ... tasmād ādau prakartavyam garbhanyāsam samṛddhidam* || (Suprabhedāgama 28.1c-2); *evam nyaste tu garbhe 'smin sarvatra ca sukham bhavet* (Viṣṇu Saṃhitā 13.44ab); *yad yad garbhasamāyuktam tat tat sampatkaram niṣṇām* (Ajitāgama 17.5cd); *sagarbham sarvasampatyai* (Kāmikāgama 31.1c); *sagarbham sarvasampatyai* (Mayamata 9.102a); *sagarbham vardhanārdham tu* (Kāraṇāgama 6.1c); *yaśas tu garbhasamāyuktam vāstu tat sampadam padam* (Kumāratantra 29.2163cd); *vāstugarbheṇa samyuktam kurute sarvasampadaḥ* (Rauravāgama 60.14ab).

<sup>2</sup> *sthāpayed grāmarakṣārtham sarvakāmābhivṛddhaye* (Mayamata 9.126ab; the same half-verse is given by the Śilparatna 12.3ab).

<sup>3</sup> *garbhanyāsas tv ayaṃ devi devāgārasya vṛddhidah* (Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā 8.25).

<sup>4</sup> *sthāpayed grāmarakṣārtham sarvakāmābhivṛddhaye* (Mayamata 9.126ab); *nyased evam vidhānena garbham grāmasya vṛddhaye* (Atri Saṃhitā 10.44ab). Placing the consecration deposit for a settlement (a town or a village) is not mentioned in the Kāśyapaśilpa.

<sup>5</sup> *akṛtvā garbhavinyāsam grāmaṃ prāsādam eva vā | yadī kuryāt kṣayaṃ yāyād acirāt vāstu dhāma vā* || (Pādma Saṃhitā 6.45); *garbhādhānam tataḥ kuryān nāgarbhe dhāmi sampadaḥ* (ViṣṇuS 13.22ab); *sagarbhā pṛthivī sūte viḡarbhā sarvanāśinī* (Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa 16).

<sup>6</sup> *garbhanyāsam na kartavyam kartavyam kartṇnāśanam* (Kāśyapaśilpa *garbhanyāsa*, ms T1 after verse 3cd).

<sup>7</sup> *viḡarbhā sarvanāśanam* (Mayamata 9.102b); *viḡarbhā nāśanam bhavet* (Kāmikāgama 31.1d); *agarbham nāśanam dhruvam* (Kāraṇāgama 6.1d); *agarbham yad vimānam tu abhicārāya tad bhavet | tasmād ādau prakartavyam garbhanyāsam samṛddhidam* (Suprabhedāgama 28.1d-2); *akṛte garbhavinyaste pratyavāyo mahān bhavet* || (Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā 8.25).

one should not stay in a house without a *garbha* and assures that no god will ever commit such a deed.<sup>8</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the prosperity promised by the texts is equated with fertility. The successful performance of the ritual will cause the earth to bear fruit and result in the multiplication of wealth and grain.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, according to the same source, the *garbha* installed in a designated location will bring about rain and increase child birth.<sup>10</sup> The association of prosperity with fertility is, moreover, stressed by the frequent use of the root *vṛdh* meaning ‘to increase, grow, thrive’ and of the noun derived from it, *vṛddhi*, meaning ‘prosperity, welfare’, but also ‘growth’.<sup>11</sup>

The fertility aspect of *garbhanyāsa* is reflected in the very term by which the ritual is referred to, which means ‘the depositing (*nyāsa*) of the embryo (*garbha*)’. The term *garbha* might be translated as ‘embryo’, ‘womb’ or ‘interior’, ‘middle’, but it is the first interpretation, namely embryo, which seems to be the most appropriate here.<sup>12</sup> This interpretation is also supported by the textual sources: Viśvakarma *Vāstuśāstra* compares the deposit to a human embryo (*strīgarbha*) by means of which life is flourishing on earth.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the term used in certain texts to denote the ritual is *garbhādhāna*, which suggests an analogy with one of the *rites de passage* in the Hindu tradition known under the

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<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 4.2, *Kāśyapaśilpa garbhanyāsa* 2-3.

<sup>9</sup> *sagarbhā pṛthivī sūte viḡarbhā sarvanāśinī* and: *evaṃ pratiṣṭhitā bhūmir dhanadhānyasamṛddhidā | sarvasaṃpatkarā puṇyā saphalā ca bhaviṣyati || viḡarbhā ca saśalyā ca vināśāya bhaviṣyati* (*Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa* 16).

<sup>10</sup> *naḡarādīnāṃ devāḡāre caityavṛkṣe dvāravāme vā bālānām abhivṛddhyarthaṃ vāhanāyudhassthāne varṣavārivṛddhyarthaṃ* (*Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa* 16).

<sup>11</sup> *sthāpayed grāmarakṣārthaṃ sarvakāmābhivṛddhaye* (*Mayamata* 9.126ab); *evaṃ vinyasya tadgarbhaṃ sarvasiddhim avāpnuyāt* (*Ajītāgama* 17.42cd).

<sup>12</sup> This contrary to the term *garbhagṛha* where the translation of *garbha* as womb or embryo does not seem desirable. *Garbhagṛha*, the temple’s cella, has often been referred to as ‘womb-chamber’ (see Kramrisch 1946: 162, Michell 1988: 62, Blurton 1992: 234). Unjustly so, because the comparison of the temple’s cella to a womb, often encountered in secondary literature, is not based on any textual source. The term was popularised by Kramrisch, whose monograph “The Hindu temple” became probably the most frequently quoted source in discussions on Hindu architecture. See Kramrisch (1946: 163): “Garbha which signifies the womb as well as the embryo in the microcosmic sense, denotes Prakṛti, primordial Substance, in its macrocosmic application. The name of the innermost sanctuary does not primarily designate it as the house of God; it refers to a state or degree of manifestation” and “The name [*garbhagṛha*] refers also to the human body and to the inception of life.” There might be some truth in the latter view, but it has to be remembered that the deposit (*garbha*) is also installed in other parts of the temple complex, not only in the *garbhagṛha* and that the term *garbhagṛha* denotes in Sanskrit literature simply an inner apartment or a bedroom (for instance in the *Mahābhārata*; Monier Williams Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 349). Hence, the interpretation of *garbhagṛha* as ‘womb-chamber’ is misleading as it implies unnecessary symbolism. The translation ‘inner chamber’ seems thus more appropriate.

<sup>13</sup> *strīgarbhena yathā jīvo vardhate bhūvi nityaśaḡ | tathā bhūgarbhamāhātymāt jīvarāśis tu vardhate ||* (*Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstra* 6.16).

same name, which is performed to secure the conception of a child.<sup>14</sup> According to the majority of the texts, the *garbha* should be installed at night, for – as formulated by one work – if done during daytime it will be destroyed.<sup>15</sup> The same warning is found in some works with regard to the *garbhādhāna*, the conception rite (see Pandey 1969: 52). Besides, the deposit is sometimes called ‘life’ (*jīva*) or the ‘life breath’ (*prāṇa*) of the temple to be constructed.<sup>16</sup> The prescription found in certain works, which stipulates that the ritual should not be performed when the wife of the ‘performer’ (*kartṛ*, either the priest or the patron) is pregnant (*garbhini*),<sup>17</sup> is also interesting.

Apart from the association with an embryo, the texts provide other hints as to the nature of the *garbha*, all of them, however, emphasising the life-giving character of the deposit. In certain works the deposit is equated with earth or the earth is invoked to enter the deposit casket.<sup>18</sup> The invocation is pronounced before the final act of placing the casket in the prescribed location. This is not surprising considering that the contents of the deposit casket chiefly consist of the ‘riches of the earth’, such as minerals, metals, grains, herbs and soil taken from various

<sup>14</sup> The term *garbhādhāna* is mainly used in the Pāñcarātra works: Viṣṇu Saṃhitā 13, Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra 12, Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā 1 as well as in Agni Purāṇa 41 which contains many verses which are identical with Hayaśirṣa 12. It occurs together with the term *garbhanyāsa* in Pādma Saṃhitā 2 and in Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 27. For *garbhādhāna* as a Hindu rite performed in order to secure conception, see Kane (1974: 195-196, 201-202) and Pandey (1969: 48-59). It should be stressed, however, that the term *garbhādhāna* is used in only some of the sources. In the Śaiva sources, for example, it is much less prominent (if ever) than in the Vaiṣṇava ones.

<sup>15</sup> *divaiva nirmale dravyāṇi bhājanē kṣiptvā rātrāv eva nidhāpayet | divā vinaśyati |* (Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa 16). Other texts prescribing the depositing of the *garbha* at night include: Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra 12.50c, Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā 1.55cd, Pādma Saṃhitā 2.23 and 6.17ab, Atri Saṃhitā 10.35ab, Kriyādhikāra 5.29cd, Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 27.102ab and Tantra Samuccaya 1.122. On the other hand, Kāmikāgama 31.5-6ab prescribes night in the case of a deposit for the people, but day for the gods while Mayamata 12 prescribes night in verse 102, but day in verse 112.

<sup>16</sup> *ālaye vinyased dhīmān garbhamantreṇa mantritām || yad vāstu garbhasaṃyuktaṃ kurute sarvasaṃpadam | sarvavāstukriyākāle tad garbhaṃ jīvam ucyate | tasmād ādau nyased garbhaṃ sarvagarbhasaṃmitrayam |* (Dīptāgama 4.1cd-3ab as given by Dagens 2004). The transcript T1018 reads: *yad vāstu garbhasaṃyuktaṃ kurute sarvasaṃpadam | etat prāsādakāyāṃ tu tadgarbhajīvam ucyate*. See also Kāśyapaśilpa *garbhanyāsa* 1cd.

<sup>17</sup> *gṛhiṇī garbhiniṅ kartur yadi garbhaṃ na niṅṣipet* (Mayamata 12.95cd; exactly the same half-verse occurs in Kāmikāgama 31.6cd).

<sup>18</sup> See, for instance, Suprabhedha Saṃhitā 28.13cd: *tasmīn dhyātvā tu bhuvanaṃ vinyased garbhābhājanam*. The mantra in which the earth is invoked to enter the deposit casket occurs mainly in the works of the Pāñcarātrins, see Viṣṇu Saṃhitā 13.43, Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra 12.41cd-42ab (the same verse in Agni Purāṇa 41), PādmaSaṃhitā 6.41cd-42ab and 2.24cd-25ab. Apart from the Pāñcarātra works, the mantra is also present in Tantrasamuccaya 1.124-125 (the basis for which was the Viṣṇu Saṃhitā) and in Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 27.105cd-106ab (a work bearing some similarities to the Pāñcarātra texts). The mantra differs slightly among the texts, but the fragment *devi garbhaṃ samāśraya* or *āśraya* is always present. The version from the Viṣṇu Saṃhitā reads as follows: *sarvabhūtaadhare kānte parvatastanamaṅḍite | samudraparidhāne tvaṃ devi garbhaṃ samāśraya ||*

locations (from a river, a marsh or a mountain), which represent the totality of the earth.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the compartments of the deposit casket are ‘inhabited’ by the same gods that govern the plots of land into which the whole building terrain is divided.<sup>20</sup> This transforms the deposit casket into a miniature replica of the building terrain and, perhaps, of the entire earth.

In this regard, one might also consider the role ascribed to the ‘performer’ of the ritual. According to one of our sources one should perform the ceremony knowing that “the earth brings forth the embryo, the one who places [it] is the procreator, that is why the success depends on his purity.”<sup>21</sup> Further on, the text adds that a deposit should be installed by a twice-born, who is pure, ascetical and possesses authority. Otherwise, the ‘embryo’ will become, as it were, a ‘bastard’ (*jāragarbha*) and will lead to destruction.<sup>22</sup> Some texts state that before the placing of the casket the performer should meditate on himself as Viṣṇu,<sup>23</sup> so it is in fact Viṣṇu who impregnates the earth (which is, of course, his consort). This view about the procreative role of the main deity embodied by the officiant is absent in the Āgamas, which are Śaiva.

In the search for textual explanations of the function of the *garbhanyāsa* ritual it is difficult to determine how much importance should be attached to the

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Kāśyapaśilpa *garbhanyāsa* 19-29ab.

<sup>20</sup> See Chapter 4.2, Kāśyapaśilpa *garbhanyāsa*, under verse 27.

<sup>21</sup> Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa 16: *pṛthivī garbhajanānī sthāpako janakaḥ tasmāt tatprasādāt samyaddhir iti jñātvā samyak samārabhet*. Goudriaan (1965: 62) translates the word *prasāda* as ‘kind disposition’: ‘the earth brings forth the embryo, but the establisher is the procreator, and therefore success depends on his kind disposition’ omitting the fragment beginning with *iti jñātvā*. The word *prasāda* may indeed mean ‘kind disposition’. This fragment, however, is preceded by a list of prescriptions for the performer stressing his purity (of both body and mind). Hence, the translation given above, viz. ‘... the success depends on his purity’ seems more appropriate.

<sup>22</sup> *anyena sthāpitaṃ jāragarbham ivobhayoḥ vināśāya bhavati*. The translation by Goudriaan (1965: 66): “If [established] by another man, it will cause destruction because it is (then), as it were, withered” does not reflect the, in my view, intended meaning of the term *jāragarbha*. Another element not mentioned in Goudriaan’s translation is the fact that the placing of a *garbha* by an inappropriate person will cause destruction of both (*ubhayor*): the *garbha* itself and the person who dared to place it without being authorised to do so. This is not without importance. There are several analogies between the installation of a deposit and the installation of an image of a deity and it is often stressed that the image of a deity, when ritually brought to life, should not be touched by an uninitiated person for fear that contact with the divine may harm a person not prepared for it; at the same time, the statue touched by an uninitiated person may have to be consecrated again (see, for example Davis 2000: 155-156, Bhatt 1993-94: 75-76).

<sup>23</sup> Pādma Saṃhitā 6.27cd: *ātmānaṃ keśavaṃ dhyātvā sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam* and 2.23d: *svam ātmānaṃ hariṃ smaret*. According to Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa 16 the performer holding the casket should “meditate on himself as having the figure of a boar and lifting up the earth” (*ātmānaṃ varāharūpaṃ vasundharoddhāraṃ dhyātvā*; translation Goudriaan 1965: 65). Apart from the fact that these two texts belong to the Vaiṣṇava tradition, the importance of Viṣṇu in the ritual might have its roots in the Hindu belief that each stage of life is presided over by a deity, Viṣṇu being the chief deity during the conception (see Pandey 1969: 27-28). On the other hand, in the Śaiva ritual texts Viṣṇu does not play a role during the *garbhanyāsa*.

mantras pronounced, as stated by the texts, during or directly before the installation of the casket. Some of them seem to carry a meaning, which is specifically connected to the placing of the deposit and emphasises its association with a human embryo. A case in point is the Rigvedic mantra uttered before the installation of the casket. The same mantra seems to be recited during the *garbhādhāna* or conception ceremony.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, many mantras recited during the *garbhanyāsa* are used also on other occasions, for instance during the daily worship in the temple. The formula *idaṃ viṣṇuḥ*, ‘a frequent litany in praise of Viṣṇu’ (Goudriaan 1970: 170 note 21) is pronounced not only before the placing of the deposit casket, but also during the invocation of the deity in the *praṇidhi* vessel and during the offering of drinking water to the image.<sup>25</sup> A fragment of the *ekākṣara* prescribed by the Atri Saṃhitā for the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony is also pronounced at the end of the ritual bath of the main image of the temple deity, namely during the rubbing of the image with a piece of cloth.<sup>26</sup> These mantras are thus not specific to the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony. In the same way, the identification of the performer with the deity (as encountered in the Vaiṣṇava texts describing *garbhanyāsa*; see above) is also required during the daily worship (for the Vaikhānasa tradition, see Goudriaan 1970: 176f; for the Śaiva tradition, see Davis 2000: 58-60).

In spite of the hints provided by some verses and by the prescribed mantras, not all aspects of the *garbhanyāsa* are explained by the texts. One of them is the location of the deposit. According to the majority of the sources, the *garbha*, at least in the case of a temple, should be installed to the right or to the south of the door (*dvāradakṣiṇe*) - the Sanskrit word *dakṣiṇa* may mean either ‘south’ or ‘right’. None of the works available to us reveal why this location was

<sup>24</sup> The mantra should be recited during the *garbhādhāna saṃskāra* according to the Vīramitrodaya Saṃskāra Prakāśa (see Pandey 1969: 56 note 48). The whole mantra reads:

*viṣṇur yoniṃ kalpayatu tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi piśatu |*  
*ā siñcatu prajāpatir dhātā garbhaṃ dadhātu te*  
*garbhaṃ dhehi sinivāli garbhaṃ dhehi sarasvati |*  
*garbhaṃ te aśvinau devāvā dhattāṃ puṣkarasrajā*  
*hiraṇyayī araṇī yaṃ nirmanthato aśvinā |*  
*taṃ te garbhaṃ havāmahe daśame māsi sūtave* (RV 10.184).

This mantra occurs in the *garbhanyāsa* description according to Marīci Saṃhitā 13.1.2. In the Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa the formula is not used in the *garbhanyāsa* chapter (chapter 16), but it is recited in chapter 6 (“Obtaining desires from the Lotus-fire”) during a ceremony performed in order to obtain a son (see Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa 6 and Goudriaan 1965: 36).

<sup>25</sup> See Goudriaan (1970: 194, 206). The formula *idaṃ viṣṇuḥ* should be pronounced during the *garbhanyāsa* according to Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa 16.

<sup>26</sup> See Atri Saṃhitā 10.40 and Goudriaan (1970: 186). The fragment recited during the ritual bathing of an image concerns verse 12 of the *ekākṣara*. The second part of it, as given by Goudriaan, reads: *tvayā vṛtaṃ jagad ulbeva garbhaḥ*, which he translates as “by You the world is enveloped as an embryo by its membrane.” (Goudriaan 1970: 186). The edition of the *ekākṣara*, to which Goudriaan refers, however, gives a different reading: *tvayā ’vṛtaṃ jagad udbhava garbhaḥ* (see Sastri 1921: 106).

specifically chosen. This question does not seem to have bothered the editors and translators of the ritual and architectural texts either.<sup>27</sup> They often stress the analogy with the *garbhādhāna* ritual and remark on the life-giving function of the deposit, but they remain silent with respect to its location. Nevertheless, it may be expected that the location for an object as important as the deposit casket was somehow meaningful.

The most important factor seems to be the proximity of the deposit to the door. An entrance is always a ‘vulnerable spot’ that connects and at the same time separates the inner space from the outside world.<sup>28</sup> That is perhaps why the installation of the door is an important stage in the building of a house and why, according to some texts, a small deposit should be placed under the threshold.<sup>29</sup> In fact, as reported by the local people, in contemporary Tamil Nadu nine precious stones are sometimes deposited under the threshold of a newly built house and, in certain districts, similar items are placed in the two holes of the threshold in which the door jambs will be fixed.<sup>30</sup> It should also be noted that in a Hindu temple the threshold is considered to be a sacred space: no believer will ever put their feet on the threshold and sometimes one touches it with one’s right hand and then touches one’s own forehead, which is a sign of respect.<sup>31</sup> One may wonder whether the origin of this custom is connected with the presence of the deposit (of which the average believer today is probably not aware) or whether the deposit is installed there just because the entrance, particularly the entrance to a temple, is a special place where one must pause to pay respect to the deity and which marks the border separating the sacred space from the profane.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> See Goudriaan (1965), Colas (1986), Smith (1963) and Dagens (1994). Ananthwar and Rea (1980: 184) are an exception among authors on Indian architecture, because they do mention *garbhanyāsa* in their study. Nevertheless, they say only that “In the case of temple foundations, the [deposit] vessel should be buried under the ground beneath the Sanctum.” No word is being said about the location near the entrance, which is strange, considering that the main source of their study was the *Mānasāra*, which explicitly states that the deposit should be placed to the right or south of the door. The location of the deposit is not discussed by Kramrisch (1946) either.

<sup>28</sup> As nicely formulated by Grimes (2000: 6), the threshold zone is “neither here nor there”, it is a “a no-man’s land, it is dangerous, full of symbolic meaning, and guarded.” And, like another “neither here nor there” place – a national border crossing – it “requires ceremonial gestures.”

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, *Agni Purāṇa* 61, *Aparājītapṛcchā* 129.24 and *ViṣṇuS* 13.45cd.

<sup>30</sup> The items include paddy, turmeric root, precious stones (red and white) and a piece of gold. They are wrapped in a betel leaf and placed in the cavities on both ends of the threshold. The ensemble is sprinkled with milk. For the description of the entire ritual, see Reiniche (1981: 33).

<sup>31</sup> It should be added that a lotus is often depicted in the central part of the threshold belonging to an entrance to a temple. The lotus, probably the most popular of the auspicious symbols, is a very common decorative motive in Hindu art. On the other hand, it should be noted that lotus images played a particular role as markers of the location of consecration deposits. They were often depicted on the cover of the deposit boxes and many deposit boxes had, in fact, the shape of a lotus with eight petals (see Appendix IV).

<sup>32</sup> According to the texts, the first bricks or stones should be placed in the same location, which even more stresses the importance of the entrance. In this case the location may also symbolise the

Considering this point, attention should be paid to an enigmatic verse from the *Mayamata*, which shows that a deposit is perhaps installed not so much for the protection of the building as for the protection, and as a marker, of the space within its walls.<sup>33</sup> The verse states that the deposit placed to the right or to the south of the door (viz. within the wall of the building) should face inwards, while the one installed in the centre of the building should be oriented towards the exterior.<sup>34</sup> The technical aspects of installing a deposit so that it faces a desired direction have nowhere been explained and Dagens, the editor and translator of the text, remarks that the meaning of this passage is unclear (Dagens 1994: 145 note 54). However, what is shown by the verse is that the deposit should always face the inner space, the area within the walls.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, what is meant by *abhyantaramukham* (or *antarmukham*) and *bahirmukham* is, perhaps, not a prescription concerning the way in which the casket should be positioned in a mechanical sense, but a metaphorical expression pointing to the role of the *garbha* as a protector and a marker of the inner space.<sup>36</sup>

With respect to the location of the deposit, the majority of the texts very clearly state that it should be *dvāradakṣiṇe*. The difficulty lies in the fact that *dakṣiṇa* may either mean ‘right’ or ‘south’. The texts do not provide any clue for the correct interpretation of the word. Some provide additional information about the location of the *garbha*, but none of them make the interpretation of the word *dakṣiṇa* any easier.<sup>37</sup> The answer cannot be deduced from the archaeological

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beginning: the door being the ‘starting point’ while entering a house, like the placing of the first bricks is the starting point in the construction of a building.

<sup>33</sup> As noted previously (see beginning of the chapter), while several treatises emphasize the role of the consecration deposit in bringing about *general* prosperity and wellbeing, only one text explicitly states that the placing of the deposit will cause the prosperity *for the building* (see note 3 above).

<sup>34</sup> *Mayamata* 12.97: *dvāradakṣiṇe sthāne svāmīsthānasya dakṣiṇe | abhyantaramukhaṃ garbhaṃ vastumadhyam bahirmukham ||*

<sup>35</sup> A similar verse, as noticed by Dagens (1994: 145 note 54), is given by *Mānasāra* 12.108cd: *gṛhagarbham antarmukhaṃ syād grāmagarbhaṃ bahirmukham* (the deposit for a house should be facing the interior, the deposit for a village should face the outside). Remembering that a deposit for a house should, in the majority of the cases, be placed near the entrance and that for a settlement it is often placed in the centre, one realises that the meaning of this verse is the same as the meaning of the discussed verse from the *Mayamata*.

<sup>36</sup> A similar hypothesis was proposed by Goudriaan (1993: 60) for the expression *abhyantaramukham* referring to the *garbhagṛha* (*Marīci Saṃhitā* 12.1.2). According to him the expression probably “does not refer to a practical rule” but to the fact that “the interior hall is the domain of the Supreme Being which is totally immersed within Itself.”

<sup>37</sup> For instance, the *Suprabhedāgama* states that when the door is directed towards the east, the *garbha* should be deposited in the middle of Indra and Pāvaka (southeast), while when it is directed towards the west, the *garbha* should be placed *dakṣiṇe* (*Suprabhedāgama* 28.34: *prāgdvāraṃ cet prakartavyam aindrapāvakamadhyame | yadi cet pāścimadvāraṃ dakṣiṇe bhittike nyaset*). This explanation does not solve the problem of the interpretation of *dakṣiṇa* as in the first case the prescribed location happens to be to the *south* of the entrance and, at the same time, to the *right* of it (looking from inside). Hence, none of the two meanings of *dakṣiṇa* here deserve

remains either, as they seem just to go against the more precise prescriptions of the texts.<sup>38</sup> It is possible then that the architects followed distinct traditions in which the interpretation of *dakṣiṇa* differed, or depended perhaps on practical aspects, such as the orientation of the building ground and the location of a lake or a river.<sup>39</sup> An additional hint, at least for the Pāñcarātra tradition, is provided by the contemporary Pāñcarātra practice according to which the priests, while performing the *ṣaḍaṅganyāsa* and other rituals that allow them to enter the *garbhagṛha* for the first time in the morning, should position themselves to the south of its door (Rangachari 1931: 134). It should be added that the double meaning of *dakṣiṇa* was until now not taken into consideration by the translators of the passages dealing with the *garbhanyāsa*: all the translations read ‘to the right of the door’.<sup>40</sup>

The expression *dvāradakṣiṇe* in reference to a deposit casket occurs only in the South Indian texts. In the North Indian works this expression is absent. This connection with the south of the subcontinent is again accentuated by the fact that the only archaeological traces of a deposit located near the entrance (in India) were found in Tamil Nadu. The origins of the custom of placing the deposit in the vicinity of the entrance should thus be looked for in the south of India.

The terms *garbha* and *garbhanyāsa* are used by the primary sources almost exclusively in reference to a well-defined type of deposit, placed in a

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priority. In the same way, in the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati the expression *dakṣiṇato* may be translated either as ‘to the south’ or ‘to the right’ (Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 27.73: *indrapāvakaḥ madhye dvārād dakṣiṇato bhuvī | kurvīran garbhavinyāsaṃ sarve varṇāḥ samṛddhaye ||*). The remaining texts are no more helpful in providing a solution to the problem.

<sup>38</sup> Only very few traces of deposits were found to the side of the entrance. In Ulagapuram, Tamil Nadu, four bricks (which are supposed to be placed at the same location as the *garbha*, but on a lower level) were discovered under the western door jamb. The direction of the door is not reported, but most probably it was north, as directing the door to the south would be very unusual. Also the deposit of Site no. 15 in Kedah was located to the right of the door. In both cases the deposit seems to be located to the right of the door looking from outside. This, however, is in disagreement with the statements of the Suprabhedāgama and the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati (see the note above) where the deposit is located to the right of the door looking from *inside*, thus from the perspective of the deity.

<sup>39</sup> The instances of (Vedic) rituals where both translations of *dakṣiṇa* are possible are discussed by Gonda (1971: 12-13).

<sup>40</sup> See Colas (1986: 157): ‘A droite de la porte’ (Marīci Saṃhitā 13.1.2 *dvāradakṣiṇe*), Dagens (1994: 131): ‘to the right of the door’ (Mayamata 12.41cd *dvāradakṣiṇe*) and Dagens (2000: 429): ‘à droite de la porte’ (Rauravāgama 60.16c *dvārasya dakṣiṇasthāne*), Acharya (1934: 116): ‘towards the right side’ (Mānasāra 12.65ab *harmyādidvārasarveṣāṃ pādāmūle vā dakṣiṇe*), Kramrisch (1946: 126): “... a casket which holds the Seed and Germ of the temple is immured in its wall, to the right of the door...” (referring to Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 27). The double meaning of *dakṣiṇa* was already brought to attention in my paper presented during the 12<sup>th</sup> World Sanskrit Conference (Helsinki 2003).



(usually compartmented) receptacle, which is in all but a few cases<sup>41</sup> installed inside the wall in the proximity of the entrance. The installation of the deposit located below the pedestal of an image of a deity or under a *liṅga* is generally called *ratnanyāsa*, the placing of gems, even when more than only gems are deposited.<sup>42</sup> The small deposits installed together with the first and crowning bricks are never referred to as *garbha*, either, even when they contain ‘the riches of the earth’, which is frequently the case. Such a consistent use of the term *garbha* solely for one type of deposit proves that the function of the *garbhanyāsa*, especially its fertility-increasing property, is particular to this ritual only and was not associated with other rituals involving the depositing of symbolic items in a chosen location. Hence, the *garbhanyāsa* should not be equated with other rituals, even if it shares certain features with them.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> According to a few North Indian texts the *garbha* is placed elsewhere, mainly in the centre, cf. the Hayaśiṛṣa Pāñcarātra, the Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstra and Agni Purāṇa (the description in the latter is almost identical to the one of the Hayaśiṛṣa Pāñcarātra).

<sup>42</sup> The only exception is Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstra 73.10 which uses the term *garbhanyāsa* in reference to the deposit for an image. The term *ratnanyāsa* is used in Aṃśumadāgama 32b (transcript T3, chapter *devīsthāpanam*), Atri Saṃhitā 18.57, Hayaśiṛṣa Pañcarātra 38 (the verse numbers are not given), Matsya Purāṇa 266.9 and Viṣṇu Saṃhitā 18.22, Kumāratantra (T675, pp.24-25). Of the Kāmikāgama, Suprabhedāgama and the Kāraṇāgama, I was able to check only the fragments of the chapter dealing with the placing of the first and crowning bricks and with the foundation deposit. The remaining works either do not use any term for the ceremony or, like the Śilpaśāstras, do not mention it at all. Goudriaan (1965: 137) and Dagens (2004: 204) use the term *garbhanyāsa* for a deposit for an image. There is, however, no basis for this in the texts, namely the Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa and the Dīptāgama respectively.

<sup>43</sup> This distinct nature of the *garbhanyāsa* was not taken into consideration by Brunner in her study of the Somaśambhupaddhati. According to Brunner, in the Somaśambhupaddhati the *garbhanyāsa* is replaced by the deposit for a Śiva *liṅga* and by the ceremony of placing the first bricks. She states that only the name *garbhanyāsa*, not the ritual itself, is absent from the text. She writes: “Le rite décrit par les śloka 8-14 [the deposit for a *liṅga*] ressemble au rite de *garbhanyāsa* (“dépôt de l’embryon”), décrit dans de nombreux *Āgamas* et manuels... Somaśambhu ne parle nulle part de *garbhanyāsa*, et l’on peut donc comprendre que le rite actuel en tient lieu.” (Brunner 1998: 194 note 19). And: “... le *garbhanyāsa* est décrit par notre auteur sans que son nom habituel soit prononcé;” “Somaśambhu n’en parle pas sous ce nom; mais comme il enjoint des rites de même nature, d’une part sous les “Pieds” du Temple [viz. the installation of the first stones], d’autre part sous le *liṅga* et sous les autres images, on peut considérer que l’omission n’est qu’apparente et que le nom seul est absent” (ibid., p. xxxiii and xxxiv). One has to disagree with this view. The omission of the *garbhanyāsa* is not merely apparent, but it is an important indication which, together with the way of installing the first stones (under the walls of the sanctuary, not near the entrance), places the Somaśambhupaddhati half way between the South Indian tradition (describing the *garbhanyāsa* and prescribing the first stones to be near the entrance) and the northern tradition (including rarely *garbhanyāsa* and never using the expression ‘to the right of the door’ in relation to the deposit casket or to the first stones). In fact, the author of the Somaśambhupaddhati was a North Indian *ācārya*, but the manuscripts of the text were multiplied and apparently modified in the south (Brunner 1998: xliii and lii ff). Finally, it must be mentioned that in the Somaśambhupaddhati no deposit is placed together with the first stones, certainly not a deposit that could symbolise a ‘*garbha*’, so the statement that this ceremony, in fact, replaces the *garbhanyāsa* cannot be accepted. Of all the rites described in the Somaśambhupaddhati, the

In present-day Tamil Nadu, one of the rituals inaugurating the construction of a new house is known as *muḷaiṭṭikkiRatu*.<sup>44</sup> *ṬṭikkiRatu* means ‘taking’, while the word *muḷai* has a double meaning: a peg and a shoot, germ.<sup>45</sup> As noted above, the term *garbha* in reference to a consecration deposit does not occur in the earliest available texts mentioning construction rituals (for example, in the Bṛhat Saṃhitā, see Chapter 5). The symbolism of the *garbha* as ‘embryo’ is not present there either. In fact, the term together with its symbolism are probably not earlier than the 7-8<sup>th</sup> century AD and they, most likely, reflect a South Indian belief, as the majority of the texts using it originated in South India. The construction rituals described by the earlier texts involve throwing a piece of gold under the main pillar of the house (see, for example, Mānavagṛhyasūtra 2.11.7). One may tentatively conjecture that the double meaning of the word *muḷai* was one of the factors in the transmission of the pillar-symbolism to the germ-embryo one. The pillar is still mentioned in the *garbhanyāsa* descriptions: the deposit should be placed *stambhamūle*, ‘at the bottom of a pillar’, which may or may not designate a door jamb.<sup>46</sup>

Finally, one should ask why the *garbhanyāsa* lost somehow its popularity in South India and is today much less frequently performed than, for example, the

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placing of gems, seeds and plants under the entrance seems the closest to the *garbhanyāsa*, the elements in common being the location and the invocation to Ananta (Somaśambhupaddhati IV. 7). Yet, other features of the *garbhanyāsa* are absent there.

<sup>44</sup> The ritual involves placing nine bricks in the southwest corner of a square pit and planting a small tree (*Melia azedarah*) there. For a detailed description of the ritual, see Reiniche (1981: 30-33).

<sup>45</sup> “Le... rite est appelé *muḷaiṭṭikkiRatu*, de *muḷai* ‘pieu, germe’ et *ṭṭikkiRatu* ‘le fait de prendre’ (Reiniche 1981: 30).

<sup>46</sup> The double meaning of *muḷai* and the similarity of both *muḷaiṭṭikkiRatu* and another building ritual of Tamil Nadu – the fixing of the door jambs – with the *garbhanyāsa* was noticed by Reiniche (1981: 45). She compares the fixing of the door jambs as done in Tamil Nadu and the planting of a tree during the *muḷaiṭṭikkiRatu* with the depositing of seeds and so on during the *garbhanyāsa*. All three activities can, in fact, be designated by the term *muḷaiṭṭikkiRatu*, ‘taking the germ’ or ‘taking the peg’, which is certainly an interesting fact. Her final remarks, however, based on the discussion of *garbhanyāsa* by Kramrisch (1946) are, perhaps, a little forced. She remarks: “Si l’acte de déposer la semence ou l’embryon ‘préfigure la verticalité’, l’acte de planter verticalement un poteau ou un pieu revient à féconder un espace, à définir un champ qui est une matrice et une aire sacrificielle. Le fruit de l’acte est une reproduction. La symbolique des substances auspicieuses déposées dans un pot ou toute autre matrice, et celle du poteau qui est enfoncé verticalement dans la terre ou dans le seuil s’échangent l’un l’autre. Le rite, en reproduisant la copulation de Maître du *vāstu* et de la Terre, redit l’union – dans l’imperfection et dans le simulacre d’une fusion jamais réalisée – du ciel et de la terre, de la lune et du soleil, des dieux et des hommes par les rites” (Reiniche 1981: 45; see also Kramrisch 1946: 110: “The ritual brick ‘foundation’ however is below the door-jamb, it underlies and pre-faces its vertical direction”).

placing of the first bricks, at least in the case of temples.<sup>47</sup> After all, the reasons for the disappearance of a ritual carry as much meaning as those for which the ritual was invented and persisted for centuries. In fact, the *garbhanyāsa* already seems to have fallen out of favour for several decades. Otherwise, how could one explain the mistake by Acharya, the editor and translator of the *Mānasāra* and a respected specialist on the topic of Indian architecture, who translated *garbhanyāsa* as ‘laying of foundations’, which resulted in a misinterpretation of the whole chapter?<sup>48</sup> Moreover, the important verse of the *Kāśyapaśilpa* alluding to the life-giving function of the deposit has been corrupted by the scribes and misunderstood by the editors of the text, which may suggest that the understanding of the deposit as the life-breath of the temple and of the *garbhanyāsa* in general was perhaps not so widespread.<sup>49</sup> In addition, it is interesting to note that the recently edited *Āgama-kośa* or ‘Āgamic encyclopaedia’ does not make a single mention of the *garbhanyāsa* in its volume dedicated to temple and image consecration while it does describe the placing of the first bricks and of the support for the *liṅga*. (see Rao 1994). The reasons for this decrease in popularity might be several: taking over the meaning of the *garbhanyāsa* by the ceremony of placing the first bricks, or excessively high costs of the ceremony involved for the builders of smaller, less significant temples. Or did perhaps the main aspects of the *garbhanyāsa*, the life-giving and fertility,

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<sup>47</sup> Many temple priests whom I asked about the building rituals said that they witnessed the placing of the first bricks, but they never participated in *garbhanyāsa*. The only priest who stated to have participated in *garbhanyāsa* in person was Parameswaran Namboodiripad of Kerala.

<sup>48</sup> Acharya (1934) repeatedly translates *mañjūṣa* and *bhājana* (box, receptacle; here: deposit-box) as ‘excavation,’ even in situations when this does not result in an appropriate meaning like in the passages dealing with the size of the deposit box (MS 12.12-18). As Acharya understands *mañjūṣa*, the deposit casket, to be an ‘excavation’, viz. a foundation for the whole building, he obviously finds the given measurements of the casket (given in *aṅgulas* or ‘finger-breadths’) too small. He writes: “These measures seem to be in rods of four cubits or two yards; if it be taken literally to imply the *aṅgula* of 3/4 inch, the dimensions would be too small for the foundation of any building” (1934: 110 note 1). Further on, in verse 19a, which prescribes that the deposit casket should have nine compartments, Acharya emends the term *navakoṣṭha* (nine compartments) to *navanavakoṣṭha* (eighty-one compartments) and interprets ‘*koṣṭha*’ as the plots of land in which the entire building terrain is divided. On this place, he apparently confuses *garbhanyāsa* with *padavinyāsa*, one of the ceremonies preceding the building of a temple, and thus preceding *garbhanyāsa* and described in chapter 7 of the MS. During *pādavinyāsa* a diagram is marked on the terrain chosen for the future temple. The diagram consists of variable number of compartments, each assigned to a different deity. The diagram consisting of 81 compartments is one of the most common, hence probably Acharya’s emendation of ‘nine’ to ‘eighty-one’ (see MS 19 and Acharya 1934: 111). Such misinterpretations are abundant in Acharya’s translation of the *garbhanyāsa* chapter.

<sup>49</sup> *Āgama-kośa* 1cd: *prāsādaṃ deham ity uktam tasya prāṇas tu garbhakam*. The 1926 Poona edition of the *Kāśyapaśilpa* reads: *prāsādadeham ity uktam tasya prakāro vāstugarbhakam*, the 1968 Thanjavur edition gives almost the same text: *prāsādaṃ deham ity uktam tasya prakāro vāstugarbhakam*. The emendation proposed by Kṛṣṇarāya Vajhe, one of the editors of the text, is *geham* instead of *deham*, which does not add to the understanding of the fragment.

become out-of-date in modern India? Whatever the answer may be, this decrease in popularity of *garbhanyāsa* is certainly noteworthy, especially considering its importance in the Sanskrit texts.

## 6.2 The *prathameṣṭakānyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa*

The rituals of placing the first bricks and the crowning bricks cannot boast of having an intriguing name like the *garbhanyāsa*, nor is their importance as frequently stressed by the texts either. Concerning the latter issue, the only exceptions are the Pāñcarātra works – the Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā and the Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra. The first one expresses a warning that if the *prathameṣṭakānyāsa* is not be performed, the *piśācās* and other (demons) will enter the site and a great sin will be committed by the architect and the patron.<sup>50</sup> The Hayaśīrṣa states that the person who performed the ceremony will rejoice in the world of Viṣṇu, free of all sin, and adds that naming all the merits of constructing a temple endowed with the eight first bricks is simply impossible.<sup>51</sup> The latter statement is also found in the Viṣṇu Saṃhitā.<sup>52</sup> The texts sometimes mention the consequences of not performing the *prathameṣṭakā* ceremony according to the rules, usually with regard to specific features, but, in the majority of the cases, do not warn against not performing it at all, which is a noticeable difference with the prescriptions for the *garbhanyāsa*.<sup>53</sup> The merits of performing the *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa* are even more rarely enumerated than those of placing the first bricks.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā 8.35-36: *evaṃ kṛtaṃ cen medhāvī sarvasaṃpat saṃddhitam | yady evaṃ na kṛtaṃ cet tat piśācādi samāviśet || kartuḥ kārayituś cāpi mahān doṣo bhaviṣyati | tasmāt sarvaprayatnena vidhānoktaṃ samācaret ||* See also Viṣvaksena 8.8cd: *ādyeṣṭakāvidhānādi sarvakāmapradaṃ sadā.*

<sup>51</sup> The text praises the merits of the constructing of a temple in general, in some passages it also stresses the importance of placing the first bricks: *ya imāṃ sakalāṃ kurvyāt pratiṣṭhāṃ pādasaṃśritāṃ || sarvapāpavinirmukto viṣṇuloke mahīyate | maraṇaṃ ca vrajen martyo yaḥ kṛtvā prathameṣṭakāṃ || sa samāptasya yajñasya phalaṃ āpnoty asaṃśayaḥ |* (Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra 12.56cd-58ab) and: *aṣṭeṣṭakāsamāyuktaṃ yaḥ kurvyād vaiṣṇavaṃ gṛham | na tasya phalasampattir vaktuṃ śakyet kenacit ||* (Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra 12.60cd). A similar praise of those who undertake a construction of a temple is also found at the end of the *prathameṣṭakā* chapter in another Pāñcarātra work, the Pādma Saṃhitā (see Pādma Saṃhitā 5.85 ff).

<sup>52</sup> Viṣṇu Saṃhitā 13.2ab: *aṣṭeṣṭakānidhāne 'pi phalaṃ vaktuṃ na śakyate.*

<sup>53</sup> The texts warn against using bricks or stones 'of a wrong gender' (Pādma Saṃhitā 5.23cd-24), against placing them too high or too low (Śilparatna 12.29, Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 27, the section in prose after verse 71; similar prescriptions are found for the *garbhanyāsa* as well, see for example Pādma Saṃhitā 6.22 and Śilparatna 12.7ab), against placing them on the 'vulnerable places' (*marma*) of the *vāstupuruṣa*, the spirit of the site (Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 27, verse at the end of the prose section, before verse 63, Śilparatna 12.12, 5-13, 5) and against performing the ritual without reciting the appropriate mantras (Suprabhedha 27.21cd-22). Yet, nothing is said about the consequences of not performing the ritual at all, see, for example Kāśyapañānakāṇḍa 32, Ajiṭāgama 10, Dīptāgama 2, Kāmikāgama 51, Marīci Saṃhitā 6, Kāraṇāgama 4, Suprabhedāgama

The texts do not provide an explicit answer about the function of the placing of the first and the crowning bricks. Nevertheless, the descriptions of the rituals are not devoid of intricate symbolism. One of the most significant features is probably the identification of the (both first and crowning) bricks with the four elements: earth, water, fire and wind. In the ceremony of placing the crowning bricks, the axis of the temple finial, which is also installed on this occasion, is thought to represent ether. The ‘essence’ of the elements is transformed into the bricks and the axis by means of writing the respective syllables on them and by means of recitation of mantras.<sup>55</sup> It has to be noted that such identification with the five elements occurs only in certain Śaivāgamas. The depositing of sacred syllables on the bricks and the axis is also mentioned in the *Mānasāra*, probably under the influence of the Āgamas, but the syllables used there are different. They do not point to the four elements, but can perhaps be understood as endowing the bricks with life-breath.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, many elements of all the three rituals under discussion - *prathameṣṭakānyāsa*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa* – like those employed during the installation of an image of a deity or of a *liṅga*, point to charging them with divine powers and animating them. The view that the bricks were also meant to be animated is supported by the fact that at least one of the texts prescribes the performance of the *nayanonmīlana* (the opening of the eyes) rite for the bricks.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps then, the placing of the first and crowning bricks can be seen as inserting more *prāṇa*, life-breath, into the building, without being a catalyst for fertility and prosperity in general as the *garbhanyāsa* is. At the same time, the four or five bricks, being identified with the four or five elements, are perhaps to be understood as representing the ‘body’ of the temple (in

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27, *Mayamata* 9 and 12, *Atri Saṃhitā* 6, *Śilparatna* 12. Verse 64ab at the end of the *prathameṣṭakā* chapter in the *Aṃśumadāgama* gives a standard statement: *evaṃ yaḥ kurute martyaḥ sa puṇyāṃ gatim āpnuyāt*.

<sup>54</sup> The great majority of the texts do not mention it at all. *Ajitāgama* 15.50 concludes the chapter with a standard verse: *evaṃ yaḥ kurute martyaḥ sarvān kāmān avāpnuyāt | dehānte gaṇapo bhūtvā śivaloke mahīyate ||* A similar statement is found in *Kāmika* 61.20cd: *evaṃ yaḥ kārayen martyas sa puṇyāṃ gatim āpnuyāt ||* *Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā* 34.65 reads: *iti mūrdheṣṭakānyāsaṃ kārayīta kramād guruḥ | rājño rāṣṭrasya kartuś ca svasyāpi hitakāmyā ||*

<sup>55</sup> The syllables representing the five elements are: *la* (earth), *ra* (fire), *va* (water), *ya* (wind or air) and *haṃ* (ether), see: Brunner (1963: Appendice V and 1998: 39 n 121), van Kooij (1972: 16). See also *Kāśyapaśilpa prathameṣṭakā* 36cd ff, *mūrdheṣṭakā* 27d ff and 49 ff and the texts quoted there.

<sup>56</sup> The *śa*, *ṣa*, *sa* and *ha* prescribed by *Mānasāra* 12.103cd-104 for the first bricks form a part of the life-imposing mantra (*prāṇamantra*) in the Tantric text *Śāradatilaka*, see Bühnemann 1991: 354-355. According to *Somaśambhupaddhati* IV.2.205-207, however, the syllables *śa*, *ṣa*, and *sa* represent respectively the *yajamāna*, the sun and the moon. These three, together with the five elements represented by the letters *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va* and *ha*, are, in turn, associated with the eight ‘embodied forms’ (*mūrti*) of Śiva (see Brunner 1998: 38 note 117). *śa*, *ṣa*, *sa* and *ha* are also prescribed by *Kāraṇāgama* 10.19cd-20 and by *Mānasāra* 18.200ab for the crowning bricks.

<sup>57</sup> Smith (1963: 68 note 70). The ceremony of opening of the eyes is commonly performed for the images of the deities as well as for the Śiva *liṅga*, see Barazer-Billoret (1993-94: 44-46) and Bhatt (1993-94: 75).

agreement with the verse from the Kāśyapaśilpa *garbhanyāsa* 1cd: *prāsādaṃ deham ity uktam*, ‘the temple is said to be the body’), which in this case is built of the elements, in the same way as a human body is.<sup>58</sup>

Whatever the meaning of the placing of the first and the crowning bricks might have been for the temple priests versed in the sacred texts, for an average believer their chief function was probably to ceremonially mark the commencement and completion of construction. The connection of the first bricks and the crowning bricks, with a new *building* is, in fact, much stronger than that of the *garbha* (for the latter, see note 34 above), and not only in the symbolic sense. The bricks are, for instance, never installed for a settlement, while a *garbha* is.<sup>59</sup> It should also be noted that the passage warning against the danger of demons entering the site where the ceremony has not been performed shows that the *prathameṣṭakānyāsa* should be regarded as a part of the numerous ritual activities whose aim is to ‘take possession of the site’, to consecrate it and make it fit to serve as a construction ground.<sup>60</sup> This last function of the placing of the first bricks is shared with many other construction rites described by the Sanskrit sources, which consecrate or perhaps rather ‘initiate’ the site or the completed building by transferring it from one stage to another: from a mere plot of land to a building ground suitable for the construction of a temple, from a stone construction to the abode of god. Perhaps the *garbhanyāsa* together with cognate rituals should indeed be compared to a *rite de passage*, but less so because it in a certain way imitates the conception rite, but due to its ability to perform a transition from one stage to another.

<sup>58</sup> It has to be remembered that the first and crowning bricks should be of the same material as the temple, thus as the temple’s ‘body’: of stone for a stone temple, of brick for a brick one etc. See Kāśyapaśilpa *prathameṣṭakā* 18cd-19.

<sup>59</sup> The passages describing the installation of village deposit (*grāmagarbha*) never mention the first bricks; see Mayamata 9.101 ff, Mānasāra 12.84cd-92ab and Pādma Saṃhitā 2.17-27. Mayamata 9.127ab states that the deposit for a village should be placed in a pit lined with bricks or stones, but the same is stated in the chapter describing the deposit for a building (12.4) and it seems that, at least in this text, these bricks are not the same as the ceremonially installed first bricks, which should be placed at the top of the *garbha* (see Mayamata 12.109).

<sup>60</sup> The claim that the *prathameṣṭakānyāsa* and the *garbhanyāsa* “form an inseparable ideological whole” as formulated by Smith (1963: 63 note 47), does not find support in most of the texts. Smith bases himself on the concept that the *garbha* is installed in a pit lined with the first bricks, which are of feminine gender. He writes: “It makes good symbolic sense to line the *garbha*-pit with ‘female’ stones, if this is to be the symbolic womb for the immanent *garbhādhāna*-ceremony...” (ibid.). His suggestion, however, only makes sense for the text he edited, namely the Pādma Saṃhitā, and even there it is just said that the first bricks should be ‘female’, but it is nowhere explicitly stated that they are going to constitute the walls of the *garbha*-pit. In fact, after placing the first bricks (which in the Pādma Saṃhitā happens before the installation of the *garbha*), the pit *with the bricks* inside should be filled up and covered (Pādma Saṃhitā 5.82). It does not look as if there would still be some spare space for the *garbha*. Besides, the majority of the texts prescribe that the first bricks are masculine; the Pādma Saṃhitā belongs here to a minority.<sup>60</sup> The suggestion that the *prathameṣṭakānyāsa* is mainly a preliminary part of the *garbhanyāsa* should, therefore, be rejected.

## Chapter 7

### Theory versus practice: traces of construction rituals in South and Southeast Asia

One of the main questions posed at the very beginning of this study concerns the relation between textual data and practice: were the rituals such as those described in the Kāśyapaśilpa and related texts ever performed? And, if this was the case, did it occur in accordance with the texts? The present chapter focuses on finding the answers to these questions through an analysis of the material traces of construction rituals as documented in the archaeological reports and through the accounts of eye-witnesses.

#### 7.1 Material traces of construction rituals in India

One of the ways to determine whether the rituals known from the Kāśyapaśilpa and the related works have ever been performed is to examine whether there is a correlation between the consecration deposits described in the texts and the material remains of consecration deposits discovered in the area where these texts might have been used. In order to do so, it is desirable to first (Section 7.1.1) provide a brief overview of the characteristics of the consecration deposits installed in the course of the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṭakā* rituals according to the textual sources, paying special attention to the material aspects of the deposits, such as the presence or absence of a container, its appearance, the appearance of the first bricks and the crowning bricks, the nature of the objects placed in the container and in the middle of the bricks, and the location of the deposit within a building. The archaeological finds possessing features that are in agreement with the prescriptions of the texts will be presented in Section 7.1.2. A catalogue of archaeological finds, which might be considered testimonies to the very existence of construction rituals, is provided in Appendix IV.

##### 7.1.1 Characteristics of the consecration deposits installed during the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṭakā* rituals according to the textual sources

**7.1.1.1 Prathameṣṭakā**

According to the majority of the textual sources presented in Chapter 5, the first bricks are rectangular. In addition, their length, breadth to height ratio is, in most cases, 4: 2: 1.<sup>1</sup> The measurements vary in each text. According to the Kāśyapaśilpa the length of the bricks should range from between eight and thirty-nine *aṅgulas*, but according to the Marīci Saṃhitā it should be from three to eleven *aṅgulas*.<sup>2</sup> *Aṅgula*, ‘finger’, is a relative standard of measurement and may be calculated, for instance, from the breadth of the finger of the patron or architect. As stated by almost all texts, the first ‘bricks’ should be made of the same material as the structure in which they are installed (see Chapter 5 note 19).

According to the South Indian texts, there are usually four first bricks in total and they are installed forming a square. When a fifth brick is used, it covers the other four.<sup>3</sup> Small objects, such as gems, metals, minerals, grains, earth taken from various locations, gold, golden lotus flowers and, in one case, figures of a tortoise and an elephant, are deposited in the middle of the bricks<sup>4</sup> and are not enclosed in any additional container (see, for example, KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 52cd).

As far as the location is concerned, according to all South Indian works, the first bricks are to be installed to the right or to the south of the entrance (*dvāradakṣiṇe*).<sup>5</sup> The texts do not any give precise information as to the level on which the bricks are to be placed, but it seems that they are installed in the lower parts of the temple base or in the foundation pit. In this regard it should be noted that the prescriptions for the digging of the foundation pit often precede the section about the first bricks, while the construction of the temple base usually follows it. In any case, the bricks ought to be on a lower level than the consecration deposit casket (*garbhabhājana*) installed during the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony.<sup>6</sup> In addition, some texts state that the bricks should be placed ‘at the

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 23cd-24ab, MarīciS 6.3.2, ViṣvaksenaS 8.12-14, MM 12.104, Śilparatna 12.19-20.

<sup>2</sup> See KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 22cd-23ab and 24cd-25ab and MarīciS 6.3.2.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Ajita 10.59.

<sup>4</sup> KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 52cd: gems, gold lotus flower, Ajita 10.58-59: gems, metals, minerals, grains, *cūrṇapiṣṭa*, Suprabhedā 27.30cd-31ab: gems, earth taken from various locations; in the absence of gems one should place gold, Kāmika 51.33: ‘gems and so on’ (*ratnādīn vinyaset madhye...*), Kāraṇa T313a 4.122cd: gems, five types of earth, Dīpta T1018 ( 252): five types of earth (*pūrayed avaṃ tatra pañcamṛdbhir vicakṣaṇaiḥ*; the verse is corrupt, perhaps one should read: *pūrayed avaṃ tatra ratnān*), AtriS 6.35cd-36: gems, minerals, grains, a tortoise, an elephant, MarīciS 6.4.2.1: gems or gold, KJñK 30: only gems, ViṣvaksenaS 8.30cd-33ab: gems and earth.

<sup>5</sup> For the placing of the first bricks to the south or right from the entrance, see KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 48, Ajita 10.11cd-12ab, Dīpta T1080 chapter 2 page 251, Kāraṇa T313a 4.120, Suprabhedā I.28.23 (as given by Bhatt 1964: 64 note 10), ĪŚGDP 27.63, KJñK 30, MarīciS 6.4.2.1, AtriS 6.31ab, ViṣṇuS 13.7cd, TantraS 1.89.

<sup>6</sup> The exceptions here are MM 12 and MS 12 in which the first bricks are installed on the top of the deposit casket.



foot of the pillar' (*stambhamūle*).<sup>7</sup> Considering that, according to the South Indian texts, the deposit casket should also be installed to the right or to the south of the door and 'at the foot of the pillar' (see note 28 below), it might be assumed that the first bricks and the casket are placed one upon the other. As for the 'pillar' under which the first bricks and the casket should be placed, the texts do not provide any additional information.

As far as the North Indian works are concerned, the passages dealing with the appearance of the first bricks are almost identical to those in the South Indian texts, but the prescriptions concerning the number and the location of the bricks are different and not always easy to understand. The Somaśambhupaddhati prescribes nine or five first bricks, which are installed under the walls of the temple and in the centre. The Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra, on the other hand, speaks of four bricks, which should be placed at the corners of the building ground, which face the intermediary directions.<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to guess what the exact location of the first bricks should be according to the three other North Indian texts, which mention the ritual, namely the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra and the Agni Purāṇa. This is because the passages lack details and can thus be interpreted in various ways. The texts state that the bricks should be placed in the intermediary directions (VDhP 94, four bricks) or in the cardinal and intermediary directions as well as in the middle (HayaP 12, AgniP 41, nine bricks). Yet, it is not clear whether the bricks should be installed in the centre of the foundation pit or under the walls of the building. In addition, the Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstra stipulates that the first brick or bricks be placed either in the northeast or in the west. The actual number of the bricks, however, is not specified.

Contrary to the South Indian treatises, the North Indian texts do not prescribe any items to be deposited in the middle of the bricks. Instead, the Somaśambhupaddhati, Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra and the Agni Purāṇa mention that precious stones and gold should be placed inside the jars installed under the first bricks (one jar under each brick). The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, on the other hand, advises that a single jar, either made of stone or of metal, should be installed in the centre of the foundation. Yet, the text does not say whether the jar should contain any items.

### 7.1.1.2 *Garbhanyāsa*

Almost all textual sources give a fairly precise description of the deposit casket used in the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony. It should be made of metal, preferably of gold, silver, brass or copper, of which the latter is mentioned most frequently.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 48, Dīpta T1018 2 (p.251), Kāraṇa T313a 4.120.

<sup>8</sup> See Brunner (1998: xii-xiii), SŚP IV.1 and SaSū 35.27cd-28ab.

<sup>9</sup> A deposit casket of copper is prescribed by ĪŚGDP 27.74cd, ViṣṇuS 13.24ab, MS 12.52cd, Śilparatna 12.32, MM 12.9ab, TantraS 12.5, AtriS 10.11. The KŚ prescribes the casket to be made

Other materials are also prescribed sporadically, namely stone, iron and, when these are not available, wood, clay and even sea-shells.<sup>10</sup> The shape of the deposit container is not specified in the Kāśyapaśilpa. According to many texts, however, the container should be either square or round,<sup>11</sup> and the North Indian treatises Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra and the Agni Purāṇa state that it should be in the shape of a lotus (*padmākāra*).<sup>12</sup> Since nothing is said about the decoration of the casket, it might be assumed that its sides were left unadorned. The most characteristic feature of the deposit casket is the division in compartments: nine according to some texts, twenty-five according to others; certain treatises allow both types of casket.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, all texts state that the deposit casket should be firmly closed with a lid. With regard to its size, the prescriptions of the texts vary among each other as in the case of the first bricks. According to the Kāśyapaśilpa, the casket should measure from five *āṅgulas* up to twenty *āṅgulas*, its size depending on the height of the temple (see KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 8cd-9).

The passages in the North Indian texts<sup>14</sup> dealing with the appearance of the *garbhabhājana* differ from the South Indian ones in that they do not mention compartments. It is not entirely clear what conclusions are to be drawn from this state of affairs in the textual sources. We might, for instance, have to consider the possibility that the compartments were a self-evident part of the deposit casket and were thus not specifically mentioned in a certain group of texts.

The objects to be placed in the *garbhabhājana* are usually much more varied than those to be deposited together with the first bricks. Still, even here, of all the items mentioned precious and semiprecious stones appear in all the lists.<sup>15</sup> Apart from precious stones, minerals and pigments (*dhātu*),<sup>16</sup> grains (*bija*;

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of gold, silver, copper or brass (KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 7cd-8ab). The same is stated by Ajita 17.6, Suprabhedā T360 28.3cd, Dīpta 4.8 and Kāraṇa 6.7cd (as given by Bhatt 1964: 123 n. 1: *haimarājatakāṃsyam vā tāmreṇa phelakāṃ kuru*. The transcript T313 does not mention brass: *suvarṇarajatābhyaṃ vā kuryāt tāmreṇa phelakā*).

<sup>10</sup> Kāmika 31.13cd (stone), KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 8a (transcript T1, iron), PādmaS 6.24cd (wood), PādmaS 2.22ab (clay, in the case of a deposit for a village), Ajita 17.40cd and Suprabhedā T360 28.4ab (sea-shell).

<sup>11</sup> Cubical: Ajita 17.8ab, TantraS 12.5. Either cubical or round: Kāmika 31.13ab, Dīpta 4.10cd, Kāraṇa 6.12ab, MM 12.13, Śilparatna 12.44ab.

<sup>12</sup> AgniP 42.21 and HayaP 12.20. The passage is identical in both texts.

<sup>13</sup> Nine compartments are prescribed by AtriS 10.11cd, PādmaS 6.24ab, MarīciS 13.1.1, ŚrīprS 7.8b, KJñK 16. KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 13cd and Dīpta 4.12ab prescribe twenty-five compartments. MM 12.13cd, MS 12.19ab, Ajita 17.10ab, Suprabhedā 28.6, Kāmika 31.12cd and Kumāra 31.2168ab leave a choice between nine and twenty-five compartments, but give prescriptions only for placing the objects in twenty-five compartments.

<sup>14</sup> Only three North Indian works mention *garbhanyāsa*: HayaP, AgniP and VV, see Chapter 5.

<sup>15</sup> Precious stones are prescribed by KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 19-21ab, Ajita 17.21cd-23, Kāmika 31.41-43, Kāraṇa 6.29-31, Dīpta 4.15-17, Suprabhedā T360.28.18-19ab, MM 12.27cd-29, MS 12.42cd-45ab, ĪSGDP 27.85cd-86ab, PādmaS 6.34cd-36ab, KJñK 45, ViṣṇuS 13.32, HayaP 12.15-16 etc.

<sup>16</sup> Prescribed by KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 26-27, Kāmika 31.44, Kāraṇa 6.40-41, Dīpta 4.23-24, Ajita 17.24-25ab, Suprabhedā T360.28.20cd-21, MM 12.25cd-27ab, MS 12.40, ĪSGDP 27.87-88, ViṣṇuS 13.31, AtriS 10.5, MarīciS 13.1.1, HayaP 12.14.

sometimes made of metal)<sup>17</sup> and the attributes of the main deity are placed in the deposit casket.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, according to many treatises *svastikas*<sup>19</sup> and figures of tortoises and elephants are placed<sup>20</sup> together with ‘auspicious objects’ (*maṅgala*),<sup>21</sup> medicinal plants or herbs (*oṣadhi*),<sup>22</sup> bulbs of lotuses and other plants,<sup>23</sup> earth taken from various locations,<sup>24</sup> metals (*loha*)<sup>25</sup> and ‘fragrant substances’ such as camphor.<sup>26</sup> Two texts mention images of lotus flowers made from gold.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, specific items should be included in the deposit containers for each of the four *varṇas* (in the case of a deposit for a house).

As to the location of the deposit casket (*garbhabhājana*) within a temple, all South Indian treatises state that it should be installed to the right or to the south of the door and under ‘a pillar’.<sup>28</sup> The same locations are mentioned for the first bricks. As for the level on which the casket should be installed, the texts are more precise than they are in the case of the first bricks. The prescriptions, although they may slightly vary in different texts, follow the same pattern. That is to say, the level on which the casket is installed depends on the caste of the patron; the higher the caste, the higher the position of the casket within the temple. For the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas the *garbhabhājana* would usually be placed somewhere within the temple base; for the Śūdras it might be installed in the plinth. Moreover, some texts add that the placing of the deposit casket ‘in the ground’ is suitable for all the castes (see KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 4-5). According to the few North Indian texts, which mention the *garbhanyāsa*, the deposit box should be installed in the middle of the foundation pit.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>17</sup> KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 28-29ab, Ajita 17.27-28ab, Kāmika 31.46-49cd, Kāraṇa 6.42cd-44, Suprabhedā T360 28.19cd-20ab, MM 12. 23-25ab, MS 12.41-42cd, ĪŚGDP 27.87-88, ViṣṇuS 13.33, HayaP 12.17.

<sup>18</sup> KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 21cd-25, Ajita 17.21ab, Dīpta 4.19cd-22, Kāraṇ T360 28.25cd-26, MM 12.33, MS 12.50-51, ĪŚGDP 27.90, ViṣṇuS 13.34cd-35ab, MarīciS 13.1.1.

<sup>19</sup> MM 12.32ab, MS 12.38.

<sup>20</sup> Dīpta 4.18ab, 19ab (tortoise and elephant), KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 21cd (elephant only), Kāraṇa 6.33ab, ĪŚGDP 27.89ab (tortoise only). In the Vaiṣṇava texts, the image of a tortoise is often accompanied by other attributes of Viṣṇu, such as the conch shell, the discus, the club and the bird Garuḍa, see ViṣṇuS 13.34ff, PādmaS 6.8cd, AtriS 10.9cd, MarīciS 13.1.1 and HayaP 12.18cd.

<sup>21</sup> Kāmika 31.39cd-40, Kāraṇa 6.36-39, MM 12.34-35ab, MarīciS 13.1.1.

<sup>22</sup> Ajita 17.30, Kāmika 31.49cd-50ab, MM 12.30, MS 12.45cd-47.

<sup>23</sup> HayaP 12.13.

<sup>24</sup> HayaP 12.11-12.

<sup>25</sup> Ajita 17.25cd-26, Suprabhedā T360.28.23cd-24ab, PādmaS 6.38cd-39, MarīciS 13.1.1, HayaP 12.18ab.

<sup>26</sup> Kāmika 31.50ab-51cd, MM 12.31, MS 12.48-49.

<sup>27</sup> ĪŚGDP 27.89ab and ViṣṇuS 13.35 (in the latter the lotus is included in the list of the attributes of Viṣṇu). In addition, MM 12.49, 45ab and 66a respectively prescribes a lotus only for a consecration deposit meant for the temples of Brahmā, Savitṛ and Lakṣmī.

<sup>28</sup> See KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 48 and *garbhanyāsa* 5, Kāmika 31. 83cd-84ab, Kāraṇa 6. 80cd, Ajita 17. 3cd, Raurava 60.16cd, ĪŚGDP 27.73, MS 12.65, MM 12.41ab-42cd, MarīciS 13.1.2, AtriS 10.38b-42a, Kriyādhikāra 5.31, ViṣṇuS 13.25cd, PādmaS 6.20, VāstuV 13.20.

<sup>29</sup> HayaP 12, AgniP 41, VV 6.

### 7.1.1.3 Mūrdheṣṭakā

During the *mūrdheṣṭakā* ritual, four bricks are installed in the upper part of the temple superstructure. They are arranged in the same way as the first bricks in the South Indian treatises: in other words, they form a square. It is not easy to understand from the texts where exactly the crowning bricks should be located. It is unlikely that they should be installed on the very summit of the temple. More plausibly, they are likely to be placed on a slightly lower level (see KŚ *mūrdheṣṭakā* 1cd-2), for instance under the temple finial (*stūpi*; see KŚ *mūrdheṣṭakā* 54). The size and general appearance of the crowning bricks are the same as those of the first bricks. In the middle, a small deposit consisting of precious and semiprecious stones, gold and other metals and grains<sup>30</sup> is installed, as in the case of the first bricks.

## 7.1.2 Consecration deposits excavated in India

### 7.1.2.1 Archaeological finds that may correlate with the *prathameṣṭakā* ceremony as described in the texts

Despite numerous descriptions in the texts, archaeological remains testifying to the performance of the *prathameṣṭakā* ceremony in ancient India are difficult to find. The only example discovered thus far was found in a Śaiva temple in Ulagapuram in Tamil Nadu. Below the *upāna*-course of the western door-jamb of a ruined *maṇḍapa* of the temple four granite slabs “in the shape of bricks” were discovered (Mitra 1981: 46). The stones were placed in such a way that there was a small opening in the middle of them, covered by another stone slab.<sup>31</sup> Mitra does not mention whether any additional items were found in the vicinity of the stones.

The fact that the stones formed a square and that they were located in the vicinity of the entrance points into the *prathameṣṭakā* ritual as described in the South Indian treatises. With regard to the number of stones, it should be noted that the Ajitāgama prescribes five first stones: the fifth one covering the other four (see Ajita 10.59). It is true that *upāna* is a location that is rather too high for the first bricks according to the Kāśyapaśilpa itself (see KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 4), where it

<sup>30</sup> KŚ *mūrdheṣṭakā* 51cd-52: gems, Ajita 15.43-43: gems, metals, grains, Dīpta T1018 20 (page 310): gems, grains, Kāmika 61.18cd: gems, Kāraṇa 10.37-38ab: gems, KJñK 32: gems or gold, MarīciS 13.2.3: gems or gold, AtriS 10.53cd-54ab: gems or gold, PādmaS 9.32cd-33: gems, minerals, grains, metals, MM 18.147cd-150: gems, grains and grains made of metals, colouring substances, herbs, MS 18.191-196: gems, metals, Śilparatna 34.20ab: gems.

<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, no photograph or drawing was available to me.

is mentioned as one of the possible places for the *garbhabhājana*. Nonetheless, it should be remembered that the majority of the texts do not provide precise instructions with respect to the level on which the first bricks should be installed and that, as in the case of the level on which *garbhabhājana* should be installed, there might have been differences among various traditions.<sup>32</sup>

As reported by Mitra (1981: 46), the Ulagapuram temple belongs to the Chola period, which means that it is contemporary to the majority of our textual sources.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the Śaiva Siddhānta works that form a substantial part of the textual sources discussed in Chapter 5 apparently enjoyed a great popularity in Tamil Nadu, the region where the stones were found (see Chapter 2.1). Hence, it is not unlikely that the Ulagapuram stones are not only remains of a ceremony of placing the first bricks, but that this ceremony was also performed according to one of the ritual treatises mentioned in Chapter 5.

### 7.1.2.2 Archaeological finds that may correlate with the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony as described in the texts

Consecration deposit receptacles, although not abundant in India, were discovered at several locations. Yet, the majority of them cannot be considered remains of the *garbhanyāsa* performed on the basis of the sources discussed in Chapter 5. They are never simultaneously divided into compartments and installed in the vicinity of the entrance as stipulated in the South Indian treatises, nor are they simultaneously lotus-shaped and installed in the centre of the foundation as required by all but one of the North Indian texts.<sup>34</sup> In a few cases, the relationship with the texts is impossible to determine, on the one hand, because the publications mentioning the finds often lack essential information, such as the material of the receptacle or its exact location within the building, and, on the other, because the descriptions of the *garbhabhājana* in certain texts lack details.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> According to TantraS 1.89 the first bricks are to be installed in the *pāduka*, which in many texts is a synonym of *upāna* (for *pāduka* and *upāna*, see Dagens 1984: 40). TantraS was written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century AD. Yet, it is possible that the practice of installing the first bricks in the *upāna* was known also in the earlier centuries.

<sup>33</sup> The Chola period is usually dated 9<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> century AD (see Harle 1994: 292-327). The texts, in which the first bricks, numbering four or five, should be installed near the entrance date, roughly, from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century AD (see Chapter 5).

<sup>34</sup> The description of the *garbhabhājana* in the North Indian Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstra is not detailed enough to be of any use for the present investigation. The text states only that the deposit casket should be made of gold, silver or copper.

<sup>35</sup> For example, Sarma (1982: 101), discussing the pot discovered in the Mahadeva Pushpabhadrasvami temple in Vijayapuri (Andhra Pradesh) does not mention the material of which the pot is made. Concerning the location, it is only stated that the pot was found “beneath

The only receptacle that corresponds with the descriptions given in the South Indian texts and which may perhaps be brought into connection with *garbhanyāsa* was not discovered *in situ*. It is a square copper box with twenty-five regular compartments and provided with a flat lid.<sup>36</sup> Its length, breadth and height measure nine inches. Unfortunately, many important details about the find are missing in the report. For instance, it is not reported whether, at the time of discovery, the box contained any traces of metals, earth or vegetable matter. The original location of the box cannot be ascertained either. According to the available reports, the box was found during the digging of a well on the outskirts of the territory of Pondicherry (Lamb 1964a), but it is impossible to establish whether it was originally deposited there or if it ended up there by chance. Moreover, it is not stated whether there are any ancient temples or other structures in the vicinity of the place where the box was found.

Yet, the material and the shape of the box, particularly the division into twenty-five compartments, suggest that it is highly plausible that it had been used as a deposit casket during a *garbhanyāsa* ritual. Even the size of the box seems to be within the range of dimensions prescribed for a deposit casket in many texts, including the *Kāśyapaśilpa*.<sup>37</sup> It should be added that the Pondicherry box, if indeed it was a *garbhabhājana*, could have been installed during a ceremony of founding a village and in this case it might simply have been deposited in the ground, on a specific spot of land, not within a building. The placing of a deposit box for a town or a village is mentioned in a few architectural and ritual texts.<sup>38</sup>

The only example of a (partial) correspondence with the North Indian texts is a brick with depressions in the form of a lotus with eight petals, which was discovered in the central part of the foundations of a brick structure in Birdpur, Uttar Pradesh (Mitra 1981: 47 and plate 25). Under the brick a copper vessel was found. The correspondence with the texts is, however, not complete. According to the sources, the deposit receptacle should be made of metal.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, none of the architectural and ritual treatises explicitly state that the lotus-shaped container should be installed on top of a copper vessel. On the other hand, it should be noted that the same texts that speak of a lotus-shaped deposit box stipulate that the first bricks must be placed on top of metal jars, one of which is deposited in the centre of the foundation (see Section 7.1.1.1 above). What we see in Birdpur might therefore be understood as a conflation of two rituals that are described in the North Indian texts, namely the *garbhanyāsa* and *prathameṣṭakā*. At this point

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the *garbhagṛha*." On the other hand, one text mentioning the *garbhanyāsa* does not provide a sufficient description of the deposit casket ( see VV 6).

<sup>36</sup> For the photograph of the box, see Lamb (1964a, plate II).

<sup>37</sup> See KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 8cd-9 and section 2.1.2 above. Considering that five *aṅgulas* measure approximately 3.5in, the Pondicherry casket measures almost thirteen *aṅgulas*. It thus fits the prescriptions of the *Kāśyapaśilpa*.

<sup>38</sup> See AtriS 6.38-40, MM 9.101-128 and MS 12.84ab-92ab.

<sup>39</sup> See HayaP 12.21ab, AgniP 41.21.

it should be noted that the texts, although fairly uniform in their descriptions of the *garbhanyāsa* as far as the main elements of the ritual are concerned, may vary considerably in details. Thus it is possible that the brick and the metal vessel discovered in Birdpur are remains of the *garbhanyāsa* ritual, but performed following a tradition slightly different to the one explained in the texts described in Chapter 5. Unfortunately, essential information, such as the date and the initial function of the structure in which the objects were discovered, are not available.

Stone slabs that, like the Birdpur brick, have cavities in the form of lotus petals are mentioned in a few archaeological reports, but unfortunately their provenance is unknown (see Oertel 1908: 102, Marshall 1915: 87, Dikshit 1938: 94). According to Marshall (1915: 87), these are *āyāgapatṭa* slabs – votive tablets of the Jain religion,<sup>40</sup> but no arguments in support of this identification are given. In view of their similarity to the Birdpur brick, it cannot be excluded that at least some of these slabs functioned as receptacles for consecration deposits.

### 7.1.2.3 Archaeological finds that may correlate with the *mūrdheṣṭakā* ceremony as described in the texts

None of the archaeological reports, which I have been able to check, mention the discovery of four bricks or stone slabs in the *śikhara* of a temple. Superstructure deposits of a different nature, however, were found in the *śikharas* of eight temples of Pāpanāsi in Andhra Pradesh. They consist of copper vases containing several objects, such as precious stones and fragments of gold leaf (a detailed description of the finds is given in Appendix IV). The Pāpanāsi finds do not fit the descriptions of the *mūrdheṣṭakā* ceremony, mainly because the items were installed in jars. As previously stated, the objects deposited during the *mūrdheṣṭakā* ceremony should be placed ‘loose’ in the middle of the four bricks, without any container. Moreover, the archaeological report dealing with the discovery does not mention the crowning bricks.<sup>41</sup> Hence, the copper jars of Pāpanāsi either bear testimony to a distinct tradition of performing the *mūrdheṣṭakā* (providing that the four bricks were present, but not mentioned in the archaeological report), or they are the remains of an entirely different ritual, perhaps related to the ‘installation of the vases’ (in the superstructure) not dealt with in the Kāśyapaśilpa, but described in a few other texts (see, for instance, ĪŚGDP 34.20cd-26ab).

<sup>40</sup> *āyāgapatṭas* are cult objects of the Jain faith. They are “votive tablets, square slabs bearing relief sculptures on one side, possibly used as altars near a stūpa for the deposit of offerings” (Harle 1986: 61 and fig. 41). See also Pal (1994: 26, 119).

<sup>41</sup> The bricks might have not been reported, being considered insignificant by someone unacquainted with the ritual texts. Nevertheless, the fact that the items were placed within vases is enough to assume that the builders of the Pāpanāsi temples followed a tradition distinct from that described by the texts discussed in Chapter 5.

## 7.2 The accounts of witnesses of construction rituals

The single written account of a construction ritual, which dates from approximately the same period as the Kāśyapaśilpa and related texts is Baya Cakaḍā, a 13<sup>th</sup> century palm-leaf manuscript written in Oriya (Boner, Śarma and Das 1972: xli-xlii). It is a book of accounts, which records the expenditures used for the construction of the Sun temple of Konarak (Orissa), including the costs of some of the ceremonies performed during the construction. One such ceremony is the installation of metal jars on the summits of the main temple and front hall. According to the manuscript, the jar installed on the summit of the main temple contained white paddy, curd, 18 precious stones, a “*napuṃsakā śilā*”, “*haritāla* stones” (yellow orpiment), pure camphor, seeds of fragrant plants, *sāla* resin, twelve gold pieces and twenty silver pieces. The placing of the objects within the jar was accompanied by the recitation of mantras (Boner, Śarma and Das 1972: 143-144). Similar ingredients were deposited in the jar installed on the top of the front hall. They included paddy, biri,<sup>42</sup> curd, “9 precious stones (navaratna) for the 9 planets,” “11 golden discs for the Ādityas” (ibid., 131) and consecrated food “from the great temple of Puruṣottama” (ibid., 132). After the items were deposited, the jars were wrapped in a red silken cloth.

The installation of the jars on the summit of a temple is not dealt with in the Kāśyapaśilpa, but the placing of nine precious stones, gold, grain, camphor and yellow orpiment in a deposit container, as well as wrapping the container in cloth, are all common elements of the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṭakā*. Moreover, it is also interesting to see that Baya Cakaḍā mentions the neuter stone, *napuṃsakā śilā*. As stated by the Kāśyapaśilpa, neuter stones should be used for the ceremony of placing the crowning bricks (KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 21).

Apart from Baya Cakaḍā, no first-hand accounts of construction rituals dating from the same period as the texts are available. However, there are several detailed reports testifying to the popularity of such rituals in India during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Unfortunately, only a few rituals described in these reports display certain similarities to the textual prescriptions. For example, in Sirmur, Punjab, four jars filled with objects brought from various sacred sites (such as Hardwar) are installed in the four corners of the new house (Rose 1909: 123). The foundation stones are placed above the jars. This resembles the practice of placing the first bricks above metal jars filled with valuables as described in the North Indian works, such as the Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra, the Agni Purāṇa and the Somaśambhupaddhati. In Amritsar, mangoes, betel leaves, curds, and so forth are placed in the foundation pit. Next, a jar containing a coconut, seven kinds of grain, a gold or silver coin and a paper recording the year, day and hour of laying

<sup>42</sup> Phaseolus Radiatur (Boner, Śarma and Das 1972: 58).



the foundation is covered with cloth and deposited in the pit. The jar is sprinkled with oil, and gods and snakes are worshipped. Finally, the pit is closed with five or seven flat bricks (ibid.). Also here certain correspondences with the texts can be established. Thus, the deposit container receives seven kinds of grain (cf. KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 28-29), it is wrapped with cloth and sprinkled, the *pūja* is performed and the pit is closed with bricks.

A report by Stevenson (see Stevenson 1971: 353-360, 408-415, orig. pub. 1920) dates from approximately the same period. She provides an account of how water is poured on the foundation of a new house and how the gods and the building tools are subsequently worshipped. During the next phase of the ritual, a copper or an earthenware pot filled with the five nectars and, as expressed by Stevenson, with a 'heterogeneous collection of articles' including a coin, an arecanut, unhusked rice, five different kinds of leaves, a lump of turmeric and *dūrvā* grass, is placed in the foundations. The pot is surrounded by concrete so that a little platform is formed on which the foundation stone is laid. The foundation slab, known as *padma-śilā*, the lotus-stone, is decorated with a carving of an eight-petalled lotus and a *svastika* (Stevenson 1971: 354-355), which calls to mind the stone slabs decorated with lotus flowers discovered on various ancient sites in India. The construction ceremony for a temple described by Stevenson (ibid., 408-409) resembles the one for a house, but is more elaborate.

### 7.3 Material traces of construction rituals outside India

The limited number of excavated objects in India matching the descriptions of the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṭakā* is certainly surprising, especially when one bears in mind the amount of textual sources that contain descriptions of these rituals. Therefore, before jumping to the seemingly obvious conclusion that the performance of these ceremonies was extremely rare in ancient India, it may be useful to try and find additional data from regions, which kept close contact with ancient India for centuries and where traces of Indian culture are still visible. The spread of Indian culture was accompanied by the spread of Sanskrit: the language of the textual tradition, which forms the basis for the present study. For that reason, in the search for the archaeological remains of construction rituals, one should also take the regions where Sanskrit was known, at least to the political and religious elite, into consideration, namely the area stretching from present-day Afghanistan, through Nepal and Sri Lanka to Malaysia and Indonesia. The evidence of Sanskrit literacy in this area is provided by numerous Sanskrit inscriptions on stone, terracotta, copper, silver and gold and its cultural unity has already been underscored by Pollock (1996), who referred to it as the 'Sanskrit cosmopolis'.

In contrast to India, the survey of the archaeological reports from other parts of the 'Sanskrit cosmopolis' resulted in numerous archaeological remains

testifying to the performance of various construction rituals. The finds that show, to a degree, correspondences with the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṭakā* as described in the textual sources, are presented below. A detailed description of excavated objects (over two hundred in number) considered as traces of construction rituals is given in Appendix IV.

### 7.3.1 Archaeological finds, discovered outside India, bearing similarities with the *prathameṣṭakā* ceremony as described in the texts

Four rectangular stones forming a square were found at Prasat Trapeang Run 208, 2, an early 11<sup>th</sup> century temple located in Angkor, Cambodia.<sup>43</sup> The stones were discovered in the pit in the centre of the structure. They were accompanied by five little gold leaves placed in the middle (Parmentier 1936: 283-284). The arrangement of the stones as well as the presence of the gold leaves<sup>44</sup> suggest the performance of the *prathameṣṭakā* ritual as described in the South Indian treatises. The location, on the other hand, is not consistent with the South Indian tradition: the four stones were not installed to the south or to the right of the entrance. As far as the North Indian texts are concerned, the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa seems to allow the installation of four first bricks in the centre of the foundation pit (see Section 7.1.1.1 above). Yet, it does not mention that any objects should be placed, without a container, in the middle of the bricks. The consecration deposit of Prasat Trapeang Run, therefore, while possessing certain features prescribed by the Indian treatises, does not fully correspond with any specific text or group of texts.

Similar stones to those of Prasat Trapeang Run, but five in number, were reported from Prasat Ak Yom, an 8<sup>th</sup> century Śaiva temple situated south of the Western Baray in Angkor.<sup>45</sup> The stones were found among the debris blocking the pit leading to an underground chamber, which was located much lower, at a depth of 12.35 metres below the aperture of the pit.<sup>46</sup> The pit also contained a stone statuette of a masculine deity and two pieces of gold leaf, each bearing an image

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<sup>43</sup> Parmentier (1936: 284) dates the temple 1006 AD.

<sup>44</sup> Items most frequently prescribed to be placed in the middle of the first bricks are precious stones. According to several texts, however, when these are not available, they can be substituted by gold. See, for example, Suprabhedā 27.30cd-31ab and MarīciS 6.4.2.1.

<sup>45</sup> According to Glaize (1963: 68) and Chihara (1996: 78), the older parts of Prasat Ak Yom date from the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. Yet, on page 271, Glaize (1963) states that the construction of the temple already started in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and continued up to the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD: “Commencé sans doute au VIIe siècle et n’ayant pris son aspect définitive qu’au début du IXe...”

<sup>46</sup> The measurements of the stones vary in ABIA 1935 and BEFEO 35 (the report by Trouvé). While in ABIA (page 32) the stones are rectangular (0.35 in length by 0.25 in breadth and 0.14 in height), according to BEFEO they are almost cubical (0.35 in length by 0.25 in breadth and 0.34 in height).

of an elephant in repoussé (Trouvé 1933: 1130-1131). Parmentier suggests that the stones of Prasat Ak Yom were originally surrounding a consecration deposit.<sup>47</sup> If this was the case, the consecration deposit of Prasat Ak Yom would, like the one from Prasat Trapeang Run, follow the South Indian texts in the distribution of the stones, but would deviate from them in terms of the location. With regard to the number of stones, it should be remembered that certain Śaivāgamas prescribe five first stones, the fifth one covering the other four (see Ajita 10.59). It should also be noted that certain texts prescribe the placing of an image of an elephant in the middle of the four first bricks (see AtriS 6.35cd-36).<sup>48</sup>

In addition to the Cambodian finds, two deposits, consisting of four bricks forming a square with small items placed in the middle of them, were found in Po Nagar, a group of Śaiva temples in the province of Nha Trang in southern Vietnam. They were discovered inside the central shaft formed by the interior sides of four very thick foundation walls in the northwest tower and in the west tower of the complex (Parmentier 1906, 1918: 443).<sup>49</sup> At the bottom of the shaft of the northwest tower were four large bricks, which touched each other at the corners thus forming a square. They measured 34 by 19 by 11 cm (Parmentier 1906: 291), which more or less fits with the prescriptions of the Kāśyapaśilpa.<sup>50</sup> In the small cavity between the bricks a number of gold sheets were found, apparently deposited according to a specific order. Four square gold plates engraved with the figure of an elephant stood alongside the bricks. The remaining ones, in various forms, namely a lizard or a crocodile, a tortoise and a trident, were placed along the diagonals. In the centre, a lotus had been deposited, also cut out of gold leaf, and the ensemble was covered by fine sand. On the top, there was a thicker square plate divided diagonally into two equal parts: one made of gold, the other silver.<sup>51</sup> In addition, each of the four bricks had a square piece of gold leaf underneath. Other pieces of gold and of copper, a small piece of jade and a golden thread of around 2m long were found in the vicinity of the bricks. Half-way down the shaft, in the corners, were four earthen vases. One of them contained calcium (ibid., 294-295).

The deposit discovered in the west tower was very similar. Here gold and silver sheets, some of them engraved with the figures of an elephant and a

<sup>47</sup> "...ils devaient entourer ce dépôt comme les briques qu'il a retrouvées autour de dépôt sacré de Pō Nagar à Nha-trang." (Parmentier as quoted by Trouvé 1933: 1130). For the deposits of Po Nagar, see below.

<sup>48</sup> Moreover, the placing of a figure of an elephant inside the deposit casket is prescribed by KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 21cd, Dīpta 4.18ab, 19ab, MariciS 13.1.1, Kāmikāgama 31.54cd-55ab (only for a deposit for a *kṣatriya*) and MM 12.54 (only for the temple of Vajrin).

<sup>49</sup> 'Tower' is a common term for the main sanctuary in Champa, also known as tower-shrine or *kalan* (see, for example, Guillon 2001: 30).

<sup>50</sup> The length corresponds with the prescriptions. On the other hand, the height of the bricks is not exactly half their breadth and their breadth is not half their length as prescribed by the Kāśyapaśilpa (KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 23cd).

<sup>51</sup> See drawing in Parmentier (1918: 444, fig. 133), showing the distribution of the items.

tortoise, were also enclosed by four bricks.<sup>52</sup> Under the bricks, on the surface of the virgin soil, about sixty small gold squares were found. It is not known in which way the gold and silver sheets were originally placed, but according to Parmentier (1918: 443) they were possibly arranged in a way similar to that of the deposit in the northwest tower.

Although no specific text describes that the same assembly of objects as found in Po Nagar should be deposited during the *prathameṣṭakā* ceremony, several of the Po Nagar finds are mentioned among the items to be installed, if not during the *prathameṣṭakā*, then during the *garbhanyāsa*.<sup>53</sup> As in the case of the aforementioned deposits, the location does not correspond with the texts.

The temples of Po Nagar have been rebuilt several times, and the present exteriors can be dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> or the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD (Guillon 2001: 195-196). The construction of the temples, however, begun much earlier, during the late 8<sup>th</sup> century; the northwest tower itself possesses an inscription dating from the early 9<sup>th</sup> century. It may be assumed that the foundations of the northwest tower and west tower were not altered and that the deposits found there should, therefore, date to the late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries at the latest.<sup>54</sup> In this case, they would be contemporary to the similar foundation deposit of Prasat Ak Yom.

Consecration deposits installed in the middle of four stones have also been found in Java. Four such deposits were discovered in Candi Viṣṇu,<sup>55</sup> which is one of the temples of the Loro Jonggrang complex in Prambanan, Central Java. The complex is dedicated to Śiva and was constructed during the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>56</sup> It consists of three large temples standing in a row (the main temple: Candi Śiva, and on its sides Candi Viṣṇu and Candi Brahmā), three smaller temples opposite the three large ones, and a number of secondary shrines. The deposits of Candi Viṣṇu, consisting of bronze pots surrounded by four stones and covered by

<sup>52</sup> The list of the objects discovered is given by Parmentier (1906: 292-293).

<sup>53</sup> AtriS 6.35cd-36 prescribes that gold tortoises are to be placed together with the first bricks and by Dīpta 4.18ab, 19ab, ĪSGDP 27.89ab, MarīciS 13.1.1, ViṣṇuS 13.34cd, PādmaS 6.8cd and AtriS 10.9cd say they should be placed into the deposit casket. The placing of a gold lotus flower together with the first bricks is prescribed by KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 52cd; placing of gold lotus flowers in the deposit casket is prescribed by ĪSGDP 27.89ab and by ViṣṇuS 13.35 (in the latter it is in the list of attributes of Viṣṇu). In addition, MM 12.49 prescribes a lotus for a consecration deposit meant for a temple of Brahmā. Tridents are often included in the list of attributes of Śiva, suitable for a consecration deposit for a Śaiva temple, see KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 25ab. For the texts prescribing placing of a gold elephant, see note 47 above.

<sup>54</sup> William Southworth, personal communication.

<sup>55</sup> On Java, 'candi' is the popular term for archaeological monuments, both Hindu and Buddhist, dating from the so-called "Indianized" or Classical Period (see, for example, Soekmono 1995: 1).

<sup>56</sup> The complex was dated on the basis of the Siwagrha inscription of 856 AD (de Casparis 1956: 280-330). This is one of the very few cases when a Central Javanese temple can be dated with some precision. As far as other Central Javanese temples are concerned, their dating, with only a few exceptions, cannot not be determined due to the lack of inscriptions. The dating of the Central Javanese temples provided by the majority of available sources and quoted in the present study are therefore tentative and should be regarded with caution.

another stone slab, were located in the base of the temple below the circumambulatory gallery at the four corners (Soenarto 1985; Soekmono 1995: 116). Two pots contained semiprecious stones and pieces of metals (gold, silver and bronze), the other two were empty (Soenarto 1985: 384-388).<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately, no photographs or drawings of the finds are provided. In addition to the four deposits, two empty cavities, perhaps originally housing bronze pots such as those described above, were found at the centre of the north side and under the threshold on the east side. Hence, the distribution of the pots and the (assemblies of) bricks in Candi Viṣṇu resembled, perhaps, the distribution of the first bricks and the metal jars in the Somaśambhupaddhati, that is in the corners and in the mid-points of the walls.

Stones forming a square were also discovered in the central shaft of Candi Brahmā, another temple of the Loro Jonggrang complex. However, nothing was found in the middle of the stones. The main deposit of the candi was located more or less in the centre of the structure, but on a much higher level (see IJzerman 1891: 65-66 and Appendix IV).

Finally, I would like to draw attention to one of the deposit boxes preserved in the office of the Dinas Purbakala in Prambanan. It resembles numerous other deposit receptacles found in Java (see below) – it is a cubical stone box with nine cavities shaped like a lotus with eight petals and it is covered with a lid. Yet, contrary to other such receptacles, it was discovered surrounded by four large stone blocks (see Lamb 1961: plate 15),<sup>58</sup> which, from the textual point of view, makes it a combination of the *prathameṣṭakā* with the *garbhanyāsa*. It is interesting to note that the practice of installing a compartmented deposit box between four stones was also known in ancient India. The 15<sup>th</sup> century commentary on the Tantrasamuccaya, a treatise on architecture that enjoyed a great popularity in Kerala, suggests that the square opening left among the first bricks is, in fact, destined for a deposit casket (see TantraS, commentary of Śaṅkara to verse 1.90). Considering that the level on which the first brick should be installed is not specified in many texts, it is possible that placing the deposit box in the middle of the first bricks was also followed in other regions of India.

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<sup>57</sup> The pot in the southeast corner contained one rough agate, four silver pieces, five gold pieces, and two broken pieces of bronze while in the bowl at the southwest were found a piece of silver, three pieces of bronze and six of gold.

<sup>58</sup> The find site, unfortunately, is not reported and it is not known whether the box was discovered empty.

### 7.3.2 Archaeological finds, discovered outside India, bearing similarities with the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony as described in the texts

As mentioned above, the South Indian texts, including the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, describe a *garbhabhājana* that is either square or round, divided into compartments and installed to the right or to the south of the door. According to the North Indian treatises, it should be shaped like a lotus and buried in the middle of the foundation. Nothing is said about the compartments, but it cannot be ruled out that compartmented consecration deposit boxes were also known in the north of the subcontinent (see Section 7.1.1.2 above).

A remarkable number of the deposit receptacles unearthed in Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka are divided into compartments. This is especially surprising, because in India itself only a few such receptacles have actually been discovered. Regrettably, many of the compartmented containers were not found *in situ*. Moreover, the information concerning the find sites are often missing, as are the details on the contents of the few deposits discovered intact.<sup>59</sup> It is therefore not possible to check whether the objects deposited within the boxes and their location would correspond with the texts. In the few cases when the compartmented deposit receptacles were found intact, their contents to some extent corresponded with the textual prescriptions. In one case, the location was also consistent with the texts. Intact compartmented deposit vessels were unearthed in Candi Ngempon (formerly known as Candi Muncul), Loro Jonggrang and Candi Gebang in Central Java, Karangrejo and Jolotundo in East Java, and Candi Bukit Batu Pahat in Malaysia; objects, being presumably parts of a consecration deposit, were found in the vicinity of a compartmented box in Candi Gebang in Java. Sections 7.3.2.1 to 7.3.2.7 give a brief description of these finds. The remaining compartmented deposit boxes from the ‘Sanskrit cosmopolis’ are discussed in Section 7.3.2.8.

Several excavated receptacles without compartments also contained objects that the Indian texts say should be deposited in a *garbhabhājana*. These, as well as a few miscellaneous finds, are dealt with in Section 7.3.2.9.

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<sup>59</sup> Lamb (1961: 7) observed: “The contents of these Javanese reliquaries which were found intact are not easy to relate to their respective reliquaries without some considerable research owing to the way in which they have all been jumbled together in cardboard boxes in the treasure room of the Jakarta Museum.” The same can be said about many objects originating from consecration deposits discovered in other regions.

### 7.3.2.1 Candi Ngempon.

Candi Ngempon, formerly known as Candi Muncul, is located near Ngempon, Central Java. Soekmono (1979: 472) ascribes it to the so-called New Dieng style (730-800 AD) but, as in the case of many other Central Javanese structures, the exact date of this Śaiva temple cannot be established with any precision. In the central shaft of the candi, a cubical stone box was discovered. It was covered with a lid and divided into seventeen compartments (Soekmono 1995: 10, 130). It is interesting to note that the compartments had the shape of lotus petals, which brings to mind the brick discovered in Birdpur, Uttar Pradesh. Pieces of gold and bronze, beads, quartz crystals and sand mixed with earth were found in the box. The deposit box of Candi Ngempon corresponds very well to the descriptions of a *garbhabhājana* as given in the North Indian works. Thus, it was installed in the centre of the structure and can be described as ‘having the form of a lotus’ (*padmākāra*, the term used in the texts). Moreover, the pieces of gold, bronze and the other objects found within the box are all included in the lists of items to be deposited during the *garbhanyāsa* ritual. The only element that is not consistent with the majority of the texts is the material from which the box is made, namely stone instead of metal. Yet, in one text stone is indeed mentioned as a potential material for a deposit casket (see *Kāmikāgama* 31.13cd).<sup>60</sup>

### 7.3.2.2 Loro Jonggrang

The temple complex of Loro Jonggrang on the Prambanan Plain in Central Java (see Section 7.3.1 above) yielded numerous consecration deposits, but there was only one compartmented box among them. It was found in one of the courtyards of the complex; the exact location is not reported. The central compartment of the box contained thirteen gold fragments. The eight surrounding compartments each contained a few pieces of gold and between two to four other items, such as pieces of iron, mica, quartz crystals, other minerals and stones. In addition to this, the compartment facing south contained lumps of red earth (for the distribution of the items, see Appendix IV.1.2.51).

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<sup>60</sup> The box discovered in Candi Muncul was surmounted by a bronze pipe placed vertically (Soekmono 1995: 10). None of the texts mention such a pipe above the *garbhabhājana*. On the other hand, *Tantrasamuccaya* 1.74ff and *Śilparatna* 10.6ff mention a copper tube (known as *yoganāla*) as a part of a consecration deposit, different from the *garbha*, which should be installed in the centre of the foundation pit (in these two texts the *garbhabhājana* is installed to the right or to the south of the temple door). A pipe, similar to that of Candi Muncul, was also discovered in the temple shaft of Candi Merak (Central Java). Here, however, the deposit place was otherwise empty (Soekmono 1995: 10).

### 7.3.2.3 Candi Gebang

Candi Gebang is a very small Śaiva temple located to the north-northeast of Yogyakarta. Like Candi Ngempon, Soekmono (1979: 472) ascribed it to the period between 730-800 AD.<sup>61</sup> During the excavation of the candi, a square stone box covered with a lid and divided into nine compartments in the form of lotus petals was found (Stutterheim 1937a: 24 and plate 10). No additional information about the location of the box is given. When discovered, the box was presumably empty, but further excavation yielded several objects, such as bronze and gold images of crescents and tridents, which perhaps constituted the consecration deposit (Stutterheim 1937a: plate 11). This seems plausible as several Indian texts prescribe placing images of tridents inside a consecration deposit for a temple of Śiva.<sup>62</sup>

### 7.3.2.4 Karangrejo

An earthenware container with cavities resembling rays or lotus petals was found in the village of Karangrejo near Kediri in East Java. Unfortunately, the report does not say whether the box was discovered in a temple or the ground. Like the receptacle of Candi Ngempon, it was covered with a lid, but there were nine cavities, rather than seventeen. Inside three lotus flowers made of gold were found, along with fragments of bronze vessels (Stutterheim 1939: 121). Regretfully, nothing can be said about the date of the deposit.

### 7.3.2.5 Jolotundo

Jolotundo is a sacred bathing place near the village of Pandaan, south of Surabaya in East Java. It is a terraced structure cut into a slope of a mountain, which consists of three 'ponds' (the function of the 'ponds' has thus far not been established with certainty). In the middle of the central 'pond' there is a stone structure resembling a small shrine. The Jolotundo site has been dated 977 AD on the basis of an inscription (Groeneveldt 1887: 217; Stutterheim 1956; O'Connor 1966a: 53; Klokke 1993: 12). A nine-chambered stone box, filled with various objects, was found at the site (see Plate 3). The exact location where it was

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<sup>61</sup> According to Dumarçay (1993: 80) the temple was originally Buddhist and rebuilt in the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.

<sup>62</sup> See, for example, KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 25ab, but also Dīpta 4.21cd, Kāmika 31.52ab, Suprabhedha 28.25cd, MM 12.33.



discovered was, however, not reported.<sup>63</sup> The compartments of the Jolotundo box are square and arranged in three rows of three. The walls of the central compartment are slightly higher than the others. The box rests on a round double lotus cushion and it was initially covered with a pyramidal lid. The cushion and the box are carved out of a single stone.<sup>64</sup> It is interesting that both South and North Indian traditions seem to be represented in the Jolotundo box as it is divided into compartments, yet, at the same time, a part of it is shaped like a lotus.

The objects that filled the box are more elaborate than those discovered in the sites discussed above. The central compartment contained a cylindrical gold casket. Silver coins, silver pieces of irregular shape and several figures cut out of gold leaf, namely a tortoise, two ‘crowned snakes’,<sup>65</sup> a crescent and two rectangles were placed in the remaining ones (van Hoëvell 1851: 112, Groeneveldt 1887: 217). All the gold pieces were inscribed. On the first snake was written, in Old Javanese script (as given by Brandes in Groeneveldt 1887: 216), ‘om *baḥ svâhâ*’, on the second one ‘om *phaṭ svâhâ*’, on the turtle ‘*ram*’, on the crescent ‘*yam*’.<sup>66</sup> The first rectangular piece bore the inscription: ‘om *īśânâya bhûtâdhipataye svâhâ*’, the second: ‘om *agnaye dvijâdhipataye svâhâ*’.

As already noted, several texts prescribe that a gold tortoise be placed in the deposit casket (see note 20 above). Moreover, images of snakes are sometimes prescribed for a consecration deposit to be installed in a well, a water reservoir and in a bridge.<sup>67</sup> A link with Indian architectural and ritual texts is also formed by the Sanskrit inscriptions on the gold pieces. Two of them are prayers to Īśāna and Agni, the gods of the northeast and southeast respectively. Although the textual sources do not explicitly state that the names of the gods of directions should be written down and placed into the deposit casket, the *lokapālas* are often invoked in the eight or nine jars placed during the *kumbhasthāpana* ceremony, which is a part of any consecration rite, including the *garbhanyāsa* (see the note to KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 39-41ab). By pouring water from the jars over the deposit casket, the *lokapālas* are transferred into it. It would be interesting to find out if the invocations to Īśāna and Agni were placed in the compartments facing the geographical directions associated with them. Unfortunately, the exact distribution of the items in the Jolotundo box was not recorded. It is plausible that the box initially possessed a set of eight or nine gold or silver pieces, each of them bearing an invocation to a guardian of directions. The gold objects (but not the

<sup>63</sup> van Hoëvell (1851: 112) writes that the box was discovered “bij het graven in het vierkant, waarom de waterstraal nederstort, diep in den grond”, but he does not give additional information. According to Bosch (1961b: 51) the box was found under the small structure in the centre.

<sup>64</sup> The box has been depicted in various publications, see for example Lamb (1961, plate 20), Mitra (1981, plate 32) and Soekmono (1995, plate 1). For the drawing of the box and its lid see van Hoëvell (1851, fig. 8).

<sup>65</sup> These figures were referred to by van Hoëvell (1851: 112) as a dragon and a lion, but this identification does not seem plausible.

<sup>66</sup> According to Patt (1983: 224) ‘the turtle read “ram” or “yam.”’

<sup>67</sup> MM 12.99 and Mahānirvāṇatantra 13.170 as given by Pott (1966: 91-92).

silver ones) discovered in the box were acquired by the Museum of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (at present: Museum Nasional, Jakarta) ten years later than the box itself (Patt 1983: 222). It is therefore possible that not all the objects actually found their way to the Museum. Moreover, all the data concerning the discovery of the box are known only second hand, by later writers, and for that reason may indeed not be reliable.

Just as the invocations to the *lokapālas*, the remaining inscriptions might also be linked to the Indian texts. ‘*Ram*’ and ‘*yam*’ may perhaps be identified as two *bījas* (‘seed letters’) belonging to the group: *la*, *ya*, *ra* and *va*, associated with the four elements, that is earth, water, fire and wind respectively. According to the Sanskrit ritual treatises, these letters should be written on the first bricks and the crowning bricks before their installation (see *KŚ prathameṣṭakā* 36cd-37c). In addition, the sound ‘*phaṭ*’ is an essential part of the *astramantra*, frequently pronounced during the ceremony of placing the objects into the deposit casket (see *KŚ garbhanyāsa* 18d).

Apart from the objects described above, the Jolotundo box was also said to contain ashes and the remains of burned bones,<sup>68</sup> but no chemical analysis of the material discovered in the box was ever done. By the time the box found its way to the Museum of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, some fifty-four years later, no remains of ashes or bones could be traced (Patt 1983: 222). Nevertheless, the belief that the Jolotundo box was in fact a burial urn soon became popular and supported the theory that the Javanese structures were tombs. This theory was finally refuted in 1974 by Soekmono.<sup>69</sup> It should be stressed that no Indian text prescribes placing bones or ashes inside a deposit container.

### 7.3.2.6 Candi Bukit Batu Pahat

The most complex deposit involving the use of compartmented boxes was unearthed in Candi Bukit Batu Pahat in Malaysia. The candi is located on the bank of the Batu Pahat river in the Merbok Estuary in Kedah, two miles to the north of the village of Merbok. The dating of the site is problematic. Wales (1940: 21) dates it 7<sup>th</sup> or early 8<sup>th</sup> century AD but does not give any grounds for doing so. Lamb (1960: 8, 106) and Bosch (1961: 488) suggest the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries on the basis of an epigraphic analysis of the inscriptions on the metal discs found on the site. Treloar (1972: 233), on the other hand, believes that the candi was built during the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> century AD, basing his statement on the chemical analysis

<sup>68</sup> See van Hoëvell (1851: 112): “Toen de heer Wardenaar dezen bak voor ’t eerst opende, vond hij in al de vakken asch en overblijfselen van verbrande beenderen.”

<sup>69</sup> *Candi, fungsi dan pengertiannya*. PhD thesis, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta. The summary of the book appeared in the BEFEO a few years later and the English translation of the monograph was published in 1995 (see: Soekmono 1975 and Soekmono 1995).

of the metal objects found there, especially on the presence of mercury in the alloys.

It is not known whether the *candi* was a Hindu or Buddhist temple. Soekmono (1995: 29-30) considers it to be of Tantric Buddhist origin arguing that the structure lacks the central pit which, according to him, is a characteristic of Śaiva temples (Soekmono 1995: 29). Indeed, the majority of the Buddhist temples of Java, the area covered by Soekmono, do not have the central shaft, but there is at least one example of a Buddhist temple that possesses it.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, what is true for Java need not necessarily be true for Kedah. A different view was presented by Bosch (1961: 488) who pointed to the presence of *liṅgas* and bulls in the deposit (see below) and suggested that the temple was Śaiva, which indeed seems highly plausible.<sup>71</sup>

The first archaeologist to excavate the site was Wales, who in his 1940 report refers to it as 'site no. 8' (Wales 1940: 18-21). During the excavations fragments of two stone boxes were found among the debris outside the main sanctuary.<sup>72</sup> They had nine circular depressions, the largest being in the centre, and they were probably once covered with lids. Almost twenty years later, during the excavations carried out by Lamb in 1958-59, six similar boxes were unearthed, this time in their original position and intact (see Lamb 1960a, 1960b, 1961). Three of them were found at the corners of the sanctuary, the other three at the mid-points of the walls.<sup>73</sup> All the boxes were placed in such a way that the lids were level with the top of the paving of the sanctuary floor. Presumably the *candi* possessed originally eight deposit boxes, four of which were installed in the corners and four at the mid-points of the walls.

Each of the six boxes discovered *in situ* had a copper pot in its centre. The pots contained semiprecious stones, minerals, gold dust, inscribed gold leaves (one in each pot) as well as seeds and other vegetable matter (seeds and vegetable matter were found only in the pots located in the northeast and in the west). The gold leaves were inscribed with a single letter (see Lamb 1960a: fig. 32 and plates 106-119). The inscriptions are not of a very high quality and therefore not easy to read, but it seems that the one on the gold disc from the box, which was installed in the southwest corner, reads 'om' (Treloar 1972: 232). More objects were deposited under the pots, in the nine circular depressions at the bottom of the

<sup>70</sup> This temple is Candi Sojiwan, located on the Prambanan Plain in Central Java.

<sup>71</sup> From the survey of the archaeological reports of South and Southeast Asia it appears that while several images (for example those of snakes) were shared by Hindus and Buddhists alike, the images of *liṅgas* were found exclusively in the Hindu consecration deposits while the bulls were part of a Buddhist consecration deposit only when accompanied by three more animals: an elephant, a lion and a horse (see Appendix IV).

<sup>72</sup> One of the boxes was kept, at the time of the publication of Lamb's articles, in the Alor Star museum, Kedah. The whereabouts of the second box is not known. For a photograph of one of the boxes found by Wales, see Wales (1940, plate 32).

<sup>73</sup> The boxes were located in the west, east and north corners and in the mid-points of the southwest, northwest and northeast walls (Lamb 1960a: 27 and fig. 8).

boxes. The eight smaller ones contained pieces of gems and minerals; the central cavity contained seven objects cut from gold, silver and copper leaf: a silver bull, a silver square with five ‘stars’ scratched on the surface, a copper turtle, a copper lotus flower, a gold *liṅga*, a gold semicircle and a gold seated female figure. Each of the female figurines wears a high headdress and holds a trident in the right hand and a lotus in the left hand. The goddesses are depicted seated with their legs crossed on a lotus cushion.<sup>74</sup> These seven objects were piled up in an order that differs slightly from box to box.

The appearance of the boxes as well as the majority of the items discovered inside them are in agreement with the prescriptions for the *garbhanyāsa* given by the Indian texts. Semiprecious stones, minerals, gold, seeds, images of bulls,<sup>75</sup> turtles and lotus flowers are all included in the lists of objects deposited in a *garbhabhājana*. Inscribed gold discs are not explicitly mentioned by the textual sources, but it should be remembered that the Śaiva works speak of mantras and letters of the Sanskrit alphabet that should be placed into the deposit casket. In such a case each compartment will receive a single letter (see KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 15-17ab). It should be noted, moreover, that the fragments of gems and metals contained in the eight small depressions at the bottom of the boxes were apparently distributed according to a fixed pattern (for the list of the gems and metals found in the boxes, see Lamb 1960a: 79-83). For instance, the cavity facing north almost always housed a piece of vivianite, the one in the northwest a fragment of crystal, the cavity in the west a piece of mica, the one in the southwest a yellowish-green chrysoberyl and so forth. This reminds us of the fact that in the Indian texts the items, including precious stones, are never placed at random and that the compartment in which a particular object should be deposited is always specified. On the other hand, images of goddesses and *liṅgas* are never mentioned as parts of a consecration deposit and, more importantly, no architectural work prescribes the installation of eight identical deposit boxes in a single structure. The number of the boxes discovered in Candi Bukit Batu Pahat and their distribution within the temple suggests, perhaps, that the construction ritual performed there was a local variant of the *garbhanyāsa* ritual of the Indian texts. In this variant, each compartment facing a specific geographical direction was substituted by an entire deposit box. The inspiration for placing the deposits in the corners and in the mid-points of the walls might also have been drawn from certain North Indian texts, such as the

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<sup>74</sup> For the discussion on the identification of the goddesses, see Appendix IV.

<sup>75</sup> Figures of bulls should be placed into a deposit box during the *garbhanyāsa* according to several Śaiva texts. They are usually listed together with other attributes of Śiva, see KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 25ab, Kāmika 31.52ab, Kāraṇa 6.48cd, Dīpta 4.22ab.

Somaśambhupaddhati, in which the first bricks, accompanied by metal jars, are deposited at exactly the same locations.<sup>76</sup>

### 7.3.2.8 Other compartmented deposit containers discovered in South and Southeast Asia

Compartmented deposit boxes were discovered at many more Hindu sites in Java and Malaysia, and they were apparently also known in Thailand and Sri Lanka. However, contrary to the deposits described above, these boxes were not found *in situ*, or, in some cases, the details of their discovery have not been recorded. Compartmented deposit receptacles seem to have been especially popular in Java where they can be seen in several museums and on many ancient sites. The cavities of the Javanese receptacles usually have the form of lotus petals (see Plates 4, 17, 19 and 20); a few boxes, like those from Jolotundo and Loro Jonggrang that have already been mentioned, have regular square compartments grouped in three rows of three (see Plate 3), and at least two have their cavities arranged along the edge (see Plates 5 and 21). The Javanese deposit boxes have usually nine or seventeen cavities, nine being slightly more common; one receptacle preserved in the Prambanan Museum has thirty-three cavities (see Plate 6). All but one of the compartmented deposit boxes found in Java are made of stone.<sup>77</sup>

Apart from the deposits of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, just one compartmented box was found in Malaysia. It was lying, broken, near the porch of the temple in the so-called site no. 19 in Kedah. The box has nine round depressions and is more elaborate than those described above: its outer sides are decorated with mouldings and pilasters (see Wales 1940, plate 73; Lamb 1960a, plates 165, 166). The site was dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century AD by Wales. There is not enough evidence to establish whether the temple concerned was of Hindu or Buddhist origin.

A stone box with five square depressions forming a cross on its upper surface and covered by a pyramidal lid can be seen in the museum at Wat Machimawat in Songkhla, Thailand (Wales 1964). The details of the discovery are not recorded, but according to the local tradition the casket was found at Ban Wat Khanoon (Satingpra Peninsula), in a small ruined brick temple containing a bronze statue of Śiva.<sup>78</sup> The box was empty when presented to the Wat.

In Sri Lanka, compartmented deposit receptacles are very common, but almost all of them originate from Buddhist sites. Only three of such containers

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<sup>76</sup> The only difference is that the Somaśambhupaddhati prescribes nine bricks and nine jars – the ninth brick and jar are deposited in the centre of the structure. It cannot be excluded, however, that, if the ninth casket of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat existed, it was stolen in antiquity.

<sup>77</sup> The exception is the earthenware box from Karangrejo described in 3.2.2.

<sup>78</sup> Janice Stargardt, personal communication.

were found in Hindu temples - one in the so-called Shiva Devale in Polonnaruva, two in a Vaiṣṇava temple in Nalanda. The Polonnaruva container was presumably placed under the pedestal of an image of a deity. The receptacle has twenty-five regular compartments and it was empty when discovered (Bell 1907: 7-8). It is not specified whether it was made of stone or, like many receptacles in Sri Lanka, of brick. Of the two receptacles found in Nalanda one has twenty-five compartments, the other seventeen compartments (see Plates 33-34).

Finally, a remarkable deposit receptacle preserved at the Colombo Museum deserves a mention (Coomaraswamy 1914: plate xxii, fig. 124). It was discovered in Anuradhapura. Although Anuradhapura is famous mainly for its Buddhist remains, it is known that Hindu temples were also constructed there. Hence, it is possible that the box originates from a Hindu structure. The container is divided into twenty-five regular compartments and is covered by a lid. The difference with numerous other compartmented deposit boxes discovered in South and Southeast Asia is that, while all of them are made of stone or earthenware, the Anuradhapura box is made from copper or bronze,<sup>79</sup> and as such, corresponds entirely with the prescriptions of the Sanskrit texts. Apart from the box discovered in Pondicherry, which it closely resembles, it is, thus far, the only compartmented deposit container made of metal which may originate from a Hindu temple.

### 7.3.2.9 Other consecration deposits showing correspondences with the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony as described in the texts

As mentioned at the beginning of Section 7.3.2, a great number of deposit containers discovered in Southeast Asia and in Sri Lanka neither have compartments nor are they lotus-shaped as prescribed by the Indian texts. Yet, the majority of the objects deposited within them fit perfectly well in the lists of items to be placed in a *garbhabhājana*. The archaeological reports mention semiprecious stones, fragments of metals and minerals, figures of elephants and turtles, attributes of Viṣṇu, gold lotus flowers, *bijas*, vowels of the Sanskrit 'alphabet' and the names of the Guardians of the Directions inscribed on metal sheets, as well as seeds and other organic material enclosed in stone boxes or metal and earthenware jars discovered in Hindu temples. Moreover, several objects, such as gold leaves and semiprecious stones, which most probably also originate from consecration deposits, were found 'loose', without any container.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Copper, according to Coomaraswamy (1914), bronze according to Karunaratne (1984: 125).

<sup>80</sup> For example, images of tortoises were found in the central shaft of Candi Viṣṇu (enclosed in an earthenware jar) and in the central shaft of Candi Śiva (enclosed in a cubical stone box). A gold image of an elephant was found in the Śaiva temple in Gatak, Central Java (enclosed in a stone box). Gold lotus flowers were discovered in the above mentioned deposits of Candi Viṣṇu and Candi Śiva (Prambanan Plain, Central Java), and in Baphuon in Angkor, Cambodia. Letters of the Sanskrit 'alphabet' and the name '*baruṇa*' were inscribed on metal plates being part of the deposit

The sites where the objects were discovered date from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries AD; some deposits might be as late as 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>81</sup> All these finds are described in detail in Appendix IV.

### 7.3.3 Archaeological finds, discovered outside India, bearing similarities with the *mūrdheṣṭakā* ceremony as described in the texts

Superstructure deposits or traces of them were found in several temples of South and Southeast Asia, but none of them consisted of four bricks or stones forming a square. The superstructure deposits in Cambodia consist of a single slab with cavities, most probably meant to contain small items such as precious stones and gold leaf (see Plates 7-8, 13-16). One such slab was also found in Thanh-dien in Vietnam, one in Candi Merak in Central Java (see Plate 17) and another one, with a single cavity, in a secondary temple of the Loro Jonggrang complex.<sup>82</sup> Unfortunately, all of these slabs were discovered empty.

In Central Java, superstructure deposits were discovered in Gedong Songo and in Candi Dwarawati. One of the temples of Gedong Songo contained in its superstructure a bronze box and a small golden *liṅga* (Krom 1923/1: 238). The deposit of Candi Dwarawati consisted of three gold plates with Kawi-inscriptions and one plate of gold alloy inscribed with the name ‘Viṣṇu’ (Krom 1923/1: 189). In East Java, miscellaneous items were found at the summit of Gunung Bondo (Jabung, Mojokerto): a gold *liṅga* together with a silver *yoni*, an inscribed gold sheet, a gold leaf in the shape of an animal, pieces of silver and bronze and pieces of bone (Soekmono 1995: 127).

In Vietnam, superstructure deposits consisting of fragments of metal sheets and figures cut out of metal plate, but not enclosed in a container, were discovered in the temple B1 of Mi Son and in the south tower of Po Nagar.<sup>83</sup>

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of Candi Śiva. Precious and semiprecious stones were found on several locations, for example in Candi Dwarawati (placed in bronze bowls), Ratu Boko (in earthen pots). Rice and other kinds of grain were found in Candi Selogriyo, in a bronze pot. A description of these finds is provided in Appendix IV.

<sup>81</sup> Pottier (1998: 518) suggests that the deposits discovered at the Terrace of the Elephants in Angkor might date from this period.

<sup>82</sup> For the slab of Thanh-dien, see Parmentier (1923: 283 and plate XV H), Malleret (1963: 86) and Appendix IV.1.2.32; for the one of Candi Merak, see Perquin (1927), Soekmono (1995: 11-12) and Appendix IV.1.2.76; for the slab discovered at Loro Jonggrang, see Dinas Purbakala, Jakarta, Laporan Tahunan 1953, fig. I.

<sup>83</sup> The same as in the case of foundation deposits, the detailed description of the finds and the references are given in Appendix IV. See Appendix IV.1.2.70 for Gedong Songo, 1.2.68 for Dwarawati, 1.2.78 for Gunung Bondo and 1.2.29 for Mi Son.

## 7.4 Consecration deposits discovered in Buddhist structures

The list of consecration deposits possessing features corresponding with the descriptions of the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṭakā* in the Kāśyapaśilpa and the related texts does not end with the finds mentioned above. The remaining ones, however, were not found in Hindu temples. All of them were discovered at Buddhist sites. Although the present study deals chiefly with Hindu ritual, it was, nevertheless, decided to include a short overview of the Buddhist consecration deposits in the present chapter, because of their remarkable similarity to the Hindu ones.

Buddhist consecration deposits were discovered in great numbers in all areas of the ‘Sanskrit cosmopolis’ (see Appendix IV), but those showing closest correspondences with *garbhanyāsa* as described in the Indian texts originate mainly from Sri Lanka, where they are called *yantragala*. These are square receptacles of nine or twenty-five compartments constructed of stone or brick (see Plates 11-12). As stated by Paranavitana (1946: 23), they “can be seen at almost any ancient site in Ceylon.” They are much larger than their Hindu counterparts from Java and Malaysia<sup>84</sup> and their compartments are almost always square, not lotiform (for a few exceptions, see Appendix IV). The majority of them were discovered below the relic chambers in *stūpas* and under the pedestals of images in Buddhist temples. A few were placed under the floor of the shrines for the Bodhi tree<sup>85</sup> and one was installed in the superstructure of a *stūpa*, at the base of the *harmikā*.<sup>86</sup>

Most of the Sri Lankan compartmented deposit containers were empty at the time of their discovery, their contents probably stolen by treasure-seekers. The few that were discovered undisturbed were filled with a variety of small objects, most of them made from bronze and copper, such as small statues of the Guardians of the Directions, the images of four animals: bull, elephant, lion and horse, representations of the so-called auspicious signs (*maṅgala*) and images of cobras. In addition, a few *yantragalas* contained terracotta and marble plaques with various images, inscribed copper sheets, miniature ‘weapons’ of the *lokapālas*, images of tortoises, precious and semiprecious stones, coins, conch

<sup>84</sup> For instance, the stone box discovered in Vijayarama under the Buddha statue of Vihāra no. 2 measured 91.5 cm<sup>2</sup> (Bell 1904a: 5). In contrast to this, the deposit boxes of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat were only 18 cm<sup>2</sup> (Lamb 1960).

<sup>85</sup> Two such deposits are known: one was found at Dematamalvihāra, in Southwest Sri Lanka (Jayasuriya et al. 1995: 290), the other comes from the ‘Buddhist Railing Site’ near Jetavanarama Dagaba in Anuradhapura (Bell 1904a: 4). The possible third example comes from the Monastery I of the Mahāvihāra, Anuradhapura - according to Bandaranayake (1974: 183) “there is a distinct possibility that [the structure in which the deposit was found] was actually a *bodhighara*.”

<sup>86</sup> It was found in the Pabalu *stūpa*, Polonnaruva (Longhurst 1938: 7-11 and plate 4).



shells and, very rarely, gold ornaments, lumps of clay and decayed organic material (Karunaratne 1984: 151-156; see also Appendix IV). Several of these objects are prescribed by the Hindu architectural texts to be placed into a *garbhabhājana* (see Section 7.1.1.2) and many of them were indeed part of consecration deposits discovered in Hindu temples of South and Southeast Asia.<sup>87</sup> The images of the Guardians of the Directions, the group of the four animals<sup>88</sup> and the images of cobras are, on the other hand, exclusive characteristics of Buddhist consecration deposits of Sri Lanka.

In addition to the large containers made out of stone or brick, the archaeological reports from Sri Lanka also mention two compartmented boxes made of metal. Their appearance is remarkably consistent with the descriptions of the *garbhabhājana* in the South Indian treatises: they are much smaller than the majority of Sri Lankan *yantragalas*, square, and divided into nine and twenty-five regular compartments. The first box was unearthed during the digging of the foundation for a new building in Navagamuva Vehera in Hevagam Korale (Paranavitana 1934: 20), the second originates from the so-called Vidiya Bandara palace at Palanda (Plant 1914b: 76). A piece of gold was found in the central compartment of the Palanda receptacle, while the surrounding compartments contained various gems and pieces of metal; the box discovered in Navagamuva Vehera was empty.

The majority of the Sri Lankan containers date from the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century (see Appendix IV). The two metal boxes are probably much later as both Nagamuva Vehera and the Palanda palace were probably constructed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Compartmented deposit receptacles made of stone were also used by the Buddhists in Thailand and, possibly, Bali. In Thailand, caskets with five cavities in their upper surface were discovered in the *stūpa* no.1 at Ku Bua, Ratburi (Wales 1964: 221) and in Wat Mahathat in Sukhothai (see Appendix IV.2.7 and Plate 9). In Bali, a set of nine compartmented boxes was discovered inside the 11<sup>th</sup> century temple complex of Gunung Kawi, south of Tampaksiring.<sup>89</sup> The boxes were placed at the entrance of a low underground chamber excavated under each shrine. They are square, with dimensions of around 40 by 40 by 15cm (Damsté 1921: 61). The nine shallow compartments are grouped three by three and in the

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<sup>87</sup> It is interesting that the *maṅgala* signs, prescribed by several Hindu texts (see note 21 above), were almost never part of a Hindu consecration deposit. Yet, they were discovered in eleven Buddhist *yantragalas* of Sri Lanka (see Appendix IV).

<sup>88</sup> Apart from Sri Lanka (where it was a part of at least nine *yantragalas*), the group of four animals has only been discovered in the consecration deposit of the site no. 16 in Kedah. The group was accompanied there by miniature images of the weapons of the *lokapālas*, which are also a very common part of the consecration deposits of Sri Lanka.

<sup>89</sup> The temple complex is referred to by Damsté as Buddhist (see even the title of his 1921 article: “Een Boeddhistisch rotsklooster op Bali”). Yet, the basis for such a classification is not given and one cannot exclude the possibility of Gunung Kawi being a Hindu monument.

bottom of each compartment there is another, deeper square cavity (see Plate 10). At the time of their discovery all the boxes were empty.<sup>90</sup>

Compartmented receptacles were apparently also used in Nepal. Indrajī (1882: 295) mentions deposit boxes placed in relatively modern Nepalese *stūpas*, which contained no relics. He writes: “In these *Chaityas*, three stones, each with nine square holes containing the seven jewels and gold, silver and other metals, are laid, one at the base of the mound, a second at the base of the dome, and a third under the top....”

Traces of the ceremony of placing the first bricks, even if not entirely consistent with the prescriptions of the texts discussed in Chapter 5, were found in Sahagrawa in Nepal and in Trung Quan in Quang Binh, Vietnam (Mitra 1972 and Arousseau 1926: 363-365). In India itself, eight large bricks were found surrounding a relic casket in the relic chamber of the Buddhist *stūpa* in Sopara, north of Mumbai (Indrajī 1882: 294 and plate III). Moreover, several Buddhist temples contained traces of superstructure deposits. Only one such deposit was found in Sri Lanka (see note 81 above), but in Cambodia, for example, superstructure deposits were very common and closely resembled those discovered in the Hindu temples of the same region.<sup>91</sup> As regards the similarity to the Hindu finds, it should be added that images of tortoises and lotuses cut out of gold leaf, very similar to those known from the Hindu sites, were found in the consecration deposits of the Buddhist temples not only in Sri Lanka, but also in Java, Sumatra and Vietnam.<sup>92</sup> All these finds are described in Appendix IV in greater detail.

## 7.5 Concluding remarks

The study of the available archaeological reports and accounts of witnesses did not result in finding a hundred-percent correspondence between a particular consecration deposit and one of the descriptions of the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* or *mūrdheṣṭakā* in the *Kāśyapaśilpa* and other Sanskrit treatises presented in Chapter 5. On the other hand, several consecration deposits discussed

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<sup>90</sup> The boxes were also mentioned by Goslings (1926: 208-209) and by Treloar (1972). Goslings suggests that they were meant for the *navaratna*, the nine gems.

<sup>91</sup> Superstructure deposits slabs were found in Buddhist temples, such as Prasat Damrei Krap in Phnom Kulen, Ta Prohm, Preah Khan, Banteay Kdei and Bayon in Angkor (see Appendix IV). Those from earlier temples (for example from Prasat Damrei Krap) are almost identical with those discovered in the Hindu temples such as Prasat Thom and Prasat Dan in Koh Ker and Banteay Srei in the vicinity of Angkor. See Goloubew and Finot (1926, plate 67, 69, 70), Parmentier (1930 and 1939), Coedès (1940), Marchal (1944, plate XXXc), Boisselier (1966) and Appendix IV.

<sup>92</sup> For example in the foundation deposits of Candi Sojiwan, Central Java and Dai Huu in Vietnam and in Candi Gumpung in Sumatra (see Appendix IV).

above do correspond with the descriptions of the texts as far as certain features are concerned. The practice of installing the foundation deposit in the middle of four bricks attested in Tamil Nadu, Cambodia and Vietnam and the characteristic shape of the consecration deposit box as employed in Hindu temples of Tamil Nadu, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Java and Kedah - a cubical box with square or lotus-shaped compartments – are consistent with details given in the *Kāśyapaśilpa* and related texts. Many objects constituting the deposits, such as gold images of tortoises and elephants, metal sheets inscribed with ‘seed letters’, seeds and semiprecious stones reported from several sites in the entire area, as well as the importance apparently attached to the geographical directions and their guardians, too, agree with the prescriptions in the Indian treatises. It is true that burying precious objects in the foundations of new buildings is, and was, a well-known custom that also spread far beyond the area of the ‘Sanskrit cosmopolis’.<sup>93</sup> Yet, it does not seem likely that certain specific features mentioned above, especially the shape of the deposit box and the installation of a foundation deposit among four bricks, were invented in each of the regions from India to Indonesia independently. Rather, the fact that numerous Indian texts describe comparable consecration deposits points to India as a plausible source of inspiration.

It is impossible to determine whether the direct source for the custom of installing a consecration deposit in the middle of four bricks and in a compartmented receptacle were Indian Sanskrit texts or whether the tradition was transmitted by people, for instance temple priests, travelling from India to the other regions of the ‘Sanskrit cosmopolis’, or merchants, perhaps carrying small models and drawings of temples and deposit boxes and telling stories about consecration of famous Indian temples. Moreover, even if it was the texts, it cannot be determined whether these were the one that are the subject of the present study. Still, it is not unlikely. Some of the Sanskrit treatises presented in Chapter 5 are of an earlier date than the excavated compartmented vessels and the brick assemblies, which means that it is possible that they were known at least to some of those who performed the construction rituals in the areas from which the finds originate. The *Kāśyapaśilpa* itself, compiled in the 11-12<sup>th</sup> century AD, is probably too late a work to have functioned as a model for many of the archaeological finds discussed above.

Returning to the questions asked at the beginning of this chapter with respect to the relation between the textual data and practice, one must conclude that the number of correspondences between the excavated consecration deposits and the ritual objects known from the texts proves that rituals, perhaps not identical, but very similar to those described in the *Kāśyapaśilpa* and the other texts were indeed performed, at least in Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Java and Sri Lanka. With regard to India itself, apart from two finds (one of which being of

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<sup>93</sup> For the European Medieval tradition, see, for example, de Vries (1994: 109-122).

unknown provenance),<sup>94</sup> no correspondences with the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṭakā* as presented in the Kāśyapaśilpa and the related texts were found, despite the fact that construction rituals were certainly performed there as has been testified to by witness reports, the contemporary tradition and the (few) archaeological remains. Moreover, it is hardly conceivable that the ritual practices, which are described in numerous Indian texts and apparently left their imprint over a great deal of South and Southeast Asia, would not have been followed in the area where they originated. There must, therefore, be a different reason for the lack of material evidence for the performance of the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṭakā*.

At this point it should be noted that not only the archaeological remains that may linked to the three aforementioned rituals are lacking in India. The number of reported consecration deposits also generally appears to be lower than in the other regions of the ‘Sanskrit cosmopolis’ (see Appendix IV). The reason for that may lie, in my view, not in the lesser popularity of the construction rituals as a whole or in the fact that the texts, presented in Chapter 5, were never used in reality, but partly in the differences in the histories of India, Sri Lanka and the countries of Southeast Asia and partly in the approach of the authorities in charge. In North India, the arrival of the Muslims resulted in the destruction of a great deal of Hindu temples starting from the campaigns by Mahmud of Ghazni in the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>95</sup> Many temples were abandoned and the consecration deposits looted.<sup>96</sup> In South India, on the other hand, several important temples are still in use with, as it can be expected, their consecration deposits concealed in places where they were originally installed. Destroying the floor and walls of the sanctum sanctorum of a temple still in use in order to investigate the possible presence of a consecration deposit is naturally out of question. This may be one of the reasons for the scarcity of archaeological remains testifying to the performance of the construction rituals, especially those involving the placing of a

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<sup>94</sup> The four bricks discovered in Ulagaṇṇuram and the compartmented metal casket of Pondicherry. See section 1.2.1 above.

<sup>95</sup> See, for example, Kulke and Rothermund (1986: 163ff).

<sup>96</sup> The cases of temples destroyed by pillagers are recorded in the archaeological reports from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Kelsall in no. 2 of the Indian Antiquary (1874: 177) writes: “The flooring of the temple [viz., a temple close to Kamlapur, two miles from Hampi], originally large slabs of stones, has been torn up and utterly ruined by persons in search of treasure which is supposed to be buried both here and in other parts of the ruins” and a report on a temple near Besnagar reads: “Treasure seekers have now wrecked the statues and destroyed the floor [of the interior shrine]” (Kincaid 1888: 349). A similar description is given of another temple in the vicinity of Hampi: “In the interior of the court, and close to the east entrance, was a small stone shrine, whose foundations had been damaged by the digging of treasure seekers.” (Rea 1908: 26).

deposit in the lower strata of a building. Renovation or the replacement of temples have thus offered the only chance for archaeological remains to be discovered.<sup>97</sup>

As stated above, the second reason for the paucity of the archaeological remains associated with the construction rituals on the Indian subcontinent might have been the attitude of the authorities. British colonial rulers were apparently aware of the presence of the deposits,<sup>98</sup> but no excavations were carried out in India in order to retrieve them. This was caused, on the one hand, by a particular lack of interest in and understanding of the Hindu religion - the British authorities of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century AD showed much more interest in Buddhism than in Hinduism. Another reason was the fear of causing a conflict with the local religious authorities. As a result, the majority of excavation and restoration works of that period concerned Buddhist sites and monuments. This led to the discovery of numerous Buddhist consecration deposits, mainly in present Sri Lanka, but almost no Hindu ones. At the same time, the rulers of French Indochina took a totally different approach. Inspired by the tales of the 'treasures' hidden in the ancient temples, the French archaeologists undertook excavation works for the sole purpose of finding the deposits.<sup>99</sup> Their efforts were crowned with success, which proves the simple rule: seek and ye shall find.

Taking into account the arguments presented above, the relative scarcity of remains associated with the consecration deposits in India cannot be taken as a proof that the construction rituals were carried out on a much smaller scale than in the neighbouring countries. Although no direct proof exists, the indirect evidence consisting of the number of texts in which these rituals are described on the one hand and the consecration deposits discovered in South and Southeast Asia on the other render it highly plausible that the rituals performed in the antiquity included also the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṭakā*. Lastly, it should be added that although the *garbhanyāsa* and the *mūrdheṣṭakā* seem to have been almost entirely forgotten in modern-day India, the *prathameṣṭakā* is still

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<sup>97</sup> Like, for instance, the finds of Pāpanāsi (see 1.2.3), which were discovered when the temples were dismantled and re-erected on another location due to the construction of a dam on the Krishna river, or the pedestal deposit stone discovered in Saurashtra during the renovation of the famous temple in Somnath (see Munshi: 1952 and Appendix IV).

<sup>98</sup> See Rea (1910: 24), writing about the 'treasure troves' hidden in ancient temples: "Jewels and sasanams inscribed on gold plates are, or were invariably buried below the images of worship, under certain piers, and in other parts of temples. This fact is well known to all who are acquainted with Hindu usages in regard to temples, and is the reason why the shrines of so many ancient deserted temples have had their floors dug into. This used to be specially noticeable in almost all the ruined temples at Vijayanagar, and the results must have been substantial, for it to have been so systematically done." See also note 6 above.

<sup>99</sup> For instance in Po Nagar and in Angkor Vat, the latter hidden at the depth of 23m (see Appendix IV). Such approach seems to prevail until today among the French archaeologists in Cambodia: the consecration deposits of the Terrace of the Elephants in Angkor were found during a deliberate search with the help of metal detectors (see Pottier 1998).

performed, at least for more significant temples, in more or less the way described in the texts.<sup>100</sup>

Finally, I would like to say a few words about the terminology. Apart from the question of whether the performers of the construction rituals in various regions of South and Southeast Asia were acquainted with the Indian treatises, the consecration deposits discovered there should not, in my opinion, be referred to by the Sanskrit terms used in these texts. These terms, especially *garbha*, 'embryo', carry a meaning, which was perhaps not transferred to the regions outside India, even if some of the texts were. It is not certain if the meaning of the objects was also taken over as well as their form. Even if the consecration deposits discovered in Sri Lanka, Nepal and Southeast Asia would have been identical to those described in the Indian texts, still, they would perhaps represent something different for the societies that installed them. In Java, the presumable modification of the function and meaning of the construction rituals is reflected in the fact that the foundations of temples and even the excavated consecration deposit boxes sometimes contained animal ashes and bones.<sup>101</sup> As mentioned previously, animal remains are never prescribed as a part of a consecration deposit in the Indian architectural and ritual treatises. Furthermore, none of the deposit vessels discovered in India contained animal remains. Their presence inside and in the vicinity of consecration deposits in Java therefore suggests the influence of the local tradition given that animal offerings seem to be a common element to the construction of buildings in certain regions of Southeast Asia.<sup>102</sup>

With respect to the archaeological finds from Buddhist sites presented in Section 7.4, the fact that many of them correspond, at least in part, with the prescriptions for Hindu consecration deposits expressed in Hindu ritual texts is worthy of future attention. Given the current state of our knowledge, it would, however, be imprudent to draw any firm conclusions. Yet, their similarity to the Hindu deposits suggests that the differences between Buddhism and Hinduism in

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<sup>100</sup> As communicated to me by several temple priests and scholars of ritual, among others by K.P.C. Anujan Bhattathiripad and Parameswaran Namboodiripad of Kerala and the Śaiva priests from the Kapaleśvara Temple in Madras.

<sup>101</sup> It is true that many claims concerning animal remains being a part of a consecration deposit proved false. For instance, the analysis of the contents of the central shaft in Candi Plaosan Lor revealed that the 'ashes' found there are in fact silicate deposits (Soekmono 1995: 122). It has to be remembered that many of the earlier finds reported to contain 'ashes' were never chemically analysed, so that there is a good chance that they did not contain anything of animal origin at all. On the other hand, animal bones were indeed found in some temple shafts, for example in Loro Jonggrang and in the (Buddhist) Candi Plaosan Lor (IJerman 1891: 67-68). The latter were analysed, together with the 'ashes' found in the same building, at the Paleo- and Biological Laboratory of the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta (Soekmono 1995: 112). In addition, according to the list in the Appendix in Soekmono (1995: 123), ash was present in the stone box found at Pucung, Malang, containing also items known as 'usual' parts of a consecration deposit, such as inscribed metal sheets, gold images of turtles, coins and the *images* of *liṅga* and *yoni*.

<sup>102</sup> See, for instance, Jordaan and Wessing (1997: 110) who mention the burying of the head of a water buffalo, of a goat or of a chicken under the foundation of a dwelling under construction.

certain regions of South and Southeast Asia were perhaps smaller than has thus far been assumed. Finally, it should be stressed that the similarities between the Hindu and the Buddhist consecration deposits usually occur in one and the same region. It may, therefore, be stated that it is geography that is the major determinant of the form and contents of the consecration deposits of South and Southeast Asia, rather than the religious tradition.





# **TABLES**

## Table 1

Distribution of vowels in the compartments of the deposit casket according to Kāśyapaśilpa *garbhanyāsa* 15ab, 16cd-17ab.

|   |    |      |    |    |
|---|----|------|----|----|
| e | ai | o    | au | aṃ |
| ḷ |    |      |    | aḥ |
| ḻ |    | kṣaṃ |    | a  |
| ḿ |    |      |    | ā  |
| ṅ | ū  | u    | ī  | i  |

**Table 2**

Distribution of the items in the *garbha* casket according to Kāśyapaśilpa *garbhanyāsa* 19-27. First the gems are placed. The first gem is placed in the middle, the remaining ones clockwise, starting in the east. Then the objects made of various metals and the minerals are placed (in two rounds). The sequence has been indicated by numbers.

|                              |                  |                                      |                  |                          |
|------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| 6.<br>paraśu<br>(sīsa)       | 15.<br>añjana    | 7.<br>hariṇa<br>(trapu)              | 16.<br>gorocana  | 8.<br>triśūla<br>(āyasa) |
| 14.<br>saurāṣṭra             | puṣparāga        | sūryakānta                           | vidūraga         | 17.<br>haritālaka        |
| 5.<br>pināka<br>(kamsya)     | śaṅkha           | māṇikya<br>9.<br>vṛṣabha<br>(svarṇa) | vajra            | 1.<br>jagat<br>(svarṇa)  |
| 13.<br>gairikā               | sphāṭika         | indranīla                            | mauktika         | 10.<br>śyāma             |
| 4.<br>khaṭvāṅga<br>(ārakūṭa) | 12.<br>jātiliṅga | 3.<br>kurma<br>(tamra)               | 11.<br>manaḥśilā | 2.<br>kapāla<br>(rajata) |

Table 3

Analysis of the ritual structure of the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṭakā* on the basis of the *Kāśyapaśilpa*

| PRATHAMEṢṬAKĀ                  | Verses    | GARBHANYĀSA                     | Verses    | MŪRDHEṢṬAKĀ                     | Verses   |
|--------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------|----------|
| Introductory statement         | 1ab       | Introductory statement          | 1-3       | Introductory statement          | 1ab      |
| Prescriptions for the location | 1cd-2ab   | Prescriptions for the location  | 4-7ab     | Prescriptions for the location  | 1cd-2    |
| Digging the foundation pit     | 2cd-8ab   | Material and appearance         | 7cd-14    | Prescriptions for the time      | 3ab      |
| Measuring with the cords       | 8cd-10ab  | Placing the mantras / akṣaras   | 15ab-17ab | Material and appearance         | 3cd-6    |
|                                |           | Instruct.: objects to be placed | 17cd-18ab |                                 |          |
|                                |           | Washing the casket              | 18cd      |                                 |          |
| Pavilion construction          | 10cd-14   | Placing the objects             | 19-29     | Pavilion construction           | 7-13ab   |
| Anointing with cow dung        | 15ab      | Pavilion construction           | 30-34     | Anointing with cow dung         | 13c      |
| Decorating with piṣṭacūrṇa     | 15c       | Sending the śilpin away         | 35a       | Sending the śilpin away         | 13d      |
| Giving food to the Brahmins    | 15d-16a   | Anointing with cow dung         | 35b       | Giving food to the Brahmins     | 14ab     |
| Vāstuhoma                      | 16b       | Decorating with piṣṭacūrṇa      | 35c       | Anointing with cow dung         | 14c      |
| Paryagnikaraṇa                 | 16cd      | Puṇyāhavācana                   | 35d       | Puṇyāhavācana                   | 14d      |
| Making the sthaṇḍila           | 17-18ab   | Making the sthaṇḍila            | 36        | Making the sthaṇḍila            | 15-16    |
|                                |           | Worshipping the gods            | 37ab      | Worshipping the gods            | 17       |
|                                |           |                                 |           |                                 |          |
| Material and appearance        | 18cd-31   |                                 |           | Material and app. (final)       | 18ab-26  |
|                                |           |                                 |           |                                 |          |
| <b>Preliminary ceremonies:</b> |           | <b>Preliminary ceremonies:</b>  |           | <b>Preliminary ceremonies:</b>  |          |
| Washing the bricks             | 32ab      | Washing the casket              | 37cd      | Washing the bricks and the axis | 27a-c    |
| Ācārya description             | 32cd-35ab |                                 |           | Placing the akṣaras             | 27d-29ab |
| Kautuka                        | 35cd-36ab | Kautuka                         | 38a       | Kautuka                         | 29cd-30a |

Table 3. Continued

| <b>PRATHAMEṢṬAKĀ</b>             | <b>Verses</b> | <b>GARBHANYĀSA</b>               | <b>Verses</b> | <b>MURDHEṢṬAKĀ</b>              | <b>Verses</b> |
|----------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| Placing the akṣaras              | 36cd-37c      |                                  |               | Placing the Adhidevas           | 30b-31ab      |
| Wrapping cloth / placing sthaṇḍ. | 37d-38        | Wrapping cloth / placing sthaṇḍ. | 38b-d         | Naivedya                        | 31cd          |
| Kumbhasthāpana                   | 39-41ab       | Kumbhasthāpana                   | 39-40ab       | Wrapping cloth                  | 32ab          |
| Naivedya                         | 41cd          |                                  |               | Kumbhasthāpana                  | 32cd-34a      |
|                                  |               |                                  |               | Naivedya                        | 34b           |
| Homa                             | 42-44         | Homa                             | 40cd-43       | Homa                            | 34cd-37       |
| <b>The day of installation:</b>  |               | <b>The day of installation:</b>  |               | <b>The day of installation:</b> |               |
| Prescriptions for the ācārya     | 45            | Ācārya description               | 44-45         | Ācārya description              | 38-40         |
| Pūjā / pūrṇāhuti                 | 46-47ab       | Worship of the ācārya / śilpin   | 46cd-47ab     | Pūjā / Pūrṇāhuti                | 41-42ab       |
| Worship of the ācārya / śilpin   | 47cd          | Instr. for the installation      | 47cd-48       | Instruct. for the installation  | 42cd-46ab     |
| Installation                     | 48-52ab       | Placing the items in the pit     | 49-53         | Installation                    | 46cd-51ab     |
| Placing the gems                 | 52cd          | Installation                     | 54-56         | Placing the gems                | 51cd-52       |
| Sprinkling with water            | 53-54ab       | Final remarks                    | 57ab          | Sprinkling with water           | 53-56         |
| Final remarks / dakṣiṇā          | 54cd          |                                  |               | Dakṣiṇā                         | 57-58         |
|                                  |               |                                  |               | Final remarks                   | 59ab          |



# **APPENDIXES**





# Appendix I

## List of abbreviations

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| MW          | Monier-Williams Sanskrit English Dictionary |
| AgniP       | Agni Purāṇa                                 |
| Ajita       | Ajitāgama                                   |
| Aṃśumad     | Aṃśumadāgama                                |
| AtriS       | Atri Saṃhitā                                |
| BṛhatS      | Bṛhat Saṃhitā                               |
| Cintya      | Cintyāgama                                  |
| Dīpta       | Dīptāgama                                   |
| HayaP       | Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra                        |
| ĪSGDP       | Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati                   |
| Kāraṇa      | Kāraṇāgama                                  |
| Kāmika      | Kāmikāgama                                  |
| KāśyapaJK   | Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa                           |
| Kumāra      | Kumāratantra                                |
| Mṛgendra    | Mṛgendrāgama                                |
| Suprabheda  | Suprabhedāgama                              |
| MM          | Mayamata                                    |
| MS          | Mānasāra                                    |
| MarīciS     | Marīci Saṃhitā                              |
| PādmaS      | Pādma Saṃhitā                               |
| MañjuśrīVVŚ | Mañjuśrīvāstuvidyāśāstra                    |
| KŚ          | Kāśyapaśilpa                                |
| Raurava     | Rauravāgama                                 |
| SaSū        | Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra                      |
| SiŚe        | Siddhānta Śekhara                           |
| SŚP         | Somaśambhupaddhati                          |
| ŚrīprS      | Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā                           |
| TantraS     | Tantrasamuccaya                             |
| VāstuV      | Vāstuvidyā                                  |
| ViṣvaksenaS | Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā                          |
| VV          | Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstra                      |
| VDhP        | Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa                     |

## Appendix II

### List of Sanskrit texts describing the *prathameṣṭakā*<sup>1</sup>

- Bṛhat Saṃhitā 52.110 (ed. Dvivedi; 53.112 ed. Bhat)
- Agni Purāṇa 41.1-18ab
- Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa 94
- Ajitāgama 10
- Kāmikāgama 51
- Kāraṇāgama 4
- Dīptāgama 2
- Suprabhedāgama 27
- Aṃśumadāgama<sup>2</sup>
- Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 27.39-71
- Somaśambhupaddhati IV.1.1-108
- Atri Saṃhitā 6
- Kriyādhikāra 5.1-25ab
- Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa 30
- Marīci Saṃhitā 6
- Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra 11-12.9ab
- Pādma Saṃhitā 5
- Viṣṇu Saṃhitā 13.7-21
- Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā 8.8cd-42.
- Mānasāra 12.94cdff
- Mayamata 1.101-111
- Śilparatna 12.7cd-10, 12,5-31
- Tantrasamuccaya 1.81-94, 12.4
- Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstra 6
- Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra 35

### List of texts describing the *garbhanyāsa*:

<sup>1</sup> The chapter numbers are given on the basis of the editions and manuscripts listed in the Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> The chapter dealing with placing the first bricks occupies a different place in various manuscripts of the Aṃśumadāgama. In T3 it is chapter 25, in T4 chapter 7, in T158 chapter 78, in T273 chapter 39, in T1007 chapter 92, in T1070 chapter 28.

- Agni Purāṇa 41.18cd-30
- Ajitāgama 17
- Kāmikāgama 31
- Kāraṇāgama 6
- Dīptāgama 4<sup>3</sup>
- Suprabhedāgama 28
- Aṃśumadāgama<sup>4</sup>
- Kumāra Tantra 31
- Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 27.72ff
- Siddhānta Śekhara 3
- Atri Saṃhitā 6.38-40 (village), 10.1-44
- Kriyādhikāra 5.25cd-33ab
- Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa 16
- Marīci Saṃhitā 13.1
- Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra 12.9cd-52
- Pādma Saṃhitā 6
- Viṣṇu Saṃhitā 13.22-44
- Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā 1.56, 1.52-55
- Aniruddha Saṃhitā 31
- Mānasāra 12.1-94ab
- Mayamata 9.101-128 (village), 12.1-100, 112-114
- Śilparatna 12.1-7ab, 32-52,5
- Tantrasamuccaya 1.95-126, 12.5-6
- Viśvakarma Vāstuśāstra 6
- Vāstuvidyā 13.19cd-20

**List of texts describing the *mūrdheṣṭakā*:**

- Ajitāgama 15
- Kāmikāgama 61
- Kāraṇāgama 10
- Dīptāgama 20
- Suprabhedāgama 31
- Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati 34.5-20ab
- Atri Saṃhitā 10.44cd-55

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<sup>3</sup> Chapter 4 in the edition of Barazer-Billoret, Dagens and Lefèvre Dagens (2004). The *prathameṣṭakā* and *mūrdheṣṭakā* chapters, not included in the 2004 edition, are given on the basis of the transcript T1018.

<sup>4</sup> The chapter dealing with the placing of consecration deposit occupies a different place in various manuscripts of the Aṃśumadāgama. In T3 it is chapter 29, in T158 chapter 82, in T273 chapter 43, in T889 chapter 49, in T1070 chapter 32.

- Kriyādhikāra 5.33cd-38
- Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa 32
- Marīci Saṃhitā 13.2
- Pādma Saṃhitā 9.4-20
- Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā 34.33cd-65
- Mānasāra 18.71-93cd, 169ff
- Mayamata 18.66cd-77, 116-158
- Śilparatna 34.1-22, 36.2ab

## Appendix III

### Index of technical terms from the *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* and *mūrdheṣṭakā* chapters of the *Kāśyapaśilpa*<sup>1</sup>

|                               |   |  |
|-------------------------------|---|--|
| <i>agra</i>                   | - | prathameṣṭakā 29d, 51a, 51c, mūrdheṣṭakā 49b, 49d, 50b, 50d                            |
| <i>aghora</i>                 | - | prathameṣṭakā 43c  |
| <i>aṅga</i> [ <i>mantra</i> ] | - | garbhanyāsa 42a, mūrdheṣṭakā 36a   |
| <i>adhivāsa</i>               | - | prathameṣṭakā 32b  |
| <i>adhiṣṭhānasīmā</i>         | - | prathameṣṭakā 9c   |
| <i>astra, astramantra</i>     | - | garbhanyāsa 18d  |
| <i>ādhāra</i>                 | - | prathameṣṭakā 8a   |
| <i>ālabhana</i>               | - | garbhanyāsa 11d  |
| <i>īśāna</i>                  | - | garbhanyāsa 42b, mūrdheṣṭakā 53b   |
| <i>upapīṭhasīmaka</i>         | - | prathameṣṭakā 9d   |
| <i>upavedi, upavedika</i>     | - | mūrdheṣṭakā 10d, 11b   |
| <i>upāna</i>                  | - | garbhanyāsa 4d   |
| <i>karāla</i>                 | - | mūrdheṣṭakā 56a  |
| <i>kavaca</i>                 | - | prathameṣṭakā 44a  |
| <i>kumuda</i>                 | - | garbhanyāsa 4c (T297, P, Th), 4d (T1)  |
| <i>kūṭa</i>                   | - | garbhanyāsa 15a, 19a, 19b, 25d, 38d  |
| <i>koṣṭha</i>                 | - | garbhanyāsa 13c, 15a, 15c, 16c   |
| <i>koṣṭhabhitti</i>           | - | garbhanyāsa 14b, 14d   |
| <i>kautuka</i>                | - | prathameṣṭakā 35d (20092), garbhanyāsa 38a, mūrdheṣṭakā 30a; see also <i>pratisara</i> |
| <i>kṣurikā</i>                | - | mūrdheṣṭakā 36b  |
| <i>garbha, garbhaka</i>       | - | garbhanyāsa 1d, 2a, 3c, 7b   |
| <i>garbhagarta</i>            | - | garbhanyāsa 18b, 50a   |
| <i>garbhanyāsa</i>            | - | garbhanyāsa 1b, 3b, 6d, 57a  |
| <i>garbhabhājana</i>          | - | garbhanyāsa 8b, 10a, 10c, 29b, 54b, 55d, 56b   |

<sup>1</sup> The index lists only the terms not included, or included but translated differently or insufficiently, in the standard Sanskrit dictionaries. For the explanation of the terms, see the notes to the relevant passages in the text.

|                         |   |  |
|-------------------------|---|--|
| <i>ghana</i>            | - | prathameṣṭakā 23d, 25c, mūrdheṣṭakā 6b, 24c, 26a               |
| <i>jagatī</i>           | - | garbhanyāsa 4c   |
| <i>taraṅga</i>          | - | garbhanyāsa 31b, mūrdheṣṭakā 9c                                |
| <i>tāra</i>             | - | garbhanyāsa 10a  |
| <i>nābhi</i>            | - | garbhanyāsa 34b  |
| <i>netra</i>            | - | prathameṣṭakā 43d  |
| <i>parivāra</i>         | - | prathameṣṭakā 2a   |
| <i>parivārālaya</i>     | - | garbhanyāsa 6c   |
| <i>prati</i>            | - | garbhanyāsa 4a   |
| <i>pratisara</i>        | ̀ | prathameṣṭakā 35d; see also <i>kautuka</i>                     |
| <i>pratisūtraka</i>     | - | prathameṣṭakā 10b  |
| <i>prapā</i>            | - | prathameṣṭakā 11a, garbhanyāsa 30d, mūrdheṣṭakā 8c             |
| <i>prāsādabīja</i>      | - | garbhanyāsa 55c  |
| <i>phelā</i>            | - | garbhanyāsa 13a, 14a, 14c, 17c, 18c, 37c                       |
| <i>brahma[mantra]</i>   | - | prathameṣṭakā 52a, mūrdheṣṭakā 36a, 37c                        |
| <i>mahānāsī</i>         | - | mūrdheṣṭakā 1d   |
| <i>mukha</i>            | - | prathameṣṭakā 30a  |
| <i>mūla</i>             | - | prathameṣṭakā 29c, 31c, 51b                                    |
| <i>yoni</i>             | - | garbhanyāsa 34b  |
| <i>vinyāsa</i>          | - | prathameṣṭakā 9b   |
| <i>viśāla, viśālaka</i> | - | prathameṣṭakā 23cd, garbhanyāsa 12d, 14a, mūrdheṣṭakā 11c, 21b |
| <i>veśa</i>             | - | mūrdheṣṭakā 11a  |
| <i>śaktidhvaja</i>      | - | mūrdheṣṭakā 2a   |
| <i>śikhā</i>            | - | mūrdheṣṭakā 25c  |
| <i>śikhipāda</i>        | - | mūrdheṣṭakā 23d, 26a   |
| <i>śīrṣa</i>            | - | prathameṣṭakā 31b  |
| <i>sakalīkṛta</i>       | - | prathameṣṭakā 34d, garbhanyāsa 45d                             |
| <i>sadya</i>            | - | prathameṣṭakā 43a, mūrdheṣṭakā 35b                             |
| <i>stūpidaṇḍa</i>       | - | mūrdheṣṭakā 18b, 20b, 53b                                      |
| <i>sthāpaka</i>         | - | prathameṣṭakā 47c, mūrdheṣṭakā 57b (T2, T47), 58b (T2)         |
| <i>hastipāda</i>        | - | prathameṣṭakā 7c   |
| <i>hṛd, hṛdaya</i>      | - | prathameṣṭakā 35d, garbhanyāsa 42a, 54a                        |
| <i>homa</i>             | - | garbhanyāsa 5a   |
| <i>homasūtra</i>        | - | prathameṣṭakā 10a  |

## Appendix IV

### Catalogue of the archaeological finds<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. Material traces of construction rituals discovered on Hindu sites

##### 1.1 Material traces of construction rituals in India

1.

Find: Compartmented metal box with a lid.

Location: Pondicherry, Tamil Nadu, India.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: A cubical copper box made of thin copper plates brazed together. The dimensions of the box are 9" by 9" by 9". It is divided into twenty-five compartments by means of copper strips and is provided with a flat lid. The box was discovered during the digging of a well on the outskirts of Pondicherry territory, but it is not sure whether it was originally deposited there or ended up there by chance. It is not reported whether the box was found empty or whether it contained some objects or remains of vegetable material etc.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). The appearance of the box agrees fully with the textual prescriptions. Yet, the original function of the box cannot be established with certainty.

References: Lamb 1964b.

2.

Find: Four granite slabs forming a square and covered by another stone

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<sup>1</sup> The present catalogue is by no means complete. Numerous consecration deposit boxes and miscellaneous items originating from consecration deposits can be seen in museums and on ancient sites of South and Southeast Asia. They are especially frequent in Sri Lanka, Cambodia and in Java. Many of them are not catalogued; sometimes their provenance is unknown. To catalogue all the finds verges on impossibility. Yet, it seemed important to me to gather as many as possible of them, from the whole area of the 'Sanskrit Cosmopolis' (see Pollock 1996), and to present them as a group in order to gain a broader view on consecration deposits in general and on consecration deposits in India in particular. I hope that the catalogue presented here might in the future serve as a help in further studies on archaeology and ritual tradition of South and Southeast Asia.

slab.

Location: Ulagapuram, Tamil Nadu, India.

Dating: Chola period (9<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> AD).

Description: Four granite slabs “resembling the shape of bricks” (Mitra 1981: 46) were discovered in a Śaiva temple in Ulagapuram. The slabs were forming a square with an opening in the centre, which was covered by another stone slab. The stones were located below the *upāna*-course of the western door-jamb of the ruined *maṇḍapa* of the temple. The temple dates presumably from the Chola period. Correspondence with the texts: Probable (*prathameṣṭakā*). The location in the vicinity of the entrance and the fact that the stones formed a square point to the *prathameṣṭakā* ceremony performed according to the South Indian texts. With regard to the fifth stone slab, it should be remembered that certain Śaivāgamas prescribe placing five stones, the fifth one covering the other four (see Ajita 10.59). The Śaiva Siddhānta works mentioning the *prathameṣṭakā* ceremony in which four first bricks forming a square are installed in the vicinity of the door seem to have enjoyed a great popularity in Tamil Nadu (see Chapter 2.1). Moreover, as reported by Mitra (1981: 46), the Ulagapuram temple belongs to the Chola period, which makes it contemporary with the majority of the Sanskrit sources describing the ceremony of placing the first bricks.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the level on which the Ulagapuram stones were installed, it should be added that according to TantraS 1.89 the first bricks are to be installed in the *pāduka*, which in many texts is a synonym of *upāna* (for *pāduka* and *upāna*, see Dagens 1984: 40). TantraS was written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century AD. Yet, it is possible that the practice of installing the first bricks in the *upāna* was known already in the earlier centuries.

References: Mitra 1981: 46.

3.

Find: Pot (material not reported).

Location: Vijayapuri, Andhra Pradesh.

Dating: Ikshvaku period?

Description: A large pot covered by a stone lid was discovered in the Mahādeva Pushpabhadrasvāmi temple in Vijayapuri (Nagarjunakonda). Inside the pot was placed a lamp. The pot was located beneath the *garbhagṛha* of the temple. No additional information about the location are given.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish without knowing the precise location of the pot and the material of which the pot was made. It should be noted that, according to the texts discussed in the present study, a lamp is prescribed only for the consecration deposit of the main building in a house meant for Brahmins (MM 12.87cd), not for a temple.

<sup>2</sup> The Chola period is usually dated 9<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> century AD (see Harle 1994: 292-327). The texts, in which the first bricks, numbering four or five, should be installed near the entrance date, roughly, from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century AD (see Chapter 5).



References: Sarma 1982: 101.

4.

Find: Pots made of red-slipped ware.

Location: Siddeswaram, Andhra Pradesh.

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> AD?

Description: Below the stone temple of Siddhesvarasvami at Siddeswaram "pits and pots of red-slipped ware" were found inside the grooves cut into the brick floor. The Siddhesvarasvami temple was dated, on the basis of an inscription, to the 11<sup>th</sup> AD. According to Thapar (1981: 116-117), however, the brick floor belongs to an earlier structure, "not later than the fifth century AD," which seems a very early date. If this date is correct, the structure under the Siddhesvarasvami temple would be one of the earliest freestanding Hindu temples of India (see, for example, Harle 1994) and the pots would predate the earliest available texts mentioning placing such objects in the foundations.<sup>3</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish. According to Thapar (ibid), the pots are traces of a ceremony prescribed by the Vāstuśāstras (treatises dealing with architecture). Yet, the Vāstuśāstras are much later than the proposed date of the brick floor – the place where the pots were found. The earliest known Vāstuśāstras (date probably from the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD (see Chapter 5). Moreover, Thapar does not report how many pots were found and whether they were facing specific geographic directions as prescribed by the ritual and architectural texts.

References: Thapar 1981: 116-117.

5.

Find: Earthen pot decorated with six female figures and seven snakes.

Location: Keesarigutta, Andhra Pradesh.

Dating: 7<sup>th</sup> AD?

Description: The pot was found at the north-western corner of the *ardhamandapa* of an ancient temple. The site where the pot was discovered was excavated in 1978-79 by V.V. Krishna Sastry and it is assumed that it was an important town in the heart of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin empire. The pot is decorated with six female figures and seven snakes. Five female figures are seated on the shoulder of the pot; the sixth one is mounted on the lid.<sup>4</sup> The snakes are presented with their hoods raised. It is not reported whether anything was found within the pot and on which level the pot was

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<sup>3</sup> Later Vedic texts mention sometimes placing a piece of gold in the pit under the central post of the future house (see Mānavagṛhyasūtra 2.11.7), but nothing is said about depositing pots in the foundations. Such rituals are only mentioned in the later ritual and architectural texts, which are not earlier than 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century AD (see Chapter 5).

<sup>4</sup> Sarma (1982: 148) wrongly interprets the sixth figure as a male and suggests it to represent the Vāstupuruṣa. He corrects it in his later article (1987: 239 n 15). For the photograph of the pot, see: Thapar (1981, plate XXXVIII C).

found. Sarma (1982: 148) states that the pot was discovered “in the vestibule of a shrine within its foundational brick layer,” but in his 1987 article he contradicts himself writing that the pot “... cannot be regarded as a *nidhikalaśa* or strictly a *garbha* vessel for it is neither of metal or stone nor kept deposited in the foundational layers” (Sarma 1987: 237).<sup>5</sup> Concerning this last remark it should be stressed that apart from the material, it is chiefly the appearance of the pot that does not follow the textual prescriptions. None of the consulted texts mentions, as a part of a foundation deposit, a vessel decorated with female figures and snakes. Moreover, the location on which the pot was installed does not agree with the prescriptions of the texts either. According to Thapar (1981: 64), the pot “may be consecrated at the time of raising the *sikhara* of the shrine.” This does not seem probable, at least when one wants to follow the ancient manuals. According to them the foundation deposit (of any kind) should be installed much earlier, before or during the construction of the temple’s base (see KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* and *garbhanyāsa*).

Concerning the peculiar decoration of the pot, it was perhaps in agreement with the religious orientation of the shrine where it was buried: in the same site were found "a figurine of mother goddess made of single mould and adorned with *makarika*-type of hairdress" and "a stone plaque of mother goddess depicted with legs wide apart and a full blown lotus in the head part, holding a *linga* in the raised right hand and a head of a lion in the left hand besides figures of *nandi* and a man depicted on it" (Thapar 1981: 63). It cannot thus be excluded that the structure was a shrine dedicated to the Goddess (Devī) or perhaps to a group of goddesses, which might explain the unusual decoration of the pot.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Thapar 1981: 63-64, Sarma 1982: 147-148, Sarma 1987: 235-236.

6.

Find: Six copper coins and a small iron mace.

Location: Pāpanāsi near Alampur, Andhra Pradesh.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> AD?

Description: The Pāpanāsi group of temples, situated 3 km. south of Alampur, consists of twenty-three structures marked A to W. They have been dated to circa 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century AD (Rao 1985: 9).<sup>6</sup> Due to the construction of a dam on the Krishna

<sup>5</sup> *nidhikalaśa*, a ‘treasure-jar’, is a common term for jars, which are installed in the temple during various consecration rituals, for example during the so-called *ṣaḍādhāra* ceremony (in Kerala; Tantrasamuccaya 1.74ff and Śilparatna 10.6cfff; for the contemporary tradition, see Varma 1983: 452-453), during the *prathameṣṭakā* ceremony according to the SŚP etc. It is not clear which of these ceremonies was meant by Sarma.

<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, the copper jars discovered in the superstructures of the Pāpanāsi temples (see below) were dated 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> century AD by Rao (1985: 13). The reason for that is not given in the report.

River the temples have been dismantled and moved to a new location 4 km away. The iron mace was discovered below the floor of the *garbhagṛha* of the temple O, adjacent to the sidewall. The coins were found under the floor of the same temple; the exact location is not given. One of the coins had on its obverse a trident within a square (Rao 1985: 13).

Correspondence with the texts: possible. Images of tridents are prescribed as a part of a consecration deposit (*garbha*) for a temple of Śiva. On the other hand, they should be placed in a container and they should be accompanied by more attributes of Śiva and other objects (see KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 21cd-25).

References: Rao 1985: 13.

7.

Find: Copper vases filled with several objects.

Location: Pāpanāsi near Alampur, Andhra Pradesh.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: In the *śikharas* of the temples B, C, E, F, H, K, T and V spouted copper vases were found. They were placed at the *grīva* level and were vertically aligned with the *stūpi* (the crowning element of the temple) above. Three of them had lids; the remaining ones were sealed with the use of river silt. One copper vessel with lid, from temple B, contained five precious stones wrapped in a thin gold leaf and a gold flower. The vase found at temple F contained a quartzite oval flake, the vase from temple K had an iron arrow-head placed with the cutting edge projecting upwards and those from temples H and T contained lotus shaped cup bases made of thin metal sheets (Rao 1985: 13).

Correspondence with the texts: possible. Metal jars filled with miscellaneous items are prescribed to be placed in the superstructure of temples according to ĪŚGDP 34.20cd-26ab. The text does not specify the level on which the jars should be installed. According to Rao (1985: 13) the precious stones and the gold flower (discovered in the jars in temple B) “clearly suggested the observance of *ratnanyāsa* ritual.” While the author is certainly right assuming that the objects testify to the performance of a certain ritual, the term used by him - *ratnanyāsa* – is inappropriate for a ritual which concerns the superstructure. *Ratnanyāsa*, in general, is a variant of a consecration ritual during which nine gems and occasionally some other items are installed (loose or contained inside a deposit casket) below or inside the object to be consecrated. In the Sanskrit architectural and ritual texts the term is mainly used in relation to the consecration of an image or a *liṅga*<sup>7</sup> and never when referring to the deposit placed in the superstructure. The use of the term *ratnanyāsa* by Rao reflects perhaps the popular usage of the term in contemporary India, possibly due to the

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Aṃśumadāgama T3 32b (*devīsthāpanam*), Atri Saṃhitā 18.57, Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra 38 and Matsya Purāṇa 266.9.

‘simplification’ of the consecration ritual – in many contemporary temples the consecration deposit consists mainly of precious and semiprecious stones.

References: Rao 1985: 13.

8.

Find: One piece of gold sheet in the shape of a leaf, five circular copper coins.

Location: Pāpanāsi near Alampur, Andhra Pradesh.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The objects were discovered under the pedestal of a *liṅga* in one of the temples of Pāpanāsi (the report does not specify in which one).

Correspondence with the texts: yes. Several texts mention placing miscellaneous objects under the pedestal of an image of a temple deity or under a *liṅga*.<sup>8</sup> This ceremony is usually referred to as *ratnanyāsa*, lit. ‘the placing of gems’.

References: Rao 1985: 13.

9.

Find: Two flat stones, one with nine cavities on its surface.

Location: Somnath, Saurashtra, India.

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> AD or earlier (the first stone); between 11<sup>th</sup> AD and 1590 AD (the second stone).<sup>9</sup>

Description: The excavations of the Somnath shrine brought to light two flat stones placed under the Śiva *liṅga*. The upper stone has in its centre nine cavities (Munshi 1952: 106-107). It seems that the stones are supports for the *liṅga*, often referred to in the Sanskrit architectural and ritual texts as *brahmaśilā*.<sup>10</sup> Placing such supports is an important part of the *liṅga* installation (see note 6 above). The nine holes in one of the stones functioned probably as receptacles for the nine precious stones deposited on this occasion.

Correspondence with the texts: yes (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Munshi 1952.

10.

Find: A jar and a stone slab with cavities.

Location: Gokul, Bogra district, West Bengal.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Dīpta 15.8cd-14 and 20.244-256, Raurava 28.69-70ab, Ajita 18.189-199 etc. The ceremony is only briefly mentioned in the KŚ.

<sup>9</sup> The exact date of the construction of the temple is not known. After being ransacked and destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni at 1026 AD, the Somnath temple was rebuilt and then destroyed again. The second *brahmaśilā* has probably been installed during the renovation of the temple prior to 1590 AD (Munshi 1952: 83).

<sup>10</sup> For example, in Ajita 18, Raurava 28, MM 34 etc. Stone with cavities meant for housing consecration deposits were found under numerous statues in temples of Southeast Asia. For a few examples, see Plates 23-27.

Dating: 6<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The jar and the slab were found during the 1934-35 excavation of a mound known as Meḍh in Gokul. The large jar was lying, broken, in the south-eastern corner of the excavated shrine on the top of a circular course of bricks indicating the level of an earlier occupation. In the centre of the circular structure was a pit made of two courses of bricks. In the middle of the pit there was a stone slab (1'8" by 1'6") with twelve shallow holes marked on its upper surface and a bigger hole in the centre. In the central hole there was a gold leaf bearing the figure of a recumbent bull in repoussé. Nothing was found under the stone slab (Majumdar 1935-36: 68). On the basis of the terracotta plaques with animal figures found around the shrine the monument was dated 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century AD (Majumdar 1934-36: 68).

The image of a bull found in Gokul is, according to the words of Majumdar (ibid), 'rather crude' as compared to other images of the same period. This is hardly surprising - the items placed within ritual deposits are often of poor workmanship, perhaps due to the fact that once installed they were not meant to be viewed (an example may be the animal and human figures discovered in the consecration deposits of Sri Lanka, see Karunaratne 1984).

Correspondence with the texts: yes. As rightly suggested by Majumdar (ibid), the gold leaf was most probably a foundation deposit for the shrine of Śiva. Several Śaiva texts mention placing an image of a bull in a consecration deposit. Moreover, according to the Dīptāgama a bull of gold is placed in the centre of the support stone for a *liṅga*, thus in the very place where it was found in the Gokul shrine.<sup>11</sup>

References: Majumdar 1935-36.

11.

Location: Anahilwada Patan, district Mehsana, Gujarat.

Find: Stone slab carved with an image of a trident.

Dating: Chalukya period.

Description: The slab was discovered in one of the corners of a ruined brick structure (Structure 3). It was carved with the figure of a *triśūla*. According to R.N. Mehta, the finder of the slab, the *triśūla* in its original position was pointing exactly northeast (Mitra 1981: 48).

Correspondence with the texts: Possible. The fact that the *triśūla* pointed northeast may suggest that it was installed as a symbol of Īśāna. The symbolism of the gods of the directions plays an important role in the consecration rituals. Northeast is especially important as it is one of the two directions (the other is east) from which the placing of the items or mantras within the box begins (see, for example, KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 15cd-17ab). It is interesting to note that on several superstructure

<sup>11</sup> See Dīpta 15.14 and 20.253cd-254ab. For the placing of a figure of a bull in the *garbha*-casket, see KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 21cd, Dīpta 4.18ab, MM 12.33, MS 12.38.

deposit slabs discovered in Cambodia the northeast was marked with a figure of a bow or by means of additional cavities (see below, Section 1.2 nos. 9, 15, 16 and 31).

References: Mitra 1981: 48 and plate 30.

12.

Find: Brick with cavities in the form of lotus petals.

Location: Birdpur, district Basti, Uttar Pradesh.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The brick was discovered in the central part of the foundation below a brick structure. On the upper surface of the brick a lotus is incised. Its eight petals have petal-shaped central depressions and at the centre of the flower there is a circular depression with a rim around. Under the brick a copper vessel was found.

Correspondence with the texts: Partly (*garbhanyāsa*, *prathameṣṭakā* N. Indian texts). The presence of a lotiform receptacle in the middle of a building would point to the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony performed in agreement with the North Indian texts.

The correspondence is not complete, because according to the texts the deposit receptacle should be made of metal.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, none of the architectural and ritual works explicitly states that the lotus-shaped container is to be installed on top of a copper vessel. On the other hand, it should be noted that the same texts which speak of a lotus-shaped deposit box prescribe the first bricks to be placed on top of metal jars, one of which is deposited in the centre of the foundation (see Chapter 7.1.1.1).

What we see in Birdupur might therefore be understood as a conflation of two rituals described in the North Indian texts, namely the *garbhanyāsa* and *prathameṣṭakā*.

References: Mitra 1981: 47 and plate 25.

## 1.2 Material traces of construction rituals outside India<sup>13</sup>

1.

Find: Gold and silver objects.

Location: Suan Por Iad, vicinity of Ban Tha Khwai, Sichon district, Thailand.

Dating: 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>14</sup>

Description: The objects - a lotus flower made of silver (originally 7.5 cm in diameter), smaller flowers made of gold (1.5 cm) and a tortoise cut from a gold leaf on which several lines are incised (5.5 cm long) - were discovered by chance in the

<sup>12</sup> See HayaP 12.21ab, AgniP 41.21.

<sup>13</sup> This section includes also a few deposits discovered on sites of which it is not known for sure whether they are Hindu or Buddhist, such as Prasat Trapeang Run (see no. 7 below).

<sup>14</sup> On the page 140 Jacq-Hergoualc'h states that it is "impossible to suggest a date for such tenuous objects." Yet, at the description of the photographs of the finds (ill. 31) he gives the date 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> AD.

course of the agricultural work that destroyed the temple of Suan Por Iad. Initially, they must have occupied the centre of the temple cella.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible. Images of tortoises and lotus flowers are often prescribed as parts of a consecration deposit for a temple.<sup>15</sup> It is true that in most cases they should be accompanied by or enclosed in a stone or metal container, but it is possible that the deposit container of Suan Por Iad was lost long ago.

References: Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2002: 140.

2.

Find: Stone casket with cavities.

Location: Ban Wat Khanoon, Songkhla, Thailand.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The casket has five square depressions on its upper surface: a slightly bigger one in the middle and smaller ones in the cardinal directions, forming a cross. It was covered by a pyramidal lid. The box is ca. six and a half inches square, and it is four and a half inches high; the height of the lid is also four and a half inches. The central depression is about an inch and a quarter square and all depressions are about one inch deep. At present the box is preserved at Wat Machimawat (also known as Wat Klang) at Songkhla. According to local tradition, the box was found at Ban Wat Khanoon (Satingpra Peninsula) in a small ruined brick temple containing a bronze statue of Śiva now in the National Museum, Songkhla (Janice Stargardt, personal communication). Nothing is known of the original contents of the compartments, they were empty when the box was presented to the Wat.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*, perhaps *ratnanyāsa*). The appearance of the box is in agreement with the Sanskrit texts. Wales (1964) stresses the similarity of the casket to the *yantragalas* (consecration deposit caskets, see Section 2 below) of Sri Lanka and proposes a hypothesis that the Satingpra box is not, as it was initially assumed, a reliquary, but a consecration deposit casket.

References: Lamb 1964a; Wales 1964; O' Connor 1966a, fig. 3.

3.

Find: Quartz and amethyst.

Location: Vicinity Vat Phu, Champasak, Laos.

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> AD.

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<sup>15</sup> Images of tortoises and lotus flowers made of gold, silver and stone are placed in the centre of the foundation according to TantraS 1.74ff and Śilparatna 10.6ff. Moreover, placing an image of a tortoise in a *garbhabhājana* is mentioned in Dīpta 4.18ab, Kāraṇa 6.33ab, ĪSGDP 27.89ab, ViṣṇuS 13.34, PādmaS 6.8cd, AtriS 10.9cd, MarīciS 13.1.1 and HayaP 12.18cd. AtriS 6.35cd-36 prescribes the placing of an image of a tortoise among the first bricks. KJnK 45, Ajita 18.189-199 and Kāmika I.64.146 (the latter as given by Bhatt 1964: 158 note 9) mention an image of a tortoise placed inside the consecration deposit for a Śiva *liṅga*. Gold lotus flowers are placed among the first bricks according to KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 52cd and are part of the consecration deposit (*garbha*) according to ĪSGDP 27.89ab and ViṣṇuS 13.35.

Description: The gems were discovered in a small Śaiva temple dating presumably from the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century AD (Santoni et al 1997: 241-242). According to the authors they belong to “a Khmer foundation deposit”, which was located “in the ground of the temple.” No further information is given.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Santoni et al 1997: 241-242.

4.

Find: Gold casket containing two pieces of yellow quartz.

Location: Vicinity Vat Phu, Champasak, Laos.

Dating: Unknown, late.

Description: The casket was discovered in a refectory of the south wall in the same temple as the quartz and the amethyst (see no. 3 above). No date is suggested; according to the authors the casket is ‘late’ (Santoni et al 1997: 241-242).

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Santoni et al 1997: 241-242.

5.

Find: Two superimposed blocks of laterite, six gold plates, two sapphires.

Location: Angkor Vat, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 12<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The foundation deposit of Angkor Vat, excavated in 1935, was one of the first Khmer deposits found intact. It consists of two rectangular blocks of laterite placed one above the other. In the lower block there is a large circular hole in which two circular golden plates and, probably, four smaller square gold plates (of which only one survived) were placed.<sup>16</sup> The circular plates measure ca. 18 cm in diameter, the square ones ca. 2 cm. The assembly was covered by very fine pure sand which contained two white sapphires.<sup>17</sup> Beside the central hole, both blocks had four small circular holes on their upper surfaces, filled with pure sand. The upper block had, moreover, two small cavities on the sides. The stone blocks have been found under the central sanctuary at a depth of 23 metres, at the ground level of the surrounding country, which makes it the lowest located consecration deposit ever found. Above the deposit, at the depth of 13 m. 70, were placed four additional superimposed blocks of laterite. It is probably thanks to the depth of the shaft that the deposit was discovered intact.

Correspondence with the texts: None. Gold and precious stones are often deposited together with the first bricks or slabs (during the *prathameṣṭakā* ceremony),<sup>18</sup> but the

<sup>16</sup> For the drawing of the blocks see Boisselier (1966: 207 Fig. 51a) and Trouvé (1935, fig. 81). For the position of the blocks in the temple shaft see Trouvé (1935, plate LXIX and LXX).

<sup>17</sup> The sapphires are not mentioned by Coedès (1935).

<sup>18</sup> For depositing precious stones together with the first bricks, see Chapter 7. The precious stones might be substituted by gold according to Suprabhedha 27.30cd-31ab and MariciS 6.4.2.1.



first bricks or slabs are never numbering two and they are never placed one upon the other.

References: Trouvé 1935; Coedès 1935; Boisselier 1966: 206.

6.

Find: Four superimposed blocks of laterite, remains of gold plates.

Location: Vat Athvea 500, Siem Reap, Cambodia.

Dating: Unknown; perhaps 12<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The blocks of laterite were discovered under the central tower, 0.63m below the level of the foundation. As in Angkor Vat, there were small cavities in the stone blocks filled with fine pure sand and remains of gold plates (Marchal 1935: 480; Boisselier 1966: 206). It is not easy to date this deposit. Vat Athvea is a Buddhist temple located to the South of the town of Siem Reap in the vicinity of the Angkor complex. The temple dates from the 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century AD, but it was constructed over an earlier one (presumably Hindu) dating from the Angkor period and built, perhaps, in the style of Angkor Vat.<sup>19</sup>

Correspondences with the texts: None. See no. 5 above.

References: Marchal 1935: 480; Boisselier 1966: 206.

7.

Find: Two laterite slabs, seven cruciform slabs above them.

Location: Kruh Aram Rong Chen, Phnom Kulen, Cambodia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The two laterite slabs were originally covering the foundation deposit (now missing). The seven cruciform stones were placed above them, one upon the other. They are pierced in the centre and were connected by means of tenons and mortises. It is impossible to ascertain the depth on which the deposit was installed (see Boisselier 1966: 207). Kruh Aram Rong Chen might have been a Śaiva temple (a *liṅga* was found inside it; see Lajonquière 1911: 239). It was constructed in the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD (Boisselier 1966: 207).

Correspondence with the texts: None. The first bricks or stones are never placed one upon another and they are usually rectangular, never cruciform.

References: Boisselier 1966: 207 and fig. 51b.

8.

Find: Two slabs with cavities, metals and minerals, five gold leaves placed in the middle of four bricks forming a square.

Location: Prasat Trapeang Run 208, 2, Cambodia.

Date: 1006 AD.

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<sup>19</sup> Véronique Degroot, personal communication.

Description: Traces of a consecration deposit of Prasat Trapeang Run were found on various levels under the pedestal of the temple image. Directly under the pedestal there was a square stone with seventeen cavities, which were presumably meant to house a consecration deposit (Parmentier 1936: 285). Under the stone with cavities, in one of the slabs of the plinth, there was a square hollow containing five metals and minerals: quartz, iron, bronze, silver and gold. Along the same axis but on a yet lower level was placed the foundation deposit. It consisted of five gold leaves measuring 7-8 mm. square surrounded by four stones forming a square of 51 cm. Prasat Trapeang Run is situated ca. 4 km southwest from the village of Damdek and 4 km northwest from the village of Run, to the south of the km 280 on the colonial route 1 bis from Phnom Penh to Siem Reap. The temple is dated 1006 AD on the basis of an inscription (Parmentier 1936: 284). It is not certain whether the temple was Hindu or Buddhist.

Correspondence with the texts: yes (*ratnanyāsa*), partly (*prathameṣṭakā*). The arrangement of the stones as well as the presence of the gold leaves<sup>20</sup> points to the *prathameṣṭakā* ritual as described in the South Indian works (see Chapter 7.1.1.1). The location, on the other hand, does not agree with the South Indian texts - the four stones were not installed to the south or to the right of the entrance. As far as the North Indian texts are concerned, the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa seems to allow four first bricks to be installed in the centre of the foundation pit (see Chapter 7.1.1.1). Yet, it does not mention any objects to be placed, without a container, in the middle of the first bricks. The consecration deposit of Prasat Trapeang Run, therefore, while possessing features prescribed by several Indian treatises, does not fully agree with any specific text or group of texts.

References: Parmentier 1936: 283-284, Pottier 1997a: 400.<sup>21</sup>

## 9.

Find: Five stones, two pieces of gold leaf with an elephant in repoussé, a stone figure of a masculine deity.

Location: Prasat Ak Yom, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: ca 8<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The stones were found among the debris blocking the pit leading to an underground chamber, which was located much lower, on the depth of 12m 35

<sup>20</sup> Items most frequently prescribed to be placed in the middle of the first bricks are precious stones. According to several texts, however, when these are not available, they can be substituted by gold. See note 16 above.

<sup>21</sup> The detailed description of the discovery is given by Parmentier. Pottier only mentions the finds in his list of deposits discovered in Angkor (1997a: 400-401; Pottier lists the pedestal deposit and the foundation deposit as one and the same find).

below the aperture of the pit.<sup>22</sup> The two pieces of gold leaf and the statuette of a deity were also found inside the pit.

Correspondence with the texts: Partly (*prathameṣṭakā*). Parmentier suggests that the stones of Prasat Ak Yom were, originally, surrounding a consecration deposit.<sup>23</sup> If this was the case, the consecration deposit of Prasat Ak Yom would, the same as the one from Prasat Trapeang Run, follow the South Indian texts in the distribution of the stones. Five first stones are mentioned, for example, by Ajita 10.59. Besides, the placing of images of elephants in the middle of four first bricks is prescribed by AtriS 6.35cd-36. On the other hand, the location of the deposit is not in agreement with the South Indian texts.

References: Trouvé 1933: 1130-1131.

10.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Prasat Kok 606 (Prasat Kuk Kok),<sup>24</sup> Neam Rup group, Puok, Cambodia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: It is one of many such slabs discovered in the superstructures of the Khmer temples. The original location is not indicated, but the slab is described as a “pierre de sommet” (Coèdes 1940: pl. XV.2) and “dalle à dépôt supérieur” (Boisselier 1966: fig. 52.e). It seems plausible that the slab was located just below the summit in such a way that it was closing the vault.<sup>25</sup> The cavities on the surface of the slab were, most probably, meant for a consecration deposit consisting of precious stones (as suggested by inscriptions on a similar slab found at Preah Vihar; see no. 17 below) and, perhaps, pieces of gold. The slab of Prasat Kok is divided into four parts by two grooves, the groove along the east-west axis being much broader than the one along the north-south axis. There is a small round cavity in the middle of the slab and six square cavities in each quarter except for the northeast where there are eight cavities – two more than elsewhere (see Plate 7). In addition to the cavities, the northeast quarter is marked with a small figure of a bow pointing east (see Plate 8). In the southeast quarter instead there is a long rectangular cavity along the eastern side of the slab. The distribution of the cavities is fairly systematic

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<sup>22</sup> The measurements of the stones vary in ABIA 1935 and BEFEO 35 (the report by Trouvé). While in ABIA (page 32) the stones are rectangular (0.35 in length by 0.25 in width and 0.14 in thickness), according to BEFEO they are almost cubical (0.35 in length by 0.25 in width and 0.34 in thickness).

<sup>23</sup> “...ils devaient entourer ce dépôt comme les briques qu’il a retrouvées autour de dépôt sacré de Pō Nagar à Nha-trang” (Parmentier as quoted by Trouvé 1933: 1130). For the deposits of Po Nagar, see below.

<sup>24</sup> In the *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge* by Lajonquière 1911: 289 this temple is referred to as Kuk Kok.

<sup>25</sup> For the position of the superstructure deposit slabs, see Parmentier, Goloubew and Finot (1926, plate 67, 69, 70), Parmentier (1930, fig. 85, 87), Marchal (1944, fig. 84, 87, 88 and plate XXXd) and BEFEO 29, plate LX.

and resembles rays starting from the centre of the slab and pointing in the cardinal and intermediary directions. Such a distribution of cavities is found throughout the Angkor period up to the Bayon style.

It is not known whether Prasat Kok was Hindu or Buddhist.

Correspondence with the texts: None. According to the Sanskrit texts the superstructure deposits are not enclosed in a container; moreover, the container is surrounded by four stones or bricks (the 'crowning bricks', *mūrdheṣṭakā*). On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the northeast and the east (which are marked with a figure of a bow and with the long cavity respectively) were apparently especially important for the Khmers, the same as for the Hindus in India. It should be remembered that according to Sanskrit architectural and ritual texts the objects are placed into the deposit casket beginning with the east or the northeast.

References: Coèdes 1940: plate XV.2, Boisselier 1966: fig. 52e.

11.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Prasat Thom, Koh Ker, Cambodia.

Dating: 10<sup>th</sup> AD, second quarter.

Description: The slab is divided into four sections by grooves. In each section there are six small square cavities. There is a square cavity in the centre. The slab belonged to the superstructure as it is referred to by Pamentier (1939: 106) as "dalle à dépôt sacré supérieur." Parmentier (idem) mentions that two such slabs were discovered in Prasat Thom, but he gives a drawing of only one of them. The Koh Ker temple complex is dedicated to Śiva and it was built in the second quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Parmentier 1939: 105-106 and fig. 22b.

12.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Prasat Dan, Koh Ker, Cambodia.

Dating: 10<sup>th</sup> AD, second quarter.

Description: The slab is very similar to that of Prasat Thom (see above) and it was also a part of the superstructure. It is divided into four sections by grooves and each section has six square cavities. In the centre there is a round cavity surrounded by a round rim.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Parmentier 1939: 105-106 and fig. 22c.

13.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: 961 AD.

Description: The slab was presumably found in the superstructure. In one corner of the slab the word '*pūrva*', 'east' was inscribed. It is not reported in which script the word is written and how many cavities were on the surface of the slab (no photograph or drawing is provided).

Correspondence with the texts: None. Yet, it is interesting to note that the eastern direction is marked again (as on the slab from Prasat Kok, see above), this time by means of the inscription.

References: Coedès 1940: 332, Boisselier 1966: 209.

14.

Find: Bronze slab, probably with cavities on its surface.

Location: Prasat Kok Po, Angkor, Cambodia.<sup>26</sup>

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD, last quarter.

Description: It is possible that the slab belonged to the superstructure as Boisselier mentions it in the chapter dealing with superstructure deposits. Yet, no additional information about the slab is provided. Prasat Kok Po is located in the Angkor complex to the north of the Western Baray. It is not known whether the temple was Hindu or Buddhist.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Boisselier 1966: 210.

15.

Find: Fragment (half) of a stone slab with cavities.

Location: Banteay Srei, northeast of the Angkor complex, Cambodia.

Dating: 967 AD.

Description: The slab was originally placed in the upper part of the southern tower.<sup>27</sup> Between the slab and the summit of the tower there is a small chamber. The distribution of the little square cavities on the remaining half of the slab is almost the same as on the slab found in Prasat Dan (see no. 12 above). The differences are the number of cavities in the sections (seven instead of six) and the presence of an additional, rectangular cavity along the outer edge, which resembles that on the slab of Prasat Kok 606 (see no. 10 above). Parmentier, Goloubew and Finot (1926, Plate 67, 70) provide a drawing showing the reconstruction of the entire slab of Banteay Srei. In the reconstruction the missing part of the slab is depicted as a mirror image of the part which was found (including the rectangular cavity along the edge). Yet, on the basis of the comparison with other superstructure slabs it seems plausible that

<sup>26</sup> In the 'Inventaire descriptif...' of Lajonquière (1911: 284-285) this temple has no. 597.

<sup>27</sup> As proved by the reconstruction of the tower (see Parmentier, Golubiev, Finot 1926: 14) two such slabs (with identical dimensions) were placed in the superstructure on upon the other. The second, upper, slab (now missing) was perhaps functioning as a cover for the (now missing) deposit.

the slab of Banteay Srei had only one rectangular hole, in the southeast quarter, and, perhaps, a figure of a bow in the northeast quarter.

It is not known how the slab was originally oriented, but it is highly probable that the rectangular cavity was meant for the southeast quarter, the same as in the case of the slab from Prasat Kok 606.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Parmentier, Golubew and Finot 1926.

16.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Prasat Snuol 678, Srok Kralanh, Cambodia.

Dating: 10<sup>th</sup> AD, second half.

Description: The slab is highly exceptional. It is divided into four parts, but the similarity with the other superstructure slabs (see above) ends here: there are only nine cavities and they have various geometrical forms (see Plates 13-15). There is a bow-shaped cavity in the northeast, a hexagonal and an octagonal one in the southeast, four cavities in the southwest (two squares, a triangle and a circle), and two cavities in the northwest (a half-moon and a triangle). In the bottom of each of these nine cavities there is a small round hole and a seed letter (*bīja*)<sup>28</sup> is inscribed next to it. The *bījas* include: *jim* in the bow-shaped cavity, *hrīm* in the hexagonal and *om* in the octagonal one, *hum* in the triangle, *sim* in the semi-circle, *hom* and, *ōm* in the squares, *dim* in another triangle and *trōm* or *trām* in the circle (Coedès 1952: 466).<sup>29</sup> Prasat Snuol is one of the four sanctuaries of brick built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 10<sup>th</sup> AD on the Srok Kralanh, northwest of Angkor.<sup>30</sup> It is not known whether it was a Hindu or a Buddhist sanctuary.

Correspondence with the texts: None. Yet, it is interesting to note that the Dīptāgama prescribes the *bīja* ‘*hrīm*’ to be written on one or more stones to be installed in the superstructure (see Dīpta 20, p. 308).

References: Coedès 1952.

17.

Find: Fragment (quarter) of a stone slab with cavities.

Location: Preah Vihar, Cambodia.

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> AD, 1<sup>st</sup> half.

<sup>28</sup> *Bījas* are syllables, usually carrying no meaning, used in Hindu and Buddhist rituals (they are especially frequent in Tantra rituals), which are believed to possess a specific power. They are often employed at the beginning of a mantra being its essence or ‘seed’ (*bīja*).

<sup>29</sup> At present, the slab is preserved at National Museum, Phnom Penh. For the photographs of the slab and some of the *bījas*, see plates 13-15.

<sup>30</sup> The date is given after Boisselier (1966: 210). For the description of the temple, see Lajonquière (1911: 326).

Description: The survived quarter of the slab has on its surface seven cavities, an incised figure of a bow and four inscriptions reading: *vajra*, *candrakānta*, *sunīla* [diamond, moonstone and sapphire] and perhaps *vajra* again (the inscriptions as given by Coedès 1952: 465). The original orientation of the slab is not known, but it may be assumed that the bow was pointing east, the same as on the slab from Prasat Kok 606. According to Coedès (*ibid.*, 465) the inscriptions prove that the cavities were meant to house precious stones. The total number of gems deposited inside the slab was, most probably, nine.<sup>31</sup> If the complete slab indeed had nine cavities to accommodate nine precious stones, the distribution of the cavities might have been similar to that found in Prasat Snuol: four cavities (and thus also four stones) in one quarter (the one which survived), one cavity in the next, and two cavities in each of the two remaining quarters. The slab belonged presumably to the superstructure. Preah Vihar is located on the Thai-Cambodian border. It is a Śaiva temple constructed in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD in the style of Khleang. Correspondence with the texts: The supposition of Coedès that the slab contained precious stones seems plausible as many ritual and architectural texts prescribe placing nine gems in the superstructure of a building. On the other hand, no text prescribes placing gems in the cavities of a single stone slab (see Chapter 7.1.1.3). References: Parmentier 1939: 106, 330 and fig. 22a; Coedès 1952.

18.

Find: Stone with cavities.  
 Location: Prasat Tor, Angkor, Cambodia.  
 Dating: 12<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The stone is located on the very summit of the southeast sanctuary and, therefore, is not directly connected with the vault. This was different in the case of the stone slabs described above, all of which were forming the closing piece of the vault. The stone of Prasat Tor has on its upper surface twelve small square cavities surrounding a larger central one. Prasat Tor is a small structure situated inside the Angkor complex, on the eastern end of the East Mebon. It is dated 12<sup>th</sup> AD (Boisselier 1966: 185).<sup>32</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: None.  
 References: Trouvé 1935: 218 and fig. 25.

19.

Find: Two inscribed gold leaves.  
 Location: West Mebon, Angkor, Cambodia.  
 Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> AD, second half.

<sup>31</sup> “Ces indications ne sauraient se reporter à autre chose qu’à la place réservée aux neuf sortes de pierres précieuses dans les alvéoles de la pierre à dépôt” (Coedès 1952: 465).

<sup>32</sup> In the ‘Inventaire descriptif...’ of Lajonquière (1911: 228) the temple is listed as Prasat To under the number 543.

Description: The first leaf was inscribed with the word ‘lotus’ (*padma*), the other with the word ‘satisfaction’.<sup>33</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Christophe Pottier, personal communication.

20.

Find: Five pieces of gold leaf (one engraved with an image of a bull).

Location: Prasat Bay Kaek, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The gold leaves were placed in the cavities of the plinth slab located below the pedestal of an image or a *liṅga*. The central leaf was larger than the others and engraved with a figure of a bull. Prasat Bay Kaek is a 10<sup>th</sup> century temple dedicated to Śiva.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*). Many texts mention placing an image of a bull inside a consecration deposit for a Śaiva temple.<sup>34</sup>

References: Boisselier 1966: 208 note 1 and plate LXII.3, Pottier 1997a: 400.

21.

Find: Pieces of gold leaf.

Location: Phnom Bakheng, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: End 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: Small square pieces of gold leaf were discovered on several locations within Phnom Bakheng. Two were found in tower B3 on the upper face of the seventh layer of the masonry, in the southeast and northwest corners. Another gold leaf was discovered in tower B2, in the first layer of the masonry, in the northwest corner. Yet another gold leaf was placed in tower B6 on the basis of the threshold, to the right.

Correspondence with the texts: Partly. The gold leaf of tower B6 was installed near the threshold, to the right of the entrance, which agrees with the *prathameṣṭakā* and *garbhanyāsa*. On the other hand, no stones forming a square and no deposit container (as prescribed by the texts for the *prathameṣṭakā* and *garbhanyāsa* respectively) accompanied the gold leaf.

References: Dumarçay 1971: 20-21 and fig. 8-9.

22.

Find: Six lead tortoises (2 small, 4 large), each with a cavity on the top.

Location: Terrace of the Elephants, Angkor, Cambodia.

<sup>33</sup> Reading by Coedès (Christophe Pottier, personal communication). The exact Sanskrit word inscribed on the second piece of gold leaf is not known to me.

<sup>34</sup> Figures of bulls should be placed into a consecration deposit box (usually together with other attributes of Śiva) according to several Śaiva texts; see KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 25ab, Kāmika 31.52ab, Kāraṇa 6.48cd, Dīpta 4.22ab.



Dating: Late 12<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>35</sup>

Description: The two small tortoises (161 by 122 by 60 mm and 175 by 130 by 70 mm) were oriented towards the south. The larger ones were aligned along the south-north axis; of these, one was facing east-northeast, the other three were facing northeast.<sup>36</sup> Each of the four larger tortoises was covered with a stone block. The blocks above the two central tortoises were placed clearly higher than those above the two tortoises on the sides. On the top of one of the smaller tortoises (the carapace of the other one was damaged) is a round hole closed with a disk made of lead. The four larger tortoises (between 45 and 65 cm length) have on their top a hole closed with a circular stopper. In order to preserve the interior as well as the tortoises themselves the archaeologists decided not to remove the stoppers, it is thus not known what was deposited inside.<sup>37</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish. Several texts prescribe placing images of tortoises in the foundation of a new building, but none of them mentions a whole network of tortoises functioning, moreover, as deposit containers. On the other hand, it is worth noting that a number of Sanskrit texts mention placing a stone or a wooden slab above a foundation deposit. See, for instance, Mayamata 12.43cd-44.

References: Pottier 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1998.

23.

Find: Three conglomerates of vegetable matter wrapped in metal sheets.

Location: Terrace of the Elephants, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: Late 12<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> AD (see note 33 above).

Description: The conglomerates have a circular plan and are wrapped in thin metal sheets decorated, at least partly, with stylised lotus petals. Each conglomerate was covered with a block of stone, the same as it was the case with the images of tortoises described above. One of the conglomerates have been opened and emptied of its contents. Inside were found a small bronze plaque, one piece of gold leaf, two golden threads, one polished rose crystal, six small crystals of quartz, a small piece of green stone, a small lump of a yellow substance resembling resin, another lump of some oxidised matter, a silk thread, a ball of bronze thread, numerous seeds (perhaps sesame) and leaves. The two other conglomerates, being in a bad state of preservation, have been left unopened and are awaiting a thorough analysis.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). Placing various seeds, metals, gems and sometimes leaves in the foundation deposit (*garbha*) is prescribed by numerous Sanskrit texts on architecture and ritual (see, for example, KŚ

<sup>35</sup> Terrace of the Elephants was constructed in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century AD, but Pottier (1998: 518) suggests that the deposits discovered at the Terrace of the Elephants in Angkor might be as late as 15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> AD.

<sup>36</sup> For a drawing showing the position of the tortoises, see Pottier (1998: 521).

<sup>37</sup> For a large tortoise-receptacle made of stone, also discovered in Angkor, see Plate 22.

*garbhanyāsa* 17cd-29). Very few deposits excavated so far contained these items, hence the enormous importance of the finds from the Terrace of the Elephants.

References: Pottier 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1998.

24.

Find: Two bronze pots.

Location: Terrace of the Elephants, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: Late 12<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> AD (see note 33 above).

Description: Both pots were identical, but the first contained some substances (which were, so far, not analysed) while the second one was empty. One of the pots was located near the northern staircase.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Pottier 1998.

25.

Find: Four earthen vases, four large bricks forming a square, gold objects.

Location: Po Nagar (northwest tower), Nha Trang, Vietnam.

Dating: Late 8<sup>th</sup> – early 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The vases were located half-way down the central shaft formed by the interior sides of four very thick foundation walls, in the corners. One of the vases contained calcium. The bricks, measuring 34 by 19 by 11 cm, were lying on the bottom of the shaft in such a way that they were touching each other at the corners. They were forming a square of ca. 51 cm. In the space in the middle of the bricks a number of gold sheets was found, apparently deposited according to a specific order. Four square gold plates engraved with the figure of an elephant stood vertically along the two axes of the square formed by the bricks. The remaining ones, in various forms - a lizard or a crocodile, a tortoise and a trident - were placed along the diagonals. In the centre a lotus cut out of gold leaf had been deposited, and the ensemble was covered by fine sand. On the top there was a thicker square plate divided diagonally into two equal parts: one made of gold, the other made of silver.<sup>38</sup> In addition, each of the four bricks was provided with a square piece of gold leaf placed beneath it. Other pieces of gold and of copper, a small piece of jade and a golden thread ca. 2m long were found in the vicinity of the bricks.

The temple complex of Po Nagar is dedicated to Śiva.

Correspondence with the texts: Partly (*prathameṣṭakā*). The arrangement of the bricks and the fact that gold objects were placed in the middle of them are in agreement with the prescriptions for placing the first bricks as given in the South Indian texts (see KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* fig. 1). The location, on the other hand, does not agree with the South Indian texts.

References: Parmentier 1906, 1918: 443.

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<sup>38</sup> See drawing in Parmentier (1918: 444, Fig. 133), showing the position of the items and the bricks.

26.

Find: Four large bricks forming a square, gold objects.

Location: Po Nagar (west tower), Nha Trang, Vietnam.

Dating: Late 8<sup>th</sup> – early 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The objects - gold and silver sheets, some of them engraved with the figures of an elephant or a tortoise - were placed in the middle of the four bricks. According to Parmentier (1918: 443) the way in which the objects were arranged might have been the same as in the deposit of the northwest tower (see no. 25 above). Under the bricks, on the surface of the virgin soil, were found about sixty small gold squares.

Correspondence with the texts: Partly (*prathameṣṭakā*; see no. 25 above).

References: Parmentier 1909 and 1918: 443.

27.

Find: Bronze vase filled with various objects.

Location: Po Nagar (south tower), Nha Trang, Vietnam.

Dating: Late 8<sup>th</sup> – early 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The vase was located at the bottom of a shallow pit. It contained precious stones, crystals, a gold lid of a pot, a piece of iron incrustated with very small pearls and some grains of rice. On the top of the vase was a silver box, the lower part of which was closing the vase. In the masonry above the deposit was found another silver box, this time of Chinese workmanship. The box was empty.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Parmentier 1909: 347-351 and 1918: 444-445.

28.

Find: Seventeen objects made of metal.

Location: Po Nagar (south tower), Nha Trang, Vietnam.

Dating: 12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>39</sup>

Description: The objects were placed without any container in a narrow opening above the seventh layer of bricks starting from the summit of the tower. The opening was horizontally connected with the exterior by means of a metal tube. The objects were similar to those discovered in the foundations of the north and northwest towers of the same temple complex: copper, silver and gold discs, silver flowers, two pieces of gold leaf in the form of a *vajra* (thunderbolt), gold leaf with a crocodile engraved on it, a figure of an elephant cut out of gold leaf and fragments

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<sup>39</sup> Even though the construction of the temples at Po Nagar started during the late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, the south tower was probably rebuilt during the 12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Hence, its consecration deposits, especially those located in the superstructure, might be of much later date than the foundation deposits found in Po Nagar towers north and northwest.

of gold leaf of irregular shape. The objects seem to have been piled up; the copper disc was enclosing the iron disc and other objects.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Parmentier 1906: 295-297.

29.

Find: Objects made of metal.

Location: Mi Son, Quang Nam, Vietnam.

Dating: Between 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>40</sup>

Description: The objects include an iron disc covered by a gold sheet, a bronze disc and three pieces of gold leaf: in the shape of a violin, in the shape of an arrow and one resembling a fish. They were found scattered on the ground. According to Parmentier (1918: 445), the objects originate from the (now ruined) superstructure of tower B<sub>1</sub>.<sup>41</sup> Mi Son is a Hindu temple complex dedicated to Śiva.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Parmentier 1906: 297 and 1918: 445.

30.

Find: Pieces of gold and quartz.

Location: Trà-kiêu, Quang Nam, Vietnam.

Dating: 10<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The deposit was located in the tower A. In the centre of the tower a large block of quartz was found, originating perhaps from a deposit already disturbed. Underneath, on a much lower level, was found a shaft in the form of an inverted pyramid. In the walls of the shaft were twelve holes containing consecration deposits: two in each corner and one in the centre of each wall. The deposits consisted of small pieces of gold and quartz.

Trà-kiêu is an urban site in the Thu Bon River valley, in the province of Quang Nam (Claeys 1928: 578-593). The site is dated 10-11<sup>th</sup> AD and is, most probably, Śivaite. It was identified as Simhapura, capital of the Cham state of Amaravati (Glover and Yamagata 1997: 75).

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Claeys 1928: 578-593, Glover and Yamagata 1997.

31.

Find: Small objects made of gold, precious stones.

Location: Go Thap, Dong Thap province, Vietnam.

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<sup>40</sup> The temple complex of Mi Son is dated from the 8<sup>th</sup> century (monument E<sub>1</sub>) through 9<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> century (groups A, B, C and D), see Chihara (1996: 187-191). See also Guillon (2001). Tower B<sub>1</sub> was probably rebuilt ca. 11-12<sup>th</sup> AD, so there is a possibility that the deposit is of a later date.

<sup>41</sup> Parmentier 1918: 445 writes here: "...leur [the items being part of the deposit] position n'est pas douteuse, car ils avaient été projeté fort loin du centre, avec les briques supérieures de la voûte."

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: Nen Chua, Oc Eo, Da Noi and Go Thap (the latter site is also known as Prasat Pream Loven, Chua Nam Gian or Thap Muoi) are usually referred to as ‘burial sites’ and the objects found there as ‘mortuary goods’. Yet, these objects are remarkably similar to those being part of consecration deposits and for that reason I decided to include them here. The ‘tombs’ of Go Thap yielded “322 gold leaves, 5 gold coins (?), 3 gold rings, 1 gold flower, 1 gold button (or a wheel?), 8 precious stones, and seven pieces of glass,” of which 156 pieces are decorated with images of men and gods (for instance the god Viṣṇu), animals (including tortoises, bulls, elephants, crocodiles, snakes, cocks and fish) as well as images of conches, wheels, tridents, knots, the fire (torch), spoons, arrow-heads, lotuses, coconuts, plants and ‘a house on piles’ (Dao Linh Côn 1997: 114). The objects were discovered inside the so-called chimneys situated in the centre of large rectangular brick structures described as ‘tombs’. The ‘chimneys’ are built with five to eleven layers of bricks. Each layer comprises four bricks forming a square. The gold objects were found in the hollow space in the middle of the four bricks. Apart from the gold objects, the ‘chimneys’ are reported to have contained white sand and human ashes. Similar gold sheets were found in Nen Chua in Kien Giang province, Oc Eo in An Giang, Da Noi in An Giang (232-41), and Go Thanh in Tien Giang (see Le Xuan Diem, Dao Linh Con and Vo Si Khai 1995). Many of them were decorated with the symbols of Viṣṇu, such as conch-shells, discs, tortoises and images of Garuḍa and with images of Viṣṇu himself. The finds from Go Thap were dated, on the basis of the C14 analysis, to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD (Dao Linh Côn 1997: 116).

Correspondence with the texts: Partly (*prathameṣṭakā*). The majority of the gold objects agree with the prescriptions for the *prathameṣṭakā* and *garbhanyāsa* rituals in the Sanskrit texts. To these belong the attributes of Viṣṇu, the various ‘weapons’, many of which are considered symbols of the Guardians of the Directions (*lokapāla*), the animals, especially the bulls and the tortoises, the lotus flowers, and the precious stones. Also the fact that the objects were placed in the middle of four bricks forming a square points to *prathameṣṭakā*. Moreover, the similarity of the Go Thap objects with the artefacts found inside excavated consecration deposits is striking. It is true that the Sanskrit ritual texts never mention ashes as a part of a consecration deposit. Yet, it has to be stressed on this point that the ‘ashes’ discovered in the structures of Go Thap were never analyzed (Pierre-Yves Manguin, personal communication). This makes the identification of the chimney-like structures as tombs less convincing. Moreover, if the structures indeed were tombs, why were they so large? Why such a big construction was necessary to house a small brick ‘chimney’ functioning as an ‘ash container’? According to the archaeological reports no traces of a stone or brick construction were found above the foundation level. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that a wooden building was

constructed above the brick foundation and it cannot be excluded that the gold objects might have been a part of a consecration deposit.

References: Le Xuan Diem, Dao Linh Con, Vo Si Khal 1995; Dao Linh Côn 1997.

32.

Find: Fragment (half) of a stone slab with cavities.

Location: Thanh-dien, vicinity Tay Ninh, Vietnam.

Dating: Unknown. Perhaps 9<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>42</sup>

Description: The whole slab (only a half of it is preserved) seems to have consisted of four equal parts divided by means of two groves and it had a square hole in the middle. It seems also that the slab was originally placed in such a way that the surviving half corresponded to the northwest and northeast (Malleret 1963: 86).<sup>43</sup> In the quarter which presumably faced the northwest there are six square cavities; in that which faced the northeast there are eight cavities and a figure of a bow with an arrow. The slab resembles closely other examples discovered in Cambodia. In fact, it is almost identical with the slab of Prasat Kok 606, a temple built in the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD. It is not reported where exactly the slab of Thanh-dien was found, but due to its similarity with the Cambodian slabs it can be assumed that it was located in the superstructure of a temple. At the time of Malleret's publication (1963) the slab was preserved at Musée Louis-Finot in Hanoi (no. D. 311,37; now: National History Museum).

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Parmentier 1923: 283 and plate XV H, Malleret 1963: 86.

33.

Find: Eight stone boxes with compartments (six found intact and containing various objects, two broken and empty).

Location: Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, Kedah, Malaysia.

Dating: Between 8<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>44</sup>

Description: The two broken boxes were found among the debris outside the main sanctuary during the excavation of the site carried out by Wales in 1940. They had

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<sup>42</sup> The sites in the vicinity of Tay-ninh, and thus also Thanh-dien, are dated 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> AD. It is plausible therefore that the superstructure slab found there also belongs to this period. The similarity with the slab of Prasat Kok 606 (a temple built in the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD) supports this hypothesis.

<sup>43</sup> It is not clear if the information given by Malleret about the orientation of the slab is based on facts or if it is only guessed on the basis of the comparison with similar slabs discovered in Cambodia.

<sup>44</sup> The dating of the site is problematic. Wales (1940: 21) dates it 7<sup>th</sup>- early 8<sup>th</sup> AD but without giving any grounds for that. Lamb (1960: 8, 106) and Bosch (1961: 488) suggests 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> AD on the basis of an epigraphic analysis of the inscriptions on the metal discs found on the site. Treloar (1972: 233), on the other hand, believes that the candi has been built during 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> AD, basing his statement on the chemical analysis of the metal objects found there, especially on the presence of mercury in the alloys.

nine circular depressions, the largest being in the centre, and they were probably once covered with lids.<sup>45</sup> Almost twenty years later, during the excavations carried out by Lamb in 1958-59, six similar boxes were unearthed, this time in their original positions and intact. Three of them were found in the corners of the sanctuary, the other three at the mid-points of the walls.<sup>46</sup> All the boxes were placed in such a way that the lids were at level with the top of the paving of the sanctuary floor. Presumably the *candi* possessed originally eight deposit boxes, four of which were installed in the corners and four at the mid-points of the walls. Each of the six boxes discovered in situ had in its centre a copper pot. The pots contained semiprecious stones, minerals, gold dust, inscribed gold leaves (one in each pot) as well as seeds and other vegetable matter (seeds and vegetable matter were found only in the pots located in the northeast and in the west). The gold leaves were inscribed with a single letter (see Lamb 1960a: fig. 32 and plates 106-119). The inscriptions are not of a very high quality and therefore not easy to read, but it seems that the one on the gold disc from the box installed in the southwest corner reads 'om' (Treloar 1972: 232). Additional objects were deposited under the pots, in the nine circular depressions at the bottom of the boxes. The eight smaller depressions contained pieces of gems and minerals; the central cavity contained seven objects cut from gold, silver and copper leaf - a silver bull, a silver square with five 'stars' scratched on the surface, a copper turtle, a copper lotus flower, a gold *liṅga*, a gold semicircle, a gold seated female figure. Each of the female figurines wears a high headdress and holds a trident in the right hand and a lotus in the left hand. The goddesses are depicted seated with their legs crossed on a lotus cushion. These seven objects were piled up in an order which differs slightly from box to box. Lamb understands the female figures as representations of some Tantric deities. He writes: "The presence of eight (so we must assume) identical female figures very strongly suggests some Tantric concept of the eight Great Mothers or the like" (Lamb 1960a: 88). Yet, the association of the figurines with the *mātrikās* is not very convincing as each *mātrikā* is usually characterised by a specific iconographic feature linking her to the corresponding male deity (for instance Vārāhī has the face of a *varāha* or boar). The figures of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, however, are all identical and hold the same, clearly Śaiva (at least as far as the trident is concerned), attributes. On the other hand, according to Bosch (1961: 488) the female figures resemble the goddesses of the Tibetan *maṅḍala* of 21 Tārās. Still, also this interpretation does not seem convincing. The connection with Śiva as well as the fact that the figures were originally placed in the cardinal and intermediary directions (and perhaps also in the centre), suggest an association with yet another

<sup>45</sup> One of the boxes was kept, in the time of the publication of Lamb's articles, in the Alor Star museum, Kedah. The whereabouts of the second box are not known. For the photograph of one of the boxes found by Wales, see Wales (1940, plate 32).

<sup>67</sup> The boxes were located in the west, east and north corners and in the mid-points of the southwest, northwest and northeast walls (Lamb 1960a: 27 and fig. 8).

group of goddesses – the nine Durgās (*navadurgā*). The group is known from India as well as from other regions and the goddesses occupy often the cardinal and intermediary directions.<sup>47</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: Partly (*garbhanyāsa*). The appearance of the boxes as well as the majority of the items discovered inside them are in agreement with the prescriptions for the *garbhanyāsa* given by the Indian texts. Semiprecious stones, minerals, gold, seeds, images of bulls, turtles and lotus flowers are all included in the lists of objects deposited in a *garbhabhājana* (see Chapter 7.1.1.2). Inscribed gold discs are not explicitly mentioned by the textual sources, but it should be remembered that the Śaiva works speak of mantras and letters of the Sanskrit alphabet to be placed into the deposit casket. In such a case each compartment receives a single letter (see KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 15-17ab). It should be noted, moreover, that the fragments of gems and metals contained in the eight small depressions at the bottom of the boxes were apparently distributed according to a fixed pattern (for the list of the gems and metals found in the boxes, see Lamb 1960a: 79-83). For instance, the cavity facing north almost always housed a piece of vivianite, the one in the northwest a fragment of crystal, the cavity in the west a piece of mica, the one in the southwest a yellowish-green chrysoberyl and so on. This reminds us of the fact that in the Indian texts the items, including precious stones, are never placed at random and that it is always specified in which compartment a particular object should be deposited. On the other hand, images of goddesses and *liṅgas* are never mentioned as parts of a consecration deposit and, more importantly, no architectural work prescribes the installation of eight identical deposit boxes in a single structure. The number of the boxes discovered in Candi Bukit Batu Pahat and their distribution within the temple suggests, perhaps, that the construction ritual performed there was a local variant of the *garbhanyāsa* of the Indian texts. In this variant each compartment facing specific geographical direction was substituted by an entire deposit box. The inspiration for placing the deposits in the corners and in the mid-points of the walls might also have been drawn from certain North Indian texts, such as the Somaśambhupaddhati, in which the first bricks accompanied by metal jars are deposited on exactly the same locations as in Candi Bukit Batu Pahat.<sup>48</sup>

References: Wales 1940: 18-21, Lamb 1960a, 1960b, Bosch 1961a, Treloar 1972.

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<sup>47</sup> For instance in the *sattal* (a communal building) at Bhatgaon, Nepal (Harle 1994: 484). In India the nine Durgās are represented, for example, on the outer walls of the temple at Hirapur, Orissa (Dehejia 1986: 101); see also Pott (1966: 86ff) and Dehejia (1986: 188). Bosch stresses the fact that although there was no casket in the central part of the candi, a large bronze trident was found there which, perhaps, belonged once to a central figure representing a goddess of the Śaiva pantheon. The goddess, according to him, would be the central image of the shrine and at the same time the centre of the group of nine goddesses (Bosch 1961a: 486-487, 488). It is plausible that this group of the nine goddesses could be the *navadurgā*.

<sup>48</sup> The only difference is that the Somaśambhupaddhati prescribes nine bricks and nine jars – the ninth brick and jar are deposited in the centre of the structure. It cannot be excluded, however, that, if the ninth casket of Candi Bukit Batu Pahat existed, it was stolen in antiquity.



34.

Find: Two silver capsules containing gems.

Location: Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, Kedah, Malaysia.

Dating: See no. 33 above.

Description: The capsules were discovered in a small recesses at the bottom of the mortises, in two of the eight large pillar sockles located around the main sanctuary.<sup>49</sup>

Each capsule contained a small polished sapphire and a small polished pyrope.

Wales (1940: 19) supposes that, initially, all eight sockles contained similar deposits.

Correspondence with the texts: Difficult to ascertain. Yet, it should be remembered that according to several texts the consecration deposit (*garbha*) as well as the first bricks should be placed at the foot of a pillar (see, for instance, *Kāśyapaśilpa prathameṣṭakā* 48d).

References: Lamb 1960a.

35.

Find: Four earthenware jars containing miscellaneous objects.

Location: Site no. 13, Kedah, Malaysia.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The jars were discovered beneath the floor level, in the corners of a ruined brick sanctuary. According to Wales (1940: 29-30) they are “of South Indian style.” Inside the jars were shells, glass beads, a small bronze bowl and a part of a bronze ring, gems, gold ornaments and a fragment of the rim of a silver bowl. It is not known whether the sanctuary was Hindu or Buddhist.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible. Certain texts prescribe placing jars filled with gems and gold under the first bricks (see *Somaśambhupaddhati* IV.1).

References: Wales 1940: 29-30.

36.

Find: Earthenware jars containing miscellaneous objects.

Location: Site no. 14, Kedah, Malaysia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD, second half.

Description: The jars contained coins, an illegible inscription on silver, a bronze ring, gems and beads. It is not known whether on the site there was a Hindu or a Buddhist sanctuary.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Wales 1940: 31-33.

37.

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<sup>49</sup> For the drawing of the sockles see Lamb (1960a: 32, fig. 11).

Find: Stone box with compartments.  
 Location: Site no. 19, Kedah, Malaysia.  
 Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> AD.  
 Description: The box, broken, was discovered near the porch of the temple. No deposit was found. The box is more elaborate than those discovered in Candi Bukit Batu Pahat (see no. 33 above). Its outer sides are decorated with mouldings and miniature pilasters and its depressions form a circle around the central depression (see Wales 1940: plate 73; Lamb 1960a, plates 165, 166).  
 Correspondence with the texts: Boxes divided into nine compartments are prescribed by several texts for the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony. Unfortunately, it is not known whether the box contained any items and on which location it was installed.  
 References: Wales 1940: 34-36, Lamb 1960a, plates 165, 166.

38.

Find: Silver box containing several objects, 141 gold objects and other items in the vicinity of the box.  
 Location: Bongkissam, Sarawak, Kalimantan, Malaysia.  
 Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> AD.  
 Description: The excavation begun with unearthing a stone platform, eleven inches below the surface of the soil. The platform was constructed of two layers of irregularly placed stone blocks. In the centre of it there was an area in which the stone blocks seemed to be placed with more regularity and care than elsewhere. This area covered a central shaft, whose lower portion was filled with golden yellow sand, different from the surrounding grey or whitish sand common to Sarawak River Delta sites. There, in the small chamber encountered on a depth of twenty-eight inches under the stone platform, was located the consecration deposit immersed in yellow sand. The deposit consisted of a silver box surrounded by numerous other items “clearly of ritual significance” (Harrison and O’Connor 1967: 208). The silver box consists of three parts: the lower part, the cover and the inner divider which separates the cover from the material deposited in the lower part. The upper portion of the divider is a disc which slightly rises towards the centre where it is surmounted by a solid gold *liṅga*. Inside the box, under the divider, a mass of black, moist material of organic origin and an irregularly shaped piece of gold leaf were found. Outside the box, in the sand, were lying 141 gold objects together with semiprecious stones, minerals, one stone figure, various beads and earthenware pottery. The objects were presumably placed following a fixed pattern (Harrison and O’Connor 1967: 208). The gold objects included a number of figurines cut out of gold leaf, namely two lotuses, two elephants, one tortoise, two figures, six crescent moons, one serpent and one circle. The figurines are represented seated with their legs either folded or crossed. The hands are placed on the hips and hold no attributes. According to Harrison and O’Connor (1967: 210-211) these are male figures, but there is actually no ground for assuming that as no details are visible.

The remaining gold objects are mainly various ornaments (rings, beads, needles and pins of gold) and some pieces of irregular shape. One of them represents perhaps a *liṅga*, another resembles a stylized conch shell. The stone figure found together with the gold objects shows a seated divinity wearing a high, conical headdress. The figure presumably depicts a female and according to the authors it “may represent one of the aspects of Tārā” (ibid., 213). Unfortunately, the figure is so badly damaged that it is impossible to draw any definitive conclusions without knowing more about the function and date of the structure in which the deposit was found. The semiprecious stones were five in number and so were the minerals. It is possible that they were initially placed in the four directions and in the centre as it is prescribed by certain ritual texts from India.

It would be interesting to know what exactly constituted the organic matter found in the lower part of the silver box, but the results of the biochemical analysis of a sample taken from it were not yet available at the time of publication of the article. So far it could only be established that the organic mass is not a geological deposit as that it does not resemble any of the local soils (Harrisson and O’Connor 1966a: 214).

According to Harrisson and O’Connor, “a number of factors” suggest that the Sarawak deposit may be Tantric Buddhist. They write: “there is nothing about the platform that would suggest a Hindu temple. On the other hand, a small votive *stūpa* might have been superposed over the ritual shaft” (ibid., 219). Yet, the arguments for the identification of the Bongkissam site as Buddhist are not very strong either. It should be remembered that a central shaft is frequently encountered not only in Buddhist *stūpas* but that it is also a very common element of the South Asian Śaiva temples. Moreover, the objects which are part of the Bongkissam deposit may belong as much to the Buddhist as to the Hindu tradition. As an example one may take the protruding part on the upper side of the divider of the box, referred to by Harrisson and O’Connor as ‘*liṅga*’. It may either be interpreted as a Buddhist symbol belonging perhaps to the same category as the so-called *liṅga*-poles in the Nepalese *stūpas* and the ‘*meru*-stones’ in Sri Lankan relic chambers,<sup>50</sup> or it may simply be a symbol of Śiva. If one of the small gold objects discovered around the Bongkissam deposit box is, as it seems, also a representation of a *liṅga* then the latter interpretation would seem more probable.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> The *meru* or *mahāmeru* is a stone pillar-like structure, often housing a reliquary on its top, frequently found in the relic chambers of the *stūpas* in Sri Lanka. For photographs of *meru*-stones see, for example, Paranavitana (1946: plate V) and Silva (1988: plate 25). For the *liṅga*-poles, see Oldfield (1880: 210-211).

<sup>51</sup> On the other hand, the presence of snakes in the Bongkissam deposit suggests that the deposit might have been Buddhist. Images of snakes were found mainly in Buddhist consecration deposits, for example in numerous *stūpa* deposits in Sri Lanka (see the section describing the Buddhist consecration deposits below). Yet, this argument is not strong enough to establish with certainty whether the Bongkissam finds belongs to the Buddhist or to the Hindu tradition.

The Sarawak find was dated by the authors at ca. 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century AD (Harrisson and O'Connor 1967: 220). Treloar (1972: 233), on the other hand, dates it 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> AD. According to him the structure is contemporary with Candi Bukit Batu Pahat in Kedah. The structure in which the deposit was found is unusual in many ways. Firstly, because it was constructed of stone, which is exceptional in Kalimantan where hardwood abounds. Secondly, because there are, to my knowledge, only two consecration deposits found in Kalimantan that show a strong connection with the greater Hindu-Buddhist tradition of South and Southeast Asia (for the second deposit found in Kalimantan, see the next find).

Correspondence with the texts: Difficult to establish.

References: Harrisson and O'Connor 1967.

39.

Find: Stone box with compartments, semiprecious stones and beads.

Location: Vicinity Muara Kaman, Kutai, East Kalimantan, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The box has nine compartments. The central compartment is square; the eight compartments around have the form of petals. In the box semiprecious stones and various beads made of glass, clay or stone were found. The box was, apparently, found in the vicinity of or in the foundation of a Hindu temple. Given that the deposit originates from the same region as the earliest inscriptions of Indonesia (the six inscriptions of Mulawarman), it is given the same date, i.e. ca. 400 AD. If this date is correct, the Muara Kaman deposit would be one of the earliest excavated consecration deposits in both South and Southeast Asia. On the other hand, this dating is by no means certain.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). The appearance of the box and the presence of semiprecious stones and beads are in agreement with the South Indian texts.

References: Wiharto Seno, "Kerajaan Kutai, Yang Berjaya di Masa Silam," Indosiar, 30 November 2004, [http://news.indosiar.com/news\\_read.htm?id=39333](http://news.indosiar.com/news_read.htm?id=39333).

40.

Find: Square stone box, miscellaneous objects.

Location: Candi Śiva, Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.<sup>52</sup>

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

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<sup>52</sup> According to administrative divisions of the Republic of Indonesia (as in 2002) the Loro Jonggrang complex is located in dusun Karangasem, desa Bokoharjo, kecamatan Prambanan, kabupaten Sleman, propinsi Daista Yogyakarta (on the basis of V. Degroot: "Candi, space and landscape. A study of distribution, orientation and spatial organization of Central Javanese temple remains" [provisional title], consultation draft. Unpublished).

Description: The stone box was discovered by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the central shaft of Candi Śiva, one of the three main temples of the Loro Jonggrang complex. It was covered with a pyramidal lid; the top of the lid was located at a depth of 5.75m below floor level. The box is 41cm square and 55 cm high including the cover. It was filled up with earth containing charcoal and ashes placed among some partly oxidized copper plates. The plates were divided in squares by a kind of paint and each square was inscribed with a letter.<sup>53</sup> In the earth were found several small objects: twenty coins, nine semiprecious stones one of which was incised with a flower, glass beads, a sea-shell and the most interesting find - twelve gold plates. Seven plates are rectangular and inscribed; five are cut in various shapes: a tortoise, a *nāga*, a lotus flower, ‘an altar’ and an oval. Of the seven rectangular plates, one bears a longer inscription commencing with ‘*om*’. The remaining six have each a single letter, according to Groeneveldt a vowel, written in a circle surrounded by eight ‘rays’ in the eight directions.<sup>54</sup> The area directly under the box was filled with earth mixed with charcoal and with pieces of burned animal bones, probably belonging to a goat or a chicken. The ashes found inside the box seem to be of animal origin as well.<sup>55</sup> Among the bones, approximately one meter under the box, a small inscribed gold plate was found. The inscription reads ‘*baruṇa*’ in small letters and ‘*parwwata*’ in large letters below it (Groeneveldt 1887: 222).

Correspondence with the texts: Partly (*garbhanyāsa*). The letters inscribed on the rectangular gold plates, all of them vowels sometimes followed by a *visarga*, show close association with the series of vowels recited and perhaps installed in the assigned compartments of a chambered deposit casket as according to the *Kāśyapaśilpa* and some of the Śaivāgamas (see KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 17ab and 21cd-27). The remaining objects found within the box, too, are in agreement with the texts. On the other hand, the box from Candi Śiva is neither having compartments nor is lotus-shaped as prescribed by the textual sources.

References: IJzerman 1891: 60-63.

41.

Find: Bronze jar.  
 Location: Candi Śiva, Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.  
 Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

<sup>53</sup> Most of the letters, written in old Javanese, seems to be illegible (Groeneveldt 1887: 101).

<sup>54</sup> According to Groeneveldt (1887: 221) the inscribed vowels are: ‘ah’, ‘ēh’, ‘âh’, ‘â’, ‘something impossible to pronounce’ and ‘am’. For further discussion on the longer inscription and the vowels see idem, pp. 219-222. Stutterheim reads the inscriptions as: aḥ, āḥ, a, ā, ang and ě (Jordaan and Wessing 1996: 46), while according to Jordaan and Wessing 1946: 46 n 1 “the syllables... might be read as ‘Om Śri’, although the Śri part remains dubious.”

<sup>55</sup> IJzerman (1981: 61): “De asch geeft bij verhitting empyreumatische producten, wat op onvoldoende verbranding van dierlijke stoffen wijst.”

Description: The jar was found in the wall of the temple above the circumambulatory path (the exact level is not given). It is covered with a lid and its diameter is ca. 10 cm. According to Bosch the pot was certainly installed in the wall during the construction and not after the completion of the temple.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Bosch 1920: 80 and plate 1.

42.

Find: Two bronze jars.

Location: Candi Śiva, Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The jars were discovered in the northwest and in the southeast corner of the temple. The level on which they were placed is not reported.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Wahyuni Triasih 1992, drawing 3 and 4; Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

43.

Find: Bronze jar with a chain.

Location: Candi Śiva, Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The jar was discovered in the second foot of the temple in the southeast corner. It was covered with a lid. Inside were found volcanic ash and stone, pieces of gold and a small bronze coin.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

44.

Find: Earthenware jar, copper box, miscellaneous objects.

Location: Candi Viṣṇu, Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The jar was found in the central shaft of Candi Viṣṇu, second of the three main temples of the Loro Jonggrang complex. It was located ca. 50 cm below the pedestal of a temple image. The jar was enclosing a copper box of 9 cm square. Inside the box there was earth mixed with ashes as well as figures cut of metal leaf, some of them similar to those found in Candi Śiva: a gold lotus, a silver turtle,<sup>56</sup> a silver disk perhaps representing a *cakra*, a silver thunderbolt, a silver 'cross' with

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<sup>56</sup> Soekmono (1995: 4) speaks of "turtles", but IJzerman and Groeneveldt (1887: 222) mention only one.

triangular endings,<sup>57</sup> eight semiprecious stones and beads, and some gold and silver fragments. Beneath, on the depth of ca. 2 meters, were found two layers of stones, the first consisting of eight, the lower of four stones. Between the two layers were placed silver plates in the northern and southern direction and a minuscule piece of gold in the eastern direction.

Correspondence with the texts: Partly (*garbhanyāsa*). The appearance of the deposit container does not agree with the Sanskrit texts. Still, the location of the deposit does agree, at least with the North Indian treatises. As far as the contents of the box are concerned, the majority of the items fit very well into the *garbhanyāsa* descriptions – images of tortoises and lotuses, semiprecious stones and fragments of metals, all these are placed into the deposit casket according to the texts (see Chapter 7.1.1.2). Ashes are never mentioned, but as no chemical analysis of the finds from Candi Viṣṇu was ever made, it is not sure what should be understood under ‘ashes’ discovered inside the deposit.

References: IJzerman 1891: 63-64.

45.

Find: Four bronze bowls, two of them containing pieces of metal and gems.

Location: Candi Viṣṇu, Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The bowls were discovered in 1982. They were located in the temple base below the circumambulatory gallery, at the four corners, immersed in a layer of pure sand. According to Soenarto (1985: 384-388) the bowls were placed in a cavity “made of four stones” and covered with a stone slab. The bowl at the southeast corner contained one rough agate, four silver pieces, five gold pieces, and two broken pieces of bronze while in the bowl at the southwest were found a piece of silver, three pieces of bronze and six of gold. The remaining two bowls were empty. In addition to the four deposits, two empty cavities were discovered at the centre of the north side and under the threshold on the east side. It is possible that also these cavities housed jars similar to those described above.

Correspondence with the texts: Partly (*prathameṣṭakā*). On the one hand, the fact that the deposits were surrounded by four stones points to the *prathameṣṭakā* ceremony as described in the South Indian texts. Yet, it should be remembered that the texts prescribe only one such deposit within a temple and it should not be enclosed in a container. On the other hand, the distribution of the pots and the (assemblies of) bricks in Candi Viṣṇu partly resembles the distribution of (single)

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<sup>57</sup> According to IJzerman (1891: 64 note 2) the ‘cross’ might be an unusual depiction of a *svastika*: “Dit kruis moet wellicht de swastika verbeelden, die echter gewoonlijk anders voorgesteld en onder dezen vorm niet bekend is.” *Svastikas*, together with other auspicious symbols, were indeed found in the consecration deposits outside Indonesia, for instance in Sri Lanka and in Nepal, but the majority of them were part of Buddhist deposits.

first bricks and metal jars in the Somaśambhupaddhati – according to this text, in each corner and in the mid-point of each wall there should be one first brick and one jar.

References: Soenarto 1985: 384-388; Soekmono 1995: 116.

46.

Find: Stone container with glass beads and pieces of metal.

Location: Candi Viṣṇu, Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The container was discovered to the east of the southern side of the staircase.<sup>58</sup> In the container were found glass beads, twenty-two pieces of gold leaf and bronze fragments.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Stutterheim 1939: 107; Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

47.

Find: Four broken earthenware jars, four stones forming a square.

Location: Candi Brahmā, Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The jars were discovered in a hollowed out space in the vicinity of the central shaft of the temple. They were lying in a mixture of earth, charcoal and fragments of copper. The four stones were found inside the central shaft. On the bottom of the shaft there was a square stone divided into four sections by two grooves, which calls to mind the stone slabs discovered in the superstructures of Cambodian temples (see above).

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish. The way in which the four stones were placed may point to *prathameṣṭakā*, but nothing was found in the vicinity of them.

References: IJerman 1891: 65-66; Soekmono 1995: 4.

48.

Find: Two stone containers, fragments of metal.

Location: Candi Brahmā, Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java,

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<sup>58</sup> Soekmono (1995: Appendix I) states that the container was discovered “on the east side of the southern staircase” due to an erroneous translation from the original Dutch report. See Stutterheim (1939: 107), who writes that the container was found “ten O. van de Z. trapspiegel van de Wiṣṇu-tempel.” The Dutch term ‘trapspiegel’ does not mean ‘staircase’ but a side of a staircase, which, in the present case, makes much more sense – Candi Viṣṇu has only one staircase and it faces east, not south. The same mistake is found in Soekmono’s description of the deposits of Candi Brahma (see no. 49 below).



Indonesia.  
 Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.  
 Description: One container was found near the threshold to the east of the south side of the staircase. The other was discovered at the central point of the southern wall. In both containers there were fragments of gold, silver and bronze.  
 Correspondence with the texts: The appearance of the containers is not in agreement with the texts. On the other hand, placing the deposit vessel (*garbha*) in the vicinity of the entrance is prescribed by all South Indian treatises. Depositing various metals inside the deposit vessel is also prescribed by several texts.<sup>59</sup>  
 References: Stutterheim 1939: 106; Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

49.

Find: Pottery sherds (pieces of a jar and of a round box), ash, a gold nail.  
 Location: Auxiliary candi, Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.  
 Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.  
 Description: The sherds, ash and the gold nail were found in the central shaft of the temple, on the depth of 0.95m. It is not clear which of the numerous small temples of Loro Jonggrang yielded this deposit. According to IJzerman (1891: 69) the objects were discovered in a temple located outside the innermost enclosure, at the eastern side, opposite the open space between the temple of Nandi and the small temple of Śiva.<sup>60</sup> Soekmono (1995: 5), on the other hand, states that the deposit was found in a “small candi closing off the south end of the court by Candi Brahma.”  
 Correspondence with the texts: None.  
 References: IJzerman 1891: 69; Soekmono 1995: 5.

50.

Find: Cubical box of white stone.  
 Location: Auxiliary candi, Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.  
 Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.  
 Description: The candi is listed as an ‘auxiliary candi II/I’ by Soekmono (1995: 26). Unfortunately, no other information are given. Hence, it is not certain which of the numerous small shrines of the Loro Jonggrang complex is meant here. The empty box was found during the dismantling prior to reconstruction of the candi. It was located directly below the central shaft of the candi.  
 Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.  
 References: Soekmono 1995: 26 and Appendix I.

<sup>59</sup> See Ajita 17.25cd-26, Suprabheda T360.28.23cd-24ab, PādmaS 6.38cd-39, MarīciS 13.1.1, HayaP 12.18ab.

<sup>60</sup> It is a “buitentempel... gelegen aan de oostzijde tegenover de open ruimte tusschen den Nandi- en den kleinen Çiva-tempel...” (IJzerman 1891: 69).

51.

Find: Stone box with compartments, fragments of metals, minerals.

Location: Loro Jonggrang (courtyard), Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The box is cubical and divided into nine regular compartments placed in three rows of three. The central compartment of the box contained thirteen gold fragments. The eight surrounding ones contained each a few pieces of gold plate and some other items. The box was apparently placed in such a way that the corner compartments faced the cardinal directions while the compartments in-between faced the intermediary directions. The compartment facing north contained two pieces of gold plate, a piece of iron, another piece of iron (or, perhaps, some other metal; Stutterheim places a question mark here, see Stutterheim 1939: 106), and two pieces of glass. The compartment facing east contained a piece of gold plate and a piece of stone, the one facing south contained three pieces of gold plate and two lumps of red earth, while the one facing west contained two pieces of gold plate, a fragment of stone and some fragments of mica. In the compartment facing northeast a fragment of gold plate, a fragment of stone, and a piece of graphite were found; in the one facing southeast there were two fragments of gold plate and a piece of crystal (perhaps quartz). The compartment facing northwest contained three fragments of gold plate and two fragments of stone. There is no information about the objects in the southwest compartment. Yet, outside the box three fragments of gold, a larger piece of gold plate (4 cm), a gold coin and a blue stone were found, which might have originally belonged in the southwest compartment.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). The box and the objects found within it are in agreement with the descriptions of the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony in South Indian texts.<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately, the original location of the box is not reported.

References: Stutterheim 1939: 106-107.

52.

Find: Stone box, piece of gold.

Location: Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The box containing one piece of gold was found at the foot of the outer enclosing wall of Loro Jonggrang, to the north of the temple of Viṣṇu. The piece of gold is ca. 1cm long.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

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<sup>61</sup> It is true that the majority of the texts prescribe metal as the material of which the deposit casket should be made. Yet, at least one South Indian text, the Kāmikāgama, allows the deposit casket to be made of stone (see Kāmika 31.13cd).

References: Stutterheim 1939: 107; Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

53.

Find: Stone box, fragments of metals, one glass bead.

Location: Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The box was found to the west of the eastern enclosure, between the northern entrance and the corner (Stutterheim 1939: 107). Inside was placed one glass bead and pieces of gold, silver and bronze leaf.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Stutterheim 1939: 107; Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

54.

Find: Stone box.

Location: Loro Jonggrang, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The box is cubical and it is made of white stone. When discovered, it was most probably empty. The location of the box is not reported.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

55.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Vicinity of Prambanan, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD?

Description: The slab has nine cavities in the form of lotus petals. It is placed in a cubical stone container covered with a pyramidal lid. The container is surrounded by four large stone blocks. The find site of the slab is unknown. The slab is preserved in the office of the Dinas Purbakala, Prambanan.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible. From the textual point of view, the slab with cavities and the four stones are a combination of the *prathameṣṭakā* with the *garbhanyāsa*. It is interesting to note that the practice of installing a compartmented deposit box between four stones was also known in ancient India. The 15<sup>th</sup>-century commentary to the *Tantrasamuccaya*, a treatise on architecture enjoying a great popularity in Kerala, suggests that the square opening left among the first bricks is, in fact, destined for a deposit casket (see *TantraS*, commentary of Śāṅkara to verse 1.90).

References: Lamb 1961: plate 15 and 16.

56.

Find: Two stone boxes, stones placed one upon another, stone block with a cavity, gold objects, gems and seeds.

Location: Candi Ijo, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.<sup>62</sup>

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>63</sup>

Description: Candi Ijo is situated a few kilometres south of the Loro Jonggrang complex and it was dedicated to Śiva. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Groneman discovered two stone caskets (without compartments) in its central shaft, approximately one meter below the floor of the cella (Groneman 1889: 323). The caskets seem to have been disturbed already and were thus found empty. Much lower, at the bottom of the shaft were lying fragments of gold, two gold rings, gold coins, a gold sheet, a ruby (or, according to Soekmono, a red agate), a few seeds, and an inscribed gold sheet. The inscription consists of a few separate letters and seven lines of script. Next to the inscription an image of a deity is engraved (Groneman 1889: 325-329; Soekmono 1995: 3-4).<sup>64</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Groneman 1889; Soekmono 1995: 3-4.

<sup>62</sup> According to administrative divisions of the Republic of Indonesia (as in 2002) Candi Ijo is located in dusun Groyokan, desa Sambirejo, kecamatan Prambanan, kabupaten Sleman, propinsi Daista Yogyakarta (V. Degroot, unpublished data, see note 58 above).

<sup>63</sup> As given by Krom (1923/1: 248). Dumarçay (1993) apparently considers Candi Ijo later than 860 AD, given that he deals with it in the chapter on Hindu architecture from c. 830 AD directly after Candi Merak which, according to him, was built after 860 AD. Yet, it should be stressed that the dating of the Central Javanese temples is extremely difficult due to the lack of inscriptions. The dates given in the majority of the available sources are therefore only tentative and should be regarded with caution. The only temple complex which could be more or less precisely dated is the Loro Jonggrang, dated on the basis of the Siwagrha inscription of 856 AD (see: de Casparis 1956: 280-330).

<sup>64</sup> The lower part of the gold sheet is broken and a piece, probably engraved with another figure of a deity, is missing. The remaining piece is divided into three parts by means of lines. In the upper part is the inscription of seven lines of script. In the middle part there is a figure of a god. The deity wears bracelets on the upper arms, a triple necklace and the *upavīta*; the left hand leans on a club. There is a kind of halo or perhaps a *nāga* around the head. To the left of the head of the deity is written one letter or syllable; to the right there are three letters. In the lower part there are two figures, each consisting of four concentric circles. Above them there are two letters or syllables and below them there are three letters. In the lowest part of the gold sheet there is yet another sign. The inscriptions were read and transcribed by Brandes. The long inscription in the upper part reads:

ja  
wi la ni jâ ta  
bhû ti ta ña ra  
ngga bha sma ja  
bha sme r̄ bha sma  
wwi tta ni ngwi ça  
wâ rûpa

The reading of *ngwi* is uncertain. The two lower rows may also be read as *wwitanibhiça wwa wirûpa*. To the right of the figure of the god the word *kuwera* is written; to the left *kham*. Under the circles, to the left, is written *sowi* and to the right is written *wika*. Between the circles is an illegible character. In the lowest part of the gold sheet is written *ika* or *ikâ* and, to the left, another syllable, perhaps *wong*. For further discussion on the inscription, see Groneman (1889: 327: 330).

57.

Find: Five earthen pots, one stone cylinder, fragments of metals, semiprecious stones, beads, remains of cloth, beads.

Location: Ratu Boko, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.<sup>65</sup>

Dating: ca. 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: Ratu Boko (Ratu Baka), located on a high hill, was probably a Buddhist monastery later converted into a Hindu temple. It dates presumably 8<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>66</sup> On the site six deposit receptacles were found underneath the water trough in front of three miniature temples. Five of them, contained in earthen pots, were placed at the cardinal points and in the centre, forming a cross. The sixth one - a sandstone cylinder with a lid - was located slightly to the southeast of the southern pot.<sup>67</sup> Inside the sandstone cylinder was a bronze pot containing remains of cloths, gold strips, silver strips, glass beads, fragments of bronze and seeds. At least one of the gold strips was inscribed. The inscription is in the Old Javanese script and reads *om rudra ya namaḥ swaha* (Wissemann Christie 2002). The five earthen pots contained gold strips, fragments of bronze and iron. In addition, in two of the earthen pots were discovered semiprecious stones, gold plates and bronze plates (Halina Hambali 1993-94: 12-13).<sup>68</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Halina Hambali 1993-94; Soekmono 1995: 118 and Appendix I.

58.

Find: Stone box, one metal pot, one gold elephant cut out of gold leaf, fragments of gold leaf.

Location: Gatak, Bokoharjo, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 8<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The objects were placed within the box. The report does not say where exactly the box was found. The temple of Gatak was probably dedicated to Śiva.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

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<sup>65</sup> According to administrative divisions of the Republic of Indonesia (as in 2002) Ratu Boko is located in dusun Dawung, desa Bokoharjo, kecamatan Prambanan, kabupaten Sleman, propinsi Daista Yogyakarta (V. Degroot, unpublished data, see note 58 above).

<sup>66</sup> Véronique Degroot, personal communication.

<sup>67</sup> For the photograph of the site with the receptacles in situ see Soekmono 1995, plate 4 and Halina Hambali 1993-1994, foto 9.

<sup>68</sup> Soekmono (1995, Appendix I) mentions three deposit caskets of Ratu Boko (one of them being preserved in the Central Museum, Jakarta, two in the Prambanan Office of the Archaeological Institute). These are stone cubical casket, two of them have lids. One was apparently found “under the southern vestibule of the eastern gateway complex.” Nothing is written about the contents of the caskets. It is not clear if the caskets mentioned by Soekmono belong to the group of six containers mentioned above.

References: Wahyuni Triasih 1992: foto 3. Véronique Degroot, personal communication.

59.

Find: Bronze bowls and spouted jars with a foot, fragments of gold and bronze.

Location: Candi Sambisari, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.<sup>69</sup>

Dating: 8<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>70</sup>

Description: The bowls and the jars numbering seven or eight<sup>71</sup> were all located under the floor of the circumambulatory path of the temple and covered by stone slabs.<sup>72</sup> The slabs seem to have once served as supports for wooden pillars. One of the jars contained a thin gold leaf and a piece of bronze. Near the lip of one of the bowls was lying a piece of gold leaf with an inscription in two lines reading, probably, ‘*om siwastha-na..*’ (the reading according to Boechari; see Soediman 1976: 48b). The script was dated by Boechari at ca. 9<sup>th</sup> AD (Soediman, *ibid.*). Candi Sambisari is a small Śaiva temple located a few kilometres to the southwest of the Loro Jonggrang complex, very close to the airport of Yogyakarta.

Correspondence with the texts: None, except for the fact that the South Indian texts prescribe placing the consecration deposit (*garbha*) under ‘a pillar’.

References: Soediman 1976; Soekmono 1995: 116 and fig. 3.

60.

Find: Two stone boxes, one stone cover.

Location: Candi Sambisari, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 8<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD (see no. 59 above).

Description: Apart from the deposits located below the pillar supports (see no. 59 above), Soediman (1976) mentions two stone boxes discovered on different locations. A square limestone box without a lid was discovered in the southwest corner of the temple.<sup>73</sup> Another box, of andesite, was found on the western side of

<sup>69</sup> According to administrative divisions of the Republic of Indonesia (as in 2002) Candi Sambisari is located in dusun Sambisari, desa Purwomartani, kecamatan Kalasan, kabupaten Sleman, propinsi Daista Yogyakarta (V. Degroot, unpublished data, see note 58 above).

<sup>70</sup> The dating of Candi Sambisari, as it is the case with the majority of the Central Javanese temples, is problematic. The candi was dated from the 8<sup>th</sup> up to the 10<sup>th</sup> AD by various authors. Soekmono (1979: 472) dates it ca. 730-800 AD, Chihara (1996: 112) lists it among the temples belonging to the late Central Javanese period (ca. 850-920 AD). Dumarçay (1993: 78-79) does not give a precise date, but from the sequence in his publication it may be assumed that he dates Candi Sambisari around 830 – end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD (he discusses it in the chapter “L’architecture hindouiste de 830 à la fin du IXe siècle,” after the Loro Jonggrang complex).

<sup>71</sup> Seven as given by Soediman (1976: 48a), but eight according to Soekmono (1995: 116).

<sup>72</sup> Soekmono (1995: 116 and 119, fig. 3). On the other hand, Wahyuni Triasih (1992, drawing 4) marks four deposits in the corners.

<sup>73</sup> Soediman (1976: 19 and plate 25). Soediman writes that the box was found in the ‘kotak [square] E4’ which, on the plan given in his publication (drawing no. 9), stands for the southwest corner of the

the temple pit. Moreover, a broken limestone lid was found to the northwest of the temple (Soediman 1976: 19 and plates 11-12).

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Soediman 1976.

61.

Find: Stone box, fragments of gold, semiprecious stones.

Location: Kadisoka, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The casket was located within the central pit belonging to an unfinished temple base. The box was already disturbed, but the area around it yielded tiny gold fragments, two beads (one blue and one brown), and a white semiprecious stone. The box is 30 cm long, 26.8 cm broad and 27 cm high. Kadisoka site lies on the Prambanan Plain to the north of Candi Kalasan. The finds were discovered during the 2001 excavations of the site. As the temple is unfinished, it is impossible to say if it was intended to be Hindu or Buddhist. It is also impossible to establish its date.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Sancoyo and Prasetyo 2001.

62.

Find: Stone box with cavities, objects made of metal.

Location: Candi Gebang, Central Java, Indonesia.<sup>74</sup>

Dating: 730-800 AD.<sup>75</sup>

Description: The box was discovered during the excavation of the candi. It is square, divided into nine compartments having the form of lotus petals and covered with a lid. No additional information about the original location of the box is given in the report. When discovered, the box was presumably empty, but further excavation yielded several objects such as bronze and gold images of crescents and tridents which perhaps constituted the consecration deposit.

Candi Gebang is a very small Śaiva temple located to the north-northeast of Yogyakarta.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). The shape of the box is in agreement with the Sanskrit texts. Moreover, images of tridents are mentioned by several Indian treatises as a part of a consecration deposit for a Śaiva temple.<sup>76</sup>

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temple and a part of the south wall. It is not said if the box was found inside the wall or under the slabs of the cella.

<sup>74</sup> According to administrative divisions of the Republic of Indonesia (as in 2002) Candi Gebang is located in dusun Gebang, desa Wedomartani, kecamatan Ngemplak, kabupaten Sleman, propinsi Daista Yogyakarta (V. Degroot, personal communication).

<sup>75</sup> As given by Soekmono (1979: 472). According to Dumarçay (1993: 80) the temple was originally Buddhist and was rebuilt in the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.

References: Stutterheim 1937a: 24 and plates 10-11.

63.

Find: Stone box with cavities, three stone boxes without cavities.

Location: Getasan, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: All boxes are covered with lids. One box has seventeen cavities, one in the centre and sixteen around it, resembling lotus petals. The remaining three boxes have no compartments. At present the boxes are preserved in the Museum Nasional, Jakarta.

Correspondence with the texts: Difficult to establish.

References: Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

64.

Find: Nine cavities dug in the soil.

Location: Candi Barong, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: After 860 AD (Dumarçay 1993).

Description: The nine holes are dug in the soil under the floor level of the candi. They form three rows by three, the central hole being slightly larger than the remaining ones.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Soekmono 1995: plate 3.

65.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Polanrejo, Prambanan Plain, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown

Description: The slab has nine compartments resembling lotus petals; it was covered with a lid. At present, the slab is preserved at the Prambanan Office of the Archaeological Institute.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

66.

Find: Stone box with cavities, fragments of metals, beads, quartz.

Location: Candi Ngempon (formerly known as Candi Muncul), Ngempon, Central Java, Indonesia.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> See, for example, KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 25ab, but also Dīpta 4.21cd, Kāmika 31.52ab, Suprabhedha 28.25cd, MM 12.33.

<sup>77</sup> According to administrative divisions of the Republic of Indonesia (as in 2002) Candi Ngempon is located in dusun Ngempon, desa Ngempon, kecamatan Klepu, kabupaten Semarang, propinsi Jawa Tengah (V. Degroot, unpublished data, see note 58 above).



Dating: 730-800 AD (Soekmono 1979: 472).

Description: The box covered with a lid was discovered in the central shaft of the candi. It is divided into seventeen compartments having the shape of lotus petals. Inside the box were found pieces of gold and bronze, beads, quartz crystals and sand mixed with earth.

Correspondence with the texts: Yes (*garbhanyāsa*). The deposit box of Candi Ngempon fits very well the descriptions of a *garbhabhājana* as given in the North Indian works - it was installed in the centre of the structure and it can certainly be described as 'having the form of a lotus' (*padmākāra*, the term used in the texts). Moreover, gold, bronze etc. found within the box are all included in the lists of items to be deposited during the *garbhanyāsa* ritual. The only element which does not agree with the majority of the texts is the material of the box, namely stone instead of metal. Yet, in one text stone is mentioned as material for a deposit casket (see *Kāmikāgama* 31.13cd).<sup>78</sup>

References: Soekmono 1995: 10 and Appendix I.

67.

Find: Fifteen bronze bowls, fragments of gold, gems, organic material.

Location: Candi Dwarawati, Dieng Plateau, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>79</sup>

Description: The first bowl was discovered by Krom in the vicinity of the temple. In 1955 two more bowls were found: one above the door jamb, another under the threshold (Anom 1985: 369, 374), both empty. The 1978 restoration yielded twelve more bowls discovered on eleven different locations (Anom 1985: 366-369, Soekmono 1995: 28, 116).<sup>80</sup> The twelve bowls were filled with earth which had the colour of light chocolate ('berwarna coklat'; Anom 1985). They were located in the four corners: northwest, southwest, southeast (two bowls) and northeast, as well as on various places within the walls and in the vicinity of the staircase. The bronze bowl found in the northeast contained one fragment of gold and some traces of grass,<sup>81</sup> the bowl on the northern side of the staircase contained fragments of wood.

<sup>78</sup> The box discovered in Candi Ngempon was surmounted by a bronze pipe placed vertically (Soekmono 1995: 10). None of the texts mention such a pipe above the *garbhabhājana*. On the other hand, *Tantrasamuccaya* 1.74ff and *Śilparatna* 10.6ff mention a copper tube (known as *yoganāla*) as a part of a consecration deposit, different from the *garbha*, which should be installed in the centre of the foundation pit (in these two texts the *garbhabhājana* is installed to the right or to the south of the temple door). A pipe, similar to that of Candi Ngempon, was also discovered in the temple shaft of Candi Merak (Central Java). Here, however, the deposit place was otherwise empty (Soekmono 1995: 10).

<sup>79</sup> The precise date of Candi Dwarawati could not be established; 9<sup>th</sup> AD is sometimes given as a probable date. Chihara (1996: 112) dates Candi Dwarawati 730-780 AD.

<sup>80</sup> In Wahyuni Triasih (1992, drawing 4) only the four deposits placed in the corners are marked.

<sup>81</sup> Or some other organic material, as Anom (1985: 367) gives here a question mark.

Yet another bowl contained an agate (Anom 1985: 367-368). Candi Dwarawati was presumably dedicated to Śiva.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Anom 1985; Soekmono 1995: 28, 116.

68.

Find: Three inscribed gold sheets, one inscribed sheet of gold alloy.

Location: Candi Dwarawati, Dieng Plateau, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> AD (see no. 67 above).

Description: The deposit was located in the superstructure of the candi, in a cylindrical ‘top piece’ placed on a lotus cushion. Regretfully, no photographs or drawings of the ‘top piece’ are available. The three gold sheets have inscriptions in Kawi script (the text of the inscriptions is not given by Krom). The inscription on the sheet of gold alloy was reads ‘Viṣṇu’.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Krom 1923/1: 189.

69.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Dieng Plateau, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Ca. 800 AD (Mitra 1981: 46).

Description: The slab has seventeen cavities: one in the centre, eight cavities in the form of lotus petals around it and eight small round cavities between the petal-shaped ones (the distribution of cavities is the same as in the slab of Candi Merak, see no. 76 above). It is ca. 27.5 cm square and 8.5 cm. high. At present, it is preserved at Museum Nasional, Jakarta (no. 448). According to Mitra (1981: 46) the slab originates from the Dieng Plateau.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). It is true that the majority of the (South Indian) texts discussed in the present study describe deposit boxes with nine or twenty-five compartments, yet it is possible that deposit boxes with seventeen compartments were also allowed. Especially when one realises that the additional eight compartments of the slab described above are so small that it is almost impossible to place any objects in them. Moreover, according to the North Indian texts the deposit box should have the shape of a lotus, which is the case here.

References: Lamb 1961: plate 19; Mitra 1981: 46 and plate 24.

70.

Find: Bronze box, small golden *liṅga*.

Location: One of the temples in Gedong Songo, Central Java, Indonesia.<sup>82</sup>

Dating: 8<sup>th</sup> – early 9<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> In the description of Krom (1923/1: 238) the temple belongs to the so-called 5th group.

Description: The box was enclosed in one of the stones belonging to the temple superstructure and contained a small golden *liṅga*. Unfortunately, no drawings or photographs of the deposit box are available.<sup>84</sup> Gedong Songo is a Hindu (Śaiva) temple complex built on the slopes of Gunung Ungaran, Central Java.

References: Krom 1923/1: 238.

71.

Find: Four stone boxes.

Location: Jatikalangan, near Semarang, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: Only one box is depicted, but according to Lamb (1961, text under plate 14), four such boxes were found in Jatikalangan. The depicted box is cubical and covered with a lid; the box and the lid are not decorated. At the time of Lamb's publications the four boxes were preserved in Museum Nasional in Jakarta.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Lamb 1961: plate 14.

72.

Find: Five stone boxes with a central cavity, bronze pot, pieces of bronze, grains, herbs.

Location: Candi Selogriyo, west of Magelang, Central Java, Indonesia.<sup>85</sup>

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The boxes were discovered in the four corners and in the mid-point of the south wall, at the floor level. They are made of white stone, they are cubical and covered with lids. At least one of the boxes contained a bronze pot filled with pieces of bronze, rice, barley, herbs, millet mace, cloves etc (Soekmono 1995: Appendix I).<sup>86</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: None. Yet, it should be remembered that according to the majority of the Sanskrit texts grains, seeds and herbs as well as pieces of metals are an essential part of a consecration deposit (*garbha*).

References: Soekmono 1995: 28-29 and Appendix I.

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<sup>83</sup> Soekmono (1979: 472) suggests the date between 730 and 800 AD, Williams (1981: fig. 4) places the complex between 740 and 770 AD, and Chihara (1996: 112) dates it ca. 730-780 AD.

<sup>84</sup> Krom (1923/1: 238) refers to it as 'een topstuk' (a top piece), but does not describe in detail in which way the deposit was enclosed in the stone.

<sup>85</sup> According to administrative divisions of the Republic of Indonesia (as in 2002) Candi Selogriyo is located in dusun Camburejo, desa Kembang Kuning, kecamatan Windusari, kabupaten Magelang, propinsi Jawa Tengah (V. Degroot, unpublished data, see note 58 above).

<sup>86</sup> Soekmono 1995: 29 speaks of "pots", but in his Appendix I he mentions only one pot. He does not specify in which of the five boxes the pot was found. Moreover, on page 29 Soekmono mentions that the "pots" contained also pieces of gold, semiprecious stones, banana leaves used as wrappings and fragments of bone. These finds are not listed in the Appendix.

73.

Find: Objects made of gold leaf.

Location: Candi Selogriyo, west of Magelang, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The objects were found under the statue of Durgā in the northern niche on the outside of the temple cella. Nothing was found in the other niches of the temple, but as the stones there have already been dislodged it is possible that also the other niches housed consecration deposits, now stolen by treasure hunters.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Soekmono 1995: 29.

74.

Find: Fragments of an earthen pot and of a bronze bowl,<sup>87</sup> nine objects made of iron.Location: Candi Gunung Wukir, Central Java, Indonesia.<sup>88</sup>Dating: 8<sup>th</sup> AD?<sup>89</sup>

Description: The objects were found in the main temple in the vicinity of the staircase. One of the pots contained “nine chisel-like implements” made of iron.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish. It is possible that the “implements” are the weapons of the guardians of directions who play an important role in the Hindu ritual. Or they are perhaps the weapons of Śiva to whom the temple is dedicated. Yet, to ascertain it one would need a photograph or a drawing of the finds.

References: Stutterheim 1939: 102; Soekmono 1995: 28.

75.

Find: Stone box with cavities.

Location: Payak, Piyungan, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

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<sup>87</sup> Soekmono (1995: 28) speaks here of “bronze bowls” and he does not mention the earthen pot. At this point it should be added that the information provided by Soekmono, at times, does not agree with the original reports.

<sup>88</sup> According to the administrative divisions of the Republic of Indonesia (as in 2002), Candi Gunung Wukir is located in dusun (hamlet) Canggal, desa (village) Kaliduwih, kecamatan (sub-district) Salam, kabupaten (district) Magalan, propinsi (province) Jawa Tengah (V. Degroot, unpublished data; see note 58 above).

<sup>89</sup> The exact date of the candi is unknown. Yet, an inscription from 732 AD discovered in the precincts of the candi suggests that the candi may date from the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD (see Soekmono 1995: 51-52). The tentative dates given by other scholars are: Williams (1981: 30 and fig. 4 respectively) early 8<sup>th</sup> AD and around 720-735 AD and Chihara (1996: 112) 732 AD. Vogler (1952), on the other hand, rejects any association between the date of the Candi Gunung Wukir and the 732 AD inscription. According to him (1952: 346), the temple is not earlier than the ‘fourth period’, that means (see *ibid.*, 316) between mid-9<sup>th</sup> AD to c. 927 AD.

Description: The box has seventeen cavities and it was covered with a lid. The central cavity is round; the remaining ones are in the form of rays or short and thick petals (see Plate 19). It seems that the box was found in Payak, an ancient bathing place southeast of Yogyakarta, but the exact location is not reported. At present the box is preserved in the Borobudur Museum.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

76.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Candi Merak, Central Java, Indonesia.<sup>90</sup>

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>91</sup>

Description: The stone slab of Candi Merak, a Śaiva shrine located ca. 15 km. to the north of the city of Klaten, is ornamented on both sides with a rosette lotus with eight petals. The stone is pierced through the centre of the two blossoms. On one side of the slab the petals are hollowed up and there are additional small round cavities between the petals (see Plate 17). During the reconstruction of the temple it was possible to establish that the slab functioned as a closing piece of the vault.

Above the slab, just under the summit of the temple, was a small, hollow chamber. Such an arrangement can serve to reduce the weight of the roof on the walls, but the decoration on the slab suggests that the roof chambers of Javanese temples fulfilled not only technical functions - the hollowed up lotus was originally facing upwards, forming the floor of the roof chamber and functioning probably as a receptacle for a consecration deposit. As the *candi*'s superstructure was destroyed a long time ago, no deposit was found, but it is plausible that the cavities in the lotus petals were meant to enclose miscellaneous objects of the type found in Gedong Songo or Gunung Bondo or precious stones as suggested by inscriptions on comparable superstructure slabs in Cambodia (see no. 17 above).

Ornamented vault stones were found in a great number of Javanese temples (Soekmono 1995: 11-12).<sup>92</sup> The same as in Candi Merak, they were forming the floor of an inner chamber situated under the summit.<sup>93</sup> Yet, none of the vault slabs

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<sup>90</sup> According to administrative divisions of the Republic of Indonesia (as in 2002) Candi Merak is located in dusun Merak, desa Karangnonko, kecamatan Karangnonko, kabupaten Klaten, propinsi Jawa Tengah (V. Degroot, unpublished data, see note 58 above).

<sup>91</sup> After 860 AD – before end of the 9<sup>th</sup> AD (Dumarçay 1993: 79); before 830 AD (Marijke Klokke, personal communication).

<sup>92</sup> Such vault slabs were discovered both in Central and East Java, for example, in Candi Gebang, Candi Plaosan, Candi Sawentar, Candi Bangkal and Candi Rimbi.

<sup>93</sup> See De Haan (1922: 128 and plate V) depicting such a chamber in Candi Sawentar (early 13<sup>th</sup> century AD, see Kinney 2003: 283) located in the Blitar district in East Java. The chamber of Candi Sawentar is only 1.65m square and is closed from below with a decorated stone. A similar situation is found in the temples of Cambodia and Vietnam, the main difference being in the level on which the vault stones are placed. In Java the vault stones are placed relatively low, while in Cambodia they are located much higher, almost directly under the summit of the temple.

discovered in Java had cavities on its upper surface. In this sense the slab of Candi Merak is unique. All other vault stones are decorated on one side only, namely on the side facing downwards and visible from the cella below.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Perquin 1927, Soekmono 1995: 11-12.

77.

Find: Stone box with compartments containing several objects.

Location: Jolotundo, East Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The box is divided into nine square compartments arranged in three rows of three (see Plate 3). The walls of the central compartment are slightly higher than the others. The box rests on a round double lotus cushion and it was initially covered with a pyramidal lid. The cushion and the box are carved out of a single stone. The central compartment of the box contained a cylindrical gold casket with a lid. In the remaining compartments were placed small silver coins, small silver plates of irregular shape (their number is not given)<sup>94</sup> and figures cut out of gold leaf including a tortoise, two ‘crowned snakes’,<sup>95</sup> a crescent and two rectangular pieces. All the golden pieces were inscribed. On the first snake was written, in Old Javanese script (as given by Brandes in Groeneveldt 1887: 216) ‘*om baḥ svâhâ*’, on the second one ‘*om phaṭ svâhâ*’, on the turtle ‘*ram*’, on the crescent ‘*yam*’.<sup>96</sup> The first rectangular piece bore the inscription: ‘*om iṣânâya bhûtâdhipataye svâhâ*’, the second: ‘*om agnaye dvijâdhipataye svâhâ*’. In addition to the mentioned objects, the box was said to contain also ashes and remains of burned bones,<sup>97</sup> but no chemical analysis of the material discovered in the box was ever made. By the time the box found its way to the Museum of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (now: Museum Nasional, Jakarta) some fifty-four years later, no remains of ashes or bones could be traced (Patt 1983: 222). Nevertheless, the belief that the Jolotundo box was in fact a burial urn soon became popular and supported the theory that the Javanese structures were tombs. This theory was finally refuted in 1974 by Soekmono.<sup>98</sup> It

<sup>94</sup> Patt (1983: 224) mistakenly takes the drawing showing the reliefs depicted on the wall of Jolotundo (van Hoëvell 1851: fig.1, facing p.112) as representing the silver pieces found within the casket and speaks therefore of *five* silver pieces. In fact, the number of silver pieces found in Jolotundo is not reported.

<sup>95</sup> These figures were referred to by van Hoëvell (1851: 112) as a dragon and a lion, but this identification does not seem plausible.

<sup>96</sup> According to Patt (1983: 224) ‘the turtle read “ram” or “yam.”’

<sup>97</sup> See van Hoëvell (1851: 112): “Toen de heer Wardenaar dezen bak voor ’t eerst opende, vond hij in al de vakken asch en overblijfselen van verbrande beenderen.”

<sup>98</sup> *Candi, fungsi dan pengertiannya*. PhD thesis, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta. The summary of the book appeared in the BEFEO a few years later and the English translation of the monograph was published in 1995 (see: Soekmono 1975 and Soekmono 1995 respectively).

should be stressed that no Indian text prescribes placing bones or ashes inside a deposit container.

Jolotundo (Jalatunda) is a sacred bathing place near the village of Pandaan, south of Surabaya, East Java. It is a terraced structure cut into a slope of a mountain and consisting of three ‘ponds’ (the function of the ‘ponds’ has not been established with certainty). In the middle of the central ‘pond’ there is a stone structure which resembles a small shrine. The box was found a few metres below the central pond (the orientation towards the small shrine is not reported; see Krom 1923/2: 38-39) or perhaps below the structure in the centre (Bosch 1961b). The Jolotundo site is dated 10<sup>th</sup> AD on the basis of an inscription (Groeneveldt 1887: 217; Stutterheim 1956; O’Connor 1966a: 53; Klokke 1993: 12).

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). The appearance of the deposit box is in agreement with the South Indian texts prescribing a square or round box divided into nine or twenty-five compartments. The compartments are usually placed in three rows by three (in the case of a nine-chambered box), the same as it is found in Jolotundo. Besides, many of the objects found inside the box are in agreement with the texts. Several texts mention placing a gold tortoise into the deposit casket (see note 13 above) and images of snakes are sometimes prescribed for a consecration deposit to be installed in a well, a water reservoir and in a bridge.<sup>99</sup> A link with Indian architectural and ritual texts is also formed by the inscriptions on the gold pieces. Two of them are prayers to Īśāna and Agni, the gods of the northeast and southeast respectively. Although the textual sources do not state explicitly that the names of the gods of directions should be written down and placed into the deposit casket, the *lokapālas* are often invoked in the eight or nine jars placed during the *kumbhasthāpana* ceremony, which is a part of any consecration rite, including the *garbhanyāsa* (see the note to KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 39-41ab). By pouring water from the jars over the deposit casket, the *lokapālas* are transferred into it. It would be interesting to find out if the invocations to Īśāna and Agni were placed in the compartments facing the geographical directions associated with them. Unfortunately, the exact distribution of the items in the Jolotundo box was not recorded. It is plausible that the box possessed initially a set of eight or nine metal pieces, each of them bearing an invocation to one guardian of direction. The gold objects (but not the silver pieces) discovered in the box were acquired by the Museum of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (at present: Museum Nasional, Jakarta) ten years later than the box itself (Patt 1983: 222). It is therefore possible that not all the objects found their way to the Museum. Moreover, all the data concerning the discovery of the box are known only at second hand, by later writers, and for that reason might not be reliable.

The same as the invocations to the *lokapālas*, also the remaining inscriptions might be linked to the Indian texts. ‘*Ram*’ and ‘*yam*’ may perhaps be identified as the *bījas*

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<sup>99</sup> MM 12.99 and Mahānirvāṇatantra 13.170 as given by Pott (1966: 91-92).

(seed letters) belonging to the group: *la, ya, ra* and *va*, associated with the four elements, that is earth, water, fire and wind respectively. According to the Sanskrit ritual treatises of the Śaiva tradition, these letters should be written on the first and crowning bricks before their installation (see KŚ *prathameṣṭakā* 36cd-37c and Chapter 5 note 26). In addition, the sound ‘*phaṭ*’ is an essential part of the *astramantra*, often pronounced during the ceremony of placing the objects into the deposit casket (see KŚ *garbhanyāsa* 18d).

References: van Hoëvell 1851: 112, Groeneveldt 1887: 120, 216-217, Krom 1923/2: 38-39; Stutterheim 1937b; Bosch 1961b; Bosch and De Haan 1965.

78.

Find: Gold *liṅga*, silver *yoni*, gold sheets, gold and bronze fragments, pieces of a bronze pot, fragments of bone.

Location: Gunung Bondo, Jabung, Mojokerto, East Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The objects were found at the summit of the temple. One of the gold sheets was inscribed, yet another one was in the shape of an animal. The details concerning the exact location of the objects in the superstructure are not provided. It is not reported whether the bone fragments were analysed chemically.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

79.

Find: Earthenware box with cavities, gold lotus flowers, fragments of bronze vessels.

Location: Karangrejo, near Kediri, East Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The earthenware container, covered with a lid, has nine cavities resembling rays or lotus petals. Inside the container were found three lotus flowers made of gold and fragments of bronze vessels. Unfortunately, the report does not say whether the box was discovered in a temple or perhaps in the ground. The Karangrejo box is the only Javanese example of a compartmented box not made of stone.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Stutterheim 1939: 121.

80.

Find: Stone box with cavities.

Location: Kediri, East Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown.



Description: The box has seventeen cavities and is covered with a lid. One cavity is in the centre; the others, in shape of lotus petals, surround the central one. At present the box is kept in the Museum Nasional, Jakarta.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

81.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Candi Sumberjati, Kediri, East Java, Indonesia.

Dating: 14<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The slab is decorated with an image of a tortoise. The central part of its carapace is hollowed out and in the bottom there are nine small cavities grouped three by three. It is not reported in which part of the temple the slab was found and whether anything was placed in the cavities.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Lamb 1961: 7 and plate 21.

82.

Find: Stone box.

Location: Candi Sumbernanas, vicinity of Blitar, south of Kediri, East Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Early East Javanese period (mid 10<sup>th</sup> AD?).

Description: The empty box was discovered lying upside down a short distance from the temple. It was covered with a lid, which was pierced in the middle and decorated with an image of a lotus flower. Candi Sumbernanas was presumably a Śaiva temple.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: De Haan 1920: 31 and plate 21.

83.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Wendit Lor, Pakis, Malang, East Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The slab has nine cavities: one round cavity in the centre and eight smaller ones surrounding it. It is preserved at Museum Nasional in Jakarta (no. 374b).

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish. It is possible that the slab functioned as a deposit box installed during the *garbhanyāsa* ritual.

References: Lamb 1961: plate 18.

84.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Candi Singosari, East Java, Indonesia.  
 Dating: ca. 1300 AD (Chihara 1996: 205; Kinney 2003: 137).  
 Description: The slab has seventeen cavities. There is a square cavity in the centre; the remaining cavities are situated along the edges of the slab (see Plate 5). These include eight square holes in the cardinal and intermediary directions and eight round ones located between them. The slab is now lying on the site, its original location is not known. The Candi contained a number of Śaiva sculptures, but it cannot be established with certainty whether it indeed was dedicated to Śiva.  
 Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.  
 References: Marijke Klokke, personal communication.

85.

Find: Stone box, bronze box, *liṅga* and *yoni*, inscribed metal sheets, figures cut out of gold leaf, coins, ash.  
 Location: Pucung, Malang, East Java, Indonesia.  
 Dating: Unknown.  
 Description: The box is cubical and decorated with a floral pattern. It possesses a lid, which is pierced in the centre and, the same as the box, decorated with floral patterns. Inside the box there was a bronze box<sup>100</sup> which contained a golden *liṅga* and a *yoni*, an inscribed gold sheet, an inscribed silver sheet, three figures cut out of gold leaf: a turtle, a square and a 'bottle' as well as coins and ash.  
 Correspondence with the texts: None.  
 References: Groeneveldt 1887: 120, 214, 224-225; Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

86.

Find: Four cubical stone boxes, objects of gold, silver and bronze, seeds.  
 Location: Candi Songgoriti, Malang, East Java, Indonesia.  
 Dating: 850-920 AD (Chihara 1996: 112), 9<sup>th</sup> AD (Kinney 2003: 282).  
 Description: The original location of the boxes within the candi is not given. Three boxes were covered with a lid pierced in the middle. The first box contained a round bronze container with a lid. Inside the container were found a gold *liṅga* and a bronze *yoni*, two metal sheets (perhaps made of silver), a gold sheet engraved with a figure of a deity and a gold sheet inscribed on both sides. On one side was written 'apsara', the letters on the other side are illegible. The second box contained fragments of a bronze container, a gold *liṅga* and a bronze *yoni*, kemiri seeds, and four gold sheets inscribed with the words 'rudra' (the first gold sheet), 'brahmā' and 'umā' (the second one), 'lindamura' (the third one, the reading is uncertain) and 'durggā' and 'pralina' (the fourth one).<sup>101</sup> The third box contained remains of a round bronze container and an inscribed gold sheet (the inscription seems to read

<sup>100</sup> Gold, according to Soekmono (1995: Appendix I).

<sup>101</sup> The reading as given by Stutterheim 1939: 105.

'*yahari*'). The fourth stone box contained remains of a bronze container and an inscribed gold sheet (the inscription seems to read '*rudra bha-ha-cu*').

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Stutterheim 1939: 104-105; Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

87.

Find: Objects cut of gold leaf.

Location: Surroundings of Mojokerto, East Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The items include twelve images of snakes, twelve images of tortoises, one round piece, and nineteen square pieces of various sizes. They were found in the vicinity of a stone image of Ganesha. Some of them are at present preserved in the Ethnological Museum in Leiden, The Netherlands.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*, *garbhanyāsa*).

References: Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap 1892: 86-87.

88.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Unknown.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The slab has nine cavities in the form of lotus petals. It is preserved at the office of the Dinas Purbakala, Prambanan.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Lamb 1961: plate 17.

89.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Unknown.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The slab has nine compartments resembling lotus petals. At present, the slab is preserved at the Prambanan Office of the Archaeological Institute.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

90.

Find: Cubical stone box with compartments.

Location: Unknown.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The box is divided into nine compartments resembling lotus petals (see Plate 18). It is more richly decorated than other deposit boxes of Java and the shape of the cavities is different. The central compartment is square; on the bottom of it is incised a flower with eight petals. The box was covered by a richly decorated

lid. At present, the box and the lid are preserved in the Sonobudoyo Museum in Yogyakarta.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

91.

Find: Stone box with cavities.

Location: Unknown.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The box has seventeen compartments: one round in the centre, the remaining ones in the form of rays or thin, long petals (see Plate 20). It was covered with a lid. At present the box is preserved at the Prambanan Museum.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

92.

Find: Stone box with cavities.

Location: Unknown.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The box has seventeen compartments and was covered with a lid. All the cavities are of the same size; they are round and very small. One cavity is located in the centre; the other ones are situated along the edge of the box (see Plate 21). At present the box is preserved at the Prambanan Museum.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

93.

Find: Stone box with cavities.

Location: Unknown.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The box is unusual as it has thirty-three cavities (see Plate 6). It was covered with a lid. At present it is preserved at the Prambanan Museum.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

94.

Find: Stone box, one silver bowl, clay seals.

Location: Pura Penulisan, Bali, Indonesia.

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: Soekmono (1995: plate 6) publishes a photograph of this box, but, apart from adding that it was discovered in situ and contained clay seals and a silver bowl, he does not give any further information about the find. Pura Puncak Penulisan stands in Penulisan village, in the vicinity of the village of Kintamani, on the slopes of Gunung Batur.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Soekmono 1995, plate 6.

95.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments.

Location: Nalanda Gedige, north of Kandy, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The original location of the receptacle is not known. During the restoration of the temple it was (mistakenly) placed above the entrance to the temple where it can be seen until today (see Plates 33-34). The temple is built in Dravidian style and it seems to have been dedicated to Viṣṇu (Bell 1914b: 49). It was presumably constructed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD (Bell 1914b: 43, 50).

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: P.J.J. de Bruijn, personal communication.

96.

Find: Stone container (broken) with seventeen compartments.

Location: Nalanda Gedige, north of Kandy, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The receptacle is lying on the site. It is 1ft 6 in square and has seventeen compartments “of very unusual, if not unique, design” (Bell 1914b: 49). There are nine square compartments in the centre, placed in three rows of three, and eight square compartments of the same size placing along the edge, facing cardinal and intermediary directions.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Bell 1914b: 49; P.J.J. de Bruijn, personal communication.

97.

Find: Stone receptacle with twenty-five compartments.

Location: “Śiva Devale”, Polonnaruva, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The small receptacle was found in the back room of the so-called third shrine of the temple. It was probably placed under a pedestal of an image, now gone.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Bell 1907: 7-8.

## 2. Material traces of construction rituals in South and Southeast Asia discovered on Buddhist sites

1.

Find: Rectangular stone slab incised with a figure of a lotus.

Location: Panahiam Jhar, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Dating: 1<sup>st</sup> AD?

Description: The stone was discovered in the foundations of a brick *stūpa*. In the centre of the lotus there is a small circular cavity (1.5 in. in diameter and the same in depth). The cavity contained a few pieces of bone, pieces of gold leaf, rock crystal, circular laminae of silver as well as a silver punch-marked coin of rectangular shape, stamped with an image of an animal and the solar symbol on the obverse and with two uncertain marks on the reverse. The slab was covered by another stone slab, 9 ¼ in. long and 6 in. broad, slightly hollowed out on the under side.

Correspondence with the texts: Partly. The shape of the container agrees with the prescriptions for *garbhanyāsa* but the presence of bones makes a *garbhanyāsa* performance hardly possible.

References: Marshall 1914: 1-2; Mitra 1981: 47.

2.

Find: Bricks carved with symbolic images, bronze and copper jars, gold and silver sheets of various shapes, semiprecious stones.

Location: Sahagrawa, Nepal.

Dating: 8<sup>th</sup> AD?

Description: The seventeen structures of Sahagrawa, district Taulihawa, were dismantled by A. Führer at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Mitra 1972: 233). In thirteen of them – in the Structures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14 and 15 - consecration deposits were found. In Structure 4 was discovered a brick bearing a depiction of a lotus and having a small central cavity. Inside the cavity were placed images of a snake, a tortoise and five unidentified objects. The remaining twelve deposits consisted of bronze or copper jars filled with various items, such as gold and silver sheets, gold flowers and leaves, and semiprecious stones (Mitra 1972: 233).<sup>102</sup> The brick and the jars were buried in the ground, immediately below the central brick of the bottom course of the foundation-brickwork. The bricks above and around the deposits were all carved with symbolic images. And so, in all the structures the brick located directly above deposit was carved, on its upper surface, with an image of a lotus with eight petals. Such 'lotus brick', in turn, was sometimes surrounded or covered by an assembly of bricks bearing various other images. The number of bricks with images was different in almost every structure as were the images depicted on them. For instance, in Structure 1 and 2 the four bricks surrounding the 'lotus brick' were bearing the images of *svastikas*, in Structure 13 they were carved with the images of a *svastika*, a trident, a dagger and a disc respectively. In Structure 10, on the other hand, the bricks above the deposit jar were arranged in three layers.

<sup>102</sup> According to Mitra (1972), the vase in Structure 1 contained a gold leaf, the vase in Structure 2 contained two silver snakes and four pieces of silver and gold, the vase in Structure 3 contained 'ten unidentified objects' and the vase in Structure 10 contained two gold leaves. Mitra does not give detailed information about the contents of the remaining vases.

The lowest layer consisted of a single lotus brick. Above it were placed three bricks bearing the images of a diamond shaped object, of a spear and, probably, of a banner. The third layer consisted of four bricks depicting a trident, a club, a sword and an elongated object identified by Mitra (1972: 247) as *gadā*. In Structures 6, 8 and 9 the ‘lotus brick’ was surrounded by eight bricks (placed in the cardinal and intermediary directions) carved with images of various weapons, such as swords, daggers, and so on.

As far as the religious orientation of the Sahagrawa structures is concerned, nothing can be said with certainty. Führer states that the jars contained not only metal objects and semiprecious stones, but also ashes or bones, and identifies the structures as *stūpas*. Mitra (1972: 233), however, rejects the identification. She points out that the information that the jars contained ashes and bones has never been confirmed – the contents of the jars were never properly examined. Moreover, burying precious objects within the foundations of temples is a well known Hindu custom. On the other hand, it should be noted that the comparison with other archaeological finds shows that the symbols of the *lokapālas*, the images of snakes and *svastikas* were found frequently in Buddhist consecration deposits (for instance in Sri Lanka, see below) and only sporadically in Hindu ones.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*prathameṣṭakā*, if the site is Hindu).<sup>103</sup> The fact that the deposits were surrounded (or surmounted) by assemblies of bricks (often numbering eight or nine) points to the *prathameṣṭakā* ceremony performed according to certain North Indian texts. As far as the ‘weapons’ carved on the bricks are concerned, Mitra rightly identifies them as the symbols of the Guardians of the Directions (*lokapāla*, *dikpāla*). She supports her identification with references to certain architectural texts in which the symbols of the *lokapālas* are drawn on the eight foundation stones laid for a structure. And so, according to the Śilparatnakāra, these symbols include a *śakti* (spear), a *daṇḍa* (club), a *khadga* (sword), a *pāśa* (noose), an *aṅkuśa* (elephant goad), a *gadā* (club or mace), a *triśūla* (trident) and a *vajraka* (thunderbolt), beginning with the southeast and ending with the east (Mitra 1972: 235 and 237-239).<sup>104</sup>

It is not reported how the bricks of Sahagrawa were oriented, but it would be expected that the bricks bearing the symbols of the *lokapālas* were placed in the directions traditionally associated with them. Mitra attempts to match the way in which the bricks were arranged with the prescriptions given in the architectural texts. She concludes that there is a correspondence between Structure 8 and the

<sup>103</sup> I do not know about any Buddhist text prescribing the *prathameṣṭakā* ceremony to be performed for a Buddhist structure. On the other hand, it should be added that the (Hindu) Mayamata prescribes placing of a consecration deposit (*garbha*) for various temples, including a temple of the Buddha (see MM 12.59-60).

<sup>104</sup> The Śilparatnakāra as well as other texts mentioned by Mitra - the Śilpi-poṭhi and the Prāsādamaṇḍana - were, unfortunately, unavailable for me.

Prāsādamaṇḍana, a 15<sup>th</sup> century text from Mewar (Mitra 1972: 239). In the case of other structures, the exact correspondence with a text could not be ascertained.

References: Mitra 1972.

3.

Find: Stone casket with cavities, gold and silver containers.

Location: Stūpa no. 1, Ku Bua, Ratburi, Thailand.

Dating: 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The casket has five depressions on its upper surface. In the vicinity of the casket “silver and gold containers of the Buddhist relic” were found (Wales 1964: 221). From the drawing provided by Wales it seems that the casket was originally installed in the centre of the *stūpa* (Wales 1964: 221). The exact location of the containers is not reported and it is not certain whether ashes or bones were found inside them.

Correspondence with the texts: The shape of the casket agrees with the prescriptions for the *garbhanyāsa* ceremony.

References: Wales 1964.

4.

Find: Golden flower.

Location: P’ong Tük, Ratburi, Thailand.

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> AD (site).

Description: The flower is made of thin gold plates. It was found on the pavement in the vicinity of the remains of a square building. Coedès suggests that the flower as well as the precious stone and other items found in the same area were originally a part of a foundation deposit of the excavated building, presumably a shrine

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Coedès 1928.

5.

Find: Objects made of gold leaf.

Location: Wat Mahathat, Ayuthaya, Thailand.

Dating: 14<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The objects include golden flowers, one tortoise and one elephant cut out of gold leaf. At present, the finds are preserved in the National Museum in Bangkok (cf. Plates 31-32).

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*, *ratnanyāsa*).

References: Harisson and O’Connor 1967: 219.

6.

Find: Objects made of gold leaf.

Location: Wat Ratchaburana, Ayuthaya, Thailand.



Dating: Early 15<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The objects seem to be “similar to the artefacts found as ritual deposits in the temples of Indonesia and Malaysia” (Miksic 1990: 44).

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Miksic 1990: 44.

7.

Find: Stone casket with cavities.

Location: Wat Mahathat, Sukhothai, Thailand.

Dating: 13<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The sandstone casket has the shape of a small pedestal (see Plate 9). On its upper surface there are five cavities. The central cavity is round; the remaining four are square and placed in the intermediary directions. At present, the casket is preserved in the Ramkhamhaeng National Museum in Sukhothai. The information board in the Museum says that the casket was meant for “keeping sacred objects.” It is interesting to add that all three stone deposit caskets discovered in Thailand have five cavities, disregarding whether they originate from a Hindu or from a Buddhist structure (see above 1.2 no. XX and no. XX below).

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa* or *garbhanyāsa*).

8.

Find: Gold and silver leaves, rings, semiprecious stones.

Location: Phimai, Nakhon Ratchasima Province, Thailand.

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The objects were found within small cavities on the tenth brick layer of the tower of the central sanctuary, placed in the cardinal and intermediary directions. The cavities were closed with stone stoppers. Some gold squares were incised with images of lotuses. The temple possessed originally more consecration deposits as proved by the presence of more cavities: in the paving of the gallery of the first enclosure and in the superstructure. The superstructure possessed once a square deposit stone, probably similar to those discovered in the Angkor area.

Correspondence with the texts: Difficult to establish.

References: Pichard 1976: 20, 23-25, 33.

9.

Find: Two stones with cavities.

Location: Phimai, Nakhon Ratchasima Province, Thailand.

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The first stone has a large square hole in the centre and sixteen smaller square holes located along the edge. The second stone has nine square holes of the same size placed in three rows by three. Next to the central square hole there

is an additional, round, depression. The stones were found lying on the site. The original location is not known or not reported.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*, *ratnanyāsa*).

References: Lamb 1977.

10.

Find: Brick with cavities, golden flower.

Location: Vat Phu, Champassak, Laos.

Dating: Late 11<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The brick was located under the pedestal of an image. The golden flower was discovered in one of the cavities on the upper surface of the brick.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Santoni et al 1997.

11.

Find: Brick with cavities, gold sheets, semiprecious stones.

Location: Vat Phu, Champassak, Laos.

Dating: Late 11<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The same as in the case of no. 7 above, the brick was located under the pedestal of an image. The objects were placed in the cavities on the upper surface of the brick.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Santoni et al 1997.

12.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Prasat Damrei Krap, Phnom Kulen, Cambodia.

Dating: Early 9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The slab is divided into four sections by grooves of unequal breadth. In the centre there is a small cavity surrounded by a bigger cavity of a lesser depth resembling a lotus with eight petals. In the section facing northeast there are six cavities; the remaining sections have four cavities each. Along the eastern edge of the slab there is a figure of a bow pointing east (see Plate 16). The slab belonged to the superstructure. It is one of the earliest superstructure slabs with cavities found in Cambodia.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Coedès 1940 plate XV.1 and Boisselier 1966: 209, fig.52c.

13.

Find: Stone slabs with cavities.

Location: Ta Prohm, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: 1186 AD.

Description: The slab differs from the earlier superstructure slabs, both Hindu and Buddhist (see above 1.2 nos. 9, 12, 14, 16 and 2 no. 10). Instead, it resembles closely other such examples from the period of Bayon. It is not divided into quarters and the east and northeast are not marked. There is a cavity in the centre surrounded by eight round cavities forming a circle. The edge of the slab is elevated and has forty-four small cavities (cf. Plates 29-30). The slab was found at the summit of the tower above the northern porch.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Groslier 1921-23: 146.

14.

Find: Two stone slabs with cavities.

Location: Preah Khan, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: 1191 AD.

Description: One of these slabs is depicted by Parmentier (1930: 580, fig. 86). It closely resembles the Ta Prohm slab described above (see no. 13). The only difference is that the Preah Khan slab has only twenty-eight cavities along the edge. The second slab discovered in Preah Khan is not depicted, but it might be assumed that it was very similar to the first one. Both slabs were found in the temple towers, almost directly below the summit; the first slab was found in the southern tower of the eastern gopura, the second in the western tower of the northern gopura.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Parmentier 1930: 579-580 and figs. 85-87; Marchal 1944, fig. 84.

15.

Find: Stone slab with cavities.

Location: Banteay Kdei, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: Mid-12<sup>th</sup> – beg. 13<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The slab has a central cavity and nine square cavities distributed irregularly around it. On the protruding edge there are twenty-seven additional cavities. The slab was presumably a part of the superstructure.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Coedès 1940, plate XV 3 (left side); Boisselier 1966, fig. 52f.

16.

Find: Two slabs with cavities.

Location: Bayon, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: Late 12<sup>th</sup> – early 13<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: Both slabs are not divided into quarters and the eight small cavities are situated more or less regularly around the central cavity. In the slab from Tower 4 the small cavities were square except for one, which was in the shape of a half-moon. The second slab, discovered in Tower 16, has eight small, round cavities. The

slabs were located directly under the coping stone of the towers so that there was no open space between them and the summit.<sup>105</sup> It should be added that in Bayon the superstructure slabs are a common appearance and it seems that almost every tower there had one. Yet, only these two are described.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Coedès 1940, plate XV 4 (left); Marchal 1944, fig. 88 and plates XXXc and d; Dumarçay 1973: 45-46, 49-51.<sup>106</sup>

17.

Find: Copper bowls, fragments of metals and minerals, semiprecious stones.

Location: Bayon, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: Late 12<sup>th</sup> – early 13<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The bowls were discovered in Towers 7, 9, 12 and 21. Each bowl was placed in a cavity hollowed out in a regular stone block being part of the masonry of the temple. The bowls contained semiprecious stones, gold fragments, pieces of quartz, stone, and metals as well as pure sand. In towers 7 and 9 two copper bowls were found. Tower 21 contained four bowls, Tower 12 six bowls (three times two). The deposits were discovered on various levels, but all of them were placed relatively high: just above the diadem of the heads decorating the towers or at the level of the eyes.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Dumarçay 1973.

18.

Find: Four stone blocks forming a square.

Location: Bayon, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: Late 12<sup>th</sup> – early 13<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The stones were situated on the summit of Tower 20, instead of the usual lotus-shaped motive. In the middle of the stones there was square space.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible. The arrangement of the stone blocks is in agreement with the descriptions of the *mūrdheṣṭakā* ritual in the Sanskrit texts.

References: Dumarçay 1973: 51.

19.

Find: Stone tortoise with a cavity on the top.

Location: Bayon, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: Late 12<sup>th</sup> – early 13<sup>th</sup> AD.

<sup>105</sup> Compare Marchal 1944, fig. 88 showing the position of the superstructure slab in Bayon with fig. 87 depicting the superstructure slab of Banteay Srei.

<sup>106</sup> It is not clear whether the photos and drawings presented by Coedès and Marchal depict the same slabs as the illustrations provided by Dumarçay.

Description: The tortoise was discovered in “Bassin Nord-Est” (Pottier 1997a: 401). On the top of its carapace there is a small cavity. It is not reported whether the cavity contained any objects.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish. Several texts prescribe placing images of tortoises in the foundation of a new building, but none of them mentions a whole network of tortoises functioning, moreover, as deposit containers. Cf. Section 1.2 no. 22.

References: Pottier 1997a: 401.

20.

Find: Two stone tortoises, golden leaves, one semiprecious stone.

Location: Angkor Thom, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: Late 12<sup>th</sup> – early 13<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The first tortoise was discovered to the south of the northern gate, ca. 1m under the surface. It is 37 cm long and on the top of its carapace there is a triangular cavity (for one of the stone tortoises discovered in Angkor, see Plate 22). Inside were two golden leaves (0.05m square) and one semiprecious stone (Pottier 1998: 516 note 8). The second tortoise was found at the southern gate. It is not reported whether it contained any objects.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish. Cf. Section 1.2 no. 22.

References: Pottier 1998: 516.

21.

Find: Stone tortoise with a cavity on the top.

Location: Kleang Nord, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: Late 10<sup>th</sup> – beg. 11<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The tortoise was discovered “à l'exterieur, au sud de l'axe central Ouest” (Pottier 1997a: 401). On the top of its carapace there is a small cavity. It is not reported whether the cavity contained any objects.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish. Cf. Section 1.2 no. 22.

References: Pottier 1997a: 401.

22.

Find: Stone tortoise with a cavity on the top, stones, ammonites.

Location: Neak Pean, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: 12<sup>th</sup> AD, second half.

Description: The tortoise was discovered inside the central basin of Neak Pean, on the eastern side. The cavity on the top of its carapace was square. Inside were twelve round stones and four ammonites.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish. Cf. Section 1.2 no. 22.

References: Pottier 1998: 516.

23.

Find: Tortoise (stone?).

Location: Srah Srang, Angkor, Cambodia.

Dating: 12<sup>th</sup> AD?

Description: The tortoise formed a part of a foundation deposit of Srah Srang. The article does not give any additional information. It should be added that apart from the Angkorian examples described above, numerous small figures of tortoises seem to have been discovered by the pillagers in the structures in the surroundings of Ta Siem, to the north of Phnom Kulen.<sup>107</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish. Cf. Section 1.2 no. 22.

References: Pottier 1998: 516.

24.

Find: Eight metal pots, four clay vases, precious stones, quartz, pieces of metals and minerals, one tortoise and one lotus cut out of gold leaf, gold ring.

Location: Dai Huu (Tower North), Quang Binh, Vietnam.

Dating: Late 9<sup>th</sup> – early 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The deposit was discovered in the foundation of the tower. About three and a half meter below the surface a layer of stones was found and on a depth of ca. four meters there was a layer of river sand. In the sand a figure of a tortoise was lying, cut out from gold leaf. Underneath there was an assembly of earthen and metal pots and various precious objects arranged according to a well defined scheme. In the centre one gold leaf in the form of a lotus was lying and upon it stood a small gold pot with a lid. Inside the pot there was one, white, precious stone. To the side of the pot a small gold ring was placed. Around the pot there were seven metal vases containing two precious stones each (one of them contained three stones). Each of the vases was covered by a flat rectangular piece of metal. Four large clay vases filled with fine sand were placed in the corners, outside the circle formed by the seven smaller vases. Three clay vases contained pieces of quartz and in the fourth one there were two pieces of metal or mineral. In addition, one of the three vases with quartz contained three square stones and another one housed a piece of crystal. In the area were also found three or four blocks of quartz placed without any apparent order.

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<sup>107</sup> Pottier (1998: 516, note 9) writes: “Notons enfin que de très nombreuses petites tortues ... semblent avoir été découvertes à l’occasion d’un pillage systématique qui a touché en 1982 les sites archéologiques des environs de Ta Siem, au nord du Phnom Kulen. A cette occasion, des ‘centaines’ d’objets de ce type auraient été revendus au poids à Sutnikom et foudus pour fournir... des percuteurs d’obus. Renseignements recueillis et recoupés auprès de deux témoins. Il reste cependant possible que ces ‘tortues’ aient été confondues avec des saumons de plomb, don’t la taille et la forme sont sensiblement les memes.”

Correspondence with the texts: None. Yet, it should be added that many of the objects found in Dai Huu agree with the textual prescriptions for *garbhanyāsa* and *prathameṣṭakā*.

References: Arousseau 1926.

25.

Find: Eight metal pots, four clay vases, precious stones, quartz, one lotus cut out of gold leaf, gold ring.

Location: Dai Huu (Tower South), Quang Binh, Vietnam.

Dating: Late 9<sup>th</sup> – early 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The deposit was installed in the same way as the one of Tower North. On a depth of ca. three and a half metre there was a layer of stones; underneath there was a layer of sand. Below the layer of sand seven small metal vases, a gold pot, and four clay vases were placed. The distribution of the objects was the same as in Tower North. The differences between the two deposits are few: in the layer of sand there was no golden tortoise, the stone in the central pot was violet (not white), and each of the seven metal vases contained only one precious stone (in addition, one vase contained a piece of quartz).

Correspondence with the texts: None. Cf. no. 22 above.

References: Arousseau 1926.

26.

Find: Assembly of bricks, one gold pot, one tortoise cut out of gold leaf, five precious stones.

Location: Trung Quan, Quang Binh, Vietnam.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The deposit was discovered in the centre of a Cham structure in the village of Trung Quan. On a depth of 2.7m a layer of nine bricks was found, consisting of a central brick and eight bricks around it. The central brick had on its upper surface a small cavity containing a gold figure of a tortoise. An additional brick placed beneath the layer of nine contained, in a similar cavity, a small gold pot with a cover. Inside were five precious stones. Besides, under one of the bricks surrounding the central one were two superimposed gold plates; one of them had the form of a lotus.

Correspondence with the texts: Partly (*prathameṣṭakā*). Certain North Indian texts prescribe placing nine first bricks in the foundation of a building (see HayaP 12, AgniP 41 and SŚP IV.1). The same texts mention, moreover, placing jars, filled with precious stones and gold, under the first bricks (one jar under each brick). On the other hand, in none of the texts a single jar is installed under an assembly of nine bricks.

References: Arousseau 1926: 363-365.

27.

Find: One inscribed gold disc, six inscribed silver discs.

Location: Site no. 10, Kedah, Malaysia.

Dating: 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> AD? 12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> AD?<sup>108</sup>

Description: The deposit was situated about two feet below the floor level. It consisted of one gold and six silver discs, plain on one side and inscribed on the other. The discs are of the same size as those found in Candi Bukit Batu Pahat (see Section 1.2 no. 33). It seems that the script is South Indian and the language is Sanskrit (Wales 1940: 23). The gold disc has the syllable *om* engraved in the centre. The inscriptions on the six silver discs might be either epithets of the Buddha or, more probably, the names of Bodhisattvas or even the names of “pious devotees who named themselves after famous saints or Bodhisattvas” (Wales 1940: 23-24).<sup>109</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Wales 1940: 22-24.

28.

Find: Bronze casket, objects made of gold, silver and copper.

Location: Site no. 16, Kedah, Malaysia.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The round casket was located beside the door of the sanctuary, in a brick-lined chamber. The space for the casket was made by removing one of the laterite blocks of which the temple was built. The casket was covered with a lid and contained a golden bowl, a golden lotus (placed above the bowl), three figures of animals (a lion of gold, a bull of silver and a horse of copper), a large mass of corroded iron (according to Wales 1940: 36 it probably represented the fourth animal, the elephant), eight precious stones, fragments of metals, and a number of gold and silver weapons and other implements including a bow, two arrows, a sword, a dagger, a noose, a staff or spear, a shield, a *damaru* drum, a rectangular piece “perhaps representing a book,” a bell (or seal), a ploughshare and a yoke (Wales 1940: 36). According to Wales, the deposit found at the site no. 16 should be associated with Tantric Buddhism. The metal weapons and other objects found there are, according to him, “attributes of a deity, possibly a Tantric form of Bodhisattva” (Wales 1940: 35). Yet, while the deposit is certainly of Buddhist origin as testified

<sup>108</sup> Concerning the date of the structure, Chakravarti (as quoted by Wales 1940) proposes 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> AD on the basis of the analysis of the script while Treloar and Fabris date the site 12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> AD (see Jacq-Hergoualc’h 2002: 211-213).

<sup>109</sup> The inscriptions (transcription by N.P. Chakravarti as given by Wales 1940: 23) read: *Sarvv-āpāya-jaha* (disc no. 1); *[A] moghadarśī* (no. 2); *Gandhahastī* (no. 3); *Vajr-ā[m]gabandha* (no. 4); only two letters are visible in the first line of the disc no. 5; the first looks like *śve*; the second may be *ga* or *gu*; *om* (no. 6, the gold disc); on the disc no. 7 the first three letters read *Samanta* and the fourth letter looks like *ga*; the reading of the last two letters is uncertain.



by the presence of the four animals,<sup>110</sup> the weapons are rather attributes of the *lokapālas*, the Guardians of the Directions. The images of the *lokapālas* were frequently found in consecration deposits, especially in Sri Lanka (see below). At this point it has to be added that the images of the four animals - the bull, the lion, the elephant and the horse – were found exclusively in consecration deposits of Sri Lanka. The finds of the site no. 16, therefore, seem to be a testimony to close contacts and cultural exchange between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century Buddhist communities of Sri Lanka and Kedah.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). The location of the casket (i.e. in the vicinity of the entrance) and some of the objects found inside agree with the *garbhanyāsa* descriptions in the South Indian texts. The texts do not prescribe placing of the symbols of the *lokapālas* inside the deposit box. Yet, the guardians of directions play an important role in many rituals, including *garbhanyāsa*.

References: Wales 1940: 34-36.

29.

Find: Objects cut out of gold leaf, copper objects, fragments of burned bones.

Location: Candi Sojiwan, Prambanan, Central Java, Indonesia.<sup>111</sup>

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>112</sup>

Description: Pieces of gold leaf cut in the shape of a turtle, a snake, etc. as well as fragments of burned bones were discovered in the temple pit. No container was found (van Blom 1935: 109). Moreover, "... fragments usually associated with *pripih* [consecration deposits] were found scattered among the stones of the floor of the cella." (Soekmono 1995: 118). The bones discovered in the temple pit were never analyzed (van Blom 1935: 109). Candi Sojiwan is located on the Prambanan Plain, to the southeast of the Loro Jonggrang complex.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: van Blom 1935; Soekmono 1995: 31, 118.

30.

Find: Four stone boxes, one bronze vessel, seeds, coins, inscribed metal sheets, beads, one bronze mirror, gold dust, fragments of bronze.

Location: Candi Plaosan Lor (northern main temple), Prambanan, Central Java,

<sup>110</sup> Images of the same animals, always forming a group, were discovered in numerous Buddhist consecration deposits of Sri Lanka (see below), but they were never found inside a consecration deposit in a Hindu temple.

<sup>111</sup> According to administrative divisions of the Republic of Indonesia (as in 2002) Candi Sojiwan is located in dusun Sojiwan, desa Kebondalem Kidul, kecamatan Prambanan, kabupaten Klaten, propinsi Jawa Tengah (V. Degroot, unpublished data, see note 58 above).

<sup>112</sup> The candi was dated between 842-850 AD by Klokke (1993: 78-79), between the last decennium of the 8<sup>th</sup> and first years of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD by Dumarçay (1993: 67), and around 850-920 AD by Chihara (1996: 112).

Indonesia.<sup>113</sup>

Dating: Mid-9<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>114</sup>

Description: The boxes were discovered in 1993 during the restoration of the main north temple. They were located at the four corners of the central chamber, at the depth of 2.5 m under the ground level. Three boxes were already disturbed, their covers were broken “probably due to looting” (Miksic, Nayati and Tjahjono 2001: 324), but the casket in the southeast corner was presumably intact. It contained a white seed, two white beads, fourteen gold coins, and a bronze vessel filled with various seeds.<sup>115</sup> In the vicinity of the box a bronze mirror with handle, an inscribed roll of gold leaf, an inscribed roll of silver leaf, a corroded roll of bronze leaf and fragments of gold dust and bronze were found. The inscriptions are in Sanskrit and the script seems to be pre-Nāgarī (Miksic, Nayati and Tjahjono 2001: 323).<sup>116</sup> In the vicinity of the deposits ashes and several pieces of bone were discovered. These were analysed by the Palaeo- and Biological Laboratory of the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta with the conclusion that the ashes are silicate deposits, whereas the bones belong to domestic animals (Soekmono 1995: 122).

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Soekmono 1995: 122; Miksic, Nayati and Tjahjono 2001.

<sup>113</sup> According to administrative divisions of the Republic of Indonesia (as in 2002) Candi Plaosan Lor is located in dusun Plaosan, desa Bugisan, kecamatan Prambanan, kabupaten Klaten, propinsi Jawa Tengah (V. Degroot, unpublished data, see note 58 above).

<sup>114</sup> Dumarçay discusses it in his chapter “L’architecture bouddhique de 830 à la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle” (see Dumarçay 1993: 84). Chihara (1996: 112) dates it 856 AD.

<sup>115</sup> According to Miksic, Nayati and Tjahjono (2001: 323) the seeds included nutmeg, Job’s tears (Coix lachrymal), pinang (Areca catechu), jambe, kemiri (candlenut, Aleurites moluccana), and coffee.

<sup>116</sup> Miksic, Nayati and Tjahjono (2001: 323-324) give the text of the inscription on the gold scroll as transcribed by Drs Kusen:

*-na mo bhagavate sakyam hitha tathagato saha te samyak sambaddhaya taddhyatha um bodhi bodhi bodhisatve tathagata*

*-ne ca aih dhara dhara sara harapbharapubhara mahabodhi citta dhare culculukata sabhas rasmi sanyasite*

*-sarvva tathagata bhasitah grhi grhi vatih vudgrhi ava bhasa milimili gamatalaputrisrite*

*-sarvva tathagata thagatadhivvriteh masastaleh samasamapu samapusamasa au bapagama haih sarvvanape*

*-vigna bamih hululuhtho e magarumprasthite sarvva tathaga ta putirnite o o dve svaha //*

*-um sarvva tathaga vyalkita jayadada svabha um bhurbhur jayamukha svabha*

The text of the inscription from the gold leaf found west of the southeast deposit reads as follows:

*-ye dharma hetu prabhava hetuntesan tathagata hyavadattesan ca yo nirodha evamvadi mahasramanah//namah samtana*

*-samya om buddha bodhanam tadyatha balabalayute svaha//namo bhagavata ratna sikhite tathagata sahate samya om buddha sa*

*-tadyatha um ratna ratna ratnasambhave svaha//namo bhagavate manjuçriye kumara kumaraganasa tadyatha amala amala amala ma*

*-nasa svaha.*

31.

Find: Stone box, earth, sand.

Location: Candi Plaosan Lor (southern main temple) Prambanan, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Mid-9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The box was discovered under the foundation of the temple. It seems not to have been disturbed; yet, only earth and sand were found inside (Soekmono 1995: 26).

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Soekmono 1995: 26.<sup>117</sup>

32.

Find: Three consecration deposits.

Location: Candi Plaosan Lor (one of the secondary temples) Prambanan, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Mid-9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The deposits were situated in the southeast, southwest and northwest corners. The report by Miksic, Nayati and Tjahjono does not give any additional information about the deposits.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Miksic, Nayati and Tjahjono 2001: 324.

33.

Find: Four stone containers, two fragments of an unspecified material.

Location: Candi Plaosan Lor (one of the secondary temples) Prambanan, Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Mid-9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The containers were discovered in 1997 in a secondary temple (different than the one of no. 30 above) of Candi Plaosan Lor. They were located at the southeast corner of the structure. All boxes have already been disturbed; only one of them contained two fragments of “unknown material thought to be mineral” inside one of them (Miksic, Nayati and Tjahjono 2001: 325).

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Miksic, Nayati and Tjahjono 2001: 325.

34.

Find: Bronze pot, bronze chain, resin, grains and seeds, charcoal, earth.

Location: Candi Plaosan Lor (courtyard) Prambanan,

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<sup>117</sup> Dinas Purbakala, Jakarta, Laporan Tahunan 1953, fig. II and III show the position of the deposit box in the structure. The structure is referred to as “tjandi induk selatan” which must refer to the southern main temple of the complex: the complex has two main temples located along the north-south axis.

Central Java, Indonesia.

Dating: Mid-9<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The pot was covered with a lid having the form of a bronze mirror. The pot was filled up with earth and “burned items” in “a lump or resin (benzoin?) including unhusked rice grains, millet, various seeds, some charcoal, and a bronze chain” (Soekmono 1995: Appendix I).

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). Seeds, grains and lumps of earth are essential part of the consecration deposit according to the Sanskrit texts.

References: Soekmono 1995: Appendix I.

35.

Find: Metal cups, gold plates (some inscribed), gold lotus flowers, semiprecious stones, crushed lead plates.

Location: Candi Gumpung, Muara Jambi, Central Sumatra, Indonesia.

Dating: Mid-9<sup>th</sup> – beg. 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The objects - gold, silver and bronze cups, small gold plates with or without inscriptions, gold lotus flowers, semiprecious stones (red, purple, blue and white) and crushed thin lead plates which were described in the reports as ‘ash’ – were distributed over eleven square holes in the base of the temple foot. The reports do not say whether the gold objects and the gems were placed inside the cups.<sup>118</sup> The largest hole is in the centre and measures 1 m square. Around it, in the cardinal directions, there are four cavities measuring 0.5 by 0.5 m, and further outwards there are another four holes of 0.2 by 0.2 m. Two additional even smaller holes were found in the northeast and in the northwest. Boechari assumes that the total number of holes must have been seventeen, “six of which were not uncovered yet due to ‘technical difficulties’” (Boechari 1985: 229). If this is the case, the holes correspond with the elements of the diagram of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala. This supposition is supported by the inscriptions on the gold plates found in the holes giving the names of Tantric Buddhist deities, of which at least seventeen are known as the deities of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala (Boechari 1985: 237). On the other hand, the distribution of the inscribed plates in the holes is not in conformity with the position of the deities in the *maṇḍala* and some of the deities, for example the five Tathāgatas, are missing. This, according to Boechari, is due to mistakes in recording the finds.<sup>119</sup> The gold plates are dated on the bases of palaeography to the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD (Boechari 1985: 238). The deposit of

<sup>118</sup> “The reports fail to inform us whether the *pripih* [deposits] were kept in a casket or found dispersed in the cavities.” (Soekmono 1995: 120).

<sup>119</sup> “Apparently the recording of the finds by the technicians in charge of the demolition of the temple was not accurate...” (Boechari 1985: 237). The finds were placed in thirty-three plastic bags marked with a number and a symbol referring to a specific cavity; some of the bags, however, are not marked (Soekmono 1995: 121). Besides, six holes were reported to be empty, which is something not to be expected. This means that either the items were stolen by treasure-seekers in the past or they got mixed up with the finds from the other cavities.

Candi Gumpung is the most complex consecration deposit so far discovered in Sumatra.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Boechari 1985.

36.

Find: Brick with a cavity, inscribed gold plate.

Location: Seguntang Hill, vicinity of Palembang, Sumatra, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The brick was lying on the site. The gold plate, found inside the cavity in the brick, is inscribed with the Buddhist creed. The writing seems later than that of the stone inscription in Pallava characters discovered on the same site (Schnitger 1937a: 3).<sup>120</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Schnitger 1937a: 3.

37.

Find: Inscribed gold plate, fragments of gold leaf, earth, ashes.

Location: Candi Bongsu, Muara Takus, Central Sumatra, Indonesia.

Dating: Ca. 12<sup>th</sup> AD?

Description: The objects were placed in a hollow within a lotus-shaped base, which rests on a low 36-sided base and which, in turn, rests on a high 20-sided base. The gold plate is engraved with *triśūlas* and three *nāgarī* letters. In the vicinity a stone inscribed with nine letters and *triśūlas* was found. The letters are ascribed by Bosch to 12<sup>th</sup> century AD (Schnitger 1937a: 11). The text of the inscriptions is not published by Schnitger. Candi Bongsu is located west of the Maligai Stūpa, among the ruins of the Buddhist complex at Muara Takus, by the Kampar River in Central Sumatra.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Schnitger 1937a: 11.

38.

Find: Inscribed gold plate.

Location: Tanjung Medan, North Sumatra, Indonesia.

Dating: Ca 12<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The plate was discovered lying among the ruins of the temple. It is 7 by 22 cm and engraved with an image of a lotus with eight petals resting on a *viśvavajra*. The inscription reads: *hum Aksobhya... phat* (in the centre of the lotus), *hum Amoghasiddhi... phat* (on the petal at the right), *hum Ratnasambhawa... phat* (near the end of the *vajra* and on the petal at the left). The inscription was dated to

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<sup>120</sup> The stone inscription has been dated 7<sup>th</sup> century of the Śaka era, see ABIA VI, 1931: 29-30.

the 12<sup>th</sup> century by Bosch (see Schnitger 1937a: 14). According to Schnitger "The mandala of the plate thus consisted of eight deities with Aksobhya as central figure" (Schnitger, *ibid.*).

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Schnitger 1937a: 14.

39.

Find: Inscribed gold plate.

Location: Aek Sangkilon, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, Indonesia.

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> AD?

Description: The gold plate was found in the main chamber of the temple. It measures 5 by 13 cm and has a double *vajra* engraved in the center. The *vajra* is partially covered by a square in which the letter *hum* is written. Above there are three curved lines of *nāgarī* script and underneath there are four lines. According to Bosch, the script is of the same type as that of the inscription found in one of the towers of Muara Takus, which was dated 12<sup>th</sup> century AD (see Schnitger 1937a: 11 and Section 2 no. 35 above). The text is not complete, but it "gives reason to suppose that the placque refers to the consecration of a Yamari image with eight faces, twenty four eyes and a wreath of skulls (*kapala mala*)..." (Schnitger 1937a: 18).<sup>121</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Schnitger 1937a: 18.

40.

Find: Inscribed gold plate.

Location: Tandihet, Padang Lawas, North Sumatra, Indonesia.

Dating: 13<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The plaque bears images of *vajras* and an inscription (the text of the inscription is not given by Schnitger). The inscription dates probably from the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD (Schnitger 1937a: 22).

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Schnitger 1937a: 22.

41.

Find: Inscribed gold disc.

Location: Muara Takus, Central Sumatra, Indonesia.

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The disc was found in the superstructure of one of the towers of the temple. The inscription announces that the temple was built by the Vajradharas in the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD (Schnitger 1937b). The fact that the inscription records the date

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<sup>121</sup> The inscription is given in the Appendix XXXX. [[See archaeology-tymczasowo.doc.]]

and the names of Buddhist priests who supervised the construction is unique in the context of South and Southeast Asia.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Schnitger 1937b.

42.

Find: Nine stone boxes with cavities.

Location: Gunung Kawi, Bali, Indonesia.

Dating: 11<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The boxes were found in the temple complex of Gunung Kawi, to the south of the small town of Tampaksiring. Damsté (1921) refers to the complex as Buddhist, yet he does not give arguments for that. The possibility of Gunung Kawi being Hindu cannot therefore be excluded. The nine rock-cut shrines of the complex, dated 11<sup>th</sup> century AD, are located on both sides of a small river – five being cut out of the rock on the eastern bank of the river, four on the western bank; the tenth shrine standing about one kilometre further to the south. The boxes were found in all but the last shrine.<sup>122</sup> They were placed at the entrance to a low underground chamber excavated under each shrine. The boxes measure ca. 40 by 40 by 15cm (Damsté 1921: 61). In the upper surface of each box there are nine shallow compartments grouped three by three (see Plate 10). In the bottom of each compartment there is another, deeper square cavity. At the moment of their discovery the boxes were empty. At present the boxes are placed on a platform in one of the small rock-cut courtyards<sup>123</sup> directly to the south of the group of five rock-cut shrines. The courtyard is located opposite to what is now considered by the local people the most important (Hindu) shrine of the complex.<sup>124</sup> Some of the boxes are wrapped with cloth and it seems that also nowadays they have some ritual value and are considered sacred.<sup>125</sup>

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). The appearance of the boxes agrees with the descriptions in the South Indian texts. As far as location is concerned, the fact that the boxes were installed in the vicinity of the entrance also points to the *garbhanyāsa* ritual as described in the same group of texts. It should be

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<sup>122</sup> Damsté mentions only nine deposit boxes, but it is possible that the tenth box belonging to the last, solitary shrine was found later, after the publication of Damsté's article.

<sup>123</sup> The place is described by Damsté (1921: 62) as "een hooggelegen vertrek, een "opkamertje", waarvan de binnenwand is bezwaken."

<sup>124</sup> Certain parts of the temples complex of Gunung Kawi are now used by the local population as a place of Hindu worship.

<sup>125</sup> I could not obtain more information during my visit to Gunung Kawi in September 2005 as no one in the temple spoke English. Still, I was not allowed by the people in charge of the temple to unwrap or even touch the boxes, or stand on the stone platform where they were preserved, and the permission to take the photographs of them was given very reluctantly, even if usually photographing temples is not prohibited. The place where the boxes were stored seemed to be treated with the same reverence as the opposite cave where the idols of the gods are kept.

added that according to Goslings (1926: 208-209) the compartments of the boxes were meant for the *navaratna*, the nine gems. Goslings' supposition seems possible – as mentioned in the texts, the *navaratna* are frequently placed into the consecration deposit casket.

References: Damsté 1921; Goslings 1926: 208-209; Bernet Kempers 1977: 80 and plate 46.

43.

Find: Stone box, silver bowl, clay seals, gold, silver and bronze leaves, incense burners, beads, one miniature *stūpa*, one gold figure of the Buddha.

Location: Pura Pegulingan, Bali, Indonesia.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The deposits were discovered among the remains of an octagonal structure, most probably a *stūpa*. They were located in the centre of the structure and at the cardinal and intermediary directions, under the walls. In the centre there was a stone casket with a cover containing sixty-six clay seals stamped with the text of the Buddhist creed<sup>126</sup> and a silver bowl containing gold and silver leaves. Some of them were also engraved with the Buddhist creed; others had the shape of a lotus, a *vajra*, a circle, etc. (Soekmono 1995: 120). The deposits under the walls have already been disturbed. The miniature *stūpa* was found much lower, at the bottom of the structure, in the centre (see Soekmono 1995: plate 5). It was supported by two layers of stone blocks that functioned as a deposit container. Inside there was a bronze incense burner, a small bronze bracelet, a small piece of gold leaf, a small piece of bronze leaf and an iron stick. The incense burner, in turn, contained nine gold plates, a piece of glass and six beads (Soekmono 1995: 120). Other pieces of gold, silver and bronze either inscribed with the Buddhist Creed or round and incised with a lotus flower were found inside the *stūpa*. The *stūpa* contained, moreover, a golden figure of a Buddha 5.5 cm high. It is not clear if the finds from Pura Pegulingan should be considered a consecration deposit or a votive deposit.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Soekmono 1995: 118, 120.

44.

Find: Coins, beads, glass bangles, one small *stūpa*, one bronze bowl, one earthenware vessel, semiprecious stones, quartz.

Location: Salgaha Watta site, Anuradhapura Citadel, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 3<sup>rd</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: In the pillared hall of the Anuradhapura Citadel the pillars are resting on rectangular stone bases. Placed on or in the vicinity of the bases various precious

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<sup>126</sup> "... (the *ye dharma* formula) in *devanagari* script" Soekmono (1995: 120).



items were found, including seventeen coins; a hoard of two thousand three hundred glass beads, twenty-one ivory bead and two alabaster beads; a miniature limestone *stūpa* and three glass bangles; a bronze bowl; an earthenware vessel containing an iron nail, a piece of molten glass, a quartz bead and a greenstone bead in the shape of a conch; beads of carnelian, quartz and amethyst; chips of garnet, quartz, amethyst and sapphire, and another earthenware vessel. It is interesting to add that the bases of the Anuradha pillars are incised with two lines: one running north-south and another running east-west, crossing each other in the middle of the base. Such lines might have had a practical function, for instance as “mason’s building lines for laying out the hall’s plan, using a gnomon or string to sight along the grooves” or as a representation of “intentional lines of weakness so that when the roof was added the additional carrying weight split the saddlestone into four slabs thus wedging the pillar against further movement” (Coningham 1991: 169). Yet, apart from the practical function, the lines might have also had a ritual significance.<sup>127</sup> It should be remembered that such lines are also present on a stone slab discovered in the central shaft of Candi Brahmā in the Loro Jonggrang complex in Central Java (see IJzerman 1891: 67) and on several superstructure slabs discovered in Khmer temples (see Section 1.2 above). Both in Loro Jonggrang and in the Khmer temples the lines seem to have purely ritual significance.

Correspondence with the texts: These finds seem to be votive deposits and are referred to as such by Coningham in his article (Coningham 1991). Their presence under the pillars, however, shows at least a remote similarity with the placing of the consecration deposit under a pillar as described in some Indian architectural texts, and it is not unthinkable that the objects functioned as votive deposits and as consecration deposits at the same time. Consecration deposits located under the pillars are not uncommon in Asia and were found in Kedah and in Central Java.<sup>128</sup>

References: Coningham 1991.

45.

Find: Five metal images of deities.

Location: Avukana, Anuradhapura district, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> AD.<sup>129</sup>

Description: The images, made of copper or bronze, represent the *lokapālas*, the Guardians of the Directions. One figure represents Brahmā, another shows the god

<sup>127</sup> Examples of a practical and, at the same time, a ritual function are the so-called vault chambers encountered in many temples of Java and Cambodia. On the one hand, the chambers reduce the pressure of the superstructure on the walls. On the other hand, they were meant to house the consecration deposits.

<sup>128</sup> The temples having their consecration deposits under the pillars are Candi Bukit Batu Pahat in Kedah, Malaysia, and, perhaps, Candi Sambisari on the Prambanan Plain in Central Java (see Section 1.2 above).

<sup>129</sup> The great Buddha at Avukana was dated by Karunaratne (1984: 183) 7<sup>th</sup> AD, by Harle (1994: 450) 8<sup>th</sup> AD, and by Paranavitana (1958: 49) “not later than 8<sup>th</sup> AD.”

Yama holding a club (Paranavitana 1958: 48). The deposit was located in a natural cavity in the rock under the colossal rock-cut Buddha image, behind the pedestal.<sup>130</sup> According to Paranavitana, the images "...must date from the eight century at the latest, for an inscription in characters of that period was found on one of the stone slabs of the shrine which enclosed the Buddha image" (Paranavitana 1958: 49). Bronze and copper images of the *lokapālas* are a common element of the consecration deposits in Sri Lanka - they were discovered in twelve consecration deposits (see below).

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*). None of the texts discussed in the present study mention placing images of the Guardians of the Directions into a deposit casket. Still, the symbolism of the geographical directions seems to have played an important role in the consecration rituals. Moreover, placing symbolic images in or in the vicinity of the pedestal of a temple image is prescribed by several texts.

References: Coomaraswamy 1914, plates XXIII, fig. 10; Paranavitana 1958: 48-49 and fig. 10; Karunaratne 1984.

46.

Find: Stone container with compartments.  
 Location: Sinhagiri Vihare, Northern Sri Lanka.  
 Dating: Unknown.  
 Description: No additional information is given.  
 Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.  
 References: Bell 1904d: 5.

47.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments, bronze objects: images of deities, images of animals, 'auspicious objects', one coin, organic material.  
 Location: Alahana Pariwena, Polonnaruwa, Sri Lanka.  
 Dating: Second half 12<sup>th</sup> – beg. 13<sup>th</sup> AD.  
 Description: The deposit stone was installed below the relic chamber of a small *stūpa* in the area of the Alahana Pariwena. The bronze objects distributed over the compartments of the stone; one compartment was empty. The deities are presumably the guardians of directions including Yama, Agni and Nirṛti (Paranavitana 1958: 46). The animals include a lion, an elephant and a horse. Moreover, the deposit stone contained the so-called auspicious objects (*maṅgala*), namely a pot, a trident, an elephant goad, a lotus, a *svastika*, a conch, a disc, a lamp and two fishes as well as

<sup>130</sup> See Dohanian (1977: 80): "The projection of the pedestal was not carved out of the living rock, but was made separately and then pushed into place. Behind it, and below the feet of the image, is a natural cavity in the rock within which there was fashioned a small square chamber whose sides and bottom were formed by slabs of stone."

the images of a lion and a lioness with human's faces, an image of a tortoise and organic material (Karunaratne 1984: 150, 156). According to Paranavitana (as quoted by Karunaratne 1984: 156) the deposit had not been disturbed. Yet, the fact that one of the compartments was empty as well as the absence of the fourth animal – the bull – found usually with the other three, suggest otherwise.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). The shape of the stone container is in agreement with the South Indian texts. Moreover, the same texts mention placing the *maṅgala* symbols in the deposit casket.<sup>131</sup>

References: Paranavitana 1958: 46-47 and figure 7; Karunaratne 1984.

48.

Find: Stone container with nine compartments, nine bronze images of snakes.

Location: Alahana Pariwena, Polonnaruwa, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Second half 12<sup>th</sup> – beg. 13<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The stone was installed below one of the relic chambers of a *stūpa*, under the so-called *mahāmeru* stone (for the latter, see note 48 above). Each compartment of the stone contained one bronze image of a snake (*nāga*).

Correspondence with the texts: Partly (*garbhanyāsa*). The shape of the container is in agreement with the South Indian texts. Images of snakes, however, are usually prescribed for the consecration deposits of bridges, wells and ponds.<sup>132</sup> Only occasionally they may be a part of the consecration deposit for a temple.<sup>133</sup>

References: Karunaratne 1984: 131.

49.

Find: Four images of deities, four images of animals, twelve lamps.

Location: Vijayarama, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The items, all made of bronze, were deposited under the four porches facing the cardinal points, inside brick built cellas. Each cella contained one bronze image of a deity (four-armed and two-faced), one bronze image of an animal and three small clay lamps. The images of deities are representations of the *lokapālas*; the animals include a lion, an elephant, a horse and a bull. The deposits of Vijayarama were presumably found intact.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Bell 1904a; Bell 1904e; Paranavitana 1958: 49-50 and fig. 11; Karunaratne 1984.

<sup>131</sup> See: Kāṃikāgama 31.39cd-40, Kāraṇāgama 6.36-39, Aṃśumadāgama *śaktigarbhasthāpanavidhi* 9, Mayamata 12.34-35ab, Marīci Saṃhitā 13.1.1.

<sup>132</sup> Mayamata 12.99 and Mahānirvāṇatantra 13.170 as given by Pott 1966: 91-92.

<sup>133</sup> Kāṃikāgama 31.45 and Aṃśumadāgama *śaktigarbhasthāpanavidhi* 9.

50.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments.

Location: Vijayarama, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The stone was found in the image house often referred to as Vihare no. 2. It was presumably installed below a pedestal of a Buddha image. It measures 91.5 cm square. At the moment of discovery the stone was empty.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Bell 1904a: 5.

51.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments.

Location: Vijayarama, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The stone was found in an image house referred to as Vihara no. 3. It was covered by a stone slab. The same as the compartmented stone of Vihara no. 2 (see above), it seems to have been installed below a pedestal of a Buddha image. At the moment of discovery the stone was empty.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Bell 1904a: 5.

52.

Find: Four metal images of deities.

Location: Puliyanikulama, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD.Description: The images were deposited under the four porches of the monastery, inside brick built cellas. Each cella contained one image of a deity, presumably a *lokapāla*.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Coomaraswamy 1914, plates XXIII, figs. 125-126; Parnavitana 1958: 50-51 and fig. 12; Karunaratne 1984.

53.

Find: Fragment of a stone container with compartments.

Location: Puliyanikulama, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD.Description: The stone was lying outside the image house (according to Silva 1988: 170 a *bodhighara*, a shrine for the *bodhi* tree) referred to as Vihara no. 2. The number of compartments is not reported.Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Bell 1904e: 3.

54.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments.

Location: Puliyankulama, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 10<sup>th</sup> AD.Description: The stone is installed in an image house, under the pedestal of a large Buddha image (now missing). It is covered by a square slab. At the moment of discovery the container was empty. The image house is dated 10<sup>th</sup> AD on the basis of an inscription found there (Bell 1904g: 4).Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Bell 1904g: 4.

55.

Find: Stone container with nine compartments.

Location: Puliyankulama, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The container was found in a ruined brick-walled cella, under a stone slab. The compartments were all empty. Initially the slab was aligned with the ground level.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*, *garbhanyāsa*).

References: Bell 1904f: 4-5.

56.

Find: Stone container with four compartments.

Location: Abhayagiri, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Date: Unknown.

Description: The container is divided in four regular compartments. No additional information is provided.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Karunaratne 1984, plate XIII.2.

57.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments.

Location: Abhayagiri Ruins (Section II, Jetanavihara), Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Date: Unknown.

Description: The large container (12ft square) was found in the so-called Section II, north of Monastery F, inside an image house “of the massive Polonnaruva type” (Bell 1904b: 4). It was placed below a moulded pedestal.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Bell 1904b: 4.

58.

Find: Stone container with compartments.  
 Location: Abhayagiri Ruins (Section IV, Jetanavihara), Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.  
 Date: Unknown.  
 Description: The large granite container and fragments of a limestone pedestal were found inside an image house, at the back. According to Bandaranayake (1974: 200) the container belonged to a Buddha image, which once occupied the centre of the shrine.  
 Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).  
 References: Bell 1904c: 3, Bandaranayake 1974: 200.

59.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments.  
 Location: Abhayagiri Vihara (Sector V; Ruwanveli Ruins), Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.  
 Dating: Unknown.  
 Description: The container is found among the pillars of an image house. It is 3ft square. It belonged originally to the pedestal of a Buddha image installed in the centre of the shrine.  
 Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*, *garbhanyāsa*).  
 References: Bell 1904h: 4, Bandaranayake 1974: 98 note 1).

60.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments, bronze objects: images of deities, four images of animals, 'auspicious objects', inscribed copper sheets.  
 Location: Vijitapura Rajamahavihara, North Central Province, Sri Lanka.  
 Date: 9<sup>th</sup> AD?  
 Description: It is not clear where exactly the container was found. According to Karunaratne (1984: 206) it was discovered "when labourers were clearing a site for the construction of a new shrine room in the temple premises," "in the debris." Yet, on page 130, Karunaratne states that the container was located "below the lotus pedestal of a Buddha image" (Karunaratne 1984: 130). In the compartments were found at least seven figures of deities, presumably *lokapālas*, images of a bull, a horse, a lion and an elephant, and the 'auspicious symbols', such as a fly whisk, a *śrīvatsa*, an elephant goad, two fishes, a *svastika*, a conch shell, two circular objects (one decorated with eight 'flames'), circular lamp (or lamps) and one inscribed copper sheet. The script on the copper sheet is Sinhalese and the inscription dates from ca. 9<sup>th</sup> AD (Karunaratne 1984: 150). At the time of publication of Karunaratne's article it was not yet deciphered. As the box was not intact, it is possible that initially it contained also other objects. The original distribution of the objects in the compartments was not recorded.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Karunaratne 1984.

61.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments, bronze image of a wheel.

Location: Vijitapura Rajamahavihara, North Central Province, Sri Lanka.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> AD?

Description: The container was found in the vicinity of the gate of the present monastery. Inside or near the container was found a bronze image of a wheel.

References: Karunaratne 1984: 130, 206.

62.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments, bronze objects: deities, animals, tortoise, auspicious symbols, inscribed copper sheet, coins, precious stones, organic material, conch shell.

Location: Sri Pushparama Vihara, Bunnahapola, Kurunegala district, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD or later.

Description: It is one of the three compartmented containers discovered in Bunnahapola (for the other two, see below). The containers were found during the excavation of a mound in the southeast corner of the temple complex. The mound was hiding ruins of a shrine which originally housed three Buddha images. The present container belonged to the central Buddha image. It was placed under the pedestal and covered with a stone slab. Inside the twenty-five compartments thirteen bronze images of men (nine or ten of them probably representing the Guardians of the Directions), one bronze image of a boy, one bronze image of a woman, eight bronze images of animals (2 bulls, 2 lions, 2 horses and 2 elephants), one inscribed copper sheet, auspicious symbols made of bronze (a conch, two fishes, a *svastika*, an elephant goad, a tripod with a snake, a mace, a *vajra*, a *śrīvatsa*, a *cakra*, a pot with a lid, a circular dish and a fly whisk) as well as coins, precious stones and some organic material “resembling hair” were found (Karunaratne 1984: 152-153, 210). The distribution of the objects in the compartments had not been recorded.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Karunaratne 1984.

63.

Find: Stone container with nine compartments, bronze images of auspicious symbols.

Location: Sri Pushparama Vihara, Bunnahapola, Kurunegala district, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD or later.

Description: It is one of the three containers discovered in Bunnahapola. The present container was originally placed below the pedestal of the Buddha image on the left. In the compartments were the auspicious symbols (*maṅgala*) made of bronze, such as a *svastika*, a tripod, an elephant goad, a lotus, a conch shell, a fly whisk, a *śrīvatsa*, a pot with a lid, and two fishes.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Karunaratne 1984.

64.

Find: Stone container with seventeen compartments, bronze images of auspicious symbols.

Location: Sri Pushparama Vihara, Bunnahapola, Kurunegala district, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 9<sup>th</sup> AD or later.

Description: The container was originally placed below the pedestal of the Buddha image on the right. One compartment was in the centre, the remaining ones along the edges (cf. Plates 5 and 21). In the compartments were various objects made of bronze, such as a lotus, a *vajra* with a snake, a *śrīvatsa*, a conch, a dish, a fly whisk, a *svastika*, an elephant goad, a pot with a lid, a wheel, an umbrella with a snake, a tripod with a snake and two fishes, a sword, a spear and a tortoise. One compartment was empty.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Karunaratne 1984.

65.

Find: Brick container (broken) with twenty-five compartments, bronze objects.

Location: Topaveva Dagaba, Polonnaruwa, Sri Lanka.

Dating: 12<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The container was located below the floor of the second relic chamber of the *stūpa*. It is constructed of bricks and it measures 3ft 3in square. Sixteen of the twenty-five partitions were unbroken. Inside bronze objects were found, including the usual animal figures (3 bulls, 3 elephants, 3 horses, 3 lions), 3 snakes, 6 images of deities (presumably the *lokapālas*) and the auspicious objects including three tiny pots (one with a silver coin attached to the bottom), a fish, a tripod and a dish, an elephant goad, a fly whisk, a *svastika* and a *śrīvatsa*.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Bell 1914a: 17, 28-31 and plates LXI-LXIII, LXVII-LXX, Paranavitana 1946: 22-24, Karunaratne 1984.

66.



Find: Brick container with nine compartments, bronze images of snakes.  
 Location: Topaveva Dagaba, Polonnaruva, Sri Lanka.  
 Dating: 12<sup>th</sup> AD.  
 Description: The receptacle was located below the floor of the third relic chamber of the *stūpa*, under the so-called *meru* stone (see note 49 above). It is 2ft and 2in square. In each compartment five bronze images of cobras were found – a mother and four young – giving forty-five snakes in total.  
 Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).  
 References: Bell 1914a: 17, 28-31 and plates LXV-LXVI, Paranavitana 1946: 22-24, Karunaratne 1984.

67.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments.  
 Location: Polonnaruva Monastery, Polonnaruva, Sri Lanka.  
 Dating: 12<sup>th</sup> AD.  
 Description: The granite container is 2ft 6in square; each partition is a cube of 3.5 inches, except the middle one with is an inch larger. It was found lying on or in the vicinity of the *maḷuva* platform of a *stūpa* within the Polonnaruva Monastery (near the northern gate of the city), covered by 2 slabs. Originally, it seems to have been installed under the uppermost relic chamber of the *stūpa*.  
 Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).  
 References: Bell 1914a: 9.

68.

Find: Stone slab with nine holes, precious and semiprecious stones, glass beads, gold objects.  
 Location: Kota Vehera (Dadigama Sutighara), Dadigama, Kegalle district, Sri Lanka.  
 Dating: 12<sup>th</sup> AD.  
 Description: The slab was placed below the relic chamber (containing the *meru* stone) of the *stūpa*. It has irregular shape and it was covered with another stone slab, which had a Pali inscription on its lower side. In the cavities were precious and semiprecious stones, glass beads, coins, gold leaf, thin gold wire, ornaments, gold figures of birds (perhaps quails) and a gold basin-like object. The deposit of Kota Vehera is unique for Sri Lanka in that it does not consist of bronze images of deities and animals, but mainly of gold ornaments. As stated by Godakumbura (1961: 80), Kota Vehera was identified as the Sūtighara Chētiya built by the king Parākrama Bahu (1153-1186 AD). Wales (1964: 220-221), however, perhaps unaware of the identification, refers to the deposit of Kota Vehera as originating from “a 10<sup>th</sup> century *stūpa*.”

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). It should, nevertheless, be noted that the Sanskrit ritual and architectural texts do not prescribe placing ornaments and coins into the deposit casket.

References: Paranavitana 1956: 12-17.

69.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments, marble plaques, objects made of copper, lumps of clay.

Location: Madirigiriya, north of Polonnaruva, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: This is one of the three compartments discovered in an image house in Madirigiriya. It was placed under the pedestal of the central Buddha image. Some of the objects were already stolen by the pillagers (Karunaratne 1984: 132, 189-190). Those which were left include three marble plaques (one bearing images of two bulls, another one bearing an image of a lion, and a fragment of a third one with an image of an elephant), three copper images of deities, several auspicious symbols made of copper (two fishes, a wheel, an elephant goad, a *svastika*), a shell, a copper plaque and “crude lumps that appears to be some kind of clay” (Paranavitana as quoted by Karunaratne 1984: 150).

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Karunaratne 1984.

70.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments.

Location: Madirigiriya, north of Polonnaruva, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The container was discovered inside an image house, under the pedestal of a Buddha image placed to the left of the central one (see no. 69 above). Presumably, at the moment of discovery the container was empty (see Karunaratne 1984: 130).

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Karunaratne 1984.

71.

Find: Stone container with twenty-one compartments, copper objects.

Location: Madirigiriya, north of Polonnaruva, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The container was discovered inside an image house, under the pedestal of a Buddha image placed to the right of the central one (see nos. 69-70 above). It contained small objects made of copper, namely one image of a horse, two images of deities, a *svastika*, a *śrīvatsa*, an elephant goad, a fragment of copper and a circular lump of copper.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Karunaratne 1984.

72.

Find: Box-like receptacle.

Location: Jetavanavihara ('Buddhist Railing Site'), Abhayagiri Ruins,  
Anuradhapura, Sri  
Lanka.

Dating: 5<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> AD.

Description: The "box-like receptacle divided in half a dozen irregular partitions by bricks" was discovered in the centre of a small brick chamber (Bell 1904a: 4). It is 2ft square and 1ft in height. The brick chamber was, presumably, a *bodhighara*, a shrine for the *bodhi* tree (Bandaranayake 1974: 185-189). Bandaranayake (*ibid.*, 189) dates the structure to the 5<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Bell 1904a: 3-4, Bandaranayake 1974: 185-189, Silva 1988: 170.

73.

Find: Stone slab with a cavity.

Location: Toluville, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Karunaratne 1984: 184, 214.

74.

Find: Stone slab with sixteen cavities.

Location: Toluville, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Karunaratne 1984: 184, 214.

75.

Find: Stone container with five cavities.

Location: Buddhanehela near Padaviya, Northern Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: This is the only one deposit container with five cavities discovered in Sri Lanka. Three such deposit boxes were discovered in Thailand (see Appendix IV.1.2 no. 2 and Appendix IV.2 nos. 3 and 7).

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Karunaratne 1984: 184, 214.

76.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments, objects made of bronze.

Location: Maligavila, Southwest Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The container was discovered under the floor of a shrine. It is fairly large – it covers almost the entire floor (see Plates 11-12). At the moment of discovery, seven compartments were empty. The remaining ones contained bronze objects, such as images of animals (3 elephants, 3 bulls, 3 lions and 3 horses), images of deities (Brahmā and two other deities placed in the compartments facing the cardinal directions) and auspicious symbols (two fishes, a jar, an object resembling a mirror, a *śrīvatsa*, an umbrella, an object resembling a fly whisk, a *svastika* and a bowl.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Nandana Chutiwongs, personal communication.

77.

Find: Brick container with nine compartments.

Location: Dematamalvihara, Southwest Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The container was discovered under a *bodhighara*, a shrine for the *bodhi* tree.

Correspondence with the texts: None.

References: Jayasuriya et al. 1995: 290.

78.

Find: Stone with twenty-five compartments of various shapes.

Location: Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: In the time of publication of Karunaratne's article the stone was lying by the side of the Kurunegala Road in Anuradhapura, "not far from Dakkina cetiya" (Karunaratne 1984: 184). The stone is unusual as its cavities are not square, as usual in Sri Lanka, but have various shapes. There is a large square hole in the centre and there are four oval holes around it. The other cavities are oval (2), round (2) or square (16). The container is 46 in square.

Correspondence with the texts: Impossible to establish.

References: Karunaratne 1984: 184.

79.

Find: Metal box with twenty-five compartments, precious stones, pieces of metals.

Location: Palanda (Pelenda), Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

**Description:** The miniature bronze or copper box was discovered in the so-called Vidiya Bandara Palace in Palanda. The exact location is not reported. The box is only 1.5in square and three-quarter inch deep. It was covered with a lid and contained, in the central compartment, a piece of gold. The surrounding compartments contained various gems and pieces of metal (one ruby, one pearl, two corals, one red stone which dissolved in water, one sapphire, one piece of silver and various pieces of metal). At present the box is preserved in the Colombo Museum. **Correspondence with the texts:** Yes (*garbhanyāsa*). The material and the shape of the box as well as the objects deposited in it agree with the prescriptions for *garbhanyāsa* as given in the South Indian treatises.

**References:** Plant 1914b: 76.

80.

**Find:** Stone slab with seventeen holes, bronze objects, one miniature *stūpa*, two 'reliquaries', one crystal ring, two beads.

**Location:** Pabalu Vehera, Polonnaruva, Sri Lanka.

**Dating:** 12<sup>th</sup> AD.

**Description:** The find of Pabalu Vehera is the only Sri Lankan deposit discovered in the superstructure. It was found at the base of the *harmikā*, covered by a large round stone, probably a support for the *yaṣṭi*. The slab has nine regular square compartments placed in three rows. On the edge surrounding the central compartment there are eight additional holes, much smaller and shallower than the rest: three squares, two rectangles, a triangle, a circle and a kind of elongated leaf. The central compartment contained two beads, one crystal ring, one crystal 'reliquary' with a broken stopper and one square glass 'reliquary' with a crystal stopper (both empty). In the eight square compartments small images made of bronze were found, namely three bulls, two lions, three elephants, three horses, one snake, one four-faced deity standing on a tortoise, one pot with lid, one 'Buddha's begging bowl' (with a snake inside), one miniature *stūpa* and one inscribed bronze plaque (Longhurst 1939: 9). The inscription reads: *om maṇipa (dme) sv(o)sti* (Mudiyanse 1967: 95). The inscription is in Sinhalese script of 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century AD (ibid.). Nothing was found in the eight shallow cavities of various shapes. **Correspondence with the texts:** None. None of the Sanskrit texts prescribe placing objects enclosed in a nine-chambered container in the superstructure of a building. Besides, the presence of the glass and crystal vessels referred to as reliquaries inside a consecration deposit container would be unusual. On the other hand, as stated in the reports, none of the vessels contained relics. According to Longhurst, the relic was 'missing'.<sup>134</sup> Still, if the *stūpa* was broken into by the treasure seekers, the emptied relic caskets might had ended up in the compartmented receptacle by chance. Enshrining a reliquary in a compartmented box, together with items usually

<sup>134</sup> According to Longhurst (1939: 9) "As the stopper had fallen out, the relic was missing."

belonging to a consecration deposit (images of animals and the Guardians of the Directions) would have been highly unusual.

References: Longhurst 1939.<sup>135</sup>

81.

Find: Copper or bronze box with twenty-five compartments.

Location: Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The copper or bronze box<sup>136</sup> is square with square, regular compartments placed in five rows of five. It is 15.1 cm square, 12.3 cm high and it was covered with a lid. It was found in Anuradhapura, but the exact location is not reported. At present it is preserved in the Colombo Museum. The Anuradhapura box is one of a very few deposit boxes made of metal that were found Sri Lanka (for the other two, see Appendix IV.2 nos. 77 and 80).

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). Both the material and the appearance of the box are in agreement with the prescriptions in the Sanskrit texts. Although Anuradhapura is famous mainly for its Buddhist remains, it is known that Hindu temples were also constructed there. Hence, it is possible that the box originates from a Hindu structure. It should be noted that the box strongly resembles the metal container discovered in Pondicherry, India (see Appendix IV.1.1 no. 1).

References: Coomaraswamy 1914: 30 and plate xxii, fig. 124.

82.

Find: Copper box with nine compartments.

Location: Navagamuva Vehera, Hevagam Korale, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The box is made of thin copper sheets and it is divided into nine compartments. The base of the box is loose, the lid is missing. The container was found in the ground during digging foundations for a new building. Together with the container five bronze images of snakes, a terracotta plaque, a small bead of crystal and four Buddha figures were found.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). Cf. no. 79 above.

References: Paranavitana 1934: 20.

83.

Find: Stone container with nine compartments.

Location: "Sela-Chaitiya" Dagaba, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

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<sup>135</sup> The photograph of this *yantragala* was published in various works, see Longhurst 1939, plate 4; O'Connor 1966a, fig. 2; Karunaratne 1984, Plate I. 2.

<sup>136</sup> Copper, according to Coomaraswamy (1914), bronze according to Karunaratne (1984: 125).

Description: The box was found in a brick-based cella under the relic chamber of a little *stūpa* between Ruwanveli Seya and Abhayagiri Dagaba. It was covered by a monolith slab a foot thick. All compartments were empty.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Bell 1904d: 2.

84.

Find: Receptacle with compartments, metal images.

Location: Dembana, Badulla District, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The receptacle was discovered in the centre of a mound containing ancient brick bats and stone pillars, five miles north of the village of Dembana. It was lying at a depth of 2 ft. It is not known what exactly was found inside the compartments as the workmen seem to have divided the objects between them. Among the objects recovered from the workmen a few days later were highly corroded figures of human beings or of deities and one small elephant goad. According to Godakumbura (1961: 95), the mound covered the remains of an ancient *stūpa*.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Godakumbura 1961: 95.

85.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments.

Location: Sigiriya, Northern Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The receptacle is made up of stones (5 in broad) laid crossways to form twenty-five square compartments; each compartment is 10in square. The receptacle was found under the floor of the second relic chamber of a *stūpa*. As the relic chamber was already disturbed, no other objects were found.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Plant 1914a.

86.

Find: Stone container with nine cavities.

Location: Unknown, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: On the upper surface of the stone a lotus is engraved. In the centre and in each petal there is a square cavity.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*). The stone resembles consecration deposit slabs discovered in Java (see, for example, Plate 4).

References: Karunaratne 1984, Plate XIV.3.

87.

Find: Stone container with twenty-five compartments, terracotta plaques.

Location: “Jetawanarama” Vihare, Polonnaruva, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The very large receptacle was located under the great pedestal of the standing Buddha. It has twenty-five large partitions fashioned from small stone slabs, the majority of them already displaced by treasure hunters. Only one row of five compartments was intact. In this were found three tiny terracotta elephants and three terracotta plaques bearing the emblems of a lotus, a vase and a *svastika*.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*ratnanyāsa*).

References: Bell 1914b: 32, 37.

88.

Find: Stone container with nine compartments, images of snakes.

Location: Dagaba A (east of Kiri Vehera), Polonnaruva, Sri Lanka.

Dating: Unknown.

Description: The receptacle was found under the third relic chamber of the *stūpa*. Each compartment contained a tiny terracotta cobra. The *stūpa* has already been destroyed by treasure hunters.

Correspondence with the texts: Possible (*garbhanyāsa*).

References: Bell 1914b: 29.



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## General Index

### A

Abhayagiri, 315, 316, 321, 325  
Acharya, 41, 75, 91, 94, 114, 115, 120, 164, 182, 185  
Aek Sangkilon, 308  
Agni, 5, 48, 60, 69, 163, 164, 165, 170, 171, 177, 180, 182, 191, 192, 199, 207, 231, 232, 233, 285, 312  
Agni Purāṇa, 5, 48, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 177, 180, 183, 191, 192, 193, 196, 198, 231, 232, 233, 244, 301  
Ajitāgama, 5, 11, 16, 20, 36, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 51, 57, 59, 60, 65, 67, 70, 71, 72, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85, 87, 95, 102, 114, 121, 123, 124, 125, 128, 131, 136, 147, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 175, 176, 186, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 201, 231, 232, 233, 238, 242, 245, 249, 271  
Alahana Pariwena, 312, 313  
Alampur, 240, 241, 242  
Amritsar, 198  
Aṃśumadāgama, 10, 11, 12, 13, 29, 30, 47, 49, 66, 71, 102, 111, 165, 166, 167, 169, 173, 183, 187, 231, 232, 233, 242, 313  
Anahilwada Patan, 243  
Andhra Pradesh, 195, 197, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242  
Angkor, 200, 212, 213, 216, 219, 246, 247, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300  
Angkor Thom, 299  
Angkor Vat, 219, 246, 247  
Aniruddha Saṃhitā, 233  
Anom, 279, 280  
Anuradhapura, 212, 214, 310, 311, 313, 314, 315, 316, 321, 322, 324  
ashes, 6, 8, 57, 104, 138, 154, 208, 220, 259, 267, 268, 269, 284, 285, 293, 294, 304, 307  
Atri Saṃhitā, 5, 14, 34, 46, 59, 70, 75, 76, 86, 99, 108, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 175, 177, 179, 183, 186, 190, 192, 193, 194, 196, 201, 202, 231, 232, 233, 242, 245, 249  
Arousseau, 216, 301  
Avukana, 311  
Ayuthaya, 294

### B

Bali, 215, 290, 309, 310  
Bandaranayake, 8, 214, 316, 321  
Ban Wat Khanoon, 211, 245

Bangkal, 283  
Banteay Kdei, 216, 297  
Banteay Srei, 216, 251, 252, 298  
Baphuon, 212  
Barazer-Billoret, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 57, 58, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 81, 88, 91, 92, 94, 96, 97, 110, 120, 137, 138, 148, 187, 233  
Barong, 278  
Bäumer, 48  
Bayon, 216, 250, 297, 298  
beads, 205, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 273, 275, 277, 278, 279, 303, 304, 310, 311, 319, 323, 324  
Bell, 212, 214, 291, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 318, 319, 321, 325, 326  
Bernet Kempers, 310  
Besnagar, 218  
Bhat, 34, 108, 232  
Bhatgaon, 262  
Bhatt, 9, 10, 11, 12, 20, 26, 32, 39, 45, 62, 64, 65, 66, 84, 96, 97, 102, 103, 119, 137, 148, 178, 187, 190, 192, 245  
Bhattacharyya, 11, 13, 14, 15, 164, 170  
Birdpur, 196, 197, 205, 244  
Blom, van, 303  
Blurton, 5, 176  
Boechari, 276, 306, 307  
Boisselier, 216, 246, 247, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 296, 297  
bone, 6, 62, 208, 213, 220, 267, 281, 284, 285, 286, 292, 293, 294, 303, 304  
Boner, 2, 198  
Bongkissam, 264, 265  
Bongsu, 307  
Borobudur, 283  
Bosch, 8, 207, 208, 209, 260, 261, 262, 268, 285, 286, 307, 308  
Brahmā, 132, 133, 134, 144, 148, 160, 193, 202, 203, 270, 288, 311, 322  
Brandes, 207, 274, 284  
brass, 77, 89, 91, 155, 191, 192  
Bṛhat Saṃhitā, 1, 5, 14, 34, 36, 108, 163, 165, 184, 231, 232  
bronze, 203, 205, 206, 211, 212, 213, 214, 245, 248, 255, 256, 258, 262, 263, 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 275, 276, 277, 279, 281, 282, 286, 288, 292, 303, 304, 305, 306, 310, 311, 312, 313, 316, 317, 318, 319, 322, 323, 324  
Brunner, 38, 39, 44, 46, 48, 49, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 67, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 91, 96, 110, 111,

119, 123, 132, 138, 147, 165, 171, 183, 187,  
191  
Buddhannehela, 321  
Bühnemann, 187  
bull, 90, 107, 108, 209, 210, 214, 243, 254, 259,  
261, 262, 302, 303, 313, 316, 317, 318, 320,  
322, 323  
Bunnahapola, 317, 318  
Sri Pushparama Vihara, 317, 318

## C

Cambodia, 2, 200, 212, 213, 216, 217, 219, 237,  
244, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253,  
254, 255, 256, 260, 283, 296, 297, 298, 299,  
300, 311  
Candi Bukit Batu Pahat, 204, 208, 210, 211, 214,  
260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 302, 311  
Casparis, de, 202, 274  
Central Java, 202, 204, 205, 209, 212, 213, 216,  
266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274,  
275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283,  
303, 305, 306, 311  
Chakrabarti, 85  
Chihara, 200, 258, 276, 279, 281, 282, 288, 303,  
304  
Chua Nam Gian. See Go Thap  
Chutiwongs, 322  
Cintyāgama, 102, 103, 137, 231  
Claeys, 258  
clay, 34, 52, 53, 108, 127, 153, 159, 192, 215, 266,  
290, 300, 301, 310, 313, 320  
cobra, 214, 215, 319, 326  
Coedès, 216, 246, 247, 251, 252, 253, 254, 294,  
296, 297, 298  
coins, 198, 199, 207, 214, 220, 240, 241, 242, 259,  
263, 267, 268, 272, 274, 284, 288, 292, 303,  
304, 310, 311, 312, 317, 318, 319, 320  
Colas, 33, 34, 38, 41, 43, 48, 51, 91, 99, 109, 110,  
114, 125, 129, 164, 180, 182  
Colombo, 212, 323, 324  
Coningham, 311  
Coomaraswamy, 212, 312, 314, 324  
copper, 77, 89, 91, 115, 124, 133, 149, 155, 161,  
191, 192, 195, 196, 197, 199, 201, 205, 209,  
210, 212, 214, 237, 240, 241, 242, 244, 256,  
257, 261, 267, 268, 270, 279, 292, 298, 302,  
303, 311, 316, 317, 320, 323, 324  
crescent, 206, 207, 264, 277, 284  
crocodile, 9, 201, 256, 257, 259  
crystal, 87, 146, 205, 210, 255, 257, 262, 272, 279,  
292, 300, 323, 324

## D

Da Noi, 259

Dadigama, 319  
Kota Vehera, 319  
Dagens, 3, 10, 11, 16, 32, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41,  
42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 56, 58, 64,  
65, 67, 73, 75, 78, 79, 81, 84, 88, 91, 92, 94, 95,  
96, 97, 106, 109, 110, 114, 115, 119, 120, 125,  
126, 127, 129, 134, 137, 146, 149, 164, 165,  
177, 180, 181, 182, 183, 195, 233, 238  
Dai Huu, 216, 300, 301  
Damsté, 215, 309, 310  
Dao Linh Con, 259, 260  
Das, 2, 48, 198  
Davis, 9, 58, 63, 64, 83, 102, 104, 111, 123, 132,  
133, 135, 147, 163, 178, 179  
Dehejia, 262  
Dematamalvihara, 322  
Dembana, 325  
Diehl, 10, 58, 62, 86  
Dieng, 205, 279, 280  
Dikshit, 197  
Diptāgama, 16, 33, 38, 43, 47, 48, 50, 55, 56, 59,  
82, 83, 84, 90, 94, 99, 107, 115, 122, 125, 126,  
127, 128, 132, 134, 147, 148, 165, 166, 167,  
168, 169, 172, 177, 183, 186, 190, 191, 192,  
193, 194, 201, 202, 206, 210, 231, 232, 233,  
242, 243, 245, 252, 254, 278  
Dohanian, 312  
Dumarçay, 206, 254, 274, 276, 277, 278, 283, 298,  
303, 304  
Durgā, 262, 282  
Dwarawati, 213, 279, 280

## E

earthenware, 199, 206, 211, 212, 263, 264, 268,  
270, 286, 310, 311  
East Java, 204, 206, 213, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287,  
288, 289  
East Mebon, 253  
Eggeling, 13  
elephant, 9, 37, 38, 88, 90, 107, 108, 190, 193, 201,  
202, 209, 212, 214, 217, 248, 249, 254, 255,  
256, 257, 259, 264, 275, 293, 294, 302, 303,  
312, 313, 316, 317, 318, 320, 322, 323, 325,  
326

## F

Filliozat, 9, 25  
Finot, 88, 216, 249, 251, 252, 260  
fish, 43, 258, 259, 312, 316, 317, 318, 320, 322

## G

*garbhanyāsa*, 4, 5, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 29, 30, 32,  
37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50, 52, 58, 59,

- 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 84, 104, 112, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 143, 146, 147, 152, 155, 159, 160, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 212, 214, 216, 218, 219, 224, 225, 226, 232, 235, 236, 237, 240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 254, 255, 259, 262, 264, 266, 267, 269, 270, 272, 273, 277, 278, 279, 280, 283, 285, 286, 287, 289, 290, 292, 294, 295, 296, 301, 303, 306, 309, 313, 315, 316, 318, 319, 320, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326
- Gatak, 212, 275
- Gebang, 204, 206, 277, 283
- Gedong Songo, 213, 280, 281, 283
- gems, 62, 70, 71, 84, 87, 92, 147, 154, 161, 183, 190, 194, 210, 215, 216, 225, 227, 241, 242, 246, 253, 255, 261, 262, 263, 269, 273, 279, 306, 310, 323, *See also* precious stones, semiprecious stones
- Getasan, 278
- Glaize, 200
- Glover, 258
- Go Thanh, 259
- Go Thap, 258, 259
- Godakumbura, 319, 325
- Gokul, 242, 243
- gold, 7, 48, 59, 61, 67, 77, 84, 88, 90, 104, 105, 124, 133, 135, 139, 149, 150, 154, 155, 156, 161, 180, 184, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 219, 220, 239, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 279, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 292, 294, 295, 296, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 306, 307, 308, 310, 319, 323
- Golubew, 252
- Gonda, 9, 12, 164, 182
- Goodall, 10, 26, 27, 164
- Goslings, 216, 310
- Goudriaan, 14, 25, 26, 27, 37, 42, 48, 67, 91, 94, 99, 104, 108, 109, 125, 163, 164, 169, 170, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183
- grain, 4, 46, 84, 85, 92, 93, 98, 101, 107, 110, 111, 123, 136, 147, 153, 158, 177, 190, 193, 194, 257, 281, 305, 306, *See also* seeds
- Grimes, 180
- Groeneveldt, 206, 207, 267, 268, 284, 285, 286, 288
- Groneman, 274
- Groslier, 297
- guardians of the directions, 62, 154, 212, 214, 259, 293, 303, 311, 312, 317, 324, *See also* lokapāla
- Gumpung, 216, 306, 307
- Gunung Bondo, 213, 283, 286
- Gunung Kawi, 215, 309
- Gunung Wukir, 282
- ## H
- Haan, de, 283, 286, 287
- Halina Hambali, 275
- Hampi, 218
- Hampi, 218
- Harle, 19, 43, 114, 195, 197, 238, 239, 262, 311
- Harrisson, 264, 265, 266, 294
- Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 177, 182, 186, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 199, 231, 232, 233, 244, 245, 271, 301
- herbs, 4, 177, 193, 194, 281
- Hirapur, 262
- Hoëvell, van, 207, 208, 284, 286
- horse, 110, 209, 214, 302, 303, 312, 313, 316, 317, 318, 320, 322, 323
- ## I
- Ijo, 274
- IJerman, 203, 220, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 311
- India, 2, 9, 11, 18, 19, 23, 30, 90, 110, 115, 153, 164, 165, 172, 182, 184, 189, 194, 195, 198, 199, 200, 203, 204, 213, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 237, 238, 239, 242, 244, 250, 261, 262, 265, 273, 292, 324
- Indonesia, 2, 199, 208, 217, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 295, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310
- Indra, 83, 88, 181
- Indraji, 216
- inscription, 199, 202, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214, 217, 239, 248, 249, 251, 252, 253, 261, 262, 263, 266, 267, 274, 275, 276, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 302, 304, 306, 307, 308, 310, 312, 315, 316, 317, 319, 323
- iron, 77, 90, 115, 192, 205, 240, 241, 248, 257, 258, 272, 275, 282, 302, 310, 311
- Īśāna, 207, 243, 285
- Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, 5, 15, 16, 29, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 54, 55, 59, 71, 72, 75, 79, 80, 86, 92, 93, 108, 115, 165, 166, 167, 168, 177, 182, 186, 190, 191, 192, 193, 197, 202, 231, 232, 233, 241, 245
- Īśvara, 132, 133, 134, 144, 148, 160

**J**

Jacq-Hergoualc'h, 244, 245, 302  
 Jakarta, 204, 208, 213, 275, 278, 280, 281, 284,  
 285, 287, 305  
 Jaticalangan, 281  
 Jayasuriya, 214, 322  
 Jetavanavihara, 321  
 Jetawanarama, 326  
 Jolotundo, 204, 206, 207, 208, 211, 284, 285  
 Jordaan, 220, 267

**K**

Kāśyapaśilpa, 1, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15,  
 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 33,  
 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48,  
 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66,  
 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83,  
 85, 87, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99,  
 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 108, 112, 113,  
 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122,  
 123, 124, 127, 128, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136,  
 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147,  
 149, 151, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 161, 162,  
 163, 165, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176,  
 177, 178, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192,  
 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199, 201, 202, 204,  
 206, 207, 208, 210, 214, 216, 217, 224, 225,  
 226, 231, 235, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245,  
 254, 255, 256, 262, 263, 267, 278, 285, 286  
 Kāśyapajñānakāṇḍa, 14, 27, 37, 48, 56, 91, 104,  
 108, 115, 141, 169, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179,  
 183, 186, 231, 232, 233, 234  
 Kalasan, 276, 277  
 Kalimantan, 264, 266  
 Kāmikāgama, 12, 41, 51, 58, 60, 69, 70, 71, 81, 82,  
 83, 86, 97, 99, 104, 106, 143, 165, 166, 167,  
 168, 169, 172, 175, 177, 183, 186, 187, 190,  
 192, 193, 194, 201, 205, 206, 210, 231, 232,  
 233, 245, 254, 272, 278, 279, 313  
 Kandaswamy, 17  
 Kane, 177  
 Kāraṇāgama, 27, 43, 47, 48, 49, 51, 54, 56, 58, 60,  
 65, 66, 70, 81, 83, 102, 104, 105, 106, 115, 119,  
 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 132, 134, 148, 165,  
 166, 167, 168, 169, 172, 175, 183, 186, 187,  
 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 210, 231, 232, 233,  
 245, 254, 313  
 Karangrejo, 204, 206, 211, 286  
 Karunaratne, 212, 215, 243, 311, 312, 313, 314,  
 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 324,  
 325  
 Kedah, 8, 182, 208, 209, 211, 215, 217, 260, 261,  
 263, 264, 266, 302, 303, 311  
 Site no. 10, 302  
 Site no. 13, 263

Site no. 14, 263  
 Site no. 16, 302  
 Site no. 19, 264  
 Kediri, 206, 286, 287  
 Keesarigutta, 239  
 Keith, 13  
 Kelsall, 218  
 Kincaid, 218  
 Kinney, 8, 283, 288  
 Kleang Nord, 299  
 Klokke, 206, 283, 285, 288, 303  
 Koh Ker, 216, 250  
 Konarak, 149, 198  
 Kooij, van, 60, 86, 187  
 Kramrisch, 1, 5, 11, 13, 14, 15, 32, 73, 114, 141,  
 163, 164, 176, 180, 182, 184  
 Kriyādhikāra, 5, 59, 69, 70, 165, 166, 167, 169,  
 170, 177, 193, 232, 233, 234  
 Krom, 213, 274, 279, 280, 281, 285, 286  
 Kruh Aram Rong Chen, 247  
 Ku Bua, 215, 294  
 Kulikov, 26  
 Kulke, 218  
 Kumāraṅtra, 59, 60, 81, 82, 83, 84, 99, 166, 169,  
 175, 183, 192, 231, 233

**L**

Lahiri, 85  
 Lajonquière, 247, 249, 251, 252, 253  
 Lamb, 3, 8, 84, 196, 203, 204, 207, 208, 209, 210,  
 211, 214, 237, 245, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264,  
 273, 280, 281, 287, 289, 296  
 Lanman, 27  
 Laos, 245, 246, 296  
 Le Xuan Diem, 259, 260  
*liṅga*, 10, 56, 57, 59, 97, 99, 105, 123, 128, 137,  
 148, 183, 185, 187, 209, 210, 213, 220, 241,  
 242, 243, 245, 247, 254, 261, 262, 264, 265,  
 280, 281, 286, 288  
 lion, 207, 209, 214, 240, 284, 302, 303, 312, 313,  
 316, 317, 318, 320, 322, 323  
*lokapāla*, 54, 62, 154, 157, 207, 208, 214, 215,  
 259, 285, 293, 303, 311, 312, 313, 314, 316,  
 318, *See also* guardians of the directions  
 Longhurst, 112, 214, 323, 324  
 Loro Jonggrang, 202, 203, 204, 205, 211, 213, 220,  
 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274,  
 276, 303, 311  
 Candi Śiva, 203, 212, 213, 266, 267, 268  
 Candi Brahmā, 203, 270, 311  
 Candi Viṣṇu, 202, 203, 212, 268, 269, 270  
 Losch, 15, 16, 17, 164  
 lotus, 44, 60, 61, 70, 95, 96, 108, 109, 122, 123,  
 131, 152, 154, 158, 159, 179, 180, 190, 192,  
 193, 195, 196, 197, 199, 201, 202, 203, 204,



205, 206, 207, 210, 211, 212, 216, 217, 240,  
241, 244, 245, 254, 255, 256, 259, 261, 262,  
264, 267, 268, 269, 273, 277, 278, 279, 280,  
283, 284, 286, 287, 289, 291, 292, 295, 296,  
298, 300, 301, 302, 306, 307, 310, 312, 316,  
318, 325, 326

**M**

Maas, 18  
MacCulloch, 6  
Macdonell, 13  
Madirigiriya, 320  
Madras, 17, 23, 24, 31, 101, 220  
Majumdar, 243  
Malaysia, 2, 199, 204, 208, 211, 214, 217, 260,  
263, 264, 295, 302, 311  
Maligavila, 322  
Mallaya, 15, 107, 164  
Malleret, 213, 260  
Mañjuśrīvāstuvīdyāśāstra, 3, 34, 41, 231  
Mānasāra, 7, 10, 13, 14, 15, 49, 60, 74, 75, 78, 80,  
86, 87, 91, 92, 93, 115, 128, 163, 164, 165, 166,  
167, 169, 170, 180, 181, 182, 185, 187, 188,  
190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 231, 232, 233,  
234, 243  
Manonmanī, 123, 159  
Marchal, 216, 247, 249, 297, 298  
Marīci Samhitā, 33, 34, 38, 39, 43, 46, 48, 51, 55,  
56, 59, 70, 76, 85, 91, 104, 105, 108, 114, 128,  
129, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 179, 181,  
182, 186, 190, 192, 193, 194, 200, 201, 202,  
231, 232, 233, 234, 245, 247, 271, 313  
Marshall, 197, 292  
Mayamata, 3, 10, 13, 15, 16, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39,  
40, 41, 42, 43, 47, 48, 49, 51, 73, 75, 78, 79, 80,  
82, 86, 87, 90, 91, 92, 93, 96, 107, 114, 115,  
124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 134, 146, 149,  
163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 175,  
176, 177, 181, 182, 186, 188, 190, 191, 192,  
193, 194, 196, 201, 202, 206, 207, 231, 232,  
233, 234, 239, 242, 243, 255, 278, 285, 293,  
313  
Meister, 106  
Merak, 205, 213, 274, 279, 280, 283, 284  
Mi Son, 213, 258  
Michell, 5, 176  
Miksic, 295, 304, 305  
minerals, 4, 84, 85, 88, 91, 92, 156, 177, 190, 192,  
194, 205, 209, 210, 212, 225, 247, 248, 261,  
262, 264, 265, 272, 298, 300  
Mitra, 3, 8, 194, 195, 196, 207, 216, 238, 243, 244,  
280, 292, 293, 294  
Mojokerto, 213, 286, 289  
Mṛgandrāgama, 12, 36, 44, 231  
Muara Kaman, 266

Muara Takus, 307, 308  
Mudiyanse, 323  
Muncul. See Ngempon  
*mūrdheṣṭakā*, 5, 18, 24, 26, 27, 39, 41, 43, 45, 46,  
47, 48, 50, 52, 55, 58, 59, 60, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67,  
79, 80, 83, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 102, 113, 114,  
115, 116, 139, 141, 142, 152, 153, 157, 160,  
161, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171,  
172, 186, 187, 189, 194, 197, 198, 199, 200,  
213, 214, 216, 218, 219, 226, 233, 235, 236,  
250, 298

**N**

*nāga*, 107, 108, 267, 274, 313. *See also* snake,  
serpent  
Nagarjunakonda, 238  
Nalanda, 212, 291  
navadurgā, 262  
Navagamuva Vehera, 215, 324  
Nayati, 304, 305  
Neak Pean, 299  
Neam Rup, 249  
Nen Chua, 259  
Nepal, 2, 165, 199, 216, 220, 262, 269, 292  
Ngempon, 204, 205, 206, 278, 279  
Nīrti, 312

**O**

O'Connor, 3, 8, 206, 264, 265, 266, 285, 294, 324  
Oberhammer, 57  
Oberlies, 26, 27, 37  
Oc Eo, 259  
Oertel, 197  
Oldfield, 265

**P**

Pādma Samhitā, 5, 6, 47, 49, 50, 51, 59, 71, 75, 79,  
80, 86, 87, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 175, 177,  
178, 186, 188, 192, 193, 194, 202, 231, 232,  
233, 234, 245, 271  
Padoux, 57  
Pal, 197  
Palanda, 215, 322, 323  
Panahiam Jhar, 292  
Pandey, 177, 178, 179  
Pāpanāsi, 197, 219, 240, 241, 242  
Paranavitana, 214, 215, 265, 311, 312, 313, 314,  
318, 319, 320, 324  
Parmentier, 200, 201, 202, 213, 216, 248, 249, 250,  
251, 252, 253, 256, 257, 258, 260, 297  
Pasquali, 18  
Patt, 207, 208, 284, 285  
Payak, 282, 283

Perquin, 213, 284  
 Phimai, 295  
 Phnom Bakheng, 254  
 Phnom Kulen, 216, 247, 296, 300  
 Phnom Penh, 248, 252  
 Pichard, 295  
 Pisharoti, 15, 17  
 Plant, 215, 323, 325  
 Plaosan, 220, 283, 303, 304, 305  
 Plaosan Lor, 220, 303, 304, 305  
 Polanrejo, 278  
 Pollock, 2, 3, 199, 237  
 Polonnaruva, 212, 214, 291, 312, 313, 315, 318,  
 319, 320, 323, 326  
 Pabalu Vehera, 214, 323  
 Po Nagar, 201, 202, 213, 219, 249, 256, 257  
 Pondicherry, 11, 12, 14, 22, 30, 196, 212, 218, 237,  
 324  
 P'ong Tük, 294  
 Pott, 207, 262, 285, 313  
 Pottier, 213, 219, 248, 254, 255, 256, 299, 300  
 Prambanan, 202, 203, 205, 209, 211, 212, 266,  
 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275,  
 276, 277, 278, 289, 290, 303, 304, 305, 311  
 Prasat Ak Yom, 200, 201, 202, 248, 249  
 Prasat Bay Kaek, 254  
 Prasat Damrei Krap, 216, 296  
 Prasat Dan, 216, 250, 251  
 Prasat Kok 606, 249, 251, 252, 253, 260  
 Prasat Kok Po, 251  
 Prasat Kuk Kok. See Prasat Kok 606  
 Prasat Pream Loven. See Go Thap  
 Prasat Snuol, 252, 253  
 Prasat Thom, 216, 250  
 Prasat Tor, 253  
 Prasat Trapeang Run, 200, 244, 247, 248, 249  
 Prasetyo, 277  
*prathameṣṭakā*, 5, 10, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26,  
 32, 33, 47, 48, 49, 58, 59, 71, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79,  
 80, 82, 85, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100,  
 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 108, 116, 117, 118,  
 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 132, 133, 134,  
 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 145, 147,  
 152, 153, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162,  
 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171,  
 172, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194,  
 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 207, 208,  
 214, 216, 218, 219, 226, 232, 233, 235, 236,  
 238, 240, 244, 245, 247, 248, 249, 254, 256,  
 257, 259, 263, 269, 270, 273, 285, 286, 293,  
 301  
 Preah Khan, 216, 297  
 Preah Vihar, 249, 252, 253  
 precious stones, 4, 8, 85, 86, 87, 92, 101, 180, 191,  
 192, 197, 198, 200, 210, 213, 241, 242, 246,  
 248, 249, 253, 257, 258, 259, 262, 283, 300,

301, 302, 317, 322, *See also* gems,  
 semiprecious stones  
 Pucung, 220, 288  
 Puliyankulama, 314, 315  
 Pura Pegulingan, 310  
 Pura Penulisan, 290

## Q

quartz, 205, 241, 245, 246, 248, 255, 258, 272,  
 278, 279, 298, 300, 301, 310, 311

## R

Rangachari, 59, 62, 182  
 Rao, Gopinatha T.A., 11  
 Rao, M.S., 240, 241, 242  
 Rao, S.K., 105, 185  
 Rastelli, 73  
*ratnanyāsa*, 5, 183, 241, 242, 245, 248, 254, 282,  
 289, 291, 294, 295, 296, 312, 314, 315, 316,  
 317, 318, 320, 321, 326  
 Ratu Boko, 213, 275  
 Rauravāgama, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 57, 58, 63,  
 64, 65, 66, 67, 80, 91, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 101,  
 102, 104, 105, 111, 119, 120, 122, 124, 133,  
 137, 138, 146, 175, 182, 193, 231, 242  
 Rea, 180, 218, 219  
 Reiniche, 180, 184  
 relic chamber, 7, 8, 214, 216, 265, 312, 313, 318,  
 319, 325, 326  
 relics, 6, 7, 8, 216, 294, 323  
 reliquary, 6, 8, 245, 265, 323  
 Reynolds, 18, 19  
 Rimbi, 283  
 Rocher, 86, 171  
 Rose, 85, 198  
 Rothermund, 218  
 Rudra, 132, 133, 134, 144, 148, 160  
 Ruelius, 15, 16

## S

Sadāśiva, 63, 64, 123, 132, 133, 134, 143, 144,  
 147, 148, 154, 160  
 Sahagrawa, 216, 292, 293  
 Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra, 15, 16, 141, 163, 165,  
 166, 168, 170, 191, 231, 232  
 Sambisari, 276, 311  
 Sancoyo, 277  
 Santoni, 246, 296  
 Sarawak, 264, 265, 266  
 Sarma, I.K., 195, 239, 240  
 Sarma, Neelakanta, 30  
 Sastri, A. Mahadeva, 179  
 Sastri, Ramaswami V.A., 15, 164

- Satingpra, 211, 245  
 Sawentar, 283  
 Schnitger, 307, 308, 309  
 seeds, 64, 92, 101, 107, 109, 110, 158, 182, 184,  
 198, 209, 210, 212, 217, 255, 261, 262, 273,  
 274, 275, 281, 288, 303, 304, 305, 306, *See also*  
 grain  
 Seguntang Hill, 307  
 Selogriyo, 213, 281, 282  
 semiprecious stones, 156, 192, 194, 203, 209, 210,  
 212, 213, 214, 217, 242, 261, 262, 264, 265,  
 266, 267, 269, 275, 277, 281, 292, 293, 295,  
 296, 298, 299, 306, 310, 319, *See also* gems,  
 precious stones  
 serpent, 264, *See also* snake, *nāga*  
 Shah, Priyabala, 91, 164  
 Shah, Snehal, 164  
 Shukla, 165  
 Siddeswaram, 239  
 Siddhānta Śekhara, 231, 233  
 Siem Reap, 247, 248  
 Sigiriya, 325  
 Śilparatna, 5, 10, 15, 33, 41, 47, 54, 71, 115, 125,  
 139, 163, 164, 166, 167, 170, 175, 186, 190,  
 192, 194, 205, 232, 233, 234, 240, 245, 279  
 Silva, 8, 265, 314, 321  
 silver, 59, 77, 88, 124, 133, 149, 155, 161, 192,  
 195, 198, 199, 201, 202, 203, 207, 210, 213,  
 216, 244, 245, 248, 256, 257, 261, 263, 264,  
 265, 268, 269, 271, 273, 275, 284, 285, 286,  
 288, 290, 292, 294, 295, 302, 304, 306, 310,  
 318, 323  
 Simhapura, 258  
 Singh, 81  
 Singosari, 288  
 Sinhagiri, 312  
 Sirisena, 8  
 Sirmur, 198  
 Śiva, 10, 12, 13, 32, 56, 58, 59, 81, 82, 85, 88, 89,  
 90, 91, 93, 99, 101, 111, 123, 128, 133, 135,  
 138, 154, 155, 156, 168, 169, 183, 187, 202,  
 203, 206, 210, 211, 241, 242, 243, 245, 250,  
 254, 256, 258, 261, 265, 266, 267, 268, 271,  
 274, 275, 280, 282, 288, 291  
 Smith, Daniel, 180, 187, 188  
 Smith, Vincent A., 7  
 snake, 199, 207, 209, 239, 240, 259, 284, 285, 289,  
 292, 293, 303, 313, 317, 318, 319, 323, 324,  
 326, *See also* serpent, *nāga*  
 Soediman, 276, 277  
 Soekmono, 6, 8, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209,  
 213, 220, 268, 270, 271, 273, 274, 275, 276,  
 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 286,  
 287, 288, 289, 290, 303, 304, 305, 306, 310  
 Soenarto, 203, 269, 270  
 Sojiwan, 209, 216, 303  
 Somaśambhupaddhati, 5, 46, 63, 83, 101, 147, 165,  
 168, 171, 183, 184, 187, 191, 198, 203, 211,  
 231, 232, 240, 262, 263, 270, 301  
 Somnath, 219, 242  
 Songgoriti, 288  
 Songkhla, 211, 245  
 Sopara, 216  
 Srah Srang, 300  
 Sri Lanka, 2, 3, 7, 8, 88, 112, 199, 204, 211, 212,  
 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 237, 243,  
 245, 265, 269, 291, 293, 303, 310, 311, 312,  
 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321,  
 322, 323, 324, 325, 326  
 Śrīpraśna Saṃhitā, 80, 86, 175, 192, 231  
 Stargardt, 211, 245  
 Stevenson, 199  
*stūpa*, 124, 197, 214, 215, 216, 265, 292, 293, 294,  
 307, 310, 311, 312, 313, 318, 319, 323, 325,  
 326  
 Stutterheim, 206, 267, 270, 271, 272, 273, 278,  
 282, 285, 286, 288, 289  
 Suan Por Iad, 244, 245  
 Sukhothai, 215, 295  
 Sumatra, 216, 306, 307, 308  
 Sumberjati, 287  
 Sumbemanas, 287  
 Suprabhedāgama, 32, 43, 47, 51, 70, 71, 73, 85, 90,  
 92, 102, 105, 127, 128, 131, 132, 165, 166, 167,  
 168, 169, 175, 177, 181, 182, 183, 186, 190,  
 192, 193, 200, 206, 231, 232, 233, 247, 271,  
 278  
*svastika*, 193, 199, 269, 292, 293, 312, 316, 317,  
 318, 320, 322, 326
- ## T
- Ta Prohm, 216, 296, 297  
 Ta Siem, 300  
 Tamil Nadu, 23, 114, 180, 182, 184, 194, 195, 217,  
 237, 238  
 Tandihet, 308  
 Tanjung Medan, 307  
 Tantrasamuccaya, 5, 15, 106, 163, 164, 166, 167,  
 169, 170, 177, 190, 192, 195, 203, 205, 231,  
 232, 233, 238, 240, 245, 273, 279  
 Tārā, 261, 265  
 Tay Ninh, 260  
 Terrace of the Elephants, 213, 219, 254, 255, 256  
 Thailand, 2, 211, 215, 217, 244, 245, 294, 295, 321  
 Thanh-dien, 213, 260  
 Thap Muoi. *See* Go Thap  
 Thapar, 239, 240  
 thunderbolt, 257, 268, 293, *See also* vajra  
 Tieken, 67  
 Tjahjono, 304, 305  
 Toluville, 321

Topaveva, 318, 319  
 tortoise, 3, 13, 43, 190, 193, 201, 202, 207, 212,  
 214, 216, 217, 245, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259,  
 264, 267, 269, 284, 285, 287, 289, 292, 294,  
 298, 299, 300, 301, 313, 317, 318, 323, *See also*  
 turtle  
 Tra-kieu, 258  
 Treloar, 8, 208, 209, 216, 260, 261, 262, 266, 302  
 trident, 90, 115, 201, 202, 206, 210, 241, 243, 256,  
 259, 261, 262, 277, 292, 293, 312, *See also*  
*triśūla*  
*triśūla*, 90, 115, 225, 243, 293, 307, *See also*  
 trident  
 Trouvé, 200, 201, 246, 247, 249, 253  
 Trung Quan, 216, 301  
 turtle, 207, 210, 212, 220, 261, 262, 268, 284, 288,  
 303, *See also* tortoise

## U

Ulagapuram, 182, 194, 195, 218, 238  
 Unni, 164

## V

*vajra*, 86, 88, 146, 167, 225, 253, 257, 293, 307,  
 308, 310, 317, 318, *See also* thunderbolt  
 Vāmā, 123  
 Varma, K.M., 10, 15, 125, 129, 164  
 Varma, Ravi, 164, 240  
 Varuṇa, 60  
 Vāstuvīdyā, 13, 75, 78, 164, 167, 170, 193, 231,  
 233  
 Vat Athvea, 247  
 Vat Phu, 145, 246, 296  
 Vāyu, 60, 69, 70, 110, 145  
 Vettam Mani, 13, 14  
 Vidyeśvara, 81, 83, 86, 87, 100, 123, 135, 156,  
 157, 160  
 Vietnam, 2, 201, 213, 216, 217, 256, 257, 258,  
 260, 283, 300, 301  
 Vijayanagar, 219  
 Vijayapuri, 195, 238  
 Vijayarama, 214, 313, 314  
 Vijitapura Rajamahavihara, 316, 317

Viṣṇu, 5, 6, 107, 132, 133, 134, 144, 148, 160, 164,  
 169, 175, 177, 178, 179, 183, 186, 193, 202,  
 203, 212, 213, 232, 233, 259, 268, 269, 270,  
 272, 280, 291  
 Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, 5, 163, 164, 165, 168,  
 191, 200, 231, 248  
 Viṣṇu Saṃhitā, 5, 6, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 175,  
 177, 180, 183, 186, 190, 191, 192, 193, 202,  
 232, 233  
 Viśvakarma Vāstusāstra, 14, 163, 164, 165, 166,  
 168, 170, 176, 183, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196,  
 231, 232, 233  
 Viṣvaksena Saṃhitā, 59, 71, 165, 166, 167, 177,  
 186, 187, 190, 231, 232, 233, 234  
 Vo Si Khai, 259, 260  
 Vogler, 282  
 Vries, de, 217

## W

Wahyuni Triasih, 268, 276, 279  
 Wales, 8, 208, 209, 211, 215, 245, 246, 260, 261,  
 262, 263, 264, 294, 302, 303, 319  
 Walker, 13  
 Wendit Lor, 287  
 Wessing, 220, 267  
 West Mebon, 253  
 Williams, Joanna, 281, 282  
 Wilson, 18, 19  
 Winternitz, 164  
 Wisseman Christie, 275

## Y

Yama, 60, 312  
 Yamagata, 258  
 Yogyakarta, 206, 220, 266, 274, 275, 276, 277,  
 283, 290, 304  
*yoni*, 96, 213, 220, 236, 286, 288

## Z

Zetzel, 18, 19

# PLATES



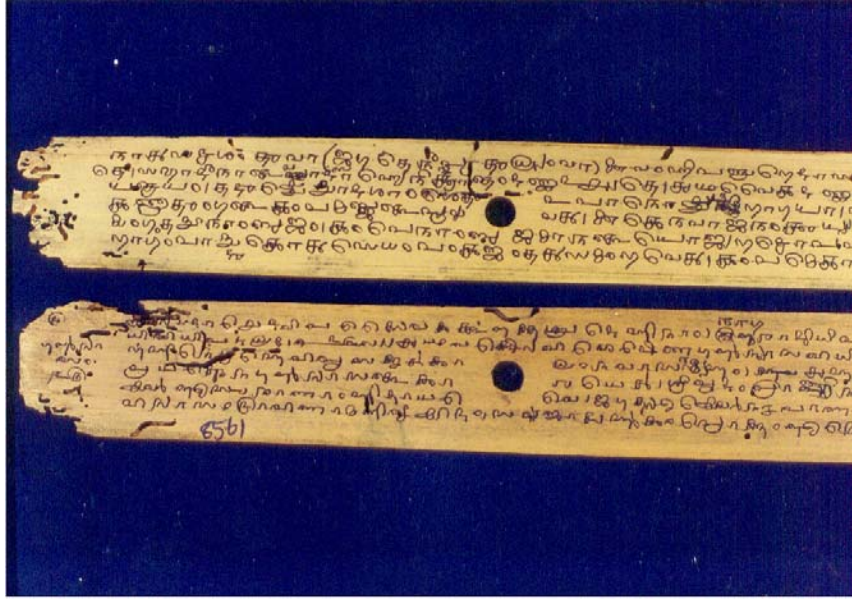


Plate 1. Manuscript 8561 in Grantha script. The *garbhanyāsa* chapter begins on the lower leaf, second row from the top.



Plate 2. Manuscript 16847 in Malayalam script. The *garbhanyāsa* chapter begins in the lowermost row of the lower leaf.



Plate 3. Stone casket discovered in Jolotundo, East Java. Museum Nasional, Jakarta.  
Photograph: courtesy M.J. Klokke.



Plate 4. Deposit stone. Candi Merak, Central Java.  
Photograph: courtesy M.J. Klokke.





Plate 5. Deposit slab. Candi Singosari, East Java.  
Photograph: courtesy M.J. Klokke.

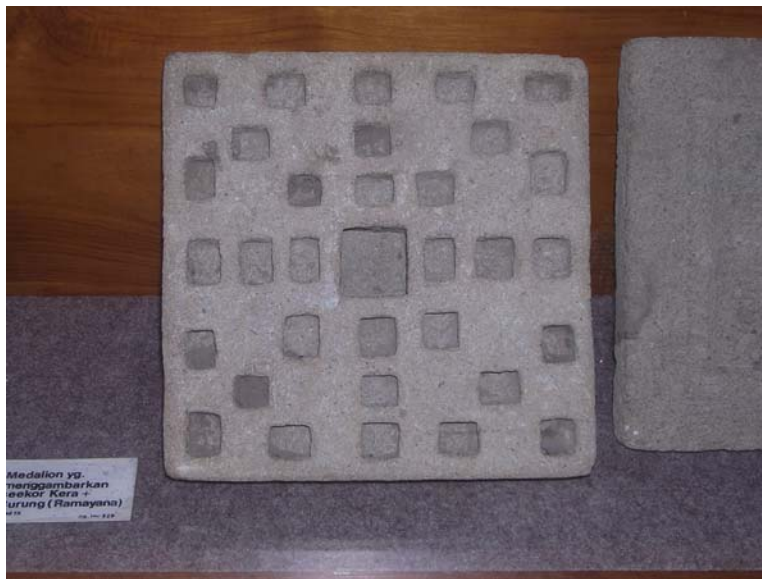


Plate 6. Deposit box with thirty-three cavities. Prambanan Museum.



Plate 7. Superstructure deposit slab from Prasat Kok 606, Neam Rup group, Puok, Cambodia. Dépôt de la conservation d'Angkor, Siem Reap.



Plate 8. Superstructure deposit slab from Prasat Kok 606, Neam Rup group, Puok, Cambodia. Detail.



Plate 9. Consecration deposit casket from Wat Mahathat, Sukhothai, Thailand.  
Ramkhamhaeng National Museum, Sukhothai.



Plate 10. Consecration deposit boxes at Gunung Kawi, Bali.



Plate 11. Deposit receptacle (*yantragala*) discovered at Maligawila, Sri Lanka.  
Photograph: courtesy N. Chutiwongs.



Plate 12. Deposit receptacle (*yantragala*) discovered at Maligawila, Sri Lanka.  
Photograph: courtesy N. Chutiwongs.



Plate 13. Superstructure deposit slab from Prasat Snuol 678, Srok Kralanh, Cambodia. National Museum, Phnom Penh. Photograph: courtesy H. Hinzler.



Plate 14. The superstructure deposit slab from Prasat Snuol 678, Srok Kralanh, Cambodia, detail. Photograph: courtesy H. Hinzler.



Plate 15. The superstructure deposit slab from Prasat Snuol 678, Srok Kralanh, Cambodia, detail. Photograph: courtesy H. Hinzler.

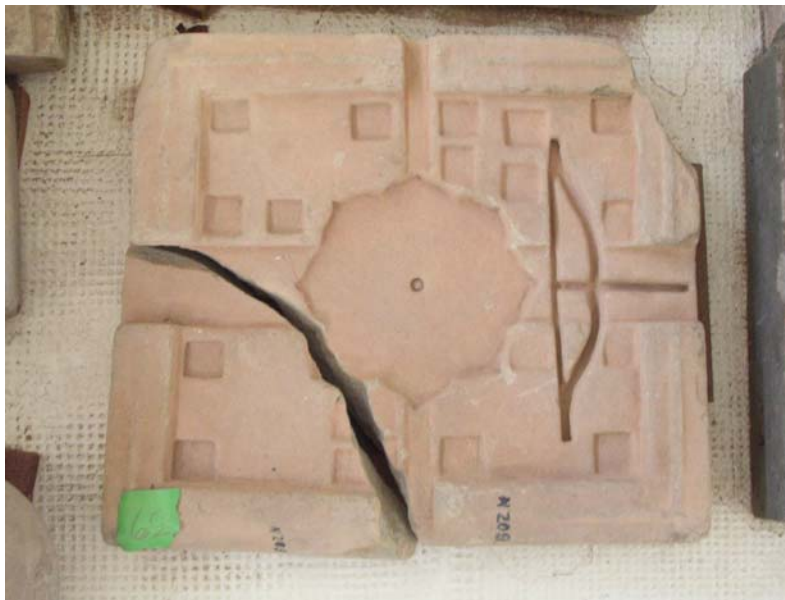


Plate 16. Superstructure deposit slab from Prasat Damrei Krap, Phnom Kulen, Cambodia. Dépôt de la conservation d'Angkor, Siem Reap.



Plate 17. Superstructure deposit slab. Candi Merak, Central Java.  
Photograph: courtesy M.J. Klokke.



Plate 18. Deposit box with nine cavities. Sonobudoyo Museum, Yogyakarta.



Plate 19. Deposit box with seventeen cavities. Borobudur Museum.



Plate 20. Deposit box with seventeen cavities. Prambanan Museum.





Plate 21. Deposit box with seventeen cavities. Prambanan Museum.



Plate 22. One of the stone tortoises discovered in Angkor. Dépôt de la conservation d'Angkor, Siem Reap.



Plate 23. Remains of a pedestal deposit stone at the front of the main staircase of Pre Rup, Angkor, Cambodia.



Plate 24. Pedestal deposit stone. Preah Khan, Angkor, Cambodia.



Plate 25. Pedestal deposit stone. Terrace of the Elephants, Angkor, Cambodia.



Plate 26. Pedestal deposit stone. Bayon, Angkor, Cambodia.



Plate 27. Consecration deposits stones in the Angkor Conservation. The stone with a triangular cavity in the centre was found in Neak Pean, Angkor.



Plate 28. Fragment of a deposit stone. Ta Prohm, Angkor, Cambodia.



Plate 29. Superstructure deposit stone. Ta Som, Angkor, Cambodia.



Plate 30. Fragment of a superstructure deposit stone. Ta Prohm, Angkor, Cambodia.



Plate 31. Gold objects recovered from consecration deposits of Ayuthaya, Thailand.  
National Museum, Bangkok.



Plate 32. Gold objects placed in consecration deposits in contemporary Bali.  
Collection: H. Hinzler.



Plate 33. Consecration deposit receptacle (*yantragala*) placed erroneously above the entrance of the temple. Nalanda geḍigē, Sri Lanka. Photograph: courtesy P.J.J. de Bruijn.



Plate 34. A close-up of the *yantragala* above the entrance to the Nalanda geḍigē. Photograph: courtesy P.J.J. de Bruijn.





## Nederlandse samenvatting

Bouwceremonies nemen bij diverse volkeren en culturen een belangrijke plaats in en behoren bij hun rituele erfgoed. In de hindoe-traditie van het Indiase subcontinent begeleiden zij de constructie van een gebouw of een dorp of een stad vanaf het moment van het selecteren van de bouwgrond tot de voltooiing van de bouw. De vele beschrijvingen van dergelijke rituelen in de Sanskrit-literatuur getuigen van hun grote betekenis voor de bewoners van het Indiase subcontinent. Hoewel er een zeer omvangrijke literatuur over hindoe-tempels bestaat, is tot nu toe weinig over deze hindoe-bouwrituelen geschreven. Met uitzondering van Kramrisch (1946), wier interpretaties aan herziening toe zijn, is er tot nu toe geen systematische poging ondernomen om de hindoe bouwrituelen te beschrijven en te interpreteren.

Het doel van deze dissertatie is het bestuderen van de hindoeïstische bouwrituelen uit de periode tussen de 7<sup>e</sup> en de 15<sup>e</sup> eeuw n.C, in het bijzonder de *prathameṣṭakānyāsa* (de eerste steenlegging), de *garbhanyāsa* (het installeren van een ritueel depot, een ‘consecration deposit’) en de *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa* (de laatste steenlegging). De basis voor het onderzoek wordt gevormd, aan de ene kant, door specialistische Sanskrit-teksten en, aan de andere kant, door archeologisch materiaal. Een van de hoofdvragen is of de rituelen beschreven in de Sanskrit-teksten inderdaad uitgevoerd werden en zo ja, in hoeverre de aanwijzingen van de teksten ook daadwerkelijk werden opgevolgd. Om dit vast te stellen wordt een vergelijking gemaakt tussen de beschrijvingen in de Sanskrit-teksten en de materiele sporen van de bouwrituelen. De belangrijkste tekstuele bron voor deze studie is de *Kāśyapaśilpa*, een ritueel-architectonische verhandeling uit de 11<sup>e</sup>-12<sup>e</sup> eeuw n.C. Het feit dat de *Kāśyapaśilpa* zowel een rituele als architectonische tekst is maakt deze uiterst geschikt als basis voor een onderzoek naar bouwrituelen – de tekst bevat immers zowel gedetailleerde beschrijvingen van het ritueel als van de tempelarchitectuur. Drie hoofdstukken uit deze tekst zijn uitgegeven, vertaald en voorzien van een commentaar. De basis voor de studie van de materiele sporen van deze bouwceremonies wordt voornamelijk gevormd door archeologische rapporten en museum-collecties.

Het proefschrift bestaat uit zeven hoofdstukken. De inleiding legt de achtergronden voor deze studie uit en bespreekt de terminologie. Speciale aandacht wordt besteed aan het verschil tussen de termen ‘relic deposit’ en ‘consecration deposit’. In veel publicaties wordt er geen onderscheid gemaakt tussen deze categorieën. De ‘consecration deposits’, zoals beschreven door de rituele en architectonische Sanskrit-teksten, worden in diverse publicaties relieken genoemd wat tot verwarring leidt. In de tweede deel van de inleiding wordt het onderscheid tussen deze twee termen toegelicht.

Hoofdstuk twee bevat de discussie over het genre, de auteur en de datum van de Kāśyapaśilpa. Door de studie van verschillende tot nu toe niet gepubliceerde manuscripten van de tekst kon vastgesteld worden dat de Kāśyapaśilpa, tegen de gebruikelijke opvattingen in, niet het architectuurgedeelte van de rituele tekst Aṃśumattantra is, maar een op zichzelf staande verhandeling. De tekst behoort tot de Zuid-Indiase Śaiva Siddhānta traditie en is waarschijnlijk in de 11<sup>e</sup> of de 12<sup>e</sup> eeuw n.C ontstaan.

In hoofdstuk drie wordt de methodologie, gebruikt voor het maken van de huidige editie van de drie rituele hoofdstukken uit de Kāśyapaśilpa, besproken. Het hoofdstuk begint met een korte beschrijving van de twee eerdere (niet kritische) edities van de tekst. Deze wordt gevolgd door een overzicht van de bronnen gebruikt in de hier gepresenteerde editie. Deze bronnen bestaan voornamelijk uit tot nu toe niet gepubliceerde palmbiad-manuscripten in het bezit van bibliotheken en privécollecties in Zuid-India. Ze zijn geschreven in diverse Zuid-Indiase schriften zoals Grantha, Malayalam en Kannaḍa. Het bleek dat veel van deze palmbiad-manuscripten een minder corrupte tekst weergeven dan de manuscripten die voor de eerdere edities van de Kāśyapaśilpa gebruikt werden. Dankzij deze nieuwe bronnen konden veel onduidelijkheden in de tekst van de Kāśyapaśilpa opgelost worden. De laatste twee secties van hoofdstuk drie bevatten een overzicht van de grammaticale eigenaardigheden in de Kāśyapaśilpa, met name van de ongebruikelijke grammaticale vormen en fouten die in de manuscripten voorkomen. Een lijst van technische (architectonische en rituele) termen uit de Kāśyapaśilpa voorzover ze niet in de standaard Sanskrit-woordenboeken zijn opgenomen, is gegeven in Appendix III.

De editie van de drie hoofdstukken uit de Kāśyapaśilpa die de eerder genoemde bouwrituelen (*prathameṣṭakānyāsa*, *garbhanyāsa* en *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa*) beschrijven is opgenomen in hoofdstuk vier. Voor de editie zijn negen palmbiad-manuscripten, zes transcripten van manuscripten en de twee eerdere edities gebruikt. De editie is voorzien van een vertaling en een commentaar. Het laatste gedeelte van hoofdstuk vier bevat een korte samenvatting van de drie rituelen gevolgd door de analyse van hun structuur. Het blijkt dat bij de uitvoering van deze drie rituelen steeds hetzelfde schema wordt gevolgd. *Prathameṣṭakānyāsa*, *garbhanyāsa* en *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa* bestaan uit een reeks van identieke ceremonies, een soort ‘rituele blokken’.

In hoofdstuk vijf worden de drie uitgegeven en vertaalde hoofdstukken uit de Kāśyapaśilpa in een brede literaire context geplaatst en vergeleken met soortgelijke hoofdstukken en passages in andere rituele en architectonische Sanskrit-teksten. Sommige van deze teksten zijn niet uitgegeven en bestaan alleen in manuscriptvorm; op enkele uitzonderingen na zijn ze niet vertaald. Het hoofdstuk begint met een overzicht van de Sanskrit-teksten die bouwrituelen beschrijven (voor de lijst van

teksten die de *prathameṣṭakā*, *garbhanyāsa* en *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa* beschrijven samen met desbetreffende hoofdstuk- en versnummers zie Appendix II). Uit dit overzicht blijkt dat de *prathameṣṭakānyāsa*, *garbhanyāsa* en *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa* al omstreeks de 7<sup>e</sup> eeuw n.C bekend waren. Zij worden genoemd in verhandelingen die tot diverse religieuze stromingen behoren, zowel Śaiva als Vaiṣṇava. Bovendien, blijkt uit het onderzoek dat deze drie rituelen in het Zuiden van India een grotere rol gespeeld hebben dan in het Noorden. De teksten die de beschrijvingen van deze rituelen bevatten zijn, op een paar uitzonderingen na, Zuid-Indiaas. Van de *prathameṣṭakānyāsa*, *garbhanyāsa* en *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa* genoot de *prathameṣṭakānyāsa* de grootste populariteit – het desbetreffende ritueel wordt in een aantal Noord-Indiase teksten genoemd en in alle Zuid-Indiase teksten. De *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa*, daarentegen, wordt uitsluitend beschreven in de teksten die in het zuidoosten van het Indiase subcontinent zijn ontstaan.

De vergelijking met andere Sanskrit-teksten ondersteunt ook de identificatie van de Kāśyapaśilpa als een Zuid-Indiase Śaiva-tekst uit de Śaiva Siddhānta traditie.

Hoofdstuk zes gaat in op de functie en betekenis van de *prathameṣṭakānyāsa*, *garbhanyāsa* en *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa* op basis van de teksten. De hoofdfunctie van alle drie de rituelen is, volgens de teksten, het brengen van geluk en voorspoed niet alleen voor het gebouw zelf maar vooral ook voor de uitvoerders van het ritueel en voor de gehele gemeenschap. Onder deze drie rituelen lijkt de *garbhanyāsa* het belangrijkste te worden gevonden. In de teksten wordt herhaaldelijk gezegd dat het nalaten van het uitvoeren van dit ritueel onheil brengt, terwijl een dergelijke waarschuwing nooit of zelden wordt gegeven in verband met de twee andere rituelen. De term *garbhanyāsa* betekent letterlijk ‘het plaatsen [*nyāsa*] van het embryo [*garbha*]’ en een associatie met een menselijk embryo wordt inderdaad door sommige teksten expliciet gelegd. De Kāśyapaśilpa zelf beweert dat het ‘embryo’ - het ‘consecration deposit’ geïnstalleerd tijdens de *garbhanyāsa* ceremonie - de levensadem (*prāṇa*) is van het gebouw onder constructie. In veel andere teksten wordt het consecration deposit met de aarde als levengevend principe geassocieerd. In het hoofdstuk wordt ook de locatie van het ‘consecration deposit’ en de symboliek van deze locatie besproken.

Hoofdstuk zeven behandelt de relatie tussen de tekstuele gegevens en de praktijk door de beschrijvingen van de *prathameṣṭakānyāsa*, *garbhanyāsa* en *mūrdheṣṭakānyāsa* in de Sanskrit teksten en de archeologische vondsten die met bouwrituelen te maken hebben met elkaar te vergelijken. Uit deze vergelijking blijkt dat veel archeologische vondsten goed in de tekstuele beschrijvingen passen. Men kan daarom constateren dat de rituelen genoemd in de architectonische en rituele Sanskrit teksten inderdaad uitgevoerd werden. Teksten zoals de Kāśyapaśilpa waren dus geen theoretische verhandelingen maar echte leerboeken, die door architecten en priesters werden geraadpleegd. Bovendien laat de studie naar de archeologische

sporen van bouwrituelen zien dat de ideeën en aanwijzingen uit de Indiase architectonische en rituele teksten niet alleen in de regio's waar deze zijn ontstaan bekend waren, dat wil zeggen op het Indiase subcontinent, maar ook ver daarbuiten. Er blijkt een niet gering aantal archeologische vondsten te bestaan, afkomstig uit andere delen van Zuid- en uit Zuidoost Azië, die grote overeenkomsten met de beschrijvingen in de Indiase Sanskrit-teksten vertonen. De meeste overeenkomsten komen voor bij de vondsten uit Indonesië (Java en Bali), Maleisië (Kedah), Vietnam (Po Nagar), Cambodia (Angkor) en Sri Lanka. Het geringe aantal archeologische sporen van 'consecration deposits' in India zelf wekt enige verbazing, maar kan niet betekenen dat deze rituelen niet werden uitgevoerd. De discussie over de mogelijke oorzaken hiervan wordt gevoerd in de laatste sectie van hoofdstuk zeven. Het is intrigerend dat archeologisch materiaal dat goed in de beschrijvingen van de hindoeïstische teksten past even vaak uit boeddhistische als uit hindoeïstische monumenten afkomstig is. Dit suggereert dat deze rituelen een gemeenschappelijk element vormen in deze twee godsdiensten. Vrijwel identieke hindoeïstische en boeddhistische sporen van 'consecration deposits' worden bovendien meestal in een en dezelfde regio aangetroffen. Het is blijkbaar vooral de regio die invloed heeft op de vorm en inhoud van de 'consecration deposits' en niet de religieuze traditie. Een volledige catalogus van materiële sporen van bouwrituelen, zowel hindoeïstische als boeddhistische, uit Zuid en Zuidoost Azië is te vinden in Appendix IV.

## Curriculum Vitae

Anna Aleksandra Ślaczka was born on 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1970 in Katowice, Poland. She studied at the Department of Languages and Cultures of South and Central Asia of Leiden University, where she was awarded an MA in Indology in May 1999 (*cum laude*). From May to June 1999 she worked as an assistant for the South and Southeast Asian Art and Archaeology Index Project (ABIA) of the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden. From July to September 1999 she worked as a junior librarian at the Kern Institute Library of Leiden University. In October 1999 she received the post of a research assistant (AiO) at the Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies (CNWS) in Leiden. In spring 2000 and 2001 she conducted fieldwork on Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts at the French Institute of Indology and the École Française d'Extrême Orient in Pondicherry, India. From September 2000 to February 2002 and from October 2004 to March 2005 she taught a first year course of Sanskrit at the India Institute at Amsterdam.