

# Tantroid Phenomena in Early Indic Literature: An Essay in Honor of Jim Sanford

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IN MAKING USE OF THE TERM *tantroid* I feel that I owe a debt to those who have used it before me, and I want to highlight those instances of which I am aware for historical purposes. In an October 1992 newsletter from Glen Hayes to members of the Society for Tantric Studies there is a request that they consider whether tantroid phenomena can be explored outside Hindu and Buddhist traditions.<sup>1</sup> Coinage of the term may be attributable to Jim Sanford; he presented a paper at a Society for Tantric Studies conference in Flagstaff a few years later on tantroid phenomena in Daoism. The term *tantroid* is also used in a 1994 article by Fabio Rambelli in reference to some Pure Land movements in Japan.<sup>2</sup> My comments in this essay are not inspired by the use of the term *tantroid* as the title of one track on the CD by the techno band Eat Static.

I will take three variables as distinctively tantric, and therefore indicative of phenomena I want to label as *tantroid*—suggestive of tantric ideas and practices even if the sects and texts clearly claiming such a label were as yet not in existence.

(1) *fierce goddesses*

- Kālī in her skull-bearing form
- the Seven Mothers (*mātrkā*)

(2) *transgressive sacrality*

- defying conventional behavioral norms for a religious purpose
- drawing power from manipulation of impurity

(3) *identification with one's deity*

- possession by the deity
- emulation of the iconic appearance of the deity

This paper, then, raises questions about the definition of “tantra” and what would merit consideration as “tantric.” To the extent that any

of the evidence adduced can be dated—always highly problematic in India—we may be able to draw some conclusions about the rise of tantric traditions.

Other efforts have been made to define the term *tantra* or *tantrism* with explicit reference to actual texts and movements using the term *tantra*. For example, Douglas Renfrew Brooks in his *The Secret of the Three Cities* approaches the problem of classifying tantric phenomena polythetically, listing ten characteristics typical of *tantra*.<sup>3</sup> David Gordon White in his *Tantra in Practice* provides a short “working definition of Tantra” that emphasizes the appropriation of divine energy.<sup>4</sup> The effort in this paper is different in seeking precursors to *tantra*, phenomena prior to the appearance of texts and movements using the label *tantra*.

#### KĀVYA POETRY AND DRAMA

As my first example I cite Kālidāsa, India’s greatest playwright and poet. His name tells us that he was a “servant of Kālī” but we have very little information about his actual life apart from the poetic works that bear his name.<sup>5</sup> It seems likely that he lived in the Gupta Empire when it was stable and prosperous, at the height of its power, about 400–450 CE (shortly after which the empire collapsed). Some legends attribute his poetic skill to a radical transformation in which an illiterate but devout peasant became a poet through the grace of Kālī.<sup>6</sup>

Each of his three dramas is dedicated to Śiva as indicated by the introductory benedictions, and Kālī does not figure in any. I would like, however, to refer to two of his less well-known works. In “Meghadūta” the narrator instructs his cloud-messenger to approach the city of Ujjaiyini as a pilgrim to the great temple of Śiva Mahākāla: “You should journey to the holy shrine of the guru of the triple world, Caṇḍeśvara (Lord of the Fierce Goddess), where Śiva’s troop (*gaṇa*) will greet you...” (verse 33). Even more interesting is his poem “Kumārasaṃbhava” in chapter 7 of which Śiva marries Pārvatī. The god approaches the ceremony accompanied by his *gaṇa* and the Seven Mothers (*mātrkā*), who figure prominently in many tantric movements. The text continues: “Behind them gleamed Kālī, adorned with skulls (*kapāla*), like a mass of dark blue clouds bringing flocks of cranes, hurling lightning flashes far ahead.” This verbal iconography of the fierce goddess, and the pairing

of her with Śiva as her lord, suggest a developed theology that I would like to call *tantrōid*.

Roughly contemporary with Kālidāsa was the playwright Śūdraka, author of the drama *Mr̥cchakaṭika* (The Little Clay Cart).<sup>7</sup> The hero is Cārudatta, a brahmin merchant who has become impoverished through his own generosity. In an effort to procure divine favor, he asks his friend, the brahmin Maitreya (who is the *vidūṣaka* character in this drama, the comic brahmin “sidekick” of the drama’s hero), to go offer a sacrifice on his behalf to the Mothers (*mātr̥ka*) at the crossroads. Maitreya protests that these offerings have done Cārudatta no good, and that perhaps Maitreya is performing the rituals incorrectly, and anyway there are dangerous people on the roads at night, so he’s not leaving his friend (act 1). Cārudatta seems to be concerned that the Mothers have it in for him.

This drama was apparently based on an incomplete drama entitled *Cārudatta* that is, by some, attributed to Bhāsa.<sup>8</sup> We have only four acts of this drama, and again our hero asks his friend Maitreya to go make offerings to the Mothers at the crossroads. Maitreya begs off with similar excuses, but is sent off with a maidservant Radanikā to protect him. Again we do not find out what might have transpired had the offerings actually been made, and Cārudatta gets into a lot of trouble. Bhāsa was named by Kālidāsa as a past master, one of his predecessors (Prologue, “Mālavikā and Agnimitra”).

Another form of *kāvya* merits our special attention because it can be even more reliably dated, namely, royal inscriptions. India has a large number of such inscriptions. Surely one of the most interesting is the stone inscription of a local ruler named Viśvavarman in eastern Rajasthan, dated 423–424 CE:

For the sake of religious merit, the king’s minister had them construct this terrifying home of the Mothers, filled with female demons (*ḍākinī*). . . . These Mothers impel the great booming of the rain clouds and rouse the ocean with the mighty wind that arises from the *tāntras*.<sup>9</sup>

This part of the inscription’s meaning hinges on the word *tāntras*; presuming that Fleet has read the inscription correctly, the first vowel in that word is long. Were we to take this as referring to written works, it would suggest a tantric canon in 423, much earlier than is usually thought, which would be most exciting. David Lorenzen, in what

I think is an overabundance of enthusiasm, takes it to mean texts.<sup>10</sup> To me, it makes a lot more sense to take it in the usual meaning for *tāntra*, namely, stringed instrument. Thus, we get the climatic effects mentioned in the inscription being caused by music (accompanied by booming clouds), not by “magic rites” (Fleet) nor by tantric texts (Lorenzen). There is little ambiguity about *ḍākinī*, though, and the fact that the fierce Mothers are attended by a batch of fierce female figures of power in the setting of a temple suggests to me a tantroid theology embodied in a tradition of tantroid practices in the early fifth century. That this receives royal support makes it all the more interesting! Fleet himself casually mentions the fact that this “inscription belongs partly to the Vaishṇava, and partly to the Śākta or Tāntrika form of religion,” but does not see fit to comment further.<sup>11</sup> To me, this inscription deserves more attention.

#### HINDU LITERATURE: THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

The origin of Kumāra receives extended treatment in the *Mahābhārata*, perhaps the source for Kālidāsa.<sup>12</sup> The account of the birth of Kumāra Skanda (MBh 3.207–221) includes a great deal of information about the Seven Mothers, their proclivity for eating children, and so on. There is reference to the divine Śakti emanating from Kumāra Skanda. Finally, the account ends with an attack on the party of the gods by a demon horde led by Mahiṣa Asura. In this account, only Kumāra Skanda can defeat the demon, and while the demon army was devoured by his father’s *gaṇa*, who gulped down their blood, Skanda killed Mahiṣa with his spear (MBh 3.221). In the *Mahābhārata* account, then, Skanda comes into being, is surrounded by the fierce goddesses, and performs the quintessential act attributed later to Devī, namely, killing the demon Mahiṣa Asura (see also MBh 8.5.55–58).

Another segment of the *Mahābhārata* seems to me particularly rich in tantroid imagery. In the *Sauptika Parvan* (MBh 10), the brahmin warrior Aśvatthāman seeks revenge, so he goes to attack the camp of his sleeping enemies and encounters there a fierce being who is the camp’s protector: “draped in a tiger-skin soaked in blood, with a snake as its sacred thread . . .” (MBh 10.6.4). Flames emanated from his body in all directions, and from those flames arose innumerable Hṛṣīkeśa figures (the fierce form of Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa). Aśvatthāman’s reaction is to attack this being (who is unidentified in the text but seems to be

Bhairava). The attack is unsuccessful, and then he places himself under the protection of Mahādeva, “the skull-garlanded Rudra . . . the trident-bearing mountain god” (MBh 10.6.32–34). Aśvatthāman worships Śiva, and is possessed by his deity:

Lord Śiva gave the warrior a perfect sword and entered his body. Then, being possessed by God, Aśvatthāman blazed with divine energy, and by that fiery, God-created power he was transformed into combat incarnate. (MBh 10.7.64–65)

The iconographic form of Śiva is described, and includes the phrases “wild inhabitant of the cremation ground” and “the one who brandishes the skull-topped pole” (10.7.5). His *gaṇa*, armed and dangerous, is described in detail (10.7.15–44), and toward the end of the description we find “those who consume blood, marrow, and other remains, and who feast on flesh and entrails” (10.7.36). More tantroïd, though, are these followers of Śiva:

Forever fearless, those slaves to Hara’s frowns, behaving as they pleased, attainers of their ends, the lords of the Lord of the Triple World are perpetually immersed in sensual pleasures, yet untouched by passion. (10.7.39–40)

The account of the *gaṇa* ends with what I take to be an indication of their diversity: some are tantric while others are Vedic. “Some are fierce, constant consumers of the blood and marrow of the impious; and there are others always drinking *soma* to the ritual chant in 24 parts” (10.7.43).

To return to Aśvatthāman now, the text tells us that he looks like the very person of Śiva (10.7.66), destroying his victims like Paśupati (10.8.122), roaring like Bhairava (10.8.68). In the camp of his enemies there is confusion: is he human or *rākṣasa* (10.8.30, 34, 43, 116, 119)? He uses the Rudra weapon in his irresistible attack (10.8.31). Another passage (7.172.82) even attributes the birth of Aśvatthāman to Śiva. And at the height of the massacre, the Dark Goddess appeared:

Then there appeared before them a chanting, black-skinned woman, the night of all-destroying time (*kālarātri*), whose mouth and eyes were the color of blood, whose garlands and unguents were just as red, who wore a single blood-dyed garment, and held in her hand a noose. (MBh 10.8.64)

This nightmare vision of a sacrifice out of control, its violence terminated only by the exhaustion of the supply of oblations, is a representation of Aśvatthāman transgressing the bounds of warrior ethics and brahmanical behavior. And yet it is also sanctioned and presided over by Śiva; the text explicitly states that Aśvatthāman's actions were based on the paradigm of Śiva's assault on Dakṣa's sacrifice, which it recounts in two chapters (10.17–18).

This section of the *Mahābhārata* is integral to the text and its narrative, so there is little reason to consider it a late addition to the text. It is one of the climactic moments of the epic, and features a brahmin anti-hero who worships and is possessed by his fierce deity Śiva, whose appearance and paradigmatic behavior he then emulates. In his massacre of his fellow-warriors at midnight, he violates every norm of conventional warrior ethics. And the text includes the appearance of a fierce goddess as his assistant—or is he hers? This passage, then, contains in a powerful narrative context all three of my variables for tantroid phenomena, namely, (1) a fierce goddess, (2) transgressive sacrality, and (3) identification with one's deity. I just wish that we could confidently date the *Mahābhārata*.

## BUDDHIST SOURCES

### 1. *Buddhacarita*

*Buddhacarita* (~ 100 CE) by Aśvaghoṣa has a very interesting verse in the chapter in which Siddhārtha overcomes Māra.<sup>13</sup> Following upon efforts to frighten the meditator with an army of freakish ghouls, and just before the divine voice from the sky announces the hopelessness of Māra's campaign, we have the following verse (13.49):

But a woman, black as a cloud, with a skull in her hand and the intention of deluding the great seer's mind, roamed about there without restraint and did not remain still, like the intelligence of an indecisive man wandering uncertainly among the various sacred traditions.

Multiplicity of meanings being the stock in trade of poets, I suggest that for this text's audience the term *meghakālī* would have been taken as a proper name (Cloud-Kālī) as well as a phrase meaning "black as a cloud." She has a skull (*kapāla*) in her hand, and was endeavoring to delude

the future Buddha—notice, not scare him—to intoxicate (*mohanā*) him by means of her movement, which was “without restraint.” Was she dancing naked before him? Perhaps some additional light can be shed on the dark woman bothering the future Buddha by seeking her in the Pāli canon.

## 2. Pāli Canon

The Pāli canon began to be produced in the time of the Buddha, and was apparently written in its entirety for the first time in the first century BCE, though some texts may have been in writing even earlier.<sup>14</sup> The canonical literature reports that the great saint Mahā-Moggallāna also had a close encounter with Māra.<sup>15</sup> One day he felt particularly bloated and thought his belly felt so heavy that it was as if he was full of beans. Through mindful attention he determined that in fact Māra had entered his belly and bowels and the saint called on Māra to remove himself. In the ensuing discussion the saint makes the following startling revelation: “It happened once that I was a Māra named Dūsī (the Corrupter/Disrupter), and I had a sister named Kālī. You were her son, so you were my nephew” (MN 50.8).

In addition to my delight in knowing that being possessed by Māra feels like the onset of flatulence, I want to highlight the point that this story is a micro-*jātaka* tale about a former lifetime of a Buddhist saint, told to assert authority by the saint over the Māra of his day by invoking his former filial relationship. Moreover, it tells us that Māra had a sister named Kālī in that former lifetime. Probably it behooves us to think that Aśvaghōṣa knew his canonical literature, so that he knew of Māra and Kālī as troublesome siblings when he composed the *Buddhacarita*.

A feature of Buddhist practice that we see in the Pāli canon, one we usually do not think of as tantric but that I want to consider as possibly tantric, is the cremation ground meditations. Early Buddhist canonical literature, such as *Majjhima-nikāya* 10, “The Foundations of Mindfulness” (*Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*), describes a meditative practice of visualizing a corpse in nine stages of decay (sections 10–30). To me, it seems likely that monks and nuns actually went to the cremation ground for such practice, at least sometimes. The purpose was to have an experiential realization of impermanence, and to be transformed thereby. Being in such close proximity to impurity would have been

transgressive from the perspective of society as a whole, and the religious purpose of such behavior is evident. Would we go too far by saying that the meditator was “drawing power from manipulation of impurity” by doing this? Even the act of eating together without regard for caste, as Buddhists did, might similarly be so regarded.

One more segment of the Pāli canon merits consideration as tantroid. *Āṅgulimāla*, the murderous thug who became a monk, provides an interesting example to consider. His name comes from his practice of taking one finger from each of the people he murdered on the highway and wearing them as a necklace. There are two sources on him, *Majjhima-nikāya* 86 and *Theragāthā*,<sup>16</sup> and they have some defects in the meter of a couple of key lines in *Āṅgulimāla*’s description of himself. The metrical problems compel us to think creatively about what the text is saying, and I accept the emendation of the text proposed by Gombrich.<sup>17</sup> As he rightly points out, the usual translations of the lines (MN 86.6) have *Āṅgulimāla* describing the Buddha (*mahesi* = *maharṣi* and *samaṇo* = *śramaṇa*) as having come to the forest for the thug’s sake, and that the thug has honored him after a long time. Such a translation, however, makes little sense, as we have no reason to think that the thug has been awaiting the Buddha. Moreover, such a translation does violence to the meaning of *cirassaṃ*, which means “for a long time,” not “after a long time.” Gombrich proposes, based partly on the two commentaries and a Burmese version, to emend the text as follows: changing *mahesi* to *maheso* (Maheśa, Śiva), and changing *cirassaṃ vata* to *ciraṃ vatā*—so that the thug was for a long time honoring Śiva in the forest due to a vow (i.e., as a way of life) when the Buddha came along. This revision has much to commend it, as it restores metrical as well as narrative coherence to an otherwise defective and puzzling text. The accounts we have about *Āṅgulimāla* have always been puzzling: he is described as a bandit but his actions consist of killing people without reference to robbing them—except of their fingers. And presumably the striking feature of wearing a garland of fingers must have made sense to the original audience of the Pāli canon as something that some people might do. Gombrich’s conclusion that “*Āṅgulimāla* is revealed as a proto-Śaiva/Śākta”<sup>18</sup> is provocative, but there is no denying the elegance of the solution made possible by his emendation of the defective text. And for my purposes, this passage with its focus on a “proto-Śaiva/Śākta” converting to the Buddha’s path is tantroid. After all, it is a story that features transgressive sacrality, some measure

perhaps of identification with the chosen deity, and maybe a finger (or a whole necklace of fingers) pointing toward Kālī.

### VEDIC LITERATURE

One does not usually think of searching in Vedic literature for tantra, but we are instead looking for tantroïd phenomena, and one phenomenon merits consideration. A group that has been the object of scholarly interest and disagreement is the Vrātya. By various scholars the Vrātya have been regarded as Āryan or non-Āryan, members of the Vedic religious tradition or not, forerunners of the Śaivite ascetics or ecstatic mystics who were precursors of *yogins*. The main sources of our information on the Vrātya in Vedic literature are the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (2.222) and *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (17.1–4).<sup>19</sup> From these sources we learn that the Vrātya are understood to have reached the gods in heaven by means of the Vrātyastoma rite. To obtain the cattle for this sacrifice, the Vrātya raided their enemies or rivals and rustled the cattle. Another Vedic text, *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (18.26),<sup>20</sup> mentions that sons of Kuru brahmins set out on a Vrātya expedition against the neighboring Pañcāla, and when asked their identity they replied that they were the Maruts (sons of Rudra who accompany Indra on his martial exploits as a warrior band). They rustled cattle to perform their distinctive ritual practice, a sixty-one-day animal sacrifice known as the Vrātyastoma that would provide them religious transcendence. At the center of it was the Mahāvraata rite, which entailed the drinking of alcohol, dancing, and music, especially singing, and an obscene and reviling dialogue between a man and woman whose ritual copulation was the rite's climax, so to speak. The woman is described as a *pumścalī*, a prostitute. In the tradition of the Vrātya as known in Vedic literature, then, we find brahmins stealing the cattle of others for their own religious benefit. That they were defying conventional behavioral norms seems evident from the later tradition's attitude toward the Vrātya: they were understood as non-Āryan by Manu (2.39), for example.<sup>21</sup> That the Vrātya would tell others that they were the Maruts suggests a desire for or assumption of identity with deities—perhaps we should say the use of an assumed divine identity to further their religious and acquisitive aims.

To take it a step farther, did they regard themselves as identifying with Rudra himself in the Mahāvraata rite and their other actions? Such

identification seems to be suggested by book fifteen of the *Atharva Veda*, where the Vrātya is praised as god-like.<sup>22</sup> This work introduces the figure Ekavrātya who seems to be the divine paradigm for the human Vrātya. The *Atharva Veda* also presents the Vrātya as a (proto-) yogin whose breathing exercises identify him with elements of the cosmos (earth, atmosphere, seasons, etc.), divinizing this practitioner. The text uses the term *tapas* (AV 15.1.3) and refers to the Vrātya's ascetic performance of standing for a year, resulting in the gods granting him a boon (AV 15.3). It is not clear to me precisely how the breathing exercises that make the Vrātya one with the cosmos relate to the Vrātyastoma ritual that bring the Vrātya to heaven or to oneness with the gods. Nevertheless, I think that the Vrātya were emulating the iconic appearance and paradigmatic deeds of the gods, and perhaps especially Rudra. To me it seems that we have here an interesting case of a Vedic phenomenon that is strikingly tantroid.

I hope that these examples of tantroid elements from Vedic literature, early Buddhist canonical literature, the *Mahābhārata*, and *kāvya* poetry, drama, and inscriptions, taken together, suggest the possibility that the complex of tantric ideas and practices may have a longer history in India than is usually described. And it is a pleasure to thank Jim Sanford for starting me down the path of thinking about tantroid phenomena.

## NOTES

1. Glen Hayes, "Future Indicative: Plans for Fall 1993, Call for Proposals," *STS News*, no. 8 (October 1992), [http://www.ibiblio.org/pub/academic/religious\\_studies/Buddhism/Tantric\\_Studies/Newsletter/news%23892](http://www.ibiblio.org/pub/academic/religious_studies/Buddhism/Tantric_Studies/Newsletter/news%23892).
2. Fabio Rambelli, "True Words, Silence, and the Adamantine Dance," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21, no. 4 (1994): 373–405; 376 n. 9.
3. Douglas Renfrew Brooks, *The Secret of the Three Cities: An Introduction to Hindu Śākta Tantrism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 52–72.
4. "Tantra is that Asian body of beliefs and practices which, working from the principle that the universe we experience is nothing other than the concrete manifestation of the divine energy of the godhead that creates and maintains that universe, seeks to ritually appropriate and channel that energy, within the human microcosm, in creative and emancipatory ways." David Gordon White, ed., *Tantra in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 9.
5. The complete works of Kālidāsa can be found in Dvivedī Revāprasāda, ed., *Kālidāsa-granthāvalī* (Varanasi: Banaras Hindu University, 1976).
6. See Barbara Stoler Miller, ed., *Theater of Memory: The Plays of Kālidāsa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 3–5.
7. Mahāprabhulaha Goswami and others, eds., *Mṛcchakaṭikam* (Benares: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1954).
8. The play can be found in K. P. A. Menon, ed. and trans., *Complete Plays of Bhāsa*, 3 vols. (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1996). Controversy over the authorship of all the plays in this collection has been extensive, and many scholars no longer attribute any of them to Bhāsa. The plays' texts do not contain the name of any author, an unusual feature for Sanskrit dramas.
9. The complete inscription and a translation can be found in John Faithful Fleet, ed. and trans., *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*, 2nd ed. (Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1963; original ed. Calcutta: Superintendent of Govt. Printing, 1888), 72–78. The quoted segment is my translation from Fleet's Sanskrit text of the inscription, lines 35–37. I disagree with his translation of *tāntra* as "magic rites of their religion," as I discussed. I also do not agree with his translation of *ḍākinī* as "female ghoul"—I prefer "female demon."
10. David Lorenzen (pp. 29–30) translates and discusses this inscription, reluctantly leaving open the question whether the word *tantra* refers to tantric texts, but has missed the point that that inscription says "*tāntra*." See David Lorenzen, "Early Evidence for Tantric Religion," in *The Roots of Tantra*, ed. K. A. Harper and R. L. Brown (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 25–36.

11. Fleet, *Early Gupta Kings*, 74.
12. V. S. Sukthankar and others, eds., *The Mahābhārata, Critically Edited for the First Time*, 19 vols. (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933–1959).
13. E. H. Johnston, ed. and trans., *Aśvaghōṣa's Buddhacarita, or Acts of the Buddha* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1995; original ed. in 2 vols., Lahore: Motilal Banarsidass, 1936).
14. See, for example, K. R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, vol. 7.2, *A History of Indian Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), 5–6. See also Richard Robinson, Willard Johnson, and Thanissaro Bhikkhu, *Buddhist Religions: A Historical Introduction*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2005), 46.
15. V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers, eds., *Majjhima-nikāya*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1991–94; original ed. 1888–1925). The passage is in *Majjhima Nikāya* 50.
16. H. Oldenberg, ed., *Theragāthā* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1966; original ed. 1883).
17. Richard F. Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began* (London: Athlone Press, 1996).
18. Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began*, 151.
19. W. Caland, ed. and trans., *Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl: Text, Übersetzung, Indices* (Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1919), and W. Caland, ed. and trans., *Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa: The Brāhmaṇa of Twenty-five Chapters* (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1982; original ed. 1931).
20. W. Caland, ed., *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtram: The Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra Belonging to the Taittirīya saṃhitā*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1982; original ed. in 3 vols., Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1904–1924).
21. J. H. Dave, ed., *Manu Smṛti*, 6 vols. (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1972–1984).
22. W. D. Whitney, ed. and trans., *Atharva Veda Saṃhitā*, 2 vols. (Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1987; original ed., Cambridge: Harvard University, 1905).