

images of Rāma and Sītā incorporated into other painted manuscripts such as the *Balagopālastuti* and the *Mahābhārata*.

Sardar's essay on *Rāgamālā* paintings begins with a brief history of music treatises that predate the oldest surviving *Rāgamālā* imagery. Sardar explains that *rāgas* (musical modes) are each associated with particular *rasas* (emotions), times of day, and seasons. Taking up the practice of gendering major and minor musical modes from medieval theoretical texts, *Rāgamālā* series group melodies into family units by associating male *rāgas* and female *rāginīs*. In *Rāgamālā* sets, each melody is assigned a personified form. Beginning with iconic images of single figures and later developing into broad narrative scenes, Sardar traces the shifting typology of *Rāgamālā* imagery. She also points to an interesting irony in the history of *Rāgamālā* illustration: though improvisation is central to the performance of traditional Indian music, the images associated with *rāgas* became increasingly codified as the genre gained popularity. Sardar attributes this increased interest in *Rāgamālā* painting to the "prevailing notion that the knowledge of music was an important social skill" as well as key thematic and visual parallels with other popular literature of the time, including the *Rasikapriyā*, *Bārāmāsa*, and *Vasanta Vilāsa*. Despite the consistency of *Rāgamālā* imagery, different systems of classification existed in the Punjab Hills, Rajasthan, and the Deccan, an important point that Sardar includes in her essay.

The final section of the catalogue includes Qamar Adamjee's "Persian-Language Literature in India" and a short essay entitled "The *Shahnama* in India" by Alka Patel. Beginning in the eleventh century with waves of migration from Iran and Central Asia, Persian was introduced at courts and *madrasas* on the subcontinent. Adamjee wisely notes the danger in generalizing about South Asia's Persian literary history, given the many local and regional traditions that contributed to this body of work. Though she acknowledges the impossibility of a comprehensive list of Persian-Language literature in India, Adamjee provides a succinct overview of many significant writers and texts associated with the Ghaznavids, Ghurids, Delhi Sultans, and Mughals. In addition to royal commissions of Persian-language manuscripts, Adamjee also identifies important sources of non-elite patronage. The essay gives the reader a good sense of the variety of literary genres written or translated into Persian in South Asia as well as the importance of texts imported from Iran. Adamjee also describes novel "hybrid literary genres," written in vernacular languages using Persian script, that developed as a result of India's linguistic and cultural diversity. Paintings of the *Razmnāma* (a Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata*), *Bāburnāma* (a historical text about the first Mughal ruler), and *Chandāyana* (a Sufi romance) are among those catalogued. Patel's essay and entries on the *Shāhnāma* include a discussion of the origins and central narratives of Firdausi's text.

In *Epic Tales from Ancient India*, many works from the Binney collection are compiled and catalogued alongside high-quality images. Though select information from written inscriptions is referenced in several of the entries, photographs of these textual additions would have been a welcomed addition and would add to the documentary nature of the publication. Despite this omission, the information provided succinctly and clearly in essays and catalogue entries as well as the significance of the Binney collection make *Epic Tales from Ancient India* an important contribution to the field of South Asian art history.

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*The Brahmāyāmalatantra or Picumata, vol. II: The Religious Observances and Sexual Rituals of the Tantric Practitioner: Chapters 3, 21, and 45. A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation.* By CSABA KISS. Collection Indologie, vol. 130, Early Tantra Series, vol. 3. Pondicherry: INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DE PONDICHÉRY/ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT; HAMBURG: ASIEN-AFIKA-INSTITUT, UNIVERSITÄT HAMBURG, 2015. Pp. 373. €32, Rs. 750.

Considered by many to be the "grail" of early Hindu tantric studies, the *Brahmāyāmalatantra* (BraYā), very likely the earliest of the Bhairava Tantras (p. 13), has been largely inaccessible to schol-

ars due to the rarity and near illegibility of the few extant manuscripts of the work. With the present volume, a critical edition and translation of three of the BraYā's one hundred and one chapters (chapters 3, 21, and 45) are now available; these complement Shaman Hatley's edition and translation of chapters 1, 2, 55, 73, and 99, which first appeared in his 2007 PhD dissertation ("The *Brahmayāmalatantra* and Early Śaiva Cult of Yoginīs," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2007) and have long since been available on line. The published version of Hatley's edition and translation of chapters 1 and 2 are forthcoming in a companion (*The Brahmayāmalatantra or Picumata*, vol. 1) to the present volume. The editions and translations of both volumes are based nearly exclusively on Hatley's electronic transcription of a 1052 CE manuscript held in the Nepal National Archives (NAK-3-370) (p. 58). The Old Newari script of this palm-leaf manuscript (Kiss's MS A) is extremely difficult to decipher in and of itself; the Sanskrit, which Kiss qualifies as "extremely non-standard, non-Pāṇinian, or extremely Aiśa" (even if, "it sometimes falls back to perfectly standard Pāṇinian language for fairly long passages" [p. 74]), presents great challenges to translation. Addressing the impact of these irregularities on his edition and translation, Kiss states that his aim "as a kind of experiment, has been to present the text of the BraYā in its extremely Aiśa form" (pp. 73–74). Given his nearly exclusive reliance on MS A, he notes that the importance of a critical apparatus is greatly reduced (p. 75); however the pages he devotes to character and numeral charts, "Aiśa phenomena," and editorial conventions are thorough and concise (pp. 59–90). The same holds for intertextual references: nearly every technical term found in the text is analyzed in the light of usages in other texts from the same canon, and nearly every mantra, verse, and passage cross-referenced wherever possible or applicable. An appendix summarizing the contents of the first twenty-five of the BraYā's 101 chapters is an additional resource.

The three chapters edited and translated by Kiss are devoted to the BraYā's maṇḍala and pantheon (chap. 3); ascetic practices (*vratas*) aiming at self-purification, followed by pacifying and mingling (*melaka*) with the *yoginīs* (chap. 21); and the three types of practitioners (*sādhakas*) (chap. 45). The material is extremely rich, providing the reader with a vivid tableau of the idealized ritual lifeworld of a certain cadre of early tantric practitioners. Demonology, sorcery, elaborate visualizations, "mechanical drawing" techniques for laying out the grids of intricate maṇḍalas, the sacramental and magical use of female sexual emissions, the irruption of the supernatural into the natural, identification with or possession by Bhairava, the combination of extreme ritual scrupulousness with the obsessive consumption of defiling sexual and other bodily secretions—all of these elements characterize the BraYā's generally transgressive practice.

The contents of these chapters leave little doubt that much of the BraYā's ritual program belonged to the realm of the "prescriptive imagination." None but an extremely wealthy and otiose sociopath could possibly have fulfilled, for example, the injunction to offer, in a single sitting, "ten thousand fire-offerings (*homa*) of cow-flesh mixed with wine, and of jackal- and goat-flesh," as well as the flesh of pigeons, elephants, donkeys, humans, tortoises, camels, dogs, horses, and pigs (BraYā 45.208–11). The same holds for a six-month ritual whose goal was the "supreme vision of one's previous lives" (BraYā 45.596–650), which required equipping an underground chamber with water, food, furniture, and gold and silver flowers for the six month's duration of the ritual, which the practitioner was to enact with eight willing women, stimulating three of them to orgasm each day for 180 days (BraYā 45.608–30). Idem recitations that were to be repeated 500,000 or 900,000 times (BraYā 45.88, 138). In the light of these data, one must wonder whether this text described the practices, real or imagined, of any more than a tiny cadre of religious virtuosi.

The levels of precision and erudition evident in Kiss's work are remarkable, and he is to be congratulated for his achievement. One may nonetheless take issue with his exclusively text-based hermeneutics. Kiss's is, to be sure, a partial critical edition and translation, and so it is appropriate that he should read the BraYā in the context of other works from the Śaiva canon, the Bhairava Tantras in particular. But this singular attention to arcana of the world of the text comes at a price, inasmuch as it isolates the BraYā from the wider world of circa seventh- to eighth-century Kashmir, a cosmopolitan crossroad and crucible of Asian religions and civilizations. To begin, the BraYā's demonology draws on Hindu, Buddhist, and Iranian demonological traditions already in circulation across the Kashmir-Gandhara-Bactria cultural area in the first millennium CE. Elsewhere, the BraYā shares a common network of charnel grounds, *pīthas*, *ksetras*, *chandohas*, and so forth with coeval Buddhist tantric sources. Hindu

and Buddhist sources provide similar word descriptions of those charnel grounds, which are reproduced in rich detail on painted Indo-Tibetan maṇḍalas, and instantiated in the symbolic layout of the medieval city-state of Bhaktapur in the Kathmandu Valley. References to these real-world contexts of the visualizations and rituals described in the BraYā would have enhanced Kiss's analysis.

The same is the case with yoga, a term Kiss leaves untranslated throughout his work. By the time of the BraYā, the many yoga traditions that had been in circulation since the end of the last millennium BCE were beginning to coalesce, and one may see the BraYā's uses of the term as a window onto that process. Both the "śakti-fibre (*śaktitantu*) that spans from Śiva down to earth" and the associated "fusing of the channels" (*nāḍisandhāna*) (BraYā 45.108, 114) are clear adaptations of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*'s (8.6) channels of the heart, which morph into the solar rays by which the deceased was said to rise up to or through the orb of the sun. The BraYā's linking of various charnel grounds with groups of demonesses with names ending in *-inī* (*yoginīs*, *lākinīs*, *śākinīs*) (BraYā 3.96, 103, 108, 118, etc.) anticipates the *Kubjikāmata* (23.141–46), which situates a set of *-inī* demonesses on the corners of a hexagonal maṇḍala-cum-sacrificial altar. The demonesses of that maṇḍala become internalized—in the same *Kubjikāmata*, as well as in the *Śrīmatottaratantra*, *Agni Purāṇa*, and *Rudrayāmala*—into the *yoginīs* identified with the six "standard" cakras of tantric yoga. The BraYā's use of the term *yogin*, which appears once, in the compound *yogītvam*, is similarly left untranslated: Kiss translates the compound as "yogin-ness" (BraYā 3.5). By the time of the BraYā, the term *yogin* had a wide array of prescriptive and descriptive referents, ranging from *Bhagavad Gītā*'s meditator on Kṛṣṇa in (or as) the self to one or another of the powerful figures, already described in the *Mahābhārata*, who entered into other people's bodies via ocular rays.

The BraYā (3.201–6) contains a very early, if not the earliest, prescriptive account of the tantric adaptation of these epic *yoginīs*' technique. Here, the practitioner enters into a victim's body in order to draw out its elements (blood, fat, marrow, etc.), which it then feeds to the *yogeśīs*, who gratify the practitioner with the power of flight. Although the practitioner here is not referred to as a *yogin*, the final goal of this practice aligns with the profile of the tantric *yogin* in later Śaiva Tantras: he is a person empowered to pursue the attainment of *siddhis*. In its description of this technique, the BraYā also introduces a number of other familiar terms from the early yogic lexicon. These include the *udāna* and *apāna* breaths, as well as *avadhūtā*, a term found in the compound *avadhūta-tanu* (BraYā 3.202)—literally the "body of [the goddess] Avadhūtā," but which Kiss, following Hatley, interprets as "the mantras of Avadhūtā" (pp. 177, 204). Avadhūtā is, of course, a slight variation on Avadhūtī, the Buddhist tantric cognate of the Hindu Kuṇḍalīnī, a term that had not yet appeared in the Hindu tantric canon of the period. This being the case, I would suggest that Avadhūtā/Avadhūtī was a non-sectarian term belonging to a shared early medieval tantric lexicon.

The same is the case for *ucchuṣma*, an important term, given that the BraYā refers to itself as the *Ucchuṣma[ tantra ]* or cites the *Ucchuṣma* as an authority in several places. Elsewhere, the fourth of BraYā's "observances of the five," called *mahocchuṣmā*, entails roaming about at night in the Mahocchuṣma charnel ground (BraYā 21.90). The Mahocchuṣmās are also alluded to, either as a class of demonesses or of *vidyā*-mantra]s (BraYā 21.120). The work also enjoins the worship of a goddess named Mahocchuṣmā (BraYā 45.111). The term appears in both its masculine and feminine forms in other chapters as well (appendix 1: 315, 324, 326). Hatley (2007: 275–81), Peter Bisschop and Arlo Griffiths ("The Practice Involving the Ucchuṣmas (*Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 36)," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 24 [2007], pp. 1–6), and Alexis Sanderson ("Atharvavedins in Tantric Territory: The *Āṅgirasakaḷpa* Texts of the Oriya Paippalādins and Their Connection with the Trika and the Kālikula," in eds., *The Atharvaveda and Its Paippalāda Śākhā: Historical and Philological Papers on a Vedic Tradition*, ed. Arlo Griffiths and Annette Schmiedchen [Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2007], 196–200) have all generated "genealogies" of the various forms, cults, and texts related to Ucchuṣma, in the singular, plural, masculine, and feminine. In his discussion, Sanderson notes that "Ucchuṣma, 'Dessicating [Fire]', was well-established in the early Buddhist Mantranaya as a wrathful subduer of demons" (p. 197). He also suggests (p. 199) that the mantras and general tone of the "Ucchuṣmakalpa" of the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas* are strongly reminiscent of the pre-fourth century CE Buddhist *Mahāmāyūrividya-rājñī*. In the light of these data, it is possible that the *Ucchuṣmatantra* with which the BraYā identified itself was not, properly speaking, a Śaiva Tantra. A recent Ph.D. disserta-

tion by Zhaohua Yang provides a wealth of data and analysis on the Tang-period Chinese Buddhist cult of Ucchuṣma (“Devouring Impurities: Myth, Ritual and Talisman in the Cult of Ucchuṣma in Tang China,” Ph.D diss., Stanford University, 2013). In discussing the origins of that cult, Yang notes that a chapter of the 653–654 CE Buddhist *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha* was devoted to Ucchuṣma, who also appeared in the \**Mahābalocchuṣmavidyārājasūtra*, a work translated into Chinese in Kucha before 730 CE. Given the fact that Sanderson (“The Śaiva Age,” in *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, ed. Shingo Einoo [Tokyo: Univ. of Tokyo, 2009], 51) establishes the date of the BraYā to the sixth to seventh century on the basis of a mention of the title in a 810 CE manuscript of the *Skandapurāna-Ambikākhaṇḍa*, there is no hard evidence for its predating these two Buddhist sources. However, as Yang notes, the highly transgressive content of the \**Mahābalocchuṣmavidyārājasūtra* reflects an intense engagement with the Śaivas in its place of origin, which he situates in Kashmir. Sanderson has forcefully argued that the Buddhist Yoginī Tantras were, in the main, derivative of the Śaiva Tantras. However, this position likely does not apply for the Kashmir of the seventh to eighth centuries, where a distinctive and eclectic “culture of the charnel ground” was emerging in certain esoteric circles. If, as was the case, the iconographies, mantras, and maṇḍalas of the Śaiva and Buddhist Tantric deities and their entourages resembled each other so closely, this was because the actors in this new culture were often the same people. Buddhist tantric practitioners were not “derivative” of Śaiva tantric practitioners. They did not live inside their texts, and texts have never had agency. The *Brahmayāmala-Picumata[-Ucchuṣma Tantra]* is a window onto a revolution, from a time before the “Leninists” began fighting the “Trotskyists.”

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“. . . für die Wissenschaft, der ich von ganzer Seele lebe.” *Otto Böhtlingk (1815–1904): Ein Gelehrtenleben rekonstruiert und beschrieben anhand seiner Briefe*. By AGNES STACHE-WEISKE. Wiesbaden: HARRASSOWITZ. 2017. Pp. xv + 583. €118.

*Otto Böhtlingk an Rudolf Roth: Briefe zum Petersburger Wörterbuch 1852–1885. Index*. By AGNES STACHE-WEISKE, GABRIELE ZELLER, and FRANK KÖHLER. Veröffentlichungen der Helmuth von Glasenapp-Stiftung, vol. 45.2. Wiesbaden: HARRASSOWITZ. 2015. Pp. 188. €59.

The two titles under review are further installments of a large-scale project funded by the German Research Foundation, of which a first gem, a model edition of the letters of Otto Böhtlingk to Rudolf Roth, detailing their collaboration in making the monumental Petersburg Dictionary of Sanskrit, appeared in 2007 (reviewed in *JAOS* 129.3 [2009]: 507–11). Published as volume 45 in the series of the Helmuth von Glasenapp Foundation for Indological research, the letters had only an index of persons. Volume 45.2 in the same series incorporates the index of persons into a general index (pp. 5–84). It also offers an index of Sanskrit and related words discussed in the correspondence (pp. 85–147), an important feature when producing a dictionary is the object of discussion. As a repertory of entries that required deliberations, this tool will serve as a valuable index not only for the correspondence, but also for the dictionary itself. An index of references in Böhtlingk’s letters to entries in the two editions of his *Indische Sprüche* (pp. 149–58) plays a similar dual role for correspondence and work discussed. This additional volume further offers a list of sources (pp. 159–88) and a user’s guide (pp. 1–4).

Böhtlingk’s biography is a masterpiece, even more remarkable since it could not draw on its subject’s private papers, which his widow destroyed according to his instructions. It makes up for this regrettable loss by making use of an amazingly large and varied collection of official documents, institutional records, and colleagues’ correspondence, in addition to his works and scholarly letters. At every step, the context of Böhtlingk’s scholarly, academic, intellectual, and social life is explored, throwing light not only on his own experiences, but also on the circumstances of contemporary institutions and social circles. The result is a thick volume in nine chapters and ten appendices, in which, within broad stages of Böhtlingk’s life, the topical prevails over the chronological. It is a scholar’s contextual biography, in which Böhtlingk’s four marriages and four children and their descendants,