

the water. The ocean wanted to be recognized, so it threw us up on dry land, where we flip and flop and call it love. When we go back home, we will be the same fish that we always were, but now aware of our identity with the water.

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Early Tantric Vaiṣṇavism: Three Newly Discovered Works of the Pañcarātra, the Svāyambhuvapañcarātra, Devāmṛtapañcarātra and Aṣṭādaśavidhāna, Critically Edited from Their 11th and 12th Century Nepalese Palm Leaf Manuscripts. Edited with an introduction and notes by DIWAKAR ACHARYA. Collection Indologie, vol. 129, Early Tantra Series, vol. 2. Pondichéry and Hamburg: INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DE PONDICHÉRY, ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT, ASIEN-AFRIKA-INSTITUT, UNIVERSITÄT HAMBURG, 2015. Pp. lxxxvi + 229. Rs. 700, €30.

This is a volume in the Early Tantra Series published jointly by the French Institute of Pondicherry, the École française d'Extrême Orient, and the University of Hamburg. The series aims at publishing the fruits of research funded from a Franco-German project from 2008 to 2011 whose purpose was to study the interrelationship between the early tantric traditions. This important series seeks to publish critical editions, studies, and translations of texts preserved in the vast archive of Nepalese manuscripts that have been microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project and catalogued in Kathmandu and Hamburg. In researching into this archive, while cataloguing manuscripts, Professor Acharya came across three early works of the Pañcarātra or tantric Vaiṣṇavism that he has edited for this edition. These texts are important because they provide evidence to show how Vaiṣṇavism remodelled itself on tantric Śaivism in the early medieval period but also show evidence of Vedic and Smārta influence. Thus the Pañcarātra while modelling itself on Śaivism nevertheless aligns itself with Vedic orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

One of the important things established by this publication concerns dating. One of the “three gems” of the Pañcarātra is the *Jayākhya-saṃhitā*, regarded as a foundational scripture that Alexis Sanderson has shown to be modelled on the Śaiva ritual system. This text was dated by its editor to around 700 A.D. But Professor Acharya has shown the *Jayākhya* to be of much later date as it contains classifications such as the fourfold typology of the initiate not found in the earliest Śaiva sources such as *Niḥśvāsa*. The texts of the present edition represent an earlier stage of the tradition's development, earlier than the *Jayākhya* and its source text the *Jayottaratantra*, that Professor Acharya has found. The earliest of these texts, the *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* contains elements that have affinities with two of the latest five books of the *Niḥśvāsa*. That is, the Pañcarātra texts postdate the *Niḥśvāsa*. Although Acharya does not offer a precise dating, assuming the very earliest layers of the Śaiva text to be sixth century, these Pañcarātra texts could be as early as around 700 C.E.

The edition describes the palm leaf manuscripts—the *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra*, for example, being written on nine folios in three columns separated by two string holes, all of which have some damage at the edges. A colophon dates the copying of the manuscript to 1027 C.E. Acharya gives full details of the manuscripts, particularly how the *Aṣṭādaśavidhāna* is contained as an interpolation within the *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* that he has separated and placed after the conclusion of the latter text. The *Devāmṛtapañcarātra* is preserved in a single incomplete manuscript along with two transcripts and can be dated on paleographic grounds to the twelfth century. The latter contains similar material to the former while the *Aṣṭādaśavidhāna* is a paddhati of the *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra*. Chapters three and four of the *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* are missing but they may have been reproduced in chapters five and six of the *Devāmṛtapañcarātra*.

In his editorial policy Professor Acharya tells us that even though there are only single manuscripts of the texts, he has tried to establish “a readable text,” which means he has corrected minor mistakes and often offered conjectural readings that he thinks to be more in accordance with authorial intention,

especially as the texts are full of scribal errors. The text is therefore not a diplomatic edition but a critical one with all emendations recorded in a positive apparatus. The emendations are justified not only on grammatical grounds but when the Vedic *pratikas* used in a text are corrupt they can be emended from similar ritual texts. The edition records all variations, before (*ante*) and after correction (*post correctio-nem*), and parallel texts are also recorded in three layers of notes. The thorough description of editorial policy allows fairly straightforward manoeuvring through the edition. The edition records peculiarities of language, such as irregular sandhi, the loss of the anusvāra, and dropping of a last syllable of a word for the sake of metre, but the author has amended the endings if allowed by the metre. Thus he has restored the final *t/d* at the end of optative singular verbs and *a*-stem ablative singular nouns. Some of the usual grammatical differences to standard grammar, the tantric Aīśa language, are evident in these texts, such as conflating masculine and neuter nouns.

The content of these texts comprises mostly ritual procedures although there is some theological reflection. Viṣṇu is envisaged as all pervasive and all deities are incorporated into his body, an idea that echoes the *Bhagavadgītā* and is not found in later Pañcarātra texts that have been more severely re-modelled on Śaivism. Thus Rudra, Brahman, and Janārdana are not different. The main deity of the *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* and the *Devāmṛtapañcarātra* is the single-headed Viṣṇu with two, four, or eight arms, the latter being a form that goes back to the pre-Gupta period. Indeed, the eight-armed form is pan-Indian and the image, with slight variation, is attested in the archaeological record from an early period (an inscription from Nagarjunikonda dated 278 C.E.). The colored frontispiece of the book is a fine representation of the eight-armed Viṣṇu dated to the ninth century from the Kathmandu museum. Acharya offers a detailed summary of each chapter in all texts, thereby allowing the reader to read the text with a pre-understanding of its contents. The *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* opens with Brahman approaching Īśvara, who responds to his questions about how images of the deity should be made, how the temple constructed, and so on. Īśvara tells Brahman that the scripture has been composed for the acquisition of worldly goods (*yogaśāstra*) and liberation (*mokṣaśāstra*), a typically tantric theme. The *Devāmṛtapañcarātra* prescribes the worship of five images, Narasiṃha, Varāha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, and Vāsudeva in his Viśvarūpa form, who are attested in a eighth-century image in Gwailor Museum.

The texts present a single ritual system. The *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* describes the *maṇḍala* with three retinues of mantra deities. On the outer layer are the eight weapons of the deity, the second retinue comprises the twelve names of Viṣṇu, and the innermost layer comprises a lotus of eight petals on which are established the *aṅga* mantras of Viṣṇu, including an extra *piṅgalāstra* with the *hṛdayamantra*, usually the first in the series, transposed to the pericarp of the lotus and identified with Viṣṇu himself. The *Aṣṭadaśavidhāna* presents a more complex *maṇḍala*, although at the center of the cult is the same lotus of nine ancillary mantras with the first mantra placed in the pericarp, as we found in the *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra*. Due to some variations of detail it is probable that the *Aṣṭadaśavidhāna* does not know the *Devāmṛtapañcarātra*, although the ritual system attested is reflected in other texts. The Śaiva Siddhānta *Somaśambhupaddhati*, for example, seems to be familiar with it, as does the *Netratanttra*, whose chapter thirteen refers to an eight-armed form of Viṣṇu seated on a goat (or a ram, *meṣa*), although the weapons held in the eight arms are not precisely the same in other texts or images.

This is an important edition in reconstructing the history of Vaiṣṇavism in relation to its ambient culture. These Pañcarātras show an early stage of the tradition adapting to a Śaiva model, as we see, for example, in the way the texts adopt their own version of the five *brahmantras* in the series of ritual impositions (*nyāsas*), mantras first found with the Pāsupatas and adapted by the Śaiva Siddhānta. The famous four Vyūhas or emanations, characteristic of the Pañcarātra, are adapted to a series of nine deities and the editor suspects two sets of deities are conflated in this group, one from the standard Vyūha classification, another relating Narasiṃha and Varāha to Viṣṇu. The *nyāsas* reflect the history of the tradition and the texts say that the Vedanyāsa, the ritual imposition of Vedic hymns, is the same in the religious systems of the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Saura, and Bhāgavata (p. lxiii). Thus the text distinguishes the Vaiṣṇavas that it associates with the Pañcarātra from the Bhāgavatas. Although reflection on this history is outside the remit of Professor Acharya's text, this is interesting because it reflects an older distinction through the history of Vaiṣṇavism that identifies the Bhāgavatas with the cult of Vāsudeva/Kṛṣṇa and the Pañcarātra with Nārāyaṇa. Indeed the relationship between this medieval tantric form of the Pañcarātra and the earlier tradition as reflected in the *Nārāyaṇīya* section of the *Mahābhārata* is one in which the religion has

become completely transformed from its origin, in a parallel way to the Vajrayāna being almost unrecognizable in early Buddhism. We often associate the Tantras with goddesses, but these Pañcarātra texts attest to a non-feminized form of Tantrism in which the Goddess is not highlighted, in this way reflecting the earlier phase of the Śaiva Siddhānta.

This is a significant contribution to the history of the Pañcarātra, first established by Otto Schrader in his still useful *Introduction to the Pañcarātra*. The explanation of the texts is lucidly clear with extremely useful notes that help the reader relate the text to the broader history of the tantric religions. Full facsimiles of the manuscripts are provided that enable readers to practice their manuscript reading skills and excellent indices are included of pādas, Vedic and Tantric mantras, and a general index. Professor Acharya has performed a great service to the scholarly community in rendering these texts accessible to a wider audience. I look forward to the next two texts in the genre promised by the author, the *Jayottaratantra*, the source of the famous *Jayākhyasamhitā*, and the *Vāsudevakalpa*.

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Love's Subtle Magic: An Indian Islamic Literary Tradition, 1379–1545. By ADITYA BEHL, edited by WENDY DONIGER. New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2012. Pp. xii + 403. \$74.

After Aditya Behl unexpectedly died in 2009, his former adviser Wendy Doniger painstakingly and lovingly put together his unfinished essays into this handsome volume. She has reconstructed, smoothed, and trimmed with skill and attention but the voice remains unmistakably that of Behl. Doniger is at pains to tell us that while the book is not, perhaps, exactly as Behl would have intended, it is not a “patchwork”; it is based on a draft he was expanding and on lectures he delivered in Paris and London in 2004–5 and in 2008.

The nine essays in this volume are on the intriguing story poems, “romances,” written in North India between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, in mutually intelligible variants of the widespread North Indian vernacular, Hindavi. They were all written by Sufis associated with provincial courts who chose the vernacular in preference to transregional classical languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic, or Persian. Each of these writers belongs to a time, the “long” fifteenth century, when the sultanate of Delhi was reduced to a regional power and North Indian politics was dominated by unstable alliances.

By the fourteenth century Muslims had already lived in India for six hundred years. Islam was no longer foreign to many of the inhabitants of India, and by this time there were many Muslims who had been born in India and who had never known any other land. But if the encounter between Hindus and Muslims was no longer new, the fourteenth century was a time of other encounters between strangers: between country herdsmen and city dwellers, between traveling traders from distant lands, between chiefs and new overlords, and between fortune-seekers and mysterious women. These encounters—often made strange by barriers of language, ethnicity, dress, and ethics—begat new stories and, eventually, new literatures. The *prema kahānī* (“love story”) genre discussed in this book is one of desire and longing—of love of the stranger, of encounters with the wilderness and the seduction of the city—born out of the great ferment beginning in the fourteenth century that drew young men to seek employment in the many regiments or ascetic collectives of the time or to make a living from the opportunities of the new towns. As new towns grew, often encompassing older, simpler settlements and rough garrison stops, North India came to be dotted with small towns connected by roads increasingly trodden by armies and travelers. It was in such towns that the texts discussed in this volume were written.

The *prema kahānīs* are entertainment and were “ritually performed in Sufi shrines to awaken the novice to spiritual realities” (p. 1), but they also have more elusive qualities, often impenetrable to modern readers. It is this subtlety to which Behl (or his editor) alludes in the book’s title, *Love’s Subtle Magic*, and it is in the elucidation of this subtlety—both of the genre and of individual texts—that the