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# EPIC AND PURANIC TEXTS ATTRIBUTED TO JAIMINI

## Introduction

One of the most exciting challenges in studying epic and puranic literature is the vast scope of material. The fact is, however, that related to these genres, there is a large amount of material that has either not been edited at all or, even though edited, the texts have not been researched. This situation makes epic and puranic studies an attractive, though to some a hopeless, field of study. Thus, there are remarkable opportunities to yield fresh and relevant material for secondary studies, particularly if one gives up the urge to concentrate on the earliest examples of the genre. The study of less well known texts not only provides additional variation to the already rich mythological and literary whole, but it also helps us to better understand the sceptre of religious ideologies, as well as the changes and continuity occurring in them.

The text of pivotal importance among the titles to be introduced here is the work called *Jaiminīyāśvamedha* (JA), also commonly known as *Jaiminibhārata* (JBh). It is the only epic or puranic title ascribed to Jaimini that is at least marginally known to Western Indologists, despite the fact that it has been relatively popular in India. The JA is a retelling of Mahābhārata's *Āśvamedhikaparvan* with an explicit tendency towards Kṛṣṇa-bhakti. Besides presenting an interesting modification of the horse sacrifice, this work contains several entertaining episodes which take place during the ritual tour.

The mixture of fabulous stories, bhakti flavour and a Vedic ritual attracted our attention, too [1].

The starting point was a text we had which was linked 1) with epic tradition through its topic and author (Jaimini as the disciple of Vyāsa), 2) with puranic sources through its style and date, and 3) with medieval Vaiṣṇava texts – both in vernaculars and in Sanskrit – through the mixture of fancy adventures and intense bhakti. When we went deeper into the matter, we found that the epic and puranic material attributed to Jaimini is not limited to one title. It comprises various texts based on themes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* as well as compilations of diverse puranic and apocryphal material. These texts are normally handed down in manuscripts only.

We have started with high hopes and already copied manuscript material of most of the titles to be introduced here. Our co-operation began in 1998 when we found that the JA was of mutual interest to both of us independently. At that time, we had separately started chart-ing and collecting the ms. material. The first idea was to produce a critical edition of the JA together with an English translation. Since then the scope of the plan has expanded, and it is probable that some rarer texts will be edited first. The methodology to be applied for future publications will partly depend on the scope and inner variation of the ms. material of each work. Our plan is tentatively called the Jaimini Epic and Puranic Project (JEPP) [2].


## 1. *Jaiminibhārata*

Before introducing the individual texts, some clarification on the distinction between the two titles, *Jaiminīyāśvamedha* and *Jaimini-bhārata*, is needed. These names are often used as two alternatives for

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1. For an example of the first impressions, see P. KOSKIKALLIO, "Jaiminibhārata and *aśvamedha*", in WZKS 36 (Supplementband, 1993), p. 111-119.

2. In writing this article we adopted the following division of labour: The begin-ning part up to the middle of section 1.1 as well as sections 2-4 are written by Petteri Koskikallio. Christophe Vielle wrote the text from the account of the JA manuscripts in section 1.1 up to the end of section 1.6 + section 5. This division reflects our prin-cipal interests in regard to the preparation of the editions in the future. The table in Appendix 1 serves as a synopsis of the material presented in this article.

the same work, the retelling of MBh's *aśvamedha* book. The great majority of the manuscripts, and also most of the printed editions, bear the title *Jaiminīyāśvamedha* or some variant of it [3]; the name *Jaiminibhārata*, on the other hand, is more commonly used in vernacular versions. The form *Jaiminibhārata* tends to stress the point that there existed an independent version of the whole Bhārata epic composed by Jaimini. The usual conception is that only the *aśvamedha* book survived from Jaimini's variant epic.

As several texts claim to be part of Jaimini's Bhārata, the best solution is to use the name *Jaiminīyāśvamedha* for the *aśvamedha* book and reserve the title *Jaiminibhārata* for the hypothetical version of Jaimini's *upabhārata*. It seems clear that the inclusion of several texts in an alternative *Mahābhārata* is quite a clumsy attempt to claim extra authority for these texts. Similarly, the epic connection of the JA is most probably an artificial one. But this does not necessarily mean that the JA cannot be a part of a larger project. We would like to point out in particular that there was a medieval project which aimed at lumping several texts together under the name Jaimini. But this endeavour was made by some Vaiṣṇava ideologists; thus it can rather be understood as a part of puranic, not epic, development.

The first question, of course, is: Why Jaimini? How to explain the fact that Jaimini, who is generally known as a Mīmāṃsā figure, appears as a character to whom several Vaiṣṇava works are attributed? To answer these questions it is necessary to study the appearances of Jaimini in epic and puranic literature [4]. Without going into details, we would say that, besides being a disciple of Vyāsa, Jaimini has also been connected with bhakti ideas in some later puranic passages. This means that there are at least three functions for the name Jaimini. (Whether there is one historical Jaimini or several Jaiminis is an irrelevant question here.) In addition to the Vedic (Sāmaveda/Mīmāṃsā) Jaimini and the epic Jaimini (the disciple of Vyāsa), there is also a puranic image of Jaimini as a promoter of bhakti ideas. Yet, it seems that the key person behind the Vaiṣṇava use of the name Jaimini is

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3. E.g. *jaiminiāśvamedha* or *jaiminīyāśvamedhika*.
4. An article concentrating on this topic is due to be presented in the 12th World Sanskrit Conference (Summer 2003): P. Koskikallio, "Jaimini as an epic figure".

Vyāsa, because the ideology of bhakti is preached with the help of the teacher-pupil relationship of Vyāsa and Jaimini. As a disciple of Vyāsa, Jaimini continues his teacher's work as the carrier of both Vedic and epic tradition. Thus, when a bhakti text refers to Jaimini as its chief authority, it can lean on Vyāsa's authority as well. By using the name Jaimini it is possible for a puranic text to create the necessary link with both epic and Vedic tradition. The fundamental idea is to reduce the distance between the bhakti texts and Vyāsa.

## 1.1. *Jaiminīyāśvamedha*

The JA is a text which combines epic, puranic and *kāvya* style in its mixture of devotional, heroic, pathetic and humorous adventures. It consists of 68 adhyāyas and the total number of stanzas is around 5000. Śloka dominates but also other metres are occasionally used. Unlike the *Āśvamedhikaparvan* of the MBh, the JA devotes most of its contents to the adventures during the tour of the horse and its escort (adhyāyas 14-61) [5]. There are altogether 13 relatively independent episodes of this kind [6]. In addition, the story of Kuśa and Lava is included in chapters 24-36. The first part of the book goes through the preliminaries of the ritual and contains some secondary episodes. The last adhyāyas are dedicated to the description of the miraculous ritual.

The popularity of the text becomes clear from the large number of printed editions, published especially in the latter half of the 19th and early 20th century. We have traced as many as 14 different printings [7]. The "Editio princeps" is a lithographic version published in Bombay in 1850, and the Bombay 1863 edition can be called the vulgate. The further printings mostly repeat the vulgate without any notable changes. The exception is made by the two incomplete Calcutta

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5. Also the *Anugītā* is missing.
6. For the contents of the JA and its episodes, see R. D. KARMARKAR, *The Mahābhārata*, vol. XVIII: *The Āśvamedhikaparvan*, Poona, 1960, p. xxiv-xliv; cf. P. KOSKIKALLIO, "The *Gargasaṃhitā* and the *Ānandarāmāyaṇa*: additional sources for studying the pseudo-Vedic ritualism in post-epic texts", in *Stages and Transitions: Temporal and Historical Frameworks in Epic and Purāṇic Literature*, ed. by M. Brockington, Zagreb, 2002, p. 332-333.
7. A list of these editions is given in Appendix 2.

editions which use different wordings in the majority of verses. The text of the JA is also available today in the Gītā Press edition [8].

In addition to the Sanskrit text, there are several vernacular versions of the JA (often, however, entitled *Jaiminibhārata*) [9]. The most important are those in Bengali (several versions, the first by Śrīkara Nandī, early 16th century), Kannada (by Lakṣmīśa, various datings between the 14th and 17th century), Telugu (by Vīrabhadra, possibly 15th century) and in Marathi (by Nāmā Pāṭhaka, c. 1400, and by Śrīdhara, 18th century). Regional versions contain both independent renderings and late translation-like texts [10]. Among translations there are also texts consisting of some individual episodes of the JA [11]. Sometimes Jaimini's version of the *Aśvamedhikaparvan* has even replaced Vyāsa's *aśvamedha* book in vernacular MBh variants [12]. It is also worth noticing that the first printed editions of Lakṣmīśa's and

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8. The vulgate edition of 1863 is the principal version used in references. This edition can be found at least in Strasbourg, Oxford and in the British Library. The Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library has an exceptional variety of eight different printings, including both of the rare Bengal editions. We have been able to see all the editions, except the 1904 one.

9. For a survey on northeastern vernacular renderings of the JA, see W. L. SMITH, "The Jaiminibhārata and its eastern vernacular versions", *Studia Orientalia* 85 (1999), p. 389-406.

10. In addition to the early vernacular JAs, the Sanskrit text has been translated during the 19th and 20th century into Gujarati, Oriya, Tamil, Malayalam, Nepali and Hindi.

11. E.g. the *Kuśalava* episode at the end of the 15th century in Kṛttibāsa's Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* (see W. L. SMITH, *Rāmāyaṇa Traditions in Eastern India: Assam, Bengal, Orissa*, Stockholm, 1988, p. 65-66) and three poems by the 16th-century (or earlier) Assamese poet Haribar Bipra (see W. L. SMITH, "The Jaiminibhārata and...", p. 389; W. L. SMITH, "Variants of the Kuśalavopākhyāna", in *Categorization and Interpretation*, ed. by Folke Josephson, (Meijerbergs arkiv för svensk ordforskning 24), Göteborg, 1999, p. 116).

12. This was also the case with the lost Persian translation by Vasant Rae (18th century, see R. L. MITRA in *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1868, p. 44-50), which was again translated into English by N. B. Halhed in 1810-13 (see R. ROCHER, *Orientalism, Poetry and the Millenium: The Checked Life of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, 1751-1830*, Delhi, 1983, p. 214; K. KARTTUNEN, "The Mahābhārata in early Western Indology", in BEI 13-14 (1995-96), p. 246). This English translation was in turn summarized by J. T. WHEELER in his *The History of India from the Earliest Ages*, vol. I: *The Vedic Period and the Mahá Bhárata* (London, 1867, especially. p. 377-437, 522-34 for the JA portion); see also the reviews by TH. GOLDSTÜCKER (*Hindu Epic Poetry: The Mahabharata*, Calcutta, 1868, p. 8) and by A. WEBER (*Indische Streifen* 2 [1869], p. 392-393).

Śrīdhara's versions (Mangalore, 1847, Bombay, 1848) are slightly anterior to the Sanskrit "Editio princeps" of the JA. The only Western translation (and edition) of the Sanskrit text is the Candrahāsa episode (JA 50.21-58.105) translated into German by Josef Schick [13].

There is also a Sanskrit *nāṭaka* based on the JA story. It was composed in Nepal by Sumati Jitāmitra Malladeva, King of Bhātgāon at the end of the 17th century. This text is preserved in ms. form at the Durbar Library [14]. In addition, we have found that one JA ms. kept in the VVBISIS, Hoshiarpur probably does not contain the JA text but its commentary by the 17th-century scholar Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhāra [15].

The question concerning the date of the JA was already treated at length by Duncan Derrett in his important article published in 1970 [16]. He starts from the fact that the text refers to the [Mahā]Bhārata, the *Harivaṃśa*, and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* [17], as well as to the *Bhaga-*

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13. J. SCHICK, *Corpus Hamleticum: Hamlet in Sage und Dichtung, Kunst und Musik*, Bd. I: *Sagengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, T. 1: *Das Glückskind mit dem Todesbrief*, Berlin, 1912, p. 167-169 (introduction), p. 170-232 (Sanskrit text), p. 233-285 (German translation), p. 286-297 (conclusions). Schick was a disciple of Albrecht Weber, who treated the JA in some of his own publications, too. See e.g. *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek*, vol. I: *Verzeichniss der Sanskrithandschriften der Berlinen Bibliothek*, ed. by A. Weber, p. 111-118; A. WEBER, "Über eine episode im Jaimini Bhârata (entsprechend einer Sage von Kaiser Heinrich III und dem 'Gang nach dem Eisenhammer')", in *Monatsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, aus dem Jahre 1869, Berlin, 1870, p. 10-48 & 377-378. An English publication of the Candrahāsa episode exists as well, but it is based on the Kannada version (of Lakṣmīśa?): *Chandrahāsa: An Ancient Indian Monarch*, translated by F. Foster & Co., Vepery, 1889.

14. See e.g. NCC, vol. VII (1973), p. 310 ("nāṭaka in corrupt Sanskrit"); *Bṛhatsūcīpattram*, vol. III, Kathmandu, 1962, p. 22-24. The *Jaiminibhāratagītā* in Lahore, listed in the NCC (vol. VII, p. 311) is a photograph of the Durbar Library ms.

15. B. R. SHARMA, *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts of the VVBISIS Collection, Panjab University*, Hoshiarpur, 1975, p. 51 no. 710 (a ms. in 95 fols.).

16 J. D. M. DERRETT, "Greece and India again: the Jaimini-Aśvamedha, the Alexander-romance and the Gospels", in *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 22 (1970), p. 19-44 (about dating, see p. 22-27).

17. JA 58.95-97: *śāligrāmasamīpe tu bhaktyā pustakavācanam* ǁ *bhāratam harivaṃśam vā putradam dhanadam bhavet* ǀ *śrīmadbhāgavatam puṇyam bhuktimuktiphalapradam* ǁ *śṛṇoti hṛṣṭamanasā...* ('Reciting of the Bhārata or Harivaṃśa manuscript [!] with devotion in vicinity of the *śālagrāma* stone bestows both sons and wealth [to the reader], and [the same happens] to one who listens, rejoiced at heart, to the famous Bhāgavata, the auspicious [text] providing the fruit of enjoyment and liberation').

*vadgītā* [18] and possibly to Varāhamihira [19]. Mainly due to the *Bhāgava-tapurāṇa*, he places the *terminus post quem* around AD 1000 [20]. The *terminus ante quem* is most naturally the appearance of the first dated mss. as well as the birth of the vernacular versions, which is not the easiest part of the question, but can be tentatively placed around 1400. Derrett's opinion was that the JA is from the 12th century. This dating seems to remain valid after later studies, too. The thematically closest parallels to the JA are *Padmapurāṇa*'s *Rāmāśvamedha* section in the *Pātālakhaṇḍa* – probably a contemporaneous text – and the clearly later sources like the *Ānandarāmāyaṇa* and the puranic *Gargasaṃhitā* [21].

Concerning the manuscripts of the JA, as for the other unpublished works introduced here, we can say that our inventory has now reached a good degree of completion, especially in comparison with the limited number of mss. furnished by the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, from which we had started [22]. We have indeed listed about 200 "attainable" [23] mss. of the JA, coming from all parts of India. On that

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18. JA 16.28: *...śṛnmo 'rjunaṃ kṛṣṇamukhena gītāṃ vācaṃ samagrāṃ hṛdi dhārayantam* || ('We have heard Kṛṣṇa's speech to Arjuna, the entire Gītā to be kept in mind').

19. Noted by SCHICK (*op. cit.*, p. 262, 286) on the basis of JA 55.8: *godhūlikaṃ varāhādyair uditaṃ phaladam...* ('the auspicious [constellation] has been called *godhūlika* by Varāha[mihira?] and other [astrologer]s'). The word *godhūlika* does not appear at least in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (M. YANO & M. SUGITA (digitalized), VarAhamihira's BRhatsaMhitA, 1994).

20. The question about the date of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* is far from settled. Scholars have predominantly dated it earlier than AD 1000, most often in the 9th century. See L. ROCHER, *The Purāṇas*, (A History of Indian Literature 2.3), Wiesbaden, 1986, p. 147-148; F. HARDY, *Viraha-Bhakti: The Early History of Kṛṣṇa Devotion in South India*, Oxford, 1983, p. 486-488.

21. This means that the JA is not the only text combining the *aśvamedha* ritual with Vaiṣṇava ideology. See P. KOSKIKALLIO, "The *Gargasaṃhitā*..." and P. KOSKIKALLIO, "The horse sacrifice in the Pātālakhaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa", in *Composing a Tradition: Concepts, Techniques and Relationships*, ed. by M. Brockington & P. Schreiner, Zagreb, 1999, p. 227-243.

22. NCC, vol. IV (1968), p. 257; vol. VII, p. 310-311.

23. It means that they are preserved in public or private institutes or libraries that can be visited, or at least still exist. There are about 45 additional JA mss., which were listed in several regional catalogues of private collections during the 19th century, but of which the trails are now mostly lost.

basis, a strong distinction can already be made between the situation in North and Central India, on the one hand, and South India, on the other.

In North and Central India it is possible to find about 120 (complete or fragmentary) mss. of the JA. The best collections are in Calcutta (11 mss. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal and other institutes), Pune (15 mss. in the B.O.R.I. and other institutes) and, above all, Varanasi (22 mss., nearly all in the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Sarasvati Bhavan Library) [24]. Except for a few mss. in Bengali (Calcutta, Dacca), Newarī (Kathmandu), Śāradā (one in Paris) and Oriya (one in London) scripts, the great majority of these mss. are written in Devanāgarī on paper. Usually these mss. date from the period between the 17th and the first half of the 19th century. The oldest dated ms. (V.S. 1568, i.e. AD 1511), of which we have a copy, is kept in the Oriental Institute, Vadodara, though an older one might be discovered in the University of Lahore (described as written in V.S. 1456, i.e. AD 1399). It is, however, clear that all the Devanāgarī mss. do not belong to the same "recension": the number of their chapters often varies (between 63 and 69) and, according to the already collated portions, the text itself significantly differs. There are also a few mss. that only contain the 12 chapters of the *Kuśalava* episode. But like four of these kept in Europe, these are almost all palm-leaf mss. of Southern origin (written in Grantha or Nandināgarī, e.g. in Vadodara and Lahore), with the exception of one palm-leaf ms. in Oriya script (Bhubaneshwar) and one paper ms. in Devanāgarī (Pune; possibly another in Bikaner). Yet, even these mss. are probably linked to the Southern tradition.

The situation is exactly the opposite in South India. A few Devanāgarī mss. of the whole text of the JA are found there in places such as Madras (Adyar Library), Thanjavur (Sarasvati Mahal Library,

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24. Most of these mss. are fragmentary. Also several JA mss. in Western collections have their origin in Varanasi: e.g. 6 fragmentary mss. now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (the first 3 acquired through the Max Müller Fund, the last 3 with the financial help of the Nepalese Prime Minister Chandra Shum Shere, but coming all from the same pandit's collection in Varanasi), and 2 complete mss. kept in London (British Library and The Royal Asiatic Society).

one ms. dated *śake* 1582, i.e. AD 1660) or Mysore [25]. But all these mss. are more or less related to the Central/Northern tradition [26]. The JA mss. in Dravidian scripts, on the other hand, are exceptionally uncommon [27]. Instead, the mss. of the *Kuśalavopākhyāna* are here well attested: about 50 palm-leaf mss. are found in various places (the richest collections being in Madras, Trivandrum, Thanjavur, Mysore and Tirupati), written mainly in Grantha but sometimes also in Nandināgarī, Malayalam or Telugu scripts, with the exception of one ms. in Devanāgarī on paper in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Thanjavur. It is to be noted that the Thanjavur Devanāgarī ms. of the *Kuśalava* story is the only example in which the beginning and end of the episode agree with the text as given in the vulgate edition of the JA; all the other examined *Kuśalava* mss. omit the first sentence of Jaimini, change the following question of Janamejaya at the beginning of the first chapter (JA 25.1-3) and leave out a few verses at the end of the last chapter (JA 36.87-89).

The Southern independent manuscript tradition of the *Kuśalavopākhyāna* [28] could partly explain why most of the other works that claim to belong to the JBh and are preserved in South Indian mss. are paradoxically concerned with the *Rāmakathā* [29].

## 1.2. *Sītāvijaya or Sahasramukharāvaṇacaritra*

The *Sītāvijaya*, also known as *Sahasramukharāvaṇacaritra*, relates the story of the victory of Sītā against the Thousand-headed

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25. In addition to the mss. at the Oriental Research Institute, University of Mysore, see also SIVAPRIYANANDA, "An illustrated and dated manuscript of Jaiminīya Bhārata from Mysore", JOIB 42.3-4 (1993), p. 135-140.

26. Cf. the role of the Maratha rulers of Tanjore in the 17th-18th century.

27. Only one palm-leaf ms. in Grantha is found in Mysore, and one fragmentary ms. in Tigalari script in Pondicherry.

28. It is worth noticing that there is also a Telugu version of the *Kuśalavopākhyāna* "from the JBh". This translation (or free rendering) exists only in manuscript form.

29. Thus, some of these titles are mentioned in K. BULKE (i.e. the Belgian Jesuit Camille Bulcke), *Rāmkathā (utpatti aur vikās)*, 2nd edition, Prayāg, 1962, p. 181-182, 599, 639; see also A. HOLTZMANN (iun.), *Das Mahābhārata und seine Theile*, vol. III: *Das Gedicht als ein Ganzes*, Kiel, 1894, p. 37-40.

Rāvaṇa. The work is attested by c. 10 palm-leaf mss., all in Grantha script. It consists of c. 2500 stanzas and is divided into 50 adhyāyas. Its narrative structure is reminiscent of the JA, and even presupposes the *Kuśalava* episode. The *Sītāvijaya* claims to be extracted from the *Āśramavāsaparvan* of the JBh, and the story is also framed by a dialogue between Janamejaya and Jaimini. Moreover, a summary of the *Kuśalavopākhyāna*, starting with the *aśvamedha* performed by Rāma, is told by Janamejaya at the beginning, whereas at the end of the work the same king asks Jaimini to tell the story of the death of Dhṛtarāṣṭra (told in the *Āśramavāsaparvan* of the MBh), and the sage is said to agree.

The work appears to contain the most expanded version of this non-Valmikian episode, but it is not the only one. There are indeed several other works that tell the story of the Thousand- or Hundred-headed Rāvaṇa, who is a relative of the famous Ten-headed one and like him the conqueror of the worlds. Finally this ogre is defeated in battle by Sītā. The common feature of the different versions is the folk-tale motif of a boon granted to this Rāvaṇa. With the boon he becomes "unkillable" except by a woman. Moreover, the Śākta identification of Sītā with Devī is often added to the story. A Sanskrit version of the episode is also told in the *Adbhutarāmāyaṇa* (14th-15th century), which claims to constitute "the eighth *kāṇḍa*" of Vālmīki's epic [30]. Further versions of the story appear in the seventh *kāṇḍa* of the encyclopaedic *Ānandarāmāyaṇa* (15th-17th century) [31] and in the 17th-century *Tattvasaṃgraharāmāyaṇa* [32], again in *kāṇḍa* 7. In ver-

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30. See G. A. GRIERSON, "On the Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa", in BSOS 4 (1926-28), p. 11-27; J. BROCKINGTON, *Righteous Rāma*, Oxford, 1984, p. 255-256; V. RAGHAVAN, *Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇas other than Vālmīki's: The Adbhuta, Adhyātma, and Ānanda Rāmāyaṇas*, Madras, 1998, p. 3-22; W. L. SMITH, *Rāmāyaṇa Traditions...*, p. 137-138.

31. See W. L. SMITH, *Rāmāyaṇa Traditions...*, p. 136-137; V. RAGHAVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 104-105 (and p. 120-121 about locating the compilation in the Tamil country); the *Ānandarāmāyaṇa* as well as the various datings given to it are introduced in P. KOSKIKALLIO, "The *Gargasaṃhitā...*", p. 314-315.

32. See V. RAGHAVAN, "The Tattvasaṃgraharāmāyaṇa of Rāmabrahmānanda", in *Annals of Oriental Research* (Madras) 10 (1952-53), p. 1-55; J. BROCKINGTON, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

nacular languages, the episode is attested in Tamil [33], Malayalam [34], Kannada [35] and Telugu [36] traditions, as well as in Oriya, Bengali and Assamese works [37], not all very old, as far as we know.

Another Sanskrit version of the episode that needs to be edited and compared with the JBh version is the shorter *Sītāvijaya*, also enti-

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33. See C. R. SARMA, *The Ramayana in Telugu and Tamil*, Madras, 1973, p. 66; D. D. SHULMAN, "Battle as metaphor in Tamil folk and classical traditions", in *Another Harmony: New Essays on the Folklore of India*, ed. by S. H. Blackburn & A. K. Ramanujan, Berkeley, 1986, p. 105-130. Cf. also SHULMAN's "Sītā and Śatakaṇṭharāvaṇa in a Tamil folk narrative", in *Journal of Indian Folkloristics* 2.3-4 (1979), p. 1-26.

34. The *Sītāvijaya/Sahasramukharāvaṇacaritra* episode, which is in the Malayalam tradition more often known as the story of Śatamukharāvaṇa, is found at least in the following renderings: 1) The "song on *Śatamukharāmāyaṇa*" belonging as an episode to the *Rāmakathāppāṭṭŭ* by the 14th–15th-century-poet Ayyippiḷḷa Āśān Avvāṭuttura (see V. N. AIYA, *The Travancore State Manual*, vol. II (1906), p. 427; for further details about this author, see Pi. Ke. Nārāyaṇapiḷḷa, "Ayyippiḷḷa Āśān Avvāṭuttura", in *Sarvavijñānakośam*, ed. by Ke. Em. Jōrjī [K. M. George], Trivandrum, 1974, p. 145). 2) The *Sītāvijaya kiḷippāṭṭŭ* ascribed to 16th-century poet Tuñcatt' Eḻuttacchan (yet being most probably a later text). This poem is also called *Śatamukharāvaṇavadham* or *Śatamukharāmāyaṇam* (ULḶŪR ES. PARAMĒŚVA-RAIYYAR, *Kēraḷasāhityacaritram*, vols. I-V, 4th edition, Trivandrum, 1990, vol. II, p. 582-584). 3) The "*Kamba Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa*" referred to by V. MANI in his *Purāṇic Encyclopaedia*, *s.v.* "Sahasramukharāvaṇa" (Delhi, 1975, p. 665; originally published in Malayalam, at the Kottayam University Press, and quoting the Malayalam works sometimes indistinctively). This *Kamparāmāyaṇam* (Uttarakāṇḍa) is to be distinguished from the classical Tamil *Irāmāvatāram* of Kampaṉ (and its sequel, the *Uttarakāṇṭam* ascribed to Oṭṭakkūttaṉ) of which it appears to be a "conflated" free rendering. This Malayalam version may correspond to "the *Kambarama-yanam* consisting of the thirty-two dramas enacted even today as a part of the ritual during the annual festival in Shiva temples in the northern part of Kerala" (S. VENUGOPAL, "Ramayana episodes in South-Indian folk literature", in *Rama-katha in Tribal and Folk Tradition of India*, ed. by K. S. Singh & B. Datta, Calcutta, 1993, p. 108) or to some text bearing that title and used in shadow-puppetry (see e.g. P. I. ITTOOP, *Kamparāmāyaṇakathā*, 3rd edition, Kunamkulam, 1940). 4) Various metrical dance drama versions from the early 18th century and 1850s (ULḶŪR ES. PARAMĒŚVARAIYYAR, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 136, 309-310; vol. IV, p. 61. 5) An early-20th-century version (*Sītāvijayam* alias *Mūlakāsuravadham*) by Kaviyūr Veṅkaṭāca-lam Ayyar (1875-1941) (ULḶŪR ES. PARAMĒŚVARAIYYAR, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 14-15).

35. At least in the *yakṣagāna* drama tradition (see e.g. D. D. SHULMAN, "Battle as metaphor...", p. 107).

36. See C. R. SARMA, *op. cit.*, p. 41, 162, and his "Ramayana in Telugu literature and folklore", in *The Ramayana Tradition in Asia*, ed. by V. Raghavan, New Delhi, 1980, p. 217.

37. See W. L. SMITH, *Rāmāyaṇa Traditions...*, p. 136-145.

tled *Śatamukharāvaṇacaritra*, which claims to be extracted from the *Vāsiṣṭhottararāmāyaṇa*. It is known through c. 20 palm-leaf mss., nearly all in Grantha script. Some of the mss. present a text running from adhyāya 1 to adhyāya 7, but the majority of them embody only adhyāyas 11-13. Despite having an incomplete outlook, all of these mss., in any case, give a complete account of the episode. Adhyāyas 11-13 have been "edited" in Devanāgarī as the chapters 11-13 of a strange composite *Vāśiṣṭharāmāyaṇa* (*Uttarakāṇḍa* or -*caritra* as said in the colophons) [38]. Here the story of the victory of Sītā against the Hundred-headed Rāvaṇa is told by Vasiṣṭha to Śatānanda.

At this stage of our inquiry it seems that the account in mss. containing seven chapters is nothing else than an enlarged variant of the "adhyāyas 11-13" version, to which Sūta and the *ṛṣis* are added as the outermost layer of interlocution. There is, however, a Madras (GOML) ms. which is described as containing, firstly, adhyāyas 11-13 under the title *Śatamukharāvaṇacaritra*, and thereafter adhyāyas 1-7 under the title *Sītāvijaya*, as if they were two different works on the same subject. There is also the case of another Madras (GOML) ms. which seems to embody the version of seven chapters, but here as being the *sargas* 8-14 of the *Vāsiṣṭhasaṃhitā* from the *Skanda[purāṇa]* [39].

## 1.3. *Mairāvaṇacaritra or Hanumadvijaya*

The next Southern work that claims to be part of the JBh, though being concerned with the *Rāmakathā*, is the *Mairāvaṇacaritra*, also known as *Hanumadvijaya* (and in some colophons *Mārutimairāvaṇacaritra*). It relates the story of the victory of Hanumān over the demon Mairāvaṇa, who was the King of Pātāla and a friend of Rāvaṇa. During the siege of Laṅkā, Mairāvaṇa has abducted Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to the nether world in order to sacrifice them to the goddess. About 20 mss. of the text have been identified, nearly all in

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38. This is a very rare work published in 1908 (V.S. 1965) at the B. Prasāda ("Raghurājanagara") Press in "Rīvām" (= Rewa, Madhya Pradesh).

39. The Malayalam folk-poem *Sītāvijaya kiḷippāṭṭŭ* (see above fn. 34) is said to be based on the Sanskrit original of the *Vāsiṣṭhottararāmāyaṇa*. In this connection, the *Vāsiṣṭhottararāmāyaṇa*, too, is described as being part of the SkP (ULLŪR ES. PARAMĒŚVARAIYYAR, *Kēraḷasāhityacaritram*, vol. II, p. 582).

Grantha script on palm leaves. The work consists of c. 800 stanzas and is divided into 20 adhyāyas. Unlike the *Sītāvijaya*, the *Mairāvaṇacaritra* does not reveal to which part of the JBh it is supposed to belong. Yet, the text is artificially linked to the epic context through the narrative frame as the story previously told by Rāma to Agastya is now repeated by Nārada to Yudhiṣṭhira.

This non-Valmikian Mairāvaṇa episode exists in many more versions than the *Sītāvijaya* and is still well preserved in South-Indian folklore. From the 14th-15th century onwards the tale appears in vernacular literatures of India, both on the Dravidian and on the Indo-Āryan side, and it is also included in several Southeast Asian *Rāmāyaṇas* [40]. The details of the story vary a lot in the different ren-

40. See D. B. Kapp, "Zwei Anspielungen auf die Mahīrāvaṇa-Sage: Śivapurāṇa 3.20.34 und Padumāvatī 394-395", in WZKS 32 (1988), p. 91-102 (cf. also by the same author, "The Episode of Ayi- and Mayi-Rāvaṇa in the oral Rāmāyaṇa version of the Ālu Kuṟumbas", in *Rāmāyaṇa and Rāmāyaṇas*, ed. by M. Thiel-Horstmann, Wiesbaden, 1991, p. 103-114); W. L. Smith, *Rāmāyaṇa Traditions...*, p. 145-153 (cf. also his "Mahīrāvaṇa and the womb demon", in IT 10 (1982), p. 215-225); S. Sahai, *Rāmāyaṇa in Laos*, Delhi, 1976, p. 26-27; S. Singaravelu, "The episode of Mayārab in the Thai Rāmakīen and its possible relationship to Tamil folklore", *Asian Folklore Studies* 44 (1985), p. 269-279. In addition to the numerous references given by these authors, the following South Indian renderings of the Mairāvaṇa episode can be mentioned: 1) in Malayālam: the 14th–15th-century *Rāmakathāppāṭṭŭ* by Ayyippiḷḷa Āśān Avvāṭuttura, containing also this story (cf. above fn. 34 and N. Aiya [*op. cit.*, p. 427] who calls Ayyippiḷḷa's version a "song on *Pātālarāmāyaṇa*"; for further details, see A. G. Menon, "The Sanskrit and the non-Sanskrit traditions of Rāmāyaṇa from the West Coast of India", in *Rāmāyaṇa and Rāmāyaṇas*, ed. by M. Thiel-Horstmann, p. 62-64); the poem on Pātālarāvaṇa by Vīra Keraḷavarman (K. Chaitanya, *A History of Malayalam Literature*, Madras, 1971, p. 135-136), which might be the same as the *kiḷippāṭṭŭ* ascribed to the 18th century by N. V. Krishna Warrior ("Rāmāyaṇa in Malayalam literature and folk-lore", in *The Ramayana Tradition in Asia*, ed. by V. Raghavan, p. 213); the "Kamba Rāmāyaṇa, Yuddhakāṇḍa" referred to by V. Mani (*op. cit.*, p. 582, *s.v.* "Pātālarāvaṇa" and p. 827, *s.v.* "Varamaṇi"). 2) in Telugu: the 15th–16th-century *Mairāvaṇa caritramu* by Madayya; the unedited translation of the JBh version (H. H. Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1882, p. 288-289); the *Mairāvaṇacaritra yakṣagāna* (ed. Madras, 1974); the Tolubommalata shadow puppet tradition (see J. Goldbergbelle's studies). 3) in Tamil: the popular *Mayilirāvaṇankatai* (see e.g. D. D. Shulman, "Battle as metaphor...", p. 114-115, where the work is interestingly compared with the Tamil version of the *Sītāvijaya*; K. V. Zvelebil, *Two Tamil Folktales*, Delhi, 1987, p. xxxv-xlv, 173-219, and his "Peacock Ravaṇa in Tamil folklore", *PILC Journal of Dravidic Studies* 2 (1992), p. 227-237). For the iconography of the Mairāvaṇa episode, see S. L. Nagar, *Mahīrāvaṇacaritam in Indian Paintings*, Delhi, 1996. For

derings. The version linked with the JBh represents a rather simple variant of the tale, and it has been considered an early one [41], even if it is very difficult to decide which version could constitute the prototype of the others, let alone to trace historical relationships between the different works [42].

One Sanskrit version of the Mairāvaṇa episode has been published in the *Ānandarāmāyaṇa* (1.11) [43]. The story also appears as a *nāṭaka* entitled *Mahīrāvaṇavadha*. This text, which was composed in Nepal as early as 1337, has recently been edited, too [44]. According to its title, the play might well be based on another Sanskrit version of the tale, viz. the unpublished *Mairāvaṇavadha* also called *Hanumadvijaya*. This work, of which we have listed about 25 mss. [45], consists of c. 2500 stanzas divided into 61-63 *sargas*. As such, it appears to be the most expanded of all the renderings. Sometimes the *Mairāvaṇavadha* claims to belong to the *Pūrvavāsiṣṭha[rāmāyaṇa]*, despite the fact that Vasiṣṭha does not appear among the layers of interlocution (yet he may be considered the narrator of the outermost layer). Instead, the main story is told to Rāma by the bear Jāmbāvan at a great meeting of the sages in the Court of Ayodhyā.

The third unpublished Sanskrit version of the tale, represented by a single ms. in Kannada script, is an apocryphal work of 24 *sargas*. It claims to be extracted from the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. In addition to all these variants, there is one more Mairāvanavadha version; it is told in the first eight chapters of the "Rīvām" edition of the *Vasiṣṭharāmāyaṇa* (see section 1.2 above). The origin of this ren-

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thematic studies about the story, see M. BROCKINGTON, "The Indic version of *The two brothers* and its relationship to the *Rāmāyaṇa*", *Fabula* 36 (1995), p. 267, and the paper by PH. LUTGENDORF, "Another Rāvaṇa, another Rāma: the narrative logic of an 'interpolation'" (in press).

41. W. L. SMITH, "Mahīrāvaṇa and the womb demon", p. 219; S. L. NAGAR, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

42. Cf. J. BROCKINGTON, *op. cit.*, p. 278, fn. 34.

43. See W. L. SMITH, *Rāmāyaṇa Traditions...*, p. 146-147, V. RAGHAVAN, *Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇas other than Vālmīki's*, p. 86-87.

44. Jayata's *Mahīrāvaṇavadha Nāṭaka*, ed. by Jñānamaṇi Nepāl, Kīrtipur, V.S. 2040. W. L. SMITH (*Rāmāyaṇa Traditions...*, p. 147-148) concludes that "it could well be the oldest datable version of the story in any language".

45. The mss. are mainly in Grantha script on palm leaves, usually found in Kerala. One ms. in Devanāgarī, however, appears in Varanasi.

dering remains untraced. Curiously enough, it does not correspond with any variant found in the mss., even if it may be the summary of one of them.

## 1.4. *Setumāhātmya*

Again more or less concerned with Rāma is the short *Setu-māhātmya* which celebrates in 4 adhyāyas and about 300 stanzas the holiness of Setu or Rameśvaram [46]. Only 5 mss. of the work, 3 of them in Grantha on palm leaves, are at the moment clearly identified. Interestingly, this Māhātmya, narrated by Jaimini himself, claims to be extracted from the *Āraṇyakaparvan* of the JBh.

## 1.5. *Hariścandropākhyāna*

Among the numerous Sanskrit versions of the story of King Hariścandra [47] there are two [48] unpublished variants preserved in South Indian mss, mostly in Grantha script. Both of these retellings appear in 10 adhyāyas and present the story in the frame of a discussion between Vaiśaṃpāyana and Janamejaya. Moreover, both versions are sometimes found in the same mss. with the *Kuśalavopākhyāna* of the JA. The one that seems to be the shorter variant (about 600 stanzas), known in c. 30 mss., usually claims to belong to the *Harivaṃśa* [49], but

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46. Another, the much longer version of the SetuM (in 52 adhyāyas), forms the first part of the *Brahmakhaṇḍa* of the SkP.

47. The Hariścandra/Śunaḥśepa legend appears for the first time in its totality in the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* (7.13-18). Since then, different renderings of the story are incorporated in several epic and puranic works, one of the most famous being the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* version (MkP 7-9). For the story and its different scholarly interpretations, see V. HÄMEEN-ANTTILA, "Back to Śunaḥśepa: remarks on the gestation of the Indian literary narrative", in *Vidyārṇavavandanam: Essays in Honour of Asko Parpola*, ed. by K. Karttunen & P. Koskikallio, (Studia Orientalia 94), Helsinki, 2001, p. 181-213.

48. In fact, there is also a third unpublished Sanskrit rendering, which we do not take into account here. This, the longest of all versions of the story, viz. the 61-chapter variant claiming to be part of the SkP, is found in South Indian mss., too. During recent centuries, numerous versions of the Hariścandra legend were also composed in Dravidian languages. Most of them, as well, remain unpublished.

49. One Malayalam ms. of this type is dated in Malayalam Era 818, i.e. AD 1643.

sometimes also to Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*, and in one case (a Berlin ms.) even to the JBh [50]. The other version, which is represented by less than 5 mss., introduces itself as being part of the JBh – except one ms. in Kannada script which does not describe its source. It is obvious that the ascription to the JBh is in this case an artificial one, even if the MBh/JBh opposition could have been a useful device in order to distinguish two apparently similar works [51].

## 1.6. *Harivaṃśaparvan*

This text in 55 adhyāyas and c. 3000 stanzas is evidenced by a single palm-leaf ms. in Grantha script from Madras [52]. It is described under the title *Harivaṃśa* and is said to be "similar" to it. Yet, the final colophon of the work is *ity ārṣe jaiminibhārate harivaṃśaparvaṇi...* Moreover, at the beginning of the ms, after five rather common bene-dictory stanzas [53], the text runs as follows: *yo harivaṃśaṃ samyak kṛṣṇadvaipāyanoditaṃ bhaktyā | janamejayāya ṛṣiṇā jaiminā prāpi-taṃ paṭhati || so haribhaktaḥ satataṃ tatpadakamalaṃ juṣan vasati*. The work needs, of course, further investigation, but we would not be surprised if it were a text resembling the *Śeṣadharma* portion of the *Harivaṃśa* [54].

50. Similarly, it is to be noted that one Leipzig ms. of the *Dharmasaṃvāda*, a short apocryphal work generally described as extracted from the *Āśvamedhikaparvan* of the MBh and framed by the discussion between Vaiśampāyana and Janamejaya, is described by TH. AUFRECHT (*Katalog der Sanskrit-Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 42, no. 189) as "ein Kapitel aus dem Jaiminibhārata". This reference to the JBh is taken in the NCC (vol. VII, p. 311, which adds another Leipzig ms. of the work, viz. no. 190), but we have been unable to check whether this exceptional ascription is indeed based on the ms. or mistakenly inferred by Aufrecht.
51. It is probable that the initial impulse for linking a revised version of the Hariścandra episode with the JBh is due to the MkP version, which is part of the infrequent puranic portions where Jaimini appears as the narrator of the frame story.
52. GOML R. no 7115, "presented in 1939-40 by Śrī Dharaṇikoṭakantayya, Guntur". The existence of the ms. was already noticed by J. D. M. Derrett ("Greece and India Again", p. 23, fn. 21).
53. 1: to Viṣṇu, "Śrīpati and Bhūpati", etc.; 2: the famous "... *jayam udīrayet*" introductory stanza of both the MBh and the HV in the Critical edition; 3-4: = HV 22*; 5: = HV 1*.
54. The *Śeṣadharmaprakaraṇa* is edited as the Appendix II of the Critical edi-tion of the HV. This text in c. 57 adhyāyas is also transmitted in Southern mss.

## 2. *Jaiminirāmāyaṇa*

Besides the texts claiming to be part of the JBh, there are also other epic and puranic titles ascribed to Jaimini. These works are either presented as Jaimini's variant of some basic Indian title or, alternatively, they are understood as parts of independent – and more indistinct – puranic totalities (see section 4).

The first example of Jaimini texts outside the JBh is the *Jaiminirāmāyaṇa* (JRm), a work of which our knowledge is still quite defective. Like the other Jaimini texts referring to the *Rāmakathā*, this work, too, is most probably of South Indian origin. It consists of 67 adhyāyas, which means that it is about the same length as the JA. It contains various more or less apocryphal episodes of the Rāma story, laying much stress on the events during the phase when the monkeys were first sent to Laṅkā in search of Sītā. Like in the JA, some minor epic characters are taken in the front (e.g. the previous history of Maṇḍodarī [55] is told in chapter 14). Some puranic-looking characters appear as well (e.g. the story of Asura Śaṃbara and his death in chapters 25-26) [56]. The *Kuśalava* episode is absent.

Only one or two complete mss. of the JRm are known. One is in Mysore (Mahārāja's Library) and the other, a more problematic one, is in the GOML, Madras [57]. The former is written in Grantha and the latter in Telugu script. A further hint to southeastern roots of this text is that there is a Telugu translation of this work, published in Madras in 1984 [58]. The Telugu translation, too, contains 67 chapters, but

55. For South Indian legends about Maṇḍodarī, the wife of Rāvaṇa, see e.g. V. MANI, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

56. Like the *aśvamedha* tour in the JA, similarly the monkeys' expedition to Laṅkā provides a suitable picaresque or road-movie context for bringing new episodes into the epic storyline.

57. According to M. RANGACHARYA, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library* (Madras, 1907, vol. 4.1, no. D 1819), this ms. contains *Rāmāyaṇa*'s *Ayodhyakāṇḍa*, but another catalogue (S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI & P. P. S. SASTRI, *Alphabetical Index of Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras, 1938, p. 261, n. 6943) refers to the JRm as does the NCC (vol. VII, p. 311), where the ms. is strangely listed as "MD Kannada D. 1819".

58. Ti. Gu. OYYĀRI RAMGĀCĀRYULU, *Jaimani rāmāyaṇamu*, Madras (Orthodox National League), 1984, viii+143 p., 5 photos.

because many of the chapters are quite short, the rendering is most probably an abridged one. All our information about the contents of the JRm is thus far based on a clumsy reading of the chapter headings of this Telugu rendering.

In addition to the Telugu translation, there is a Sanskrit ms. fragment of chapters 51-52 of the JRm. Three copies of this fragment are available, one ms. in the GOML, Madras and two in Adyar Library. V. RAGHAVAN, who has paid attention to the GOML ms., states that the passage deals with the life of Vālmīki and how he was initiated in the recitation of Rāma's name. The colophon calls the JRm by the alternative title *Rāmanāmamāhātmya* [59].

## 3. *Jaiminīyabhāgavata*

The *Jaiminīyabhāgavata* (JBhāg) provides a selection of famous *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* episodes about Kṛṣṇa's deeds in Vṛndāvana. The work retells the tenth book of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* in 69 chapters [60], which seems to be an ideal length for certain texts of the Jaimini cluster. The spread of the JBhāg mss. indicates that this text is an eastern one, most probably of Orissan origin. The Orissan connection is further underlined by the observation that there exists an Oriya version of the JBhāg as well. This 19th-century Oriya rendering is composed by Madana Mohana Keśari, son of the King of Dharākote. An incomplete ms. of this version is in the collections of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneshwar [61].

We have found references to altogether 7 JBhāg mss. All the mss. of this text are on palm leaves and at least 4 of them use Oriya script.

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59. V. RAGHAVAN, *The Greater Rāmāyaṇa*, Varanasi, 1973, p. 68, fn. 1. See also NCC, vol. VII, p. 311 where it is specified that the JRm describes the power of Rāma's name.

60. A. B. KEITH, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, vol. II, Oxford, 1935, p. 1043-1044 (ms. no. 6944) gives a table of contents of a JBhāg ms. in 41 adhyāyas.

61. The information about the Oriya JBhāg is based on M. MISHRA, "Purāṇas in Oriya literature", in *Purāṇa* 41.2 (1999), p. 161.

The remaining ones are written in Devanāgarī and in Malayalam script [62]. Two mss. (both in Oriya script) contain 69 adhyāyas, but three mss. contain only about 40 chapters (41, 41 and 43 adhyāyas).

## 4. *"Jaiminipurāṇa" and miscellaneous puranic tracts*

In this section we shall treat a slightly complicated set of puranic Jaimini titles which are sometimes found in colophons as well as in manuscript catalogues. Like the epic term *Jaiminibhārata*, puranic comprehensive titles do not necessarily refer to any existing whole, but they are used as grandiose umbrella terms under which different apocryphal fragments and compilations are stored.

Our files contain references to 7 mss. which are in catalogues called as *Jaiminipurāṇa*, but the contents of these mss. are unknown to us. The other general term *Jaiminisaṃhitā*, on the other hand, is attested to refer to several Jaimini texts of our "corpus". In addition to these problematic titles, we have listed 6 mss. of the *Jyeṣṭha-māhātmya* ascribed to Jaimini. This short text is in a few mss. defined as belonging to the *Jaiminipurāṇa*.

### 4.1. *"Jaiminipurāṇa"*

Although we have thus far not been able to check any of the mysterious *Jaiminipurāṇa* mss., it seems evident that these mss. contain some other Jaimini text. Six of the references are taken from an old catalogue of Central Indian private collections [63] and the seventh *Jaiminipurāṇa* is in the Lucknow University Library. The library card in Lucknow defines the text by calling it *jaiminipurāṇa-mahābhā-*

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62. The ms. in Malayalam script is a fragment of the first 13 chapters. The seventh JBhāg ms. is an untraceable case: this ms. was listed in the 1870s by F. KIELHORN (*A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts Existing in the Central Provinces*, Nagpur, 1874, p. 24) in a private collection in Sambalpur, Orissa. Its script was not mentioned, but most probably it is written in Oriya script, too.

63. R. B. HIRALAL, *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛt Manuscripts in the Central Provinces and Berar*, Nagpur, 1926, p. 170-171, nos. 1829-34.

*ratāntargata*. So, the text might be the JA with a puranic title. The NCC has also referred to this possibility [64].

## 4.2. *"Jaiminisaṃhitā"*

A large puranic segment called *Jaiminīyasaṃhitā* will be treated in more detail in section 5. Here a few lines concerning the other uses of "Jasmini's *Saṃhitā*" are necessary.

In some cases the name *Jaiminisaṃhitā* is used to refer to the JA [65]. WILLIAM SMITH takes up an interesting historical record referring to the *purāṇasaṃhitā* of Jaimini. According to this reminiscence from the 16th century, entertaining Sanskrit stories linked with Yudhiṣṭhira's *aśvamedha* were recited to Chuṭi Khān of Chittagong, who gave a command to spread this text, i.e. the Sanskrit JA, in vernacular form [66].

The third referent of the name *Jaiminisaṃhitā* is found in a curious Devanāgarī ms. stored in Ahmedabad [67]. We have copied this fragmentary ms. of which 60 fols. are extant and which finally breaks in the middle of adhyāya 10 [68]. The catalogue classifies the ms. as a Sāmavedic text despite the fact that the colophons clearly state that the

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64. NCC, vol. VII, p. 308; see also p. 310.

65. E.g. in *A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Chandausi Puratatwa Sangrahalaya*, compiled by P. Shrivastava, Chandausi, 1985, p. 46-47. We have copies of this ms. and it is a normal Devanāgarī version of the JA. Cf. also R. A. K. Sastry, *Kavīndrācārya's List, Edited with Introduction*, (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 17), Baroda, 1921, p. 23 & 26, nos. 1402 & 1651, where two *Jaiminisaṃhitās* (but no JAs) are listed in the library of a 16th–17th-century Varanasi pandit. Moreover, HIRALAL's catalogue, which contains the five references to "Jaiminipurāṇa" mss., gives four entries with the title "Jaiminibhārata" (nos. 1827-28 and 1840-41) and one with the name "Jaiminisaṃhitā" (no. 1835). It is possible that all of these mss. contain the JA or some other text connected with the JBh, but the editor of the catalogue has listed them according to the different titles given in the colophons (for another possibility, see fn. 86 below).

66. W. L. SMITH, "The Jaiminibhārata and...", p. 401.

67. BH. K. BHATT & V. V. BHATT, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts of B.J. Institute Museum*, vol. III, Ahmedabad, 1987, p. 12, no. 3067.

68. Also the first page as well as 21 other fols. in the middle of the text are missing.

text is a discussion between Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira [69]. The text seems to contain bhakti philosophy concentrating around Kṛṣṇa's teachings. A special attribute of Kṛṣṇa in the text is *phālgunasakha* 'the friend of Phālguṇa' (i.e. of Arjuna) [70]. A closer study of the ms. is needed [71].

## 4.3. *Jyeṣṭhamāhātmya*

The *Jyeṣṭhamāhātmya* (JyeM) attributed to Jaimini is a text in 12 adhyāyas. Due to its title, the text can be associated with other Māhātmyas referring to the months of the Indian calendar. The *Skanda-*, in particular, as well as the *Padmapurāṇa*, contain several eulogies of a month, viz. *Vaiśākha-* [72], *Kārttika-* [73], *Mārgaśīrṣa-* [74], and *Māgha(māsa)-māhātmya* [75]. These texts, which have been published as separate printings, too, describe the periodical feasts and fasts and legends relating to them [76]. Additional Māhātmya texts have been dedicated to *caitra* [77],

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69. Jaimini appears as the narrator of the whole text.

70. The ms. contains the following colophons: 1. *iti śrījaiminisaṃhitāyāṃ kṛṣṇayudhiṣṭhirasaṃvāde phālgunasakhānusmṛtir nāma...*; 2. *...saṃvāde phālguna-sakhastavarājo...*; 4. *iti śrījaiminisaṃhitāyāṃ phālgunasakhopadiṣṭasādhana...*; 5. *...phālgunasakhopadiṣṭabrahmavidyāyāṃ bahuvicāranirūpaṇam...*; 6. *...brahma-vidyāyāṃ ṣaṭdarśanasammatavastuviveko...* 7. *...phālgunasakhopadiṣṭacārvākakṣa-paṇakamatakhaṇḍanam...*

71. It has to be noted that the title *Jaimina-/Jaiminīyasaṃhitā* is listed among the "lost" *Pāñcarātra* works, too (see F. O. SCHRADER, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*, 2nd edition, Adyar, 1973, p. 7, no. 51).

72. *Vaiśākha(māsa)māhātmya*: SkP/Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa 7, a text in 25 adhyāyas.

73. *Kārttika(māsa)māhātmya*: SkP/Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa 4, a text in 36 adhyāyas. Another text with the same title forms a part of the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of the PdP (at least versions in 13, 29, 33 and 36 adhyāyas appear). On the ms. level the title appears in connection with several other Purāṇas and also with *Pāñcarātra* texts. See e.g. NCC, vol. IV, p. 3-5 (where various printed editions, too, are listed); see also A. CHATTERJEE, "A treatise of the Kārtikamāhātmya: its character and importance", in *Purāṇa* 5.2 (1963), p. 320-325.

74. *Mārgaśīrṣamāsamāhātmya*: SkP/Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa 5, a text in 17 adhyāyas.

75. *Māgha(māsa)māhātmya*: part of PdP's *Uttarakhaṇḍa*; consists of 3, 25 or 32 adhyāyas.

76. The main events connected with the *jyeṣṭha* month (May-June) are *vaṭasāvi-trīvrata* and *daśaharā*.

77. *Caitramāhātmya*: some mss. claim to be part of the "*Himavatkhaṇḍa* of the SkP". More details in NCC, vol. VII, p. 84.

*āṣāḍha* [78], *śravana* [79], *āśvina* [80], *pauṣa* [81] and *phālguna* [82] months. In fact, *bhādrapada* is the only month for which we could not trace a Mahāt-mya text. Moreover, it should be noted that the title *Jyeṣṭhamāhātmya* does not appear in puranic literature outside the Jaiminian context [83].

The JyeM is again an example of a Jaimini text which is in diffe-rent mss. defined either as a "puranic" or an "epic" text. Two out of the six known JyeM mss. introduce themselves as being part of the "Jaiminipurāṇa" and another two state that the JyeM belongs to the JBh [84]. One of the two mss. preferring the epic affiliation is preserved at the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta; this ms. has thus far been our main source of information concerning the JyeM. The Calcutta ms. also gives further information that the JyeM is a part of the JBh's *Śāntiparvan* [85]. We have not found any references to the use of scripts other than Devanāgarī for the JyeM mss. [86]

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78. *Āṣāḍhamāhātmya* "of the SkP": see NCC, vol. II (1966), p. 230.

79. *Śravanamāsamāhātmya* "of the SkP": a text in 30 adhyāyas, listed in *Epic and Purāṇic Bibliography*, ed. by H. von Stietencron et al., vol. II, Wiesbaden, 1992, p. 1160, no. 6899; see also TH. AUFRECHT, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1891, p. 667.

80. *Āśvinamāhātmya*: see NCC II, p. 229; according to one ms., part of the *Mudgalapurāṇa*.

81. *Pauṣamāhātmya* "of the SkP": a printed edition in 15 adhyāyas (s.l., 1908, published by Hariprasāda Śarmā). For affiliations with other Purāṇas on the ms. level, see NCC, vol. XII (1988), p. 205.

82. *Phālguna(māsa)māhātmya*: part of several puranic texts, see NCC, vol. XIII (1991), p. 211.

83. In addition, two renderings of the text called *Puruṣottama(māsa)māhātmya* claim to be part of the *Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa* or the PdP respectively. Both of these apocrypha are published separately in printed format: the *Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa* ver-sion appears at least in 31 adhyāyas and the PdP version in 24 adhyāyas. These works should not be confused with the *Puruṣottama(kṣetra)māhātmya* (= SkP/Vaiṣṇa-vakhaṇḍa 2, a text in 49/57/60 adhyāyas; also a short version exists in Brahmapurāṇa 69-70.11).

84. The last two mss. do not seem to take a stand on this question, because they define the text simply as *jaiminīyam* or *bhīṣmayudhiṣṭhirasaṃvādarūpam*.

85. No. IM 1690, a ms. of 24 and a half fols. (fol. 13 missing, otherwise com-plete), c. 460 stanzas. The first colophon reads: *iti śrījaiminīye mahābhārate śānti-parvaṇi bhīṣmayudhiṣṭhirasaṃvāde jyeṣṭhamāhātmyaṃ nāma prathamo [']dhyāyaḥ.* We would especially like to thank Mr. Emmanuel Francis, who copied this and sev-eral other Jaimini mss. for us during his stay in India in 2001.

86. For further information about the JyeM mss., see NCC, vol. VII, p. 308, 351. As many as four mss. presently belong to the collections of the Sarasvati Bhavan

The narratory scheme of the JyeM is a complicated one. According to the colophons, the JyeM is a discussion between Bhīṣma and Yudhiṣṭhira, but in the text itself the main speaker is Śiva. The outermost layer of interlocution appears only at the beginning of adhyāya 11, where Janamejaya praise Jaimini's *Jyeṣṭhīyamāhātmya* to Jaimini himself and Jaimini continues the narration. A look at the colophons reveal that the text deals with both mythical and ethical topics: chapter 5 tells the story of *rākṣasa* Caṇḍakarma (*caṇḍakarmo-pakhyāna*) [87] and chapters 10 and 11 teach about reaching the *brahma-loka* (*bhāvukabrahmalokāpti*) and about proper conduct (*dharmaśīlo-pakhyāna*).

## 5. *The Jaiminīyasaṃhitā of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*

The last text to be dealt with is the longest work of our "corpus". This Jaimini text is the only specimen where clear parallels can be made with less apocryphal, or should we say "proper puranic", material.

The long interpolated section of 2141 stanzas constituted by the adhyāyas 21-58 of the *Upodghātapāda* in the Bombay edition of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* is clearly an incomplete text [88]. In particular, this is shown by the position of the successive layers of interlocution: at the end of the portion Jaimini appears suddenly in dialogue with an unknown king, whereas at the beginning it was Vasiṣṭha who engaged in discussion with King Sagara, which is at least a structurally pro-blematic construction. We have had the opportunity to discover that the still unedited *Jaiminīyasaṃhitā* (JSa), which claims to be the *Madhyamabhāga* of the BḍP, is in fact the same but in this case a complete text. It consists of c. 97 adhyāyas and 6500 stanzas. The text

Library, Varanasi. The sixth ms. is listed in HIRALAL's catalogue (*op. cit.*, p. 172, no. 1851). As several JyeM mss. define themselves as being part of the *Jaiminipurāṇa*, one possible solution for the identity of the five *Jaiminipurāṇa* mss. (see above fn. 65) is that they are in fact JyeM mss.

87. A *rākṣasa* called Caṇḍakarma appears at least in Pañcatantra 5.11 (Pūrṇabhadra's version).

88. Cf. the continuity between chapters 20 and 59 of BḍP 2.3, as well as the cor-responding text of the *Vāyupurāṇa*.

of the JSa is mainly preserved in Malayalam-script mss.; about 40
palm-leaf mss. of it have been found.

At the beginning of the work, Jaimini starts a dialogue with the
solar king known as Hiraṇyanābha, who asks the seer why the
Bhāratavarṣa has been reduced by 400 *yojanas*. That is the reason
why Jaimini tells him the genealogies of the kings up to the story of
King Sagara. Next the dialogue between Sagara and Vasiṣṭha takes
place. In this section, the (earlier) stories of King Kārtavīryārjuna and
(Paraśu-)Rāma, the Brahmin, are told. Thereafter the dialogue
between Jaimini and Hiraṇyanābha (here unnamed) restarts for the
conclusion of the story of Sagara and his sons, leading to Rāma's final
achievement as he was able to save (part of) the submerged land.
Moreover, the JSa's counterpart of BḍP (2.3.)30.56-44.31 consists of
a dozen adhyāyas of completely different text. The JSa's variant is
obviously the original one, but because it was lost it was replaced by
a "secondary" interpolation of 710 stanzas within the edited text of
the BḍP [89].

An introductory article to the JSa has recently been published [90].
It describes the structure and the contents of this *purāṇasaṃhitā*,
which is at the same time a *kathā* and a *kāvya*. Some elements for
JSa's dating are also given, but that question still remains open. In
addition, the article deals with the preservation of the JSa manuscripts
and the ritual use of the text in Kerala, and explains the later partial
insertion of the JSa within the body of what unfortunately happened
to become the "standard" BḍP [91].

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89. This new text was in fact modelled after the variant found in the
*Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*. This was already demonstrated by A. J. GAIL in his
*Paraśurāma: Brahmane und Krieger*, Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 131-137, 158-187, 193-
194, 226, 233-236.

90. C. VIELLE, "An introduction to the *Jaiminīyasaṃhitā* of the *Brahmāṇḍa-
purāṇa*", in *Stages and Transitions: Temporal and Historical Frameworks in Epic
and Purāṇic Literature*, ed. by M. Brockington, Zagreb, 2002, p. 337-357. A further
study should stress the close relationships of the JSa with the MkP, another early
Purāṇa involving Jaimini as the central narrator.

91. A fresh examination of the whole manuscript tradition of the BḍP would
enable a better understanding of what originally was the *Vāyuproktapurāṇa* that later
became known as either the *Vāyu-* or the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. This effort would also
illuminate the process of further differentiation of the two Purāṇas.

The point that must be underlined is that the JSa bears testimony to a *smārta* Viṣṇuism without any Tantric traits. The text is also totally devoid of Kṛṣṇa- or Rāma-bhakti normally found in the other works introduced here.

## Abbreviations

BdP = Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa
B.O.R.I. = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune
fn. = footnote
fol(s). = folio(s)
GOML = Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras
HV = Harivaṃśa
JA = Jaiminīyāśvamedha
JBhāg = Jaiminīyabhāgavata
JEPP = Jaimini Epic and Puranic Project
JRm = Jaiminirāmāyaṇa
JSa = Jaiminīyasaṃhitā
JyeM = Jyeṣṭhamāhātmya
MBh = Mahābhārata
MkP = Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa
ms(s). = manuscript(s)
NCC = *New Catalogus Catalogorum*
PdP = Padmapurāṇa
PVRm = Pūrvavāsiṣṭharāmāyaṇa
s.a. = *sine anno* (= without date)
SetuM = Setumāhātmya
SīV = Sītāvijaya
SkP = Skandapurāṇa
s.l. = *sine loco* (= without place of publication)
V.S. = *vikrame saṃvat[sare]*, year according to the Vikrama Era
VURm = Vāsiṣṭhottararāmāyaṇa
VVBISIS = Vishveshvaranand Vishva Bandhu Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Hoshiarpur

# Appendix 1: Material for the Jaimini Epic and Puranic Project

| Title | Abbreviation | Scripts of the mss. | Number of mss.* | Number of adhyāyas | Number of stanzas | Vernacular renderings or translations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jaiminīyāśvamedha | JA | Devanāgarī, Bengali, Grantha, Nandināgarī, Newari, Śāradā, Oriya, Tigalari, Telugu, Malayalam | c. 250/200 (incl. c. 80/60 Kuśalava-episode mss.) | 68 | c. 5000 | Kannada, Telugu, Marathi; Bengali, Assamese; Oriya, Gujarati, Tamil, Malayalam; Hindi |
| Śivāvijaya/ Sahasramukharāvaṇacaritra | ŚiV/ | Grantha | c. 10/8 | 50 | c. 2500 | Tamil, Malayalam, |
| "from the JBh/Aśramavāsap." | SMRC | Telugu, Devanāgarī | c. 25/20 | 20 | c. 800 | Malayalam, |
| Śivāvijaya/ | ŚiV/ | Grantha, | | | | Telugu, . |
| Śatamukharāvaṇacaritra "from theVURm" | ŚMRC | Devanāgarī, Telugu | c. 20/18 | 3 or 7 | c. 250 | Kannada, Telugu, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese |
| Marāvaṇacaritta/ | MarC/ | Grantha, | | | | |
| Hanumadvijaya "from the JBh" | HaV | Grantha, Malayalam | c. 25/25 | 61-63 (sargas) | c. 2500 | Tamil |
| Marāvaṇavadha/ | MaraV/ | Devanāgarī, Telugu | | | | |
| Hanumadvijaya "from the PVRm" | HaV | | | | | |
| Marāvaṇavadha "from the Rn" | MaraV (Rn) | Kannada | 1/1 | 24 (sargas) | ? | + Southeast Asian versions |
| Setumāhātmya "from the JBh/ Āraṇyakap." | SetuM | Grantha, Telugu | c. 10/5 | 4 | c. 300 | ? |
| Hariścandropākhyāna "from the JBh" | HCU | Grantha, Kannada | 6/4 | 10 | c. 1200 | |
| Hariścandropākhyāna "from the HV (or MBh)" | HCU | Grantha, Malayalam, Telugu | 6/4 | 10 | c. 600 | |
| | (HV/MBh) | Devanāgarī, Nandināgarī, | c. 30/30 | | | various |
| Harivaṃśaparvan "from the JBh" | HVP | Grantha | 1/1 | 55 | ? | ? |
| Jaiminīrāmāyaṇa | JRm | Grantha, Telugu? | 2/2? (+ 3 fragm.) | 67 | ? | Telugu |
| Jaiminiyabhāgavata | JBhāg | Oriya, Devanāgarī, Malayalam | 7/6 | 69 (c. 40?) | c. 4000 | Oriya |
| Jyeṣṭhamāhātmya "from the JBh/Śāntip." or | | Devanāgarī | | | | |
| "from the Jaiminipurāṇa" | JyeM | | 6/5 | 12 | c. 450 | ? |
| Jaiminīyasaṃhitā "from the BdP" | JSa | Malayalam, Devanāgarī, Grantha, Telugu | c. 60/40 | c. 97 | c. 6500 | Malayalam |
| Jaiminisaṃhitā ("Phālgunasakhā fragment") | JSa | Devanāgarī | 1/1 | ? | ? | ? |

* The first number gives the total number of references found in various catalogues; the latter number is an estimation of "attainable" mss.

Appendix 2: Editions of the *Jaiminīyāśvamedha* in chronological order

**1850**: *atha jaiminikr̥tāśvamedhaḥ prārabhyate*, Bombay, Bāpu Hegiṣṭe (Ujjahāra) Press, *śake* 1772, 125 fols. [lithographic]

**1863**: *atha jaiminikr̥tāśvamedhaḥ prārabhyate*, Bombay, Gaṇapata Kr̥ṣṇājī Press, *śake* 1785, 120 fols.

**1870**: *jaiminibhārata*, in *Hindupracāra*, Calcutta, Nīlakaṇṭha Press, *s.a.*, 186 pp. [with Bengali translation, incomplete up to adhyāya 11]

**1872-73**: *jaiminibhāratam maharṣijaiminipraṇītam*, in *Prācīnapurāṇa-saṃgraham*, 3 fascicles (pp. 1-20, 21-40, 41-60), Calcutta, Bhārata Press, V.S. 1929-30 [with Bengali translation, incomplete up to adhyāya 19]

**1879**: *atha jaiminī-āśvamedhaprārambhaḥ*, Bombay, Bāpu Hegiṣṭe (Ujjahāra) Press, *śake* 1801 / V.S. 1935, 162 fols. [lithographic]

**1881**: *atha śrījaiminikr̥tāśvamedhaprārambhaḥ*, Bombay, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, *śake* 1803, 192 fols. [lithographic]

**1885**: *atha śrīmajjaiminīyāśvamedhaparvaprārambhaḥ*, Bombay, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, V.S. 1942 / *śake* 1807, 157 fols.

**1904**: *jaiminīyāśvamedhagrantha*, Bombay, Gaṇapata Kr̥ṣṇājī Press, *śake* 1826

**1908**: *atha gurjjarabhāṣāsamanvitaṃ śrījaiminīyāśvamedhaparva prā-rabhyate*, Ahmedabad, Satyanārāyaṇa Press, V.S. 1965, 272 fols. [with Gujarati translation]

**1913**: *śrījaimini-aśvamedha: mūla va marāṭhī-bhāṣāṃtara*, Wai, Dāmodara Lakṣmaṇa Ḷeḷe Press, 1913, 8+504 pp. [with Marathi translation]

**1932**: *atha śrīmajjaiminīyāśvamedhaparvaprārambhaḥ*, Bombay, Veṅ-kaṭeśvara Press, V.S. 1989 / *śake* 1854, 111 fols.; the same text published together with a Hindi translation in the same year: *atha śrīmajjaiminīyāśvamedhaparva bhāṣāṭīkāsametaṃ prārambhaḥ*

**1961**: *śrījaiminīyāśvamedhaparva*, Gorakhpur, Gītā Press (publication no. 0637), V.S. 2018, 8+408 pp. [with Hindi translation]; reprint-ed 1995 (V.S. 2052)