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STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀṆAS

By
R. C. HAZRA, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.
Professor of Smṛti and Purāṇa,
Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research,
Sanskrit College, Calcutta.

VOL. I
(SAURA AND VAIŚṆAVA UPAPURĀṆAS)

CALCUTTA
FOREWORD

The Government of West Bengal started the Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, in 1951, and made arrangements for the publication of a half-yearly bulletin entitled "Our Heritage" embodying the contributions made by its members. Last year the Government decided to undertake the publication of a series of Texts and Studies. The present work, Studies in the Upapuranas, the first in the Studies Series, is from the pen of Dr. R. C. Hazra, Professor of Smṛti and Purāṇa at this College. The work is expected to consist of four more volumes of equal length, and will cover the entire Upapurāṇa literature, about which very little was known to scholars. The value and importance of the Purāṇa literature for the study of social, religious and even political history of ancient and mediaeval India have been widely felt and recognised by all Indologists. In the present volume, Dr. Hazra deals with the Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas examining fully the various problems connected with the individual texts, and also giving analysis of their contents. I have reasons to believe that this and the other volumes to be published subsequently will remove a long-felt want and bring out the manifold interest of an important but much neglected branch of Sanskrit literature.

Gaurinath Sastri
General Editor.
PREFACE

It is a long-standing, but erroneous, belief of wide popularity that the Upapurāṇas are 'later and inferior works' and scarcely deserve any serious attention. My chief object in the present work has been to point out to the scholarly world that the Upapurāṇas are rich as much in number as in content, that some of them are much earlier than many of the so-called Mahāpurāṇas, and that, like the extant Mahāpurāṇas, they are of capital importance not only for the study of the social and religious institutions of the Hindus from the pre-Gupta period downward but also for varied information of literary, historical, geographical and cultural interest. I have, therefore, taken pains to analyse briefly the contents of those Upapurāṇas which have been available to me either in printed forms or in manuscripts and to furnish as much useful and interesting information as possible on these points. I could not overlook the fact that it is by no means easy for many ardent and inquisitive students of ancient Indian history and culture to get access to the printed editions or manuscripts of the different Upapurāṇas, which are often very difficult to procure, or to go conveniently and profitably through these mostly extensive works written in Sanskrit. Feeling that without any idea of the period of origin and development of a work, especially of the Purāṇa literature, it is neither possible nor safe to enter into a critical and scientific study of its contents, I have tried to determine the approximate dates of the individual Upapurāṇas, or parts thereof, by thoroughly utilising all such materials, including those contained in the works themselves, as have been found helpful in determining their relative and absolute chronology. I have also taken full notice of the references and quotations from these works in the Smṛti commentaries, Nibandhas, etc. But in the case of those Upapurāṇas which have been drawn upon profusely by the comparatively early Nibandha-writers, the quotations made from them in the later Nibandhas have generally been overlooked. Those references and quotations, however, which I have been able to trace in the respective Upapurāṇas, will be enlisted in Appendix I at the end of the final volume. As regards the lost Upapurāṇas,
I have tried to give as much information as possible about their contents, dates and provenance, on the basis of the references and quotations contained in the Nibandhas and other works, Sanskrit or otherwise. I should mention in this connection that in examining the different Upapurāṇas I have found some (viz., Devi-purāṇa, Kriyā-yogasāra, Kālikā-purāṇa, Mahābhāgavata, Dharma-purāṇa, Brhad-dharma-purāṇa, etc.) which contain highly valuable materials for the reconstruction of the social and religious history of Eastern India, especially of Bengal and Kāmarūpa.

As the Purāṇa literature consists of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas as well as of the numerous Upapurāṇas, a complete idea of this vast literature is not possible without the study of both these classes of writings. My present work, therefore, has been devoted exclusively to the latter class of books, my previous one entitled 'Studies in the Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs' being concerned with the Mahāpurāṇas only. I should point out here that in the present volume as well as in the others to be published subsequently I have collected materials which support my views, set forth in the second part of my Purānic Records, regarding the different stages in the development of the Hindu rites and customs.

In writing these volumes I have utilised the works of various modern authors in different connections, but I am specially indebted to the veteran scholar Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. P.V. Kane, M.A., LL. M., D. Litt., whose monumental work, viz., History of Dharma-śāstra, has been a great source of inspiration to me and encouraged me to take up a vast subject for critical study. As regards the dates of the Smṛti works, I have followed Mm. Dr. Kane's conclusions almost invariably.

I feel much hesitation in treading upon a field which is almost untrodden, in writing upon a subject on which very little has been written; but I leave my work, which has extended over a number of years, to speak for itself. I venture, however, to claim that my efforts will add to the knowledge of the much neglected subject and bring out its many-sided importance. I have tried to confine myself, from direct reading, strictly to available facts and avoid vague or sweeping generalisations, always bearing in mind that the chains of historical
research can never be forged without the links supplied by individual facts.

For reasons stated in the Preface to my Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs and for the sake of uniformity I have used, in a few cases, the Vaṅgavāsi Press (Calcutta) editions of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, printed in Bengali characters, in preference to the more widely used Devanāgarī editions; but in doing so I have always taken particular care to give full references to, or add comparative notes on, the different editions of these works, so that scholars may not find any difficulty in tracing the references in the South Indian and other Devanāgarī editions.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to the Board of Editors of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series for accepting the present work for publication and also to our principal Dr. Gaurinath Sastri for recommending it to the Board.

Certain portions of this work were published as isolated articles in different oriental journals. But I have spared no pains to improve considerably upon these published portions with fresh materials collected by more recent studies.

_Calcutta_

_March, 1958_  

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA
ABBREVIATIONS

Adyar Library Cat. = A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library (Madras).
AnSS = Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona).
ASB = Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
As. Soc. = Asiatic Society.
Aufrecht, Bod. Cat. = Theodor Aufrecht, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae.
Bhāg. = Bhāgavata-puṇāṇa.
Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc. = R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems.
Bhav. = Bhaviṣya-puṇāṇa.
Bnār. = Brāhmapurāṇa.
Bod. Cat. = See 'Aufrecht, Bod. Cat'.
B. S. = Bengali Saṁvat.
Burnell, Classified Index = A. C. Burnell, A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore.
Bṛv = Brahmaṇḍavaivarta-puṇāṇa.
Cal. Sans. Coll. = Calcutta Sanskrit College (1, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta).
Cat. = Catalogue.
Chakravarti, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Cat. = Chintaharan Chakravarti, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat (Calcutta).
Chap., chaps. = Chapter, chapters.
Com. = Commentary.
Dacca Univ. = Dacca University.
Dbh = Devi-bhāgavata.
Ed. = Edition (or, Edited by, as the case may be).
Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat. (or, India Office Catalogue) = Julius Eggeling,
A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the
Library of the India Office (London).
Farquhar, Outline = J. N. Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious
Literature of India.
Fol., fols. = Folio, folios.
Gaṇ. = Gaṇeśa-purāṇa.
Gṛḍha-purāṇa.
Hazra, Purāṇic Records = R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Purāṇic Records
on Hindu Rites and Customs.
Hiralal, Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. Mss. in the Central Provinces and
Berar = Hiralal, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts
in the Central Provinces and Berar.
IHQ = Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta).
Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Keith, Ind. Off. Cat. = A. B. Keith, Catalogue of the Sanskrit and
Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office
(London).
kh. (as in Śṛṣṭi-kh., Bhūmi-kh., etc.) = khaṇḍa.
Lg = Liṅga-purāṇa.
List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss. = List of Sanskrit, Jaina and Hindi
Manuscripts purchased by order of Government and deposited
in the Sanskrit College, Benares, during 1897, 1898, 1899,
1900 and 1901.
Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature = A. A. Macdodell, A History of Sanskrit Literature.
Märk. = Märkandaeya-purāṇa.
Mat. = Matsya-purāṇa.
Mbh = Mahābhārata.
Ms, Mss = Manuscript, Manuscripts.
Nar. = Narasimha-purāṇa.
-p. (as in Matsya-p., Kūrma-p. etc.) = -purāṇa.
Poleman, Census of Indic Mss = H. I. Poleman, A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada.
P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat. = P. P. S. Sastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji’s Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tanjore.
Pd = Padma-purāṇa.
Shastri, ASB Cat. = Haraprasad Shastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
Śiv. = Siva-purāṇa.
Sk = Skanda-purāṇa.
Univ. = University.
Vaṅga. = Vaṅgavāsi Press (Calcutta).
Var. = Varāha-purāṇa.
Veṅkaṭ. = Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay).
Viṣ. = Viṣṇu-purāṇa.
Viṣṇudh. = Viṣṇudharmottara.
Winternitz, Cat. of South Indian Sans. Mss = M. Winternitz, A Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts (especially those of the Whish Collection) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti.
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STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀNAS

VOL. 1
CHAPTER I

THE UPAPURĀṆA LITERATURE—ITS EXTENT, ANTiquITY AND ORIGIN

In these days when all Indologists are feeling the want of a true history of Indian life and thought of the past and our able antiquarians are directing their attention and energy towards its reconstruction, it is a matter of great surprise and disappointment that very little is known and still less has yet been said about those valuable records of Indian life and thought which are known as Upapurāṇas (or secondary Purāṇas1). The whole responsibility for such apathy of scholars towards these valued treasures must be laid on the high importance

1 The work done by scholars on the Upapurāṇas is very meagre and scarcely deserves any serious mention. H. H. Wilson, who, in his Essays Analytical, Critical and Philological, and in the Preface to his translation of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa, says much on the Purāṇas, devotes only about five pages to the Upapurāṇas (see Wilson, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Preface, pp. lxxxvi-xci) Haraprasad Shastri's treatment of some of the Upapurāṇas in the Preface (pp. cc-ccxxv) to his Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V (Purāṇa Manuscripts), is no better than mere cataloguing; M. Winteritz devotes on the whole about seven pages to the treatment of only a very few of the Upapurāṇas in his History of Indian Literature, Vol. I; J. N. Farquhar gives, in his Outline of the Religious Literature of India, very short and scrappy information about a few Upapurāṇas only; the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I spares only about half a page for the treatment of these works; the Bengali encyclopaedia Viśvakoṣa, which devotes as many as 165 pages to the principal Purāṇas, deals with the Upapurāṇas in 3 columns only (see Viśvakoṣa, Vol. II, pp. 419-420); A. A. Macdonell finishes his treatment of the Upapurāṇas in four lines only, without mentioning even a single name (see Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 302); and the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (Vol. X, p. 455) has fourteen lines devoted to the Upapurāṇas. Besides these there are the Notices and the Catalogues of Sanskrit Mss, especially those of R. L. Mitra, J. Eggeling and Th. Aufrecht, as well as about a dozen isolated articles (except those of the present writer) on only a few of the Upapurāṇas. This is practically the whole work that has been done on the Upapurāṇas up to the present time.
which has been attached, deservedly or undeservedly, for hundreds of years to the eighteen ‘great’ (Mahat) Purāṇas as well as on the disparaging prefix ‘uṇḍa’ attached to the common title (Purāṇa) to characterise those Purāṇic works which are different from the ‘great eighteen’. Whatever the reason may be, we should not, with our critical outlook besetting the present age and its culture, be swayed by mere tradition and baseless impression but be ready to give due consideration to this long neglected branch of Sanskrit literature.

Following the tradition of the Mahāpurāṇas, orthodox opinion tries to limit the number of the Upapurāṇas rigidly to ‘eighteen’ even in those cases where the promulgators of such opinion are fully conscious of the existence of a larger number; but while in the enumerations

2 Though the name ‘Mahāpurāṇa’ for the ‘eighteen’ principal ‘Purāṇas’ is of very late origin, being found only in Bhāg. XII. 7, 10 and 22 and Bv IV. 131.7 and 10, it has now become very popular and is universally used for the older name ‘Purāṇa’.

3 See Pd, Patāla-khaṇḍa 111, 94b-98; Kūr, I. 1, 16-20; Sk V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa), 1, 46-52; Sk VII, i. 2, 11-15; Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.) i. 13b-18 (for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378); Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382); Revā-māhātmya (which claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p. and is very much the same as the Revā-khaṇḍa occurring in Sk V.; see Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65, Nos. 114-116); Dbh I. 3, 13-16; Gd I. 223, 17-20 (=Jivānanda’s edition I. 215, 17-20= Vāngavāsi edition I. 27, 17-20); Bhaddhi I. 25, 18-19 and 23-26; Parāśara-upapurāṇa i. 28-31 (for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230); Gañ. I. 1, 8; Bhāg. XII. 7, 22; Bv IV. 131, 22; Ekāmra-p. 1, 20b-23; Vindhyā-māhātmya, chap. 4 (ASB Ms No. 8091, fol. 8a); Vārunopapurāṇa, chap. 1 (Sastri and Sastri, Madras Cat., XXVII, p. 10331); Bhakti-ratnakara of Gopāla-dāsa (Mitra, Notices, IX, No 2918, p. 32).


Mat. 53. 59-62 mention only four Upapurāṇas, viz., Nārasiṅha, Nandipurāṇa, Sāmba and Aditya, and seem to be ignorant of the group of ‘eighteen’.

4 For example, after expressly mentioning that the Upapurāṇas are
of the Purāṇas there is almost complete agreement with regard to the
titles, this is by no means the case with the titles of the Upapurāṇas. In
order to acquaint ourselves with the nature of the disagreement we
give below a number of lists of ‘eighteen’ Upapurāṇas which we have
been able to collect from different sources.

‘eighteen’ in number and then giving the titles of the ‘eighteen’ Upapurāṇas,
the Brhadārāma-p. (I. 25, 27) says:

anyāś ca samhitāḥ sarvā mārica-kāpilādayah/
sarvatra dharma-kathane tulya-sāmarchyam ucyate/./

thus intimating its knowledge not only of the Mārica and Kāpila Upapurāṇas
but also of others which were considered as much authoritative as the famous
‘eighteen’. (Note the word ‘ādayah’ in ‘mārica-kāpilādayah’).

5 In some of the lists of ‘eighteen’ principal Purāṇas the title ‘Śiva’ or
‘Śaiva’ is found in place of ‘Vāyaviya’. See, for instance, Viś. III. 6. 21ff.,
90ff., VI. 219. 25ff., and VI. 263. 77ff., Var. 112. 69ff., Mārk. 137. 8ff,
38ff., Śiva-māhāmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-samhitā of the Skanda-p.) I. 7-10
(for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1377), Saura-samhitā of the
Skanda-p. (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382), Saṃbhava-kāṇḍa of the
Śiva-rahasya-khaṇḍa of the Saṃkara-samhitā of the Skanda-p. (Eggeling,
Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1363), and so on.

Dacca Univ. Ms (Nos. 319, 4196 and 4649) of the Brhadārāma-p.
(I. 25) give the titles of the ‘eighteen’ Purāṇas thus: Brahma-p., Pādma,
Brahmāṇḍa, Vaiṣṇava, Brahmavaiwarta, Mahābhāgavata, Bhaviṣya, Gāruda,
Laiṅga, Śaiva, Vārāha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Skānda, Kaurma, Matsya-p., Āgneya,
Vāyavya and Śrībhāgavata. (It is to be noted that this list omits the Vāmana
and the Nārada and names the Mahābhāgavata and the Śaiva in their stead).

The ASB edition of the Brhadārāma-p. (I. 25. 20-22) mentions the
Mahābhāgavata but omits the name of the Śrībhāgavata, the number of
Purāṇas named in it being thus seventeen. But the Vāṅga. edition, which
mentions the Śrībhāgavata, wrongly replaces the Mahābhāgavata by the
‘Nṛsinha’, which is reckoned again in a subsequent verse as one of the
eighteen Upapurāṇas.

In the verses of a “Kālikā-p.” quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmani, I, p. 531,
the ‘Śaiva’, Kālikā (for Bhāgavata), Saura and Vahniya (i.e. the genuine
Āgneya-p. passing under the title ‘Vahni-purāṇa’) are included among the
eighteen principal Purāṇas.
I. Kurma-p. I. 1. 17-20—


II. Nityācāra-pradiptā (I, p. 19) of Nārasiṃha Vaijapeyan (who gives the following list of 'eighteen' Upapurānas on the authority of the 'Kurma-p.')->


III. 'Kaurma' (i.e. Kurma-p.) quoted in Raghunandana's Malmāsa-tattva—

1. Adya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasiṃha; 3. Vāyaviya, spoken out by Kumāra; 4. Sivadharmaka,

6 adyaṁ sanatkumāroktam nārasiṃham atah param/
tritīyaṁ skandam udiṣṭam kumāreṇa tu bhāṣitam/
caturtham sivadharmākhyam sāksāntandīsa-bhāṣitam/
durvāsasoktam aścaryaṁ nārādiyam atah param/
kāpilam vāmanam caiva tathaivasanaseritam/
brahmanādam vāruṇam caiva kālikāhvaṃ eva ca/
māheśvaram tathā sāmbam caiva sarvārtha-saṃcayam/
parāśaroṅkam māricaṁ tathaiva bhārgavāḥvayam/

(Kūr, I, 1, 17-20).

These verses occur in the Venkaṭa, and ASB editions of the Kurma-p. without any difference in readings, but in the former edition there is the alternative reading 'aparam māricaṁ' for 'māricaṁ tathaiva' in the last line.

7 See Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3—
kaurme—anyāna upapurāṇāni munhibhiḥ kathitāya api/
tāni ca nārasiṃha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purāṇādīni, yathā—
ādyan sanatkumāroktam nārasiṃham tataḥ param/ etc.

IV. ‘Kaurma Mahāpurāṇa’ (i.e. Kūrma-p.) quoted in Mitra Miśra’s Vīravīrādaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, pp. 13-14—

V. ‘Kūrma-p.’ quoted in Hemiaḍri’s Catuṛvargā-cintāmaṇi, 1, pp. 532-3—
1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nānda, spoken out by Kumāra (v. l. ‘nāradaṃ’ for ‘nāndaṃ’); 4. Śivadharmā, declared by Nandiśa in person; 5. Durvāsasokta (called Āścarya?—durvāsasoktam āścaryam); 6. Nāra-

Raghunandana reads ‘daiśvaṃ sarvārtha-siddhītam’ and ‘parāśaroktam aparam’ for ‘sauraṃ sarvārtha-saṃcayam’ and ‘parāśaroktam māricam’, respectively of the Kūrma-p. (for which see the immediately preceding foot-note).

The verses of the Kūrma-p., as given in the Vaṅga, edition (pp. 264-5) and Canditscareṇa Smṛtibhāṣaṇa’s edition (pp. 212-3) of the Malamāsa-tattva, reads ‘sāmbam’ for ‘cāthā’ (in the line ‘kāpilaṃ vārunaṃ cāthā’), and ‘pādmaṃ’ for ‘sāmbam’ (in the line ‘māheśvaram tāthā sāmbam etc.’). As these readings make the number of the Upapuruṇas nineteen, they should be rejected.

8 Thus the Parāśara-upapuruṇa seems to be distinguished from the Visṇup.- or the spurious ‘Vaiṣṇava’ (mentioned by Vallīlasena in his Dānasāgara, p. 7, verse 63), which was spoken out by Parāśara.

VI. ‘Kūrma-p.’ quoted in Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. i, p. 21—


VII. ‘Kūrma-p.’ quoted in the Sabda-kalpadruma (under ‘Upapurāṇa’)—


9 It is to be noted that although the verses of the Kūrma-p. quoted in the Sabda-kalpadruma agree almost literally with the verses of the ‘Kaurma’ quoted in the Vaṅga, ed. (pp. 264-5) and Candicaraṇa Smṛtibhūsaṇa’s ed. (pp. 212-3) of the Malamāsa-tattva of Raghunandana, the mention of the ‘Nandikesvara-yugma’ and the ‘Pādma’ (occupying the seventh and the fourteenth place respectively in the list) makes the number of the Upapurāṇas nineteen. If the two Nandikesvara-purāṇas are taken to form one Upapurāṇa, then, of course, the number becomes eighteen.
VIII. Saura-sāṁhitā of the Skanda-purāṇa—


IX. Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). 1. 46-52


10 ādyaṁ sanatkumārokoṭam nārasiṁham tataḥ param/
tṛtīyaṁ skāndam uddiṣṭam Kumāreṇa tu bhāsitam//=
caturthaṁ śivadharmaṁ purāṇam nandineritaṁ/
tato durvāsa-samproktam nāradiyaṁ tataḥ param//=
kāpilaṁ mānavaṁ caiva tathaivaśāsaneritaṁ/
brahmāṇḍam ca tatha punyaṁ vāruṇākhyam tataḥ param//=
tataḥ kālipurāṇākhyam kālakaṇṭham ca nāmadh}//
tato vāsiṣṭhaliṅgākhyam nāmā māheśvaram tv iti//=
tataḥ sāmbapurāṇākhyam susūkṣmam iti ceritam/
tataḥ saurapurāṇākhyam śāvitraṁ iti ceritam//=
pārāśaryam ca māricam bhārgavam muni-pumagavah//=


11 These verses, as given in the Vaṅga, ed. of the Skanda-p., have no variation in readings.
X. Revā-māhāmya which, though much the same as the Revā-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p., claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p.—

1. Saura, which forms an excellent supplement (khila) to the Brahma-p., deals with topics on Śiva, consists of two Samhitās spoken out respectively by Sanatkumāra and Śūrya, and is widely known under the name of Sanatkumāra also;

XI. Skanda-p. VII (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa) i. 2. 11-15—


12 idam brahmāpurāṇasya khilaṃ sauram anuttamam/
   saṁhitā:-dvaya-saṁyuktam puṇyaṃ śiva-kathārayam//
   ādyā sanatkumārokoṭa dvitiyā śūrya-bhāṣītā/
   sanatkumāra-nāmnā ‘pi tad vikhyātaṃ mahāmune//
   dvitiyā nārasiṁham ca purāne padma-saṁjñīte/
   nandā-puraṇam ca tathā tṛtiyā vaiṣṇave matam/
   caturtham śivadharmākhyam purāne vāyu-saṁjñīte/
   daurvāsasam pañcamam ca smṛtam bhāgavate sadā/
   bhaviṣye nāradoktam ca śūribhiḥ kath(itam) purā/
   kāpilam māṇavam caiva tathaivośānaseritam//
   brahmāṇḍam vāruṇam cātḥa kālikāhavayam eva ca/
   māheśvaram tathā śambaṁ sauram sarvārtha-saṁcayam//
   pārāśaram bhāgavatam kaurmaṃ caśṭīdaśam kramāt///

   Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65.

13 These verses, as occurring in the Vaṅga, ed. of the Skanda-p., have no difference in readings.
THE UPAPURĀṢA LITERATURE

hvayam); 13. Māheśvara; 14. Sāmba; 15. Saura, the repository of all the ends of life; 16. The excellent (Purāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśarotkaṇṭaṁ paramam); 17. Mārīca; 18. Bhārgava.

XII. Siva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-samhitā of the Skanda-p.)

1. 13b-18
1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra (sanatkumārena proktam);

XIII. Garuḍa-p. I. 223. 17-20


14 For these verses see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378 (v. I. 'vāsiṣṭha-laṅgākhyam' for 'vāsiṣṭha-laṅgākhyam' in verse 17a).
15 For these verses see also Jivāṇanda's ed. I. 215. 17-20 and Vaṅga, ed. I. 227. 17-20.

Note that with the reading 'evaṁ sarvārtha-saṃcayam' (in verse 20a—māheśvaram tathā sāmbam evaṁ sarvārtha-saṃcayam) the number of the Upapurāṇas becomes seventeen, and not eighteen. So, we should read 'sauram sarvārtha-saṃcayam' for 'evaṁ sarvārtha-saṃcayam'. For the reading 'sauram sarvārtha-saṃcayam' see Kūr. I. 1. 20a, Sk V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). I. 51b and VII. i. 2. 14a, and so on. See also the other lists mentioning the Saura-p.
STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀNAS

XIV. Padma-p., Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 111. 94b-98—

1. Ādya, named Sanatkumāra (ādyam sanatkumārākhyam);
2. Nārāsimha; 3. Āṇḍa (Skānda?); 4. Durvāsasa (? Daurvāsasa);
5. Another Nāradiya (nāradiyam athānyam ca, v. l.
athānyac ca); 6. Kāpila; 7. Mānava; 8. Aūṣanasaprokta;
9. Another Brahmāṇḍa (brahmāṇḍam ca tathāparam);

XV. Devī-bhāgavata I. 3. 13-16—

5. The excellent (anuttamam) Daurvāsasa; 6. Kāpila;
highly extensive (ativistaram) Āditya; 16. Māheśvara;

XVI. Bhāhaddharmap. I. 25. 23-26—

1. Ādipurāṇa; 2. Āditya; 3. Bhānāradiya; 4. Nāradiya;
dharmottara; 12. Śivadharmav; 13. Viśnudharma; 14. Vāmana;
excellent (uttamam) Bhāhaddharmap.

XVII. Parāśara-upapurāṇa I. 28-31—

1. Ādya, declared by Sanatkumāra; 2. Nārasimha; 3. Nānda;

16 This Upapurāṇa, which occupies the fifth place, is named as ‘Nandikeś-
vara-purāṇa’ (and not as ‘Nandiśvara-purāṇa’) in the ASB ed. (l. 25. 24) as well
as in the Dacca University Ms No. 4199 (fol. 71b) and Ind. Off. Ms
No. 1313a (Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1226-29, No. 3402) cf the
Bhāhaddharmap.; but in the Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 319 (fol. 44a) and 4649
(fol. 96a), it is mentioned as ‘Nandikeśvara-purāṇa’.
XVIII. Vindhya-māhātmya (claiming to belong to the Brhad-auśanasapurāṇa), chap. 4—

XIX. ‘Brahmavaivarta’ quoted in Mitra Misra’s Viramitroadaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14—
1. Ādya (called) Sanatkumāra (ādyam sanatkumaram); 2. Nāradiya; 3. Nārasimha; 4. Śaivadharma; 5. Daurvāsa;

ādyam sanatkumāroktam nāraśīṁham tataḥ param/

nāndākhyām śivadharma-khyām daurvāsam nāradiyakam\/
kāpilaṁ mānavaṁ caiva tathaivośanaseritam/
brahmāndam vārunaṁ kālipurāṅkhyām tathaiva ca//
vāsiṣṭhalaiṅga-saṁjñam ca sāmbaṁ sauraṁ tathaiva ca/
parāśara-samākhyām ca māricam bhārgavāvhyayam//

ASB Ms No. 8205, fol. 2b (Shastri, ASB Cat., V. No. 4098). See also Shastri, ASB Cat., V. No. 4097 (Ms No. 308), p. 762; Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230 (v.l. ‘tathā ca śaśānaseritam’ for ‘tathaivośanaseritam’ in line 3, and ‘vāsiṣṭham laiṅga-saṁjñam’ for ‘vāsiṣṭhalaiṅga-saṁjñam’ in line 5); and Ms No. 38 in the Calcutta Government Sanskrit College (v.l. ‘vāsiṣṭham laiṅga-saṁjñam’ in line 5).

The above verses of the Parāśara-upapurāṇa have been quoted as from ‘Parāśara-purāṇa’ in Tryambaka Oka’s Ācāra-bhūṣana, p. 318 (v.l. ‘nandākhyam’ in line 2).

sanatkumāra(m) prathamaṁ nāraśīṁham tataḥ param/

nāradiyaṁ śivaṁ caiva durgāsasnam (?) daurvāsam anuttamam//
kāpilaṁ mānavaṁ punyaṁ tathā caśānasam(m) smṛtam/
vārunaṁ kālikākhyāṁ ca sāmbaṁ nandikṛtam śubham//
sauraṁ pārāśaram proktam ādityam cātiṣārtham/
māheśvaram bhārgavākhyāṁ vāsiṣṭham ca savistaram//

ASB Ms No. 8091, fol. 8a (Shastri, ASB Cat., V. pp. 745-6, No. 4086). See also Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 746-7, No. 4087 (Ms No. 538).

XX. ‘Brahmavaivarta’ quoted in Gopāla-dāsa’s Bhakti-ratnākara—

XXI. Verses (on the Upapurāṇas) quoted anonymously in Madhusūḍana Sarasvati’s Prasthāna-bheda, p. 10—

19 tataḥ aṣṭādaśa upapurāṇāni ca brahmavaivarta-mate—
sānatkumārasya nandasya ca nārasimhaṃ tathaiva ca/
dauryāsaṁ śaivadharmasya kāpileyaṃ ca mānavaṃ//
saukraṃ ca vāruṇaṃ caiva vāsiṣṭham sāmbaṃ eva ca/
kālipurāṇasya māheśaṃ pārāśaraṃ ca bhārgavaṃ//
māricaṃ ca tathā sauraṃ brahmāṇḍākhyāyaṃ tathaiva ca/
etāny upapurāṇāni nigadanti purāvīḍaḥ//

(Mitra, Notices, IX, No. 2918, p. 32).

It should be mentioned here that these verses are quite different from those ascribed to the ‘Brahmavaivarta’ in Mitra Miśra’s Viramittodaya, Paṭibhaṅgāprkāśa, p. 14.

20 The relevant line naming the ‘Kālipurāṇa’ is “tataḥ kālipurāṇākhyāyāṃ vāsiṣṭham muni-pumgavāḥ,” in which ‘vāsiṣṭham’ may be a wrong reading for ‘viṣṭeṣṭa’. This latter reading (‘viṣṭeṣṭa’) is found to occur in the Śiva-māhāmya-kīrṣṭa (of the Śūta-samhitā of the Skanda-p.) whose verses on the titles of the eighteen Upapurāṇas agree with those quoted in the Prasthāna-bhedā.
XXII. Ekāmra-purāṇa i. 20b-23—
1. Brhannārasmīha; 2. Bhadrvaśnava; 3. Gāruda; 21

XXIII. Vārunopapurāṇa, chap. 1—
1. Ādya, spoken out by Kumāra (ādyaṁ kumāra-kathitam);
Kāpila; 14. Durvāsa (Dauṛvāsasa ?); 15. Sivadharmaka;
16. (The Upapurāṇa) spoken out by Parāśara (parāśarenā kathitam); 17. Sāmba; 18. Vāruna. 23

A glance over the above lists will show how greatly divergent the lists sometimes are. Though, as will be shown hereafter, the same Upapurāṇas is in some cases mentioned in different lists under different titles, the above lists supply us with the titles of many more Upapurāṇas than eighteen.

Besides the Upapurāṇas mentioned in these lists, there were many others, of which some are available in printed forms, some still exist in manuscripts, some are known only from references and quotations, 24 and some must have been lost altogether without leaving any trace of their existence. In spite of the serious loss that has been

21-22 The ‘Gāruda’ and the ‘Nāradiya’ have not been named in the list of Mahāpurāṇas given in the Ekāmra-p. (1. 18-20a). They have been replaced by the ‘Saiva’ and the ‘Nārasiṃha,’ which are really Upapurāṇas.

23 For the relevant verses see Sastri and Sastri, Madras Cat., XXVII, No. 15663, p. 10331.

24 From an examination of a large number of works, especially of the Sanskrit literature, we have been able to collect the names of more than one hundred Upapurāṇas including those mentioned in the above lists. Questions relating to the identification, date and contents of these Upapurāṇas will be dealt with as fully as possible in their respective cases.
brought upon the Upapurāṇa literature by the progress of time and the consequent changes in political administration as well as in the ideas, manners and customs of the people, the Upapurāṇic works are still rich in number and content.

Though it must be admitted that in this extensive Upapurāṇa literature there are works which are of comparatively late dates, it is by no means wise to suppose that the whole literature cannot lay claim to an early beginning. The verses of the Kūrma-p., which contain the list of ‘eighteen Upapurāṇas’, are found quoted in Raghunandana’s Smṛti-rattva (I, pp. 792-3). Mitra Miśra’s Viramitrodaya (Paribhāsa-prakāśa, pp. 13-14), and Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmani (I, pp. 532-3 and II. i, p. 21). The titles, as occurring in this list, are also given as derived from the ‘Kūrma-p.’ in Narasiṃha Vājapeyin’s Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 19. A list very similar to that of the Kūrma-p. is found in the Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p.,26 in Sk VII. i. 2. 11-15, in the Siva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa of the Sūta-saṃhitā (which belongs to the Skanda-p., and of which all the four Khaṇḍas have been commented on by Mādhavācārya), in the Pārāśara-upapurāṇa (1. 28-31),26 and in the Garuḍa-p. (I. 223. 17-20).27 In his Dānāsāgara Vallālasena refers to the lists of Upapurāṇas occurring in the Kūrma and the Ādi-p.28 These and similar other evidences, which can be adduced from different sources, are perhaps sufficient to show that the date of formation of the group of ‘eighteen’ Upapurāṇas as found in the Kūrma-p. should be placed not later than 850 A.D. The upper limit of this date seems to be supplied by Matsya-p., chap. 53, which, by its mention of only those four Upapurāṇas (viz., Narasiṃha, Nandī-p., Sāmba and Āditya) which were

26 For these verses see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230. Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 762 (No. 4097).
27 The extant Garuḍa-p. should be dated between 850 and 1000 A.D. and most probably in the tenth century. See Hazra, Studies in the Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, pp. 141-5.
28 tathā kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoh/
uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhindha ca//
Dānāsāgara, p. 3, verses 12b-13a.
‘well-established in society’,\textsuperscript{29} betrays its knowledge of a few more Upapurāṇas and at the same time its ignorance of any group of ‘eighteen’. The probable date of Matsya-p., chap. 53 being 550-650 A. D. and the verses (59-63), in which these four Upapurāṇas have been mentioned, appearing to be spurious but by no means very late additions,\textsuperscript{30} the date of formation of the group should be placed approximately between 650 and 800 A. D.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{29} Cf. upābhedān pravāksyāmi loke ye sampratisthitāh.- Mat. 53. 59a.

\textsuperscript{30} Mat. 59-63, which give the titles and contents of the Upapurāṇas, appear to be spurious for the following reasons:—

(i) Nothing is said about the gift of any of the Upapurāṇas, although the chapter is on dāna-dharma;

(ii) there is no mention of the Upapurāṇas in verses other than those mentioned above;

(iii) though in the verses following verse 63 the classification and contents of the Purāṇas and the titles and extents of the epics are given, there is not even a single word on the Upapurāṇas.

These verses are, however, not very late additions; for, Narasimha Vājapeyin, who quotes all these verses except 59a in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, refers to Lākṣmīdhara’s explanation of verse 63 (aśṭādāśabhyaśa tu pṛthak purāṇam etc.) as meaning the Kālikā-p. etc. (see Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18).

As a matter of fact, Lākṣmīdhara quotes Mat. 53. 59b-63 in his Kṛtya-kalpataru, I (Brahmaśāri-kāṇḍa), p. 30 and takes the expression ‘tad etebhyo vinirgatam’ of Mat. 53. 63 (aśṭādāśabhyaśa tu pṛthak purāṇam yat pradīṣyate, etc.) to mean the Kālikā-p. etc. Cāṇḍeśvara and Hemaḍi also quote verses 59b-61 and 62c-63 in their Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 31-32 and Caturvarga-cintāmani, II, i, pp. 21-22 respectively. Following Lākṣmīdhara Cāṇḍeśvara also explains the words ‘tad etebhyo vinirgatam’ (occurring in Mat. 53. 63) as ‘vinirgatam udbhūtaṁ yathā kālikāpurāṇādī’.

The omission of these verses by Aparāśka who quotes verses 3-4, 11-20, 22-25a and 26b-56a in his comm. (pp. 392-6) on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, by Vallālasena who quotes verses 3-4 and 11-56 in his Dānasāgara (pp. 463-6), and by Govindānanda who has a few lines in his Dāna-kaumudi (p. 70), should not be taken seriously. These authors, who drew upon Mat. 53 in connection with donation, had nothing to do with verses 59-63 in which there is no mention of donation.

\textsuperscript{31} Kūr. I, 1, 16-20, which deal with the origin and titles of the eighteen Upapurāṇas and are given immediately after the list of the principal Purāṇas, do not seem to have belonged to the present Kūrma-p. in its Pāñcarātra
This approximate date of the grouping must not be taken to be the date of composition of the individual works forming the group, because all the eighteen Upapurāṇas, which do not belong to the same sect, could not have been written at the same time. The mention of the Nārasiṃha, Nandi-śr., Śaṅkara and Āditya in Matsya-śr., chap. 53 shows that there were Upapurāṇas which were written much earlier than the date of formation of the group; and such formation could be possible only when, in course of time, the Upapurāṇas attained the number of eighteen. It can be taken, therefore, that the age of the Upapurāṇas began approximately from the Gupta period. Orthodox opinion, however, is sometimes in favour of tracing the Upapurāṇas to a much earlier date.

As to the origin of the Upapurāṇas the Kūrma-śr., Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa (of the Sūta-saṃhitā of the Skanda-śr.) and Parāśara-upapurāṇa record a tradition that the sages proclaimed the Upapurāṇas after listening to the eighteen Purāṇas fromVyāsa. This tradition, which character; because the line ‘idaṃ tu pañcadasāmaṃ purāṇam kaurmam uttamaṃ’, which occurs after the list of the Upapurāṇas, clearly shows that it immediately followed the list of the principal Purāṇas and could not be separated by the list of the Upapurāṇas.

For the date of the Kūrma-śr. see Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 57ff.

32 That this presumption is not totally baseless, we shall see when we analyse the Upapurāṇas individually.

33 For instance, in connection with the Upapurāṇas Mitra Miśra says in his Viramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15): “etānya upapurāṇāni purāṇebhyā eva nirgatañiti yājñavalkyena purāṇatvena saṃgrhītāni”, thus implying that the Upapurāṇas were known to Yājñavalkya.

34 Cf. Kūr. I. 1. 16—
anyānya upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu/
aśṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā samkṣepato dvijāh//;
Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa i. 12b-13a—
aśṭādaśa purāṇāni śrutvā satyavati-sutāt/
anyānya upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kirtitāni tu//
(for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1378);
Parāśara-upapurāṇa i. 27-28a—
evam aṁtiṇtās tena śivena munayaḥ purā/
śrutvā satyavati-sūnoḥ purāṇaṃ sakalāṃ mudā//
anyānya upapurāṇāni cakruḥ sāratāni vai/
(for which see also Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1230, and Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 762).
is accepted as true by the Nibandha-writers and others, assigns the Upapurāṇas to a date posterior to that of the Purāṇas and consequently to a position inferior to that of the latter. The Matsya-p. goes a step farther when it calls the Upapurāṇas mere subsections (upabheda) of the Purāṇas and propounds the theory that any Purānic work, which will be found to be ‘different’ (prthak) from the eighteen Purāṇas, must be known to have originated from one or other of these Purāṇas. The great popularity of this theory is evidenced not only by its verbal reproduction in some of the Purānic works themselves but also by the fact that the Nibandhakāras and others refer to, or reproduce, the lines of the Matsya-p. either in explaining the origin and nature of the different Upapurāṇas in accordance with this theory or in including, in the class of Upapurāṇas, those works of Purānic character which were not mentioned in the lists known to the respective writers, so that these last-mentioned works might be regarded as equally authori-

35. The entire verse

anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni tu/
āstādaśā purāṇāni śrutvā saṁkṣepato dvijāḥ//
of the Kūrma-p. is quoted in Nīyācāra-prādīpa, I, p. 19, Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 13, and Caturvarga-cintāmani, I, p. 532 and II, i, p. 21, whereas only the first line is quoted by Raghunandana in his Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 792 and by Jīva Gosvāmin in his commentary (named Krama-saṁdarbha) on Bhāg, XII, 7, 17-22.

36. Cf. Mat. 53. 59a and 63—

upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye sampratīṣṭhitāḥ/

... ... ...

āstādaśābhyaṣ tu prthak purāṇam yat pradiśyate/
vījāṇidhvam dvija-sreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam //

For the reading 'pradiśyate' (in the second line), see also the AnSS. and Veṅkaṭ. editions as well as that published by Jīvānandā Vidyāsāgara.

37. Cf., for example, Sk VII, i, 2.79b and 83—

upabhedān pravakṣyāmi loke ye sampratīṣṭhitāḥ/

... ... ...

āstādaśābhyaṣ tu prthak purāṇam yac ca drśyate/
vījāṇidhvam dvija-sreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam //

These lines agree remarkably with Mat, 53. 59a and 63 quoted above.
tative. The extant Saura-p. also lends strong support to the above theory when it calls the Upapurāṇas mere supplements (khila) to the principal Purāṇas and attaches itself in that capacity to the Brahma-p. Though from these evidences it is clear that the above theory is one of long standing and wide acceptance, an examination of the

38 The verse 'aṣṭādaśabhyaś tu pṛthak purāṇaṁ' of the Matsya-p. (53. 63) has been quoted in Jiva Gosvāmin’s commentary (named Krama-saṃdarbha) on Bhāg. XII. 7. 17-22 (v.l. ‘pradṛṣṭaye’ for ‘pradīṣṭaye’), in Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15 (v.l. ‘tu dṛṣṭaye’ for ‘pradīṣṭaye’), in Nittyācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18 (v.l. ‘tu dṛṣṭaye’), in Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 32 (v.l. ‘tu dṛṣṭaye’), in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533 (v.l. ‘pradṛṣṭaye’) and II. i, p. 22 (v.l. ‘tu dṛṣṭaye’), and in Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 30 (v.l. ‘tu dṛṣṭaye’). As has already been said, Lakṣmīdhara explains this verse as referring to the Kālikā-p. etc. (See Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 30—aṣṭādaśabhyaś tu pṛthak purāṇaṁ yat tu dṛṣṭaye/vijānīdhvaman dvija-sresṭhas tad etebhyo vinirgatam//vinirgatam udbhūtam/yathā kālikāpurāṇādi. For this explanation of Lakṣmīdhara see also Kṛtya-ratnākara, p 32, and Nittyācāra-pradīpa, p. 18). On the basis of this verse Mitra Miśra even goes so far as to say that as Yājñavalkya knew that the Upapurāṇas originated from the Purāṇas, he made no separate mention of the former but included them among the latter (cf. etāny upapurāṇāṇi purāṇedbhya eva nirgatānti yājñavalikṣyaṇa purāṇatvena sanātīhitāni.—Viramitrodaya, Pari-bhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15).

See also Madhusūdāna Sarasvatī’s Prasthāna-bheba (p. 1) which says: ‘atropapurāṇānām api purāṇe ‘ntarbhāvāḥ’.

On the authority of this verse of the Matsya-p, the Nittyācāra-pradīpa (I, pp. 18-19) and the Viramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15) include the Kālikā-p., Vāyu-upapurāṇa, Devi-p., Bhavisyottara, Nandikesvara-p., Ādi-p. etc. among the Upapurāṇas.

39 Cf. Saura-p. 9. 12b-13a—

khilany upapurāṇāni yāni coktāni sūribhīḥ/
idaṁ brahmapurāṇasya khilaṁ sauarāṁ anuttamam//

Cf. also Saura-p. 9. 5b—
etac copapurāṇānām khilatvā laksanāṁ smṛtam.

All these three lines have been quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 532, whereas only the second line is found to occur in the Skanda-p. (V. iii. i, 46a, with v.l. ‘sulabhaṁ saurāṁ uttamam’ for ‘khilaṁ saurāṁ anuttamam’), the Revā-māhātmya (Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65), and the ‘Saiva-purāṇa’ drawn upon in Jiva Gosvāmin’s commentary (Krama-saṃdarbha) on Bhāg. XII. 7. 17-22.
Upapurāṇas themselves shows that these works do not often look upon this theory with the same respect as the principal Purāṇas or other works do. In a large number of cases the Upapurāṇas are found to style themselves simply ‘Purāṇa’ and not ‘Upapurāṇa’ and to try to pass on their own merit without caring to attach themselves for the sake of authority to any of the principal Purāṇas; and in a few cases they even vie with the principal Purāṇas by laying claim to their position. Sometimes they are found to go a step farther and claim to be superior to the Mahāpurāṇas. It is to be noted that the older of the extant Upapurāṇas do not give any list of Upapurāṇas, nor do they seem to be familiar with their common title ‘Upapurāṇa’ or with the theory of their origin which makes them mere supplements to the principal Purāṇas. This disagreement between the time-honoured theory and the actual practice of the Upapurāṇas, especially of the older ones, naturally raises doubt as to the amount of truth contained in this theory. So, in order to acquaint ourselves with the actual state of things and thus to explain successfully this disagreement between theory and practice, we shall have to investigate into the origin of the present Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas.

In connection with our study on the present form and character of the principal Purāṇas we have said elsewhere that the Purāṇa

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40 For examples we may refer to the Narasimha-p., Devi-p., Kālikā-p. etc.
41 For instance, in its Vāyaviya-sāṃhitā (i. 1.41) the Śiva-p. lays claim to the position of a principal Purāṇa by saying that the Devi-bhāgavata (I.3.16) includes the Bhāgavata-p. among the Upapurāṇas, obviously in order to establish its own claim to the status of a Purāṇa; the ‘Kālikā-p.’ claims to be the real Bhāgavata-p. probably because of its dealing with the exploits of Bhagavati (see the verse of the ‘Kālikā-p.’ quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmani, I. p. 531); and so on.
42 See the line ‘anyāny upapurāṇāni cakṛuḥ sāratarāṇi vai’ of the Parāśatra-upapurāṇa quoted in foot-note 34 above.
43 For instance, see Devi-p., Narasimha-p. and Sāṃba-p.
44 Problems relating to the eighteen Purāṇas have been dealt with elaborately in our Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, published by the University of Dacca. See also B. C. Mazumdar’s article on the origin and character of the Purāṇa literature in Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes III, Orientalia—Part 2, pp. 9-30.
literature, which can be traced back to the Vedic period and was as sacred and important to the Vedic Aryans as the Vedas themselves, dealt with five subjects\textsuperscript{45} in its earlier (but most probably not in its original) form, and that, in course of time, its character was changed by the Śmārta Brahmīn sectaries who took it up for successfully propagating their own ideas among the people who were gradually losing respect for the Vedas and the Brahmaical rules of life, and conduct under the influence of the heresies as well as of the popular systems of religion then prevailing in the country. Hence the question arises—Who among the Śmārta Brahmīn sectaries first concerned themselves with the writing and rewriting of the present Purāṇas?

From a study of the historical records of ancient India as well as of the Mahābhārata\textsuperscript{46} and other early works of the Sanskrit literature we understand that in the pre-Gupta days the most powerful and popular systems of religion, except the heresies, were those of the Brāhmaṇas (i.e. Brahmā-worshippers), the Pāncarātras and the Pāsūpatas. So, it may be supposed that it was the Śmārta adherents to these religious systems who first took up the Purāṇas for establishing the Varnāśramadharma and the authority of the Vedas among the people and increased the number of the already existing Purāṇas by fresh additions of Purānic works which were often characterised by the names of the sectarian deities or their chief forms. This supposition gains ground when we see from our examination and analysis of the contents of the extant Purāṇas\textsuperscript{47} that those portions of these works which are to be dated

\textsuperscript{45} Viz., (i) sarga (creation), (ii) pratisarga (re-creation, i.e. the periodical annihilation and renewal of the worlds, including the geography of the earth and the atmosphere as well as the distribution of different races on the surface of the earth), (iii) vamśa (genealogies of gods, kings and sages), (iv) manvantara (cosmic cycles or the Manu-periods of time, i.e. those great periods each of which is reigned over by a Manu or primal ancestor of the human race), and (v) vamśānucarita (history of the royal dynasties and of the families of sages).

\textsuperscript{46} In the Mahābhārata the Pāncarātras and the Pāsūpatas have been described. It makes no mention of the sub-sects which arose in course of time from these two mother sects.

\textsuperscript{47} For analyses of the different Purāṇas see Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 8ff.
earlier than 500 A. D. exhibit prominently the influence of the Śmaśaṇa Brāhmas, Śmaśaṇa Pāṇcarātras and Śmaśaṇa Pāśupatas. 48

The next most important and powerful group of sectaries to concern themselves with the composition of the Purāṇas were the Bhāgavatas who rose to great prominence during the Gupta period. It was undoubtedly the Śmaśaṇa adherents to the Bhāgavata system who wrote the Bhāgavata-p.

Though it is next to impossible to say definitely when the Śmaśaṇa adherents to the four systems mentioned above first began to use the Purāṇas for controlling the masses who had become seriously influenced by these 49 and other systems of religion, and what the number of the prevalent Purāṇas was when these sectaries first set their hands to them, it can scarcely be denied that more Purāṇas than one had come into existence long before the beginning of the Christian era. By its mention of a ‘Bhāvishyat-purāṇa’ 50 the Āpastamba-dharmaśūtra shows that at the time of composition of this Sūtra work the term Purāṇa had become so thoroughly specialised as to have lost its proper meaning, and had become merely the designation of a particular class of books. It would have required the existence of a number of books called Purāṇas to produce that change, and manifestly they must have had their own special names to distinguish from one another and so

48 For instance, the influence of Brähmā as Supreme Brahma is prominent in Mārkaṇḍeya-p., chap. 45 (=chap. 42 in the Veṅkaṭā, ed. and chap. 48 in Bibl. Ind. and Jivānāda’s editions) which is one of the earliest chapters of the extant Mārkaṇḍeya-p. (see Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa, English translation, Introduction, p. xx, and Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 8-13); the Śṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, which preserves in it the earliest portions of the extant Padma-p., was originally written, or compiled, by the Brahmā-worshippers (see Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 120ff.); the Vaiśyū and the Brahmāṇḍa-p. are pre-eminently Pāśupata; the Viṣṇu and the extant Kūrma-p. in its earliest form are Pāṇcarātra in character; and so on.

49 For the original nature and early spread of these systems, see Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 193ff.

50 The term ‘Bhāvishyat-purāṇa’ is self-contradicting, because the word ‘purāṇa’ originally means ‘ancient’, and then, as a name in literature, it signifies not an ancient book but an ancient subject, Archaica.
convert their common title Purāṇa into a class designation. Hence it must be admitted that the number of Purāṇas had begun to multiply even before the time of Āpastamba. An examination of the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas shows that this growth in their number must have been accelerated by the activities of the sectaries mentioned above; and when, in course of time, their number became 'eighteen,' it was rigidly fixed.

Here a question may be raised as to how the eighteen Purāṇas, which were the mouth-pieces of sectaries following different faiths, could be grouped together and regarded as equally important and authoritative by all of them and how they came to believe deeply in this group even at the sacrifice of their respective sectarian interests. In reply to this question we may refer to the spirit of religious syncretism, as well as that of sectarian rivalry, that went hand in hand in ancient India and is to be found in the Hindu society even at the present day. These tendencies must have been incentives to the recasting of the same Purāṇa sometimes by different sects as well as to the interpolation of chapters on different deities in a particular Purāṇa; and in this way all the Purāṇas had come to attain equal, or almost equal, importance in the eyes of the worshippers of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva before the grouping was made.

51 Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 50-51.
52 For instance, the titles 'Brahma-purāṇa,' 'Padma-purāṇa,' etc. connect these works with Brahmā, who came out of the Lotus issuing from Viṣṇu's navel. Similarly, Matsya, Kūrma, Vāmana, etc. are the names of Viṣṇu's incarnations; Garuḍa is Viṣṇu's mount; and so on.
53 Among the numerals used for summing up a multitude of concrete objects, a line of abstract ideas, a number of traditional texts, and the like, the numeral 'eighteen' is often used in the position of a sacred number.

54 Cf., for example, the great influence of the Sāṃkhya and Vedānta systems as well as of the doctrine of Trimūrti on the Purūṇas.
55 See, for instance, Varāha-p., chaps. 70 and 71, Padma-p. (Srṣṭi-kh.), chap. 17, Liṅga-p. I. 107. 41-42, and so on. See also Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 8ff.
56 The present Purūṇas amply testify to both these tendencies.
The non-inclusion of the word 'upapurāṇa' in the Amarakośa which defines 'Purāṇa' as 'pañca-lakṣaṇa', and the mention of the titles of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas in the Viṣṇu-p., Mārkandeya-p. etc. without any reference, direct or indirect, to any Upapurāṇa, tend to show that the group of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas had been formed before the Upapurāṇas came into existence.57 After this grouping had been complete, there came into prominence many sub-systems which arose from the main systems of religion, mentioned above, either directly or by identifying the local deities with one or other of the prominent deities of the main systems. In addition to these, there were also other independent systems, viz., Saura,58 Sākta etc., which began to hold the field and attain rivalry with the systems already established in the country. These sub-systems and independent systems also had their Śākta adherents who interpolated chapters in the Purāṇas of the already established group, and, in some cases, wrote new and independent Purānic works styled 'Purāṇa'59 in order to propagate their own ideas. Thus, with the progress of time the number of the Purāṇas was further increased with fresh additions. But as the followers of the famous group of the 'eighteen' Purāṇas believed deeply that there could be no 'Purāṇa' beyond the famous 'eighteen', they were unwilling to assign these new Purānic works to a status equal to that of the famous Purāṇas. On the other hand, these new Purānic works had become too well-known and popular to be ignored totally. So, they introduced verses into the Matsya-p. to the effect that any Purānic work, which would be found to be different

57 The tradition recorded in the Kūrma-p., Śiva-mahātmya-kh, etc. also says that the Upapurāṇas were written by different sages alter the eighteen Purāṇas had been completed by Vyāsa. (See footnote 34 above).
58 Though Sun-worship is of very ancient origin, the Saura sect, with Persian elements in the cult of the Sun, became prominent in India much later. See Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp. 151-3; Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc., pp. 153-5; J. N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 137-140, 158-9, 430-445.
59 Note that Mat. 53.60 mentions 'Nandipurāṇa' (and not 'Nandipurapurāṇa'), although the latter is called an 'upabheda.'

The Narasimha-p., Śaṁba-p., Devi-p. etc. call themselves 'Purāṇa' and not 'Upapurāṇa.'
from the established eighteen, would be known to have originated from the latter. Thus, we think, the original position of the ‘eighteen’ Purāṇas and the rigidity of their number were maintained, and the Upapurāṇas also were given a position.

The theory, thus propounded and introduced into the Matsya-p. by the staunch believers in the ‘eighteen’ Purāṇas, influenced not only the later Purāṇas but also the Upapurāṇas in some cases and was the root cause of giving rise to the common title ‘Upapurāṇa’⁶⁰ for the new Purānic works by calling them mere supplements (upabheda) of the famous eighteen. It is for this reason that these new Purānic works are grouped under the common title ‘Upapurāṇa’ in some of the extant Purāṇas and that in a few cases the new Purānic works are found to attach themselves as supplements to one or other of the eighteen Purāṇas⁶¹ or to call themselves ‘Upapurāṇas’ in spite of their independent character.⁶³

As to the contents of the Upapurāṇas the Saura-p. says: “A Purāṇa has five characteristics, viz., creation, re-creation, genealogy (of gods, kings and sages), Manu-periods of time, and history of the royal dynasties and the families of sages. These are the characteristics of the Purāṇas such as the Brähma etc. These, again, are known to be the characteristics of the Upapurāṇas because of their supplementary character.”⁶⁴ The Bhāgavata and the Brahmandaivarta-p. also express the same opinion though from a different standpoint. Of these two works, the former says: “According to the Purāṇa-experts,

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⁶⁰ The Bhāgavata-p. (XII. 7. 10 and 22) divides the Purānic works into two classes, (i) Alpa or Kṣullaka and (ii) Mahat. But the passage, in which this classification occurs, is of a very late date.

⁶¹ For instance, the Saura-p. is called a supplement to the ‘Brahma-p.’ in the body of the work as well as in the chapter-colophon.

⁶² See, for instance, the Parāṣāra-upapurāṇa (a Ms of which has been described by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1229-30).

⁶³ sargaḥ ca pratisargaḥ ca vaṃśo manvantarāṇi ca/vaṃśānucaritam caiva purāṇam paṇica-lakṣāṇam//brāhmādiniṇām purāṇānām uktaṃ etat tu lakṣāṇam// etac cōpurāṇānām khilatvām lakṣāṇam smṛtam//

Saura-p. 9. 4-5.
a Purāṇa must be furnished with ten characteristics, viz., sarga, visarga, vr̥tti, rakṣā, antara, vamśa, vaṃśānucarita, samsthā, betu and apāśraya, and some, O Brahman, ascribe to it five characteristics by distinguishing between ‘great’ and ‘small’. The latter work, which is more direct and clear and seems to follow the former in its enumeration, says that an Upapurāṇa is to have five characteristics, viz., creation, re-creation, genealogy of gods and sages, cosmic cycle, and history of the royal dynasties and the families of sages, whereas a Mahāpurāṇa is to have ten, viz., sṛṣṭi, visṛṣṭi, sthitī, pālana, karma-vāsanā, manu-vārtā, pralaya-varṇana, mokṣa-nirūpaṇa, hari-kīrtana and deva-kīrtana. Whatever may be the views about the contents of the Upapurāṇas, an examination of the extant Upapurāṇas shows that very few of them conform even approximately to the above views. In spite of the great influence of the old tradition that a Purāṇa is to deal with five subjects, the Upapurāṇas, which are more exclusively adapted to suit the purposes of local cults and the religious needs of different sects than the

64 sargo’ṣyātha visargaś ca vr̥tti-rakṣāntarāṇi ca/
vaṃśo vaṃśānucaritaṁ samsthā hetur-apāśrayah//
daśabhīr lakṣaṇair yuktam purāṇam tadvidvo viduh/
kecit paṇca-vidhaṁ brahman mahad-alpa-vyavasthayā//

Bhāg. XII. 7. 9-10.

(The terms ‘sarga’, ‘visarga’ etc., have been defined in Bhāg. XII. 7. 11-21).

The second verse is explained by Śridhara Svāmin as: ‘daśabhīr etair lakṣaṇair arthair yuktam mahāpurāṇam viduh/, kecit paṇca-vidhaṁ/ sargaś ca pratti-sargaś ca vaṃśo manvantarāṇi ca/ vaṃśānucaritaṁ ceti purāṇam paṇca-lakṣaṇam// iti, mahat purāṇam alpaṁ ceti vyavasthayā yatra daśāpi lakṣaṇāni prthak prthai nirūpyante tante mahāpurāṇam/ yatra tv anyeṣaṁ paṇcasv evāntarbhāvasya vivakṣa tad alpam iti vyavasthayetvārthah/’ Visvanātha Cakravartin also explains this verse in the same way, and even with the same words, as Śridhara. According to these explanations the Mahāpurāṇas must deal with the ten subjects separately, whereas in the Upapurāṇas the five topics (creation, re-creation etc.) must include the remaining five.

As regards its own contents the Bhāgayata-p. (II. 9. 43) says that it has ten characteristics which are enumerated, with explanation, as sarga, visarga, sthāna, poṣaya, utsi, manvantara, āśānukathā, nirodha, makti and āśraya (Bhāg. II. 7. 1-7). That there is practically no difference between the two lists of the ten characteristics of a Purāṇa, is shown by Śridhara Svāmin in his explanation of the verse ‘sargo’ṣyātha visargaś ca’ (Bhāg. XII. 7. 9.)
Mahāpurāṇas and which arose at a time when the genealogies began to be neglected, are never found to be serious about the genealogies of kings and sages. In those cases in which the Upapurāṇas include such genealogies, the ancient kings, especially of the Solar and Lunar races, are the chief points of interest, probably because of their giving a stamp of antiquity to these works, and nothing is said about any of the dynasties of the Kali age. Even as regards those genealogies which have been included in the Upapurāṇas, no care has been taken to preserve their correctness, but new myths and stories have been unscrupulously fabricated and attached to the important names in these genealogies. But in spite of such defects the Upapurāṇas are of inestimable value from the point of view of the history of religion and culture, and on this head alone they deserve far more careful study than has hitherto been devoted to them. They not only afford us great insight into all phases and aspects of Hinduism—its mythology, its idol-worship, its theism and pantheism, its love of God, its philosophy and superstitions, its festivals and ceremonies, and its ethics, but also supply us with important information about the different branches of science and literature which were developed in ancient India and at the same time render us inestimable help in reconstructing some of those monumental works of the Sanskrit literature which have been lost for ever. In these respects the Upapurāṇas are sometimes more important than the Mahāpurāṇas. The latter attained such an enviable and authoritative position from an early date that they were often worked upon by the different sectaries and, in

65 Bv IV. 131. 6-10.

66 An examination of the extant Mahāpurāṇas shows that the custom of recording new dynastic history ceased with the early Guptas, after whom no important dynasty or monarch of India has been mentioned or described in the Purāṇas. This proves that from the Gupta period the Purānic tradition took, in practice, a new trend which culminated in turning the Purāṇas into books of myths and legends and Smṛti topics with highly imperfect, and sometimes forged, genealogical lists.

67 In some cases the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas contain summaries of ancient Sanskrit works such as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and, more often, incorporate chapters and verses from old and authoritative works, some of which are no longer extant,
some cases, bodily replaced by later works bearing the same titles as those of the earlier ones. 68 So, the text of the extant Mahāpurāṇas which are the results of innumerable changes, modifications and interpolations made in different times and by different sects, is scarcely reliable and can be used only with great caution and careful discrimination. But very different is the case with the Upapurāṇas which, probably on account of their secondary position, have been worked upon much less freely by the later redactors and interpolators. They have thus been able to preserve, in a few cases, their older materials along with their distinctive sectarian character. It is for this reason that among the extant Upapurāṇas there are some which are much older than many of the extant Mahāpurāṇas. 69 In those cases in which the Upapurāṇas have been subjected to modifications and interpolations or have been replaced by later works bearing the same titles as those of the works replaced, the authors of these changes, modifications etc. are very often persons belonging to those sects to which the respective Upapurāṇas originally belonged. So, in spite of their modifications, interpolations or totally new forms, they are to be valued as the records of changes undergone in different ages by the respective sects to which these works originally belonged; and the hands of people belonging to more sects than one being scarcely laid on any one of them, their study is generally a little easier than that of the extant Mahāpurāṇas.

68 For instance, we may refer to the present Brahma, Agni, and Garuḍa-p.
For information about these Purāṇas, see Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 134-157.
69 We shall try to prove the truth of this statement when we shall deal with the question of chronology of the different Upapurāṇas,
The Upapurāṇas are certainly not all ‘later and inferior works’ as F. E. Pargiter would make us believe. (See Hastings’ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. X, p. 455 for Pargiter’s views regarding the Upapurāṇas).
70 The old tradition recorded in the verse
‘kālenāgraḥanāṁ dṛṣṭvā purāṇasya tato nrpa/
vyāsa-rūpam aham kṛtvā saṁharāmi yuge yuge/’,
was as much applicable to the Upapurāṇas as to the Mahāpurāṇas. It is for this reason that works or chapters on older rites and customs were sometimes replaced by new ones.
It has already been said that the Upapurāṇa literature consists of a large number of works, of which some are available in printed forms, some exist in manuscripts, some are known only from references and quotations, and some must have perished altogether without leaving any trace of their existence. Of these works, I shall first analyse those which were available to me in printed forms or manuscripts. The Upapurāṇas still existing in manuscripts beyond my reach or known from references and quotations will be dealt with later.
CHAPTER II

THE SAURA UPAPURĀNAS

The Sun has been, under different names, an object of great adoration from the early Vedic period, and it is possible that there arose quite early a fairly extensive literature, both Purānic and otherwise, on the praise and worship of this god, who appears in the Vedic works as one of the most prominent deities; but of the numerous Purānic works now extant it is only the Sāmba-p., which deals principally with the cult of the Sun. Chapters and extracts on the method and praise of Sun-worship occur in some of the other Purānas also, viz., Bhaviṣya-p., Brahma-p., Skanda-p., Varāha-p., Matsya-p., Agni-p., Garuḍa-p., Viṣṇudharmaṭara, Bhaviṣyottara, Kālikā-p., and so on. The Mārkaṇḍeya-p. contains a few chapters on the praise of and stories about the Sun.

The Vedic, epic and Sanskrit literatures abound in evidences regarding the early beginning and spread of the worship of the atmospheric sun as a god, but the conception of the Sun as an imaginary god of light and the practice of his worship in images came into vogue at a comparatively late period. That this later phase of Sun-worship was due to Magian influence is amply evidenced by the Scythian coins, the Purānic works, the Brhat-samhitā (chaps. 58 and 60), and

1 For instance, in Bhaviṣya-p. I. 4. 89 we find mention of an ancient work dealing with the Saura Dharmas as declared by Nārada (saurā dharmāḥ ca rājendra nāradoktā mahipate). According to the Bhaviṣya, this work (most probably called 'Saura-dharma') as well as the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, etc. was designated technically by the term 'Jaya' (see Bhaviṣya-p. I. 4. 87b-89).

The above line of the Bhaviṣya-p. is found quoted in Lakṣmidhara's Kṛtya-kalpataru (I. p. 25), Caṇḍeṣvara’s Kṛtya-ratnākara (p. 30), and Narasimha Vājapeyin’s Nityācāra-pradipa (I. p. 22) with the reading ‘mānavoktāḥ’ for ‘nāradoktāḥ’.

It should be mentioned here that the Saura work spoken out by Nārada (or Mānava) has become extinct.

2 Ind. Ant., 1888, pp. 80ff.; Gardner, Coins of Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, pp. 131, 134, 141-3, 155.
a number of seals and inscriptions. Probably during the reign of
the Scythian kings or even earlier, a new form of Sun-worship was
introduced in Northern India by bands of Magi priests who called
their deity ‘Mithra’ (or ‘Mihira’). These Magas, as the Magi priests
were called in India, seem to have established their first settlement
at a place called ‘Mitra-vana’ (‘forest of Mitra’) on the bank of the
Candrabhāgā in the Punjab, and at this place they constructed a city
called ‘Mūla-sthāna’ (‘original place of settlement’ or ‘original place
of the Sun’—modern Multan) and a Sun-temple containing an image
of the deity. As the Magian adherents to the worship of the Sun
(Mithra) had a proselytising spirit and must have enjoyed state-support
at least under the Scythian kings, they set themselves most zealously
to popularising their faith in different parts of India. In striking
agreement with the orthodox followers of the Vedas, they pointed
out to the people the various benefits of Sun-worship, viz., freedom
from sins and diseases, attainment of peace and prosperity, success
in enterprises, and so on. They also took full advantage of the
long-standing popularity of the deity in India and of his worship in a
symbol which was very often a wheel or disc and not rarely a circle or
a lotus. As Viṣṇu, Siva and many other deities had begun from a
and so on; Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore,

3 See Bhandarkar, Vaiśnavism etc., p. 154; J. N. Banerjea, Development
of Hindu Iconography, pp. 198-9.

4 This historic temple, with the enshrined image of the Sun, was visited
by the Chinese traveller Huien Tsiang as well as by Alberūni, Al Edrisi, Abu
Ishak al Ishtakhri, and several others.

For Huien Tsiang’s description of this temple see Samuel Beal, Buddhist

5 For the probable connection of the kings of the Sūṅga and Kanva
dynasties as well as of the Hūnas with Mitra- (Mithra-) worship, see Nagendra
Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, pp. 56-7.

6 Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā (Calcutta), LVII, 1357 B.S., pp. 25-43.

The story of Samba, as given in the Samba-p., Bhaviṣya-p. and Varāha-p.,
shows clearly that the Magas laid special stress on the Sun’s capacity for destroying
sins and curing various diseases, especially leprosy.

7 For the basis of the Vedic custom of representing Sūrya by a wheel or
disc see Rg-veda I, 175. 4, IV, 28. 2, 30. 4, and V, 29. 10, in which Sūrya has
very early period to be widely worshipped in images," for which public or private temples were often built, Indian people must have felt a great want in these respects with regard to the worship of the Sun, for which the Vedic people made no provision for the construction of any image or temple. Fortunately, the Magas came forward to remove this long-felt want, and it was to this contribution of these foreigners that their remarkable success in speedily popularising their faith was due to a very great extent. The Sāmba-p. (29. 2-6) points to this truth when it says:

"na purā pratimā hy āsīt pūjyate maṇḍale raviḥ  
yathaitan maṇḍalāṁ vyommini sthiyate savitus tadā  
evam eva purā bhaktaīḥ pūjyate maṇḍalākṛtīḥ  
yataḥ prabhṛti cāpy eṣa nirmitā viśvakarmaṇā  
sarva-loka-hitārthāya sūryasya puruṣākṛtīḥ  
*  
*  
grheṣu pratimāyās tu na tāsāṁ niyamḥ kvacit  
*  
*  
devāyatanā-vinyāse kāryāṁ mūrti-pariśaṇam ||"  

been called a ‘wheel’ (cakra) or ‘the wheel (cakra) of Sūrya’ has been mentioned. See also Satapatha-brāhmaṇa VII. 4. 1. 10, which mentions the placing of a disc of gold on the Fire altar to represent the Sun.

For wheels and lotuses representing the Sun on coins, etc. see Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, XVI, pp. 51-3, and J. N. Banejrea, Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 137-140, 198-9 and 434ff. See also Mat. 74-80, Pd, Srṣṭī-khaṇḍa, 21. 216-321, Bhaviṣyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV), chaps. 48-53, and so on.

For a Maṇḍala for Sun-worship see especially the Bhaviṣya-p. (Brāhma-parvan). In commenting on Āpastamba-dharmasūtra ii. 11. 29. 16 Haradatta says that the Dravidas used to worship Āditya (the Sun) by drawing Maṇḍalas on the ground (......draviḍāḥ kanyā-mesasthe savitāry āditya-pūjāṁ acaranti bhūmaṁ maṇḍalām alīkhya......).

8 See, for instance, Gautama-dharmasūtra 9. 13 (na vāyv-agni-vipr-āditya-āpo devatā gāṣa ca prati paśyan vā mūtra-puriś-āmedhyān vyudasyet) and 9. 14 (nātā devatāḥ prati pādau prasārayet). According to Haradatta and Maskari, the word ‘devatāḥ’, occurring in the former Sūtra, means images (pratimāḥ).

The separate use of the word ‘devatāḥ’ in the former Sūtra shows that the word āditya meant the atmospheric sun and not any image of Āditya.

The word ‘devatāḥ’ in the latter Sūtra must have been intended for creating
"In ancient times there was no image (of the Sun); the Sun was worshipped in a circle. The Sun, worshipped by his devotees in early days, was circular, just as there is the disc (of the Sun) in the sky. The human form of the Sun (came into vogue) for the good of all the worlds from the time it was made by Viśvakarman. ... No rule is (to be observed) in the case of those images which are (worshipped) in (private) houses; ... The examination of the image is to be made in case it is placed in a temple." There was another strong ground for the wide popularity of the Magian method of Sun-worship. It was that the Magas allowed great privilege in religious matters to women and members of lower castes. However, the spread of Magian ideas was not, in all respects, very favourable to the Varnāśrama-dharma and the authority of the Vedas. As regards conception of Mithra and the procedure of his worship, the Magi priests differed much from the Sun-worshippers of India. Their manners and customs also were, to a great extent, different from those of the members of the Vedic fold. Hence, in order to modify the earlier cult of the Sun by incorporating Magian elements (which must have been too popular to be neglected), to establish the position of Magas as full-fledged Brahmins authorised to worship the Sun, and to conform the Magian ideas and practices to the Vedic notions, the Sāmba-p. had to be written and chapters had to be inserted into the Bhavisya and other Purānic works. What steps were taken to achieve these ends and how and when, will be evident from the following analysis of the Sāmba-p.

1. THE SĀMBA-PURĀNA

This work, as we have it in the Veṅkaṭ. edition, is divided into 84 chapters. It begins with a salutation to the Sun (variously named a sense of divinity with regard to wind, fire etc. and thus for pointing out their sacred character.

9 The only printed edition of this work is that published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay 1899. This edition has been accomplished so carelessly that innumerable mistakes, due to both omission and commission, have crept in. It is based most probably on a single Ms; otherwise, variants would have been given at some place or other of this edition. We have, however, used the
as Savitṛ, Bhāskara, Arka, Ravi, Āditya etc.,) who is the cause of creation, protection and destruction of the universe and is the soul of Pitāmaha, Nārayaṇa and Saṅkara, whose manifestations are the three Vedas, and who pervades the universe in the forms of Śakra, Vahni, Yama, Varuṇa, Samīraṇa (i. e. Vāyu), Dhanada and others who crowd the quarters. It then states that during a twelve-year sacrifice in Naimiśāranya Saunaka asked Sūta, "Here, O Sūta, you have narrated materials of this Purāṇa with extreme caution. As large numbers of verses, nay even complete chapters, of the Śaṁba-p. are found common with the Bhaviśya-p. (Brāhma-parvan), Brahma-p. and Skanda-p. (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa), we have, in cases of doubt as regards the correctness of the readings of any of these verses, made a careful comparison before accepting any reading as authentic.

For MSS of the Śaṁba-p. see

(i) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1316-18

[No. 3619.—This is a complete MS consisting of 70 chapters. Its second introductory verse ‘timira-kira-kirātaḥ etc.’ does not occur in the printed edition. Though Eggeling’s description of this MS as well as a comparison of its concluding verses with those of the ASB and Calcutta Sanskrit College MSS shows that the contents of this MS are practically the same as those of the printed edition, chap. 55 of the printed edition does not seem to occur in this MS. The difference in the numbers of chapters between this MS and the printed edition is due to the fact that in a few cases single chapters of this MS have each been split up into two or more in the printed edition. For instance,

chap. 1 of this MS = chaps. 1-2 of the printed edition,

and so on.

The contents of this MS after chap. 48 are divided into 22 sections which are neither numbered nor designated as Adhyāyas. Some of these sections are termed ‘Paṭala.’ These sections form practically a distinct part comprised under the general title ‘Jñānottara;’ and the last of these sections, which corresponds to chap. 84 of the printed edition, ends with a few verses which occur in the latter. These concluding verses agree with those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College MS (for which see below).

No. 3620.—This is practically the same as the preceding MS.

(a) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 750-7

[No. 4091.—This incomplete MS, which agrees considerably with the Ind. Off. MS mentioned above, lacks the second introductory verse ‘timira-kira-kirātaḥ etc.’ of the latter. It ends with chap. 81 and a part of chap. 82 of the printed edition. Thus, it lacks chaps. 83-84 and a part of chap. 82 of the latter.

No. 4092.—This MS was copied in Śaka 1764. It consists of 75 chapters.
to us, first of all, the old and much elaborate story of the six-faced [god Kārttikeya]; next [you have told us about] the Cosmic Egg (brahmāṇḍa), and also what was spoken by Vāyu and by Sāvarṇika, by Mārkaṇḍeya and by Vaiśampāyana, by Dadhicī and by Sarva (i.e. Siva), by Hari, by the sages, and by the Bālakhīlyas. And we have heard all these [from you] in company with the sages. But, O sage, you have not narrated what was done by the son of Hari (i.e. by Samba) .........The Purāṇa of Bhāskara (bhāskarasya purāṇam), which was enquired into by the wise Samba, is concerned with the twelfth form of which the last corresponds to chap. 84 of the printed edition. In spite of this difference in the numbers of chapters, the contents of this Ms and the printed edition are practically the same. In this Ms, chaps. 52-74 have been grouped under a general title ‘Jñānottara,’ but this title does not occur in the colophon of chap. 75, in which Nārada speaks to Samba.

No. 4093.—Though this Ms consists of 83 chapters and has a defective beginning, it is practically the same as the printed edition. Of the last six verses of the concluding chapter of this Ms, the first two and a half agree with verses 14-15 of chap. 84 of the printed edition, and the remaining ones are the same as the verses immediately preceding the two concluding verses of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. Like the other Ms and the printed edition, this Ms contains a latter part called ‘Jñānottara,’ but in the colophon of its concluding chapter, in which Nārada speaks to Samba, the word ‘Jñānottara’ does not occur.

No. 4094.—It deals with the praise of the Śāka-dvīpi Brahmins and claims to be the seventh chapter of the Samba-p. But in the printed edition the Śāka-dvīpi Brahmins are praised in chap. 26. Moreover, the opening verses of this Ms, as given by Shastri, do not agree with those of chap. 26 of the printed edition. So, we are not sure whether these two chapters are considerably the same.

(3) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans, College Cat., IV, pp. 122-3

[No. 214.—The introductory and the concluding verses of this Ms, as given in the Catalogue, show that the contents of this Ms also are practically, the same as those of the printed edition. The two concluding verses of this Ms agree with those of the Ind. Off. Ms; and the three verses and a half, immediately preceding those two concluding verses, are found to occur at the end of an ASB Ms (Cat. No. 4093).]

(5) Benares Sans, College Cat., p. 338.
(6) Burnell, Classified Index, p. 193.
(7) P. P. S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7177-78, No. 10584.
of the Sun (♀ dvādaśaśikāra).......

O blessed one, please narrate this entire Purāṇa which is based on all scriptures”. Consequently, Śūta praised the Sāmba-p. over the Mahābhārata and all other Purāṇas and said that this Purāṇa would contain chapters dealing with the following matters.

Various old and interesting stories; essence of the Vedas and the Smṛtis given in connection with the duties of the different castes; [various kinds of worship of the Sun; how Nārada caused Kṛṣṇa to curse Sāmba; (the Sun’s) foundation of a town by way of favouring Sāmba; measurement of Sūrya-maṇḍala; the paring of the Sun’s rays by means of a lathe, and the eulogy of the Sun; Sāmba’s joy, and his consecration of an image of the Sun; Sāmba’s bringing of the Magas; praise of the Magas; method of the worship of the Sun;] the past, present and future; dissertation on mantras; description of the origin and destruction of the universe; sāṅgopāṅga-samāhāra; introduction of the rules about, and worship of, the Sun; the six acts, viz., vaśikaraṇa, ākarṣaṇa, māraṇa, uccāśana, vidveṣaṇa, and stambhāna; characteristics of the Sun’s image; rules about the construction of the house for the worship of the Sun; description of maṇḍalas (circles), and the performance of various kinds of yāga (viz., kriyā-yāga, siddhi-yāga, mahāmaṇḍala-yāga, etc.); means of attaining the proximity of the twelve-formed Sun; placing of the Sun on the lathe; rules

10 Sāmba-p. 1, 8b-14.
11 After 1, 17a our printed edition omits the following five verses:—

śṛṇudhvām munayaḥ sarve sāṃbhakhyām pāpanāśanam/
purāṇām sarva-rogaghṇam param kalyāṇa-dāyakam//
atra nānā-vidhā pūjā sūryasya ca mahātmanah/
pituh śaṅgoh hi sāṁbasya nāradas tatra kāraṇam//
śāṃpānugrahataś caiva tathā pura-nivesanam/
maṇḍalasya pramāṇam hi bhramer arādhanam tathā/
tejasāṁ śātanāṁ caiva sūrya-stavas tathāvai ca/
sāṃbasya ca tädollāsaṁ pratimā-sthāpanam tathā//
magāṇayanam atraiva maga-māhāmyam eva ca/
pūjā-vidhim raver atra pūjānūthāṁ tathāvai ca//

For these verses see Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1317.
12 The printed ed. reads ‘bhūmer vā toṣaṇam’ (1, 21), but the Ind. Off. Ms reads ‘bhramimāṇopanaṁ.’ As Eggeling suggests, the original reading was
about flowers and incense; duties on the Saptami Tithi; method of fasting; results of gifts; determination of proper time; method of performing the duties to the Sun; method of burning incense; directions regarding the study of scriptures (called ‘jaya’); description of dreams; penance; characteristics of spiritual preceptors; initiation, and selection of mantras for the initiated; and various eulogies.—(Chap. 1).

Sūta then said that once king Bṛhadbala, who was born in the race of Raghu, wanted to hear from his preceptor Vasiṣṭha about the eternal Brahma which caused cessation of rebirths, and put to him the following questions:—

1. Which god should be worshipped by a member of any of the four āśramas who wishes to attain final release?
2. How could he be sure of the attainment of heaven as well as the highest bliss?
3. What should he do after passing to heaven, so that he may not lose it again?
4. Who is the chief among the gods and Pitrṣ?
5. Whence did this universe originate, and where will it go after destruction?

In answer to these questions Vasiṣṭha praised the Sun as the only visible and eternal deity who is the highest among the gods and Pitrṣ and is the only source of energy, who never moves from his fixed position, who manifests the universe from himself in creation and absorbs it into himself at the time of destruction, into whom the Yogins and the Sāmkhyas enter after forsaking their bodies, and into whose region the kings like Janaka, the sages like the Bālakhilyas, Pañcaśikha and Suka, and many members of different varṇas entered in times of yore by practising yoga, and who, therefore, is the only god deserving devotion and worship.—(Chap. 2). Bṛhadbala then wanted to know where the original place (ādyam sthānam) of worship of the Sun was situated on earth. Consequently, Vasiṣṭha said that out of affection for Samba and in order to favour the whole world the Sun permanently resided, in his twelfth form, viz., probably ‘bhrāmin āropanaṁ’ or ‘bhramer āropanaṁ.’ It is more probable that the reading was ‘bhramāv āropanaṁ.’
Mitra,\textsuperscript{13} in the ‘city called Sāmba’ on the bank of the Candrabhāgā and thence favoured his worshippers by accepting their worship duly performed. At Brhadabala’s request Vasiṣṭha narrated the story of Sāmba in the following way.

Viṣṇu, one of the twelve sons of Aditi,\textsuperscript{14} was born as Vāsudeva, and Sāmba was the son of this Vāsudeva. Once the irascible sage Nārada, who had access into all the regions of the universe, came with some sages to the city of Dvārakā in order to see Vāsudeva. Pradyumna and other young Yādavas received Nārada with proper respect, but Sāmba was so proud of his youth and physical beauty and was so much addicted to amorous sports that he neglected the sage. In order to teach Sāmba modesty, Nārada told Vāsudeva that all his 16000 wives were so much enamoured of Sāmba that they were always anxious to meet him. But Vāsudeva did not believe in Nārada’s words. So, Nārada promised to convince Vāsudeva of the truth of his allegation, and went away. After a few days Nārada returned to Dvārakā and found Vāsudeva enjoying water-sports etc. in the pleasure-garden in Raivatataka in company with his wives, who

13 Sāmba-p. 3. 3 reads:—
prityā sāmbasya tatrācko jagato ‘nugrahāya ca/
stibito dvādaśa-bhāgena mitro maṅreṇa caṅkusā//

In Sāmba-p. 4.6 Mitra is mentioned as the last of the twelve Ādityas.

14 Sāmba-p. 3.6 reads:—
aditer dvādaśaḥ putro viṣṇur yah sa punas tv iha/
vāsudevatvam āpannas tasya sāmbam ‘bhavat sutah//

In this verse Viṣṇu is called the twelfth son of Aditi; but in none of the two lists of the names of the twelve Ādityas given in Sāmba-p., chaps. 4 (verse 6) and 9 (verses 3b-4) Viṣṇu is assigned the twelfth place. Moreover, in the lines corresponding to Sāmba-p. 3. 6 the Bhaviṣya-p. does not mention Viṣṇu as the twelfth Āditya. These lines of the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 72; 10-11) are as follows:—

ya ete dvādaśadityā virājante mahābalah/
tēsām yo viṣṇu-sāmijñas tu sarva-lokeṣu viśrūtaḥ/
tasmāt sāmbah suto jājīne etc.

So, the present text of Sāmba-p. 3. 6 (aditer dvādaśaḥ putro viṣṇuh etc.) must be due to a revision made according to the list of the names of the twelve Ādityas as given in Samba-p. 51 (verses 66-67 and 162-170) in which Viṣṇu is assigned the twelfth place. We shall see hereafter that chap. 51 of the Samba-p. was a later addition.
were coming under the influence of wine they were drinking. This was a great opportunity for Nārada. He went to Sāmba and told him that he was wanted by his father immediately. Sāmba hastened to Vāsudeva and stood before him. At the sight of Sāmba all of Vāsudeva’s wives, except three, namely, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā and Jāmbavatī, became extremely passionate. At this moment Nārada went there. As Vāsudeva’s wives stood up to receive the sage, signs of their extreme passion became prominent on their dress. Vāsudeva understood their mental condition and cursed them all, except the above-mentioned three, to be unable to pass to the region of their husband after his death and to be forcibly carried away by robbers. (Here the Purāṇa states that after Vāsudeva’s death, his wives were carried away by some ‘thieves of the land of five rivers’ even before the eyes of Arjuna). Vāsudeva did not spare Sāmba but cursed him to become an ugly leper. Sāmba immediately became so, and Nārada went away. (Here the Purāṇa informs us that ‘later on, being impelled by destiny and by the recollection of the previous event, Sāmba enraged the sage Durvāsas again in the same way and had his family exterminated by a musala ‘born as a result of the sage’s curse’).  

15 Sāmbena punar apy evaṃ durvāsāḥ kopito muniḥ/ bhāvanārtthena cātyartham pūrvānusmaraṇena vai//, prāptavān sumahacchāpaṃ sāmbo vai manujottamaḥ/ tac-chāpān musalaṃ jātam kulaṃ yenāya pātitam//,
sides, by Pingala, the recorder of good and bad deeds of creatures, by Daṇḍa-nāyaka, by Rājīṇa and Stroṣa, by Kalmāsa (i.e. Yama) and Paksin (i.e. Garudha) who were stationed at the gate, by the four-horned (or four-peakedy-catuh-śrīga) god Vyoman who resembled the Meru, and by the naked Dīndi. He spoke on the greatness of the Sun and advised Samba to take recourse to this deity who pervaded the universe and was eulogised by Brahmā and other gods.—(Chap. 6). Consequently, Samba started, with his father’s permission, from the northern shore of the sea (?), reached the ‘great river (mahānādi)

16 Samba-p. 6, 21b reads ‘pingalo devakaḥ,’ but in the corresponding line the Bhavisya-p. (I. 76, 13) reads ‘pingalo lekhakaḥ.’ That the reading of the Bhavisya-p. is the correct one is evidenced by Samba-p. 16, 6b-7a, in which Pingala is described as being engaged by the Sun in recording the good and bad deeds of all beings. See also Samba-p. 7, 2 for the same function of Pingala.

In Viṣṇudh, III, 67, 5-7 also Pingala is described as ‘atipinaǰa,’ ‘uddiptāvesa,’ ‘lekhani-patra-kara’ and ‘carma-sūla-dhara.’

17-18 In Bhav. I. 76, 13b and 18, which correspond to Samba-p. 6, 22a and 7, 3a respectively, these two names are given as Rājā and Stroṣa. But in Bhav. I, 124, 13 and 22-24a these names occur as Rājīṇa and Srauṣa, the latter name being said to have been derived from the root ‘sru’ used in the sense of motion. See also Bhav. I, 143, 40a in which the names are given as Rājīṇa and Srauṣa. Bhav. I, 130, 52b wrongly gives the former name as ‘Rājīna.’

Samba-p. 36, 39 gives the names as ‘Rājan’ and ‘Toṣa.’

In the Avesta Rashnu (‘justice’) and Sraosha (‘obedience’) have been mentioned as divine beings and companions of Mithra.

19 In the Samba-p. (6, 23, 7, 4, and 16, 25) Dīndi is described as ‘naked’ (nagnāḥ, nagnakāḥ); but in Bhav. I. 76, 14 and 19 and I. 124, 1, which correspond to Samba-p. 6, 23 (dīndir nagno ‘gratas tasya), 7, 4 (ko dīndir nagnako yaśa ca etc.), and 16, 25 (......... sāṃtīṣṭhāti yaś tu nagnāḥ,....... the words ‘tathā,’ ‘agrataḥ’ and ‘magnah’ are found in place of ‘nagnāḥ’ and ‘nagnakāḥ’ of the Samba-p.

On the other hand, in Bhav. I, 124, 3 and 7 (=Samba-p. 16, 26 and 31 respectively) Rudra is described as naked (nagna).

20 The text of Samba-p. 24, 5-6 runs as follows:—

anujñataḥ sa krṣṭena sindhor uttara-kūlataḥ/

jnātvā saṃstārayāmasya candrabhāgāṃ mahānāmim//

tato mitravanam gatvā tirtham trailokya-viśrutam/,

upavāsa-kṛṣṇah sāmbāḥ krṣṇo dhamani-saṃtataḥ/.

These verses are the same as Bhav. I. 127, 6-7. The Bhavisya-p. reads ‘gatvā’ for ‘jnātvā,’ and ‘upavāsa-parah’ for ‘upavāsa-kṛṣṇah.’
Candrabhāgā", thence went to the famous holy place Mitravana, emaciated his body there with fasts, and eulogised the Sun, who lived in the solar orb as an extremely effulgent Puruṣa, comprised all gods and the universe, was the same as the Paramātman, and was able to cure all kinds of skin diseases and physical defects. The Sun was pleased to confer devotion on Sāmba and to cure his leprosy. He asked Sāmba to establish an image of the Sun on the bank of the Candrabhāgā, and granted a boon that the town, thus created, would be known after Sāmba, and promised to appear daily to Sāmba in dream.—(Chap. 24). Now, once, after attaining his former physical beauty, Sāmba went, as usual, to have his bath in the Candrabhāgā which was 'not very far' from his hermitage and found that an image of the Sun was being carried by the current with its face turned upwards. Sāmba brought this image to his hermitage, established it in a part of Mitravana, and asked it by whom it was constructed. The image related its history in the following way. When, in times of yore, the Sun's brightness became unbearable to all creatures, he was requested by the gods to make himself endurable. Consequently, at his command Viśvakarman mended his form by placing him on a lathe in Śāka-dvīpa. Afterwards Viśvakarman made this image with the Kalpa-vṛksa, took it to the Himalayas, and sent it down the Candrabhāgā for the sake of Sāmba. The image assured Sāmba that the Sun would always remain present at that place. On hearing this from the image and seeing the Sun with his own eyes, Sāmba built a temple (deva-grha) for the image and approached Nārada for his advice regarding the selection of the best Brahmin priests for its worship. Nārada decried the Devalaka Brahmins of Jambu-dvīpa, because they lived on the property of the images they worshipped, denounced the Mānava Śāstra (the Code of Manu), and were degraded (patita) and excommunicated (apāṅkṣeyya). He advised Sāmba to take recourse to the Sun for the purpose. Sāmba did so; and the Sun was pleased to advise him to bring the Magas

21 Cf. Sāmba-p. 26, 23b—garhitam mānavam śāstraṁ na praśāmsanti te dvijāḥ. This line does not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p. It is highly probable that in this line the original reading for 'garhitam' was 'garhanti.'
from Śāka-dvīpa which was situated on the other side of the salt-ocean and was encircled by the ocean of milk, and where the people were divided into four castes, viz., Maga, Māmaga, Mānasā and Mandaga corresponding respectively to the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras of Jambu-dvīpa but having no mixed caste among them. The people of Śāka-dvīpa, who were born of the Sun’s energy (tejas) and to whom the four Vedas were given by the Sun, worshipped the Sun by citing Vedic hymns and wore Avyaṅgas. The image added that the Sun was worshipped as Viṣṇu in Svēta-dvīpa, as Mahēśvara in Kuṣa-dvīpa, as Brahmā in Puṣkara-dvīpa, and as Bhāskara in Śāka-dvīpa. Being thus advised by the image Sāmba saw his father at Dvāravatī, mounted Garuḍa and went to Śāka-dvīpa, whence he brought to Mitravana on the bank of the Candrabhāgā eighteen families of Magas, who worshipped the Sun and performed jāntibomas for the people.—(Chap. 26).


The text of these verses, as given by Nagendra Nath Vasu in his Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, p. 9, has ‘Masaga’ for ‘Māmaga.’

In Bhav. (Veṅkaṭa. ed.) I. 139. 74-75 the names of these four castes of Śāka-dvīpa are given as Maga, Magaga, Gānaga (or Mānasā) and Mandaga. These verses, as quoted by Nagendra Nath Vasu (in his Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, p. 9), give the names as Maga, Masaga, Mānasā and Mandaga (or Mandasa); while according to Aufrecht’s Ms of the Bhaviṣya-p. the names are Maga, Magasa, Mānasā and Mandaga (see Bod. Cat., p. 33).

Mahābhārata VI (Bhīṣma-parvan). 11. 36-38 have the names as Maga (or Maṅga), Maṅaka, Mānasā and Mandaga; Viṣṇu-p. II. 4. 69-70 have them as Mrīga (but ‘Maga’ in some Ms), Māgadhā, Mānasā and Mandaga; and the Brahmap., which incorporates many of the chapters of the Viṣṇu-p. including chap. 4 of Viṣṇu-p. II, gives the names as Maga, Māgadhā, Mānasā and Mandaga (see Brahmap. 20. 71).

One of the Ms of the Sāmba-p. described by Haraprasad Shastri has Maga, Māgasa, Mānasā and Mandaga (see Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 753, No. 4092).

Greek historians, such as Herodotus and Strabo, mention the warlike Massagetae as living in Sakitai with other clans. So, the Massagetae seem to be the same as the ‘Masaga’ or ‘Maṅka’ Kṣatriyas of Śāka-dvīpa.

23. Avyaṅga is a girdle originally worn by the Magi priests of ancient Persia. In the Avesta it is called Aivyarōnghen.

The Sun’s girdle is called ‘aviyāṅga’ in Viṣṇudh. III. 67. 3b (kartavyā raśāni cāsyā yāvīyāṅgeti saṃjñītā).
The above-mentioned story of Samba’s establishing an image of the Sun at Sambapura in Mitavanaka and his settling of eighteen families of Magi priests from Saka-dvipa for the regular worship of this image forms the nucleus of the Samba-p., and in connection with this main story, a few subsidiary stories of interest have been introduced into this Purana for the glorification of the Sun. For instance, there are the stories of Samjinā’s penance in the Northern Kuru country and of Visvakarman’s paring of the Sun’s rays by means of a lathe. Of these, the former is narrated in Samba-p., chaps. 10-11 as follows.

Brahma’s son Marici had a son named Kaśyapa and a daughter named Surūpā. Kaśyapa’s son (on Diti) was Hiranyakaśipu, whose son was Prahlāda. Prahlāda had a son named Virocana and a daughter named Prahlādi. This Prahlādi was married to Visvakarman, who was the son of Bhuvanī, daughter of Surūpā. The Sun’s wife Rājñī, who is said to be the same as Dyaury, was born to Prahlādi under the name of Samjinā or Sarenu.24 The Sun took a human form in order to have physical union with Samjinā,25 and begot on her two sons, namely Vaivasvata Manu and Yama Sṛāddha-deva, and a daughter named Yamī or Kālindī. Now, Samjinā could no longer stand the heat and brilliance of the Sun. She secretly created from her own body a female named Chāyā (called to be the same as Nikṣubha, who, again, is identified with Prthivi), requested her to attend the Sun and look after Manu, Yama and Yamī, and went to her father’s house. She lived there for one thousand years; and, being repeatedly asked by her father to return to her husband, she took the form of a mare and went to the Northern Kuru country. During Samjinā’s absence Chāyā,

24 Samba-p. 10. 17b (sareṇuḥ iti vikhyātā etc.). This line, as occurring in the Bhavisya-p. (I. 79. 17b) and the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 11. 65b), reads ‘sareṇuḥ’ for ‘sareṇuḥ’.

25 Samba-p. 10. 19c reads ‘rantum vai nara-rūpeṇa sūryo bhavati vai purā.’ This line, as occurring in the Bhavisya (I. 79. 20a) and the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 11. 79a), reads ‘na tu tāṁ nara-rūpeṇa sūryo (‘bhāryām’ according to the Skanda-p.) bhajati vai purā.’

The text of this line, as given by the Samba-p., is obviously wrong. Cf. Samba-p. 11. 4b-5a (golākāraṁ tu tadrūpaṁ dṛṣṭvā samjinā vivasvataḥ/asahanti tu tat tejāḥ svāṁ chāyāṁ presya cābravīt/).
who resembled Saṃjñā fully, attended the Sun as his wife and gave birth to two sons named Śrutaśravas and Śrutakarman (of whom the former was destined to be known as Śāvarni Manu and the latter became the planet Sanaǐscara later on) and a daughter named Tāpati. Now, Chāya was so partial to her own children that Yama could not tolerate it. Once he threatened Chāya with his foot (pādaṃ saṃtarjay-āmāsa) and was cursed by her that his foot would fall down without fail. Being afflicted in mind Yama approached the Sun with Manu and informed him of the whole matter. The Sun first minimised the severity of the curse by ordaining that worms would fall to the ground after taking flesh from his feet, and then asked Chāya the cause of her differential treatment towards the children. But as Chāya remained silent, the Sun understood the whole situation through meditation and was about to curse Chāya, when the latter related the whole matter to the Sun. Being thus informed of the whole situation, the Sun approached his father-in-law Viśvakarman in rage; but the latter told him that being unable to bear the extreme brightness of his form, Saṃjñā went to a grassy wood in the Northern Kuru country and was practising severe penance there for an endurable figure of the Sun (cf. rūpārtham bhavato 'raṇye carantī sumahat tapah). Viśvakarman then intimated to the Sun that he was ready to act up to Brahmā’s proposal of paring the Sun’s figure, only if the latter gave his consent. The Sun agreed to it gladly and had his rays cut down by means of a lathe. The Sun then met Saṃjñā in the Northern Kuru country in the form of a horse and had physical union with her. As a result of this union, the two Aśvins, named Nāsatya and Dasra, were born, The Sun had another son born of the earth. This son, who was named Raivata (or Revanta),26 had the body of a horse and was armed with a bow and arrows. Yama ruled over the creation with justice and became Dharmarāja; Manu became a ruler and the progenitor of the line of Ikṣvāku; Yamā was transformed into the river Yamunā; Śāvarṇi Manu was destined to become a ruler in future; Sanaǐscara

26 The name is given as ‘Raivata’ and ‘Revanta’ in the Sāmba-p., but in the Bhaviṣya-p. it is given as ‘Raivata’, ‘Revata’ and ‘Revanta’ (see Bhav. I. 79, verses 59, 63, 79; I. 124. 31). In Viṣṇudh. III. 67. 9 the name is given as ‘Revanta.’
became a planet; Tapatí, who became the wife of king Samvarana, was turned into a river of the same name in the Vindhya mountain; the Aśvins became the divine physicians; and Revanta became a noble and sanctifying deity easy to please.

The story of Viśvakarman’s paring of the Sun’s rays by means of a lathe is briefly this:—

As Samjña went to her father’s house and then practised austerities (in the Northern Kuru country), the Sun became favourably inclined towards her and intended to fulfil her desires. In the meantime Brahmā, being requested by the sages to save the creation from the trouble caused by the burning rays of the Sun, approached the Sun with other gods and Prajāpatīs and asked him to have his figure carved out by Viśvakarman. At Brahmā’s request Viśvakarman placed the Sun, with the latter’s consent, on a lathe and pared his rays up to the knees. While the Sun’s body was thus being cut out ‘for the creation of the seasons of frost, heat and water’, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Indra, Viśvakarman and other gods, as well as the sages (viz., Bālakhilyas, Viśvāmitra and others), Vidyādharas, Nāgas etc. eulogised the Sun, and the Gandharvas (well versed in the three grāmas, viz., sadja, madhyama and gāndhāra) and Apsarases etc. honoured the Sun with songs, dances and musical concerts. With the rays thus mopped off Viśvakarman made a disc for Viṣṇu and various missiles for other gods. The Purāṇa adds that as the Sun’s rays were pared up to his knees, his feet are always kept under a cover.—(Chaps. 12-15).

Another story may be mentioned here.

Once Brahmā and other gods found out that it was only through the boons of the compassionate Sun that the demons became powerful enough to trouble the gods. So, they decided to be devoted to the Sun and to surround him in such a way that the demons might not see him. Accordingly, Indra stood, under the name of Dandaṇāyaka, on the left side of the Sun and was engaged by the latter to rule over the world with his danda (sceptre) and niti (science of politics); Agni, who took his stand on the right side of the Sun, was known as Piṅgala due to his rannyy colour and was engaged in record-

27 Dandaṇāyaka is named as Dandaṇ in Viṣṇudh. III. 67. 5.
ing the good and bad deeds of all creatures; the two Aśvins stood on two sides of the Sun; Kārttikeya and Hara stood 'at the eastern gate' under the names of Rājña and Stoṣa respectively; Yama and Garuḍa assumed the names of Kalmāśa and Pakṣin respectively (because the former was kalmāśa i.e. variegated, and the latter had wings) and stood, with two asses, at the gate, which was thus rendered inaccessible; on the south, stood Citragupta (the officer of Yama) and Kāla under the names of Jāndakāra and Māṭhara respectively; on the west, stood Varuṇa and Śāgara under the names of Prāṇuyāna and Kṣatāpa respectively; on the north, stood Kuvera and Vīnāyaka, the latter having the form of an elephant; and on the east, stood Revanta, and Rudra under the name of Diṅḍi. Thus the Sun's attendants were 'eighteen in number'. In order to prevent the demons these attendants as well as the Vedic hymns assumed various forms and surrounded the Sun with missiles in their hands.—(Sāṃba-p. 16. 1-24).

28 Sāṃba-p. 16. 8a reads 'pūrva-dvāre sthitau tasya rājña-stoṣau mahābalau'; but in the corresponding line the Bhavisya-p. reads 'dvāra-pālau sthitau tasya rājñah śreṣṭhou mahābalau' (see Bhav. I. 124. 21a), there being no mention of 'pūrva-dvāra.' The reading 'rājñah śreṣṭhou' of the Bhavisya-p. is obviously wrong. Cf. Bhav. I. 124. 22-24 where the derivative meanings of 'Rājña' and 'Stoṣa' (and not 'śreṣṭha') are given. See also Bhav. I. 130. 52b.

29 Sāṃba-p. 16. 11a reads 'kharāṃ hi duratikrāntaṃ kṛtvā dvāraṃ vyavasthitau,' but Sāṃba-p. 16. 21a reads 'sākharaḍvārīkau jñeyau rājña-stoṣau tataḥ sthitau,' With whomsoever the 'kbara' (ass) may be connected, it is clear that the asses were there.

The Bhavisya-p. has these two lines as follows:—'dvitiyāyaṃ tu kakṣāyāṃ apradṛṣṭau vyavasthitau' and 'tāu sūrya-dvārapau jñeyau rājña-staṣau tataḥ svṛtāu' (see Bhav. I. 124. 25b and 35b).

30 The name 'Māṭhara', which may have been derived from the Avestan Māθra, is found in the Bhavisya-p. (I. 53. 1), but the name 'Jāndakāra,' which also seems to have an Avestan origin, does not occur in the Bhavisya-p.

31 These two names are given respectively as 'Prāṇuyāna' and 'Kṣatāya' in Sāṃba-p. 16. 16a, as 'Prāṇuyāna' and 'Kṣatāpa' in Sāṃba-p. 16. 16b and 20a, and as 'Prāṇuyān' and 'Nukṣatāya' in Sāṃba-p. 29. 20a.

The Bhavisya-p. does not contain these names.
In Sāmba-p. 16 (verses 25-35) and 17, the story of Dīndi is narrated as follows:—

After tearing away Brahmā’s head, Rudra took the skull in his hand and went naked to Dāruvana for practising penance. At the sight of Rudra, the minds of the wives and daughters of the sages residing there became agitated. So, the sages drove Rudra away from that place. Rudra thence went to the Solar region, where the Sun’s chief attendants advised him to take recourse to the Sun for getting rid of the sin committed. Rudra did so and eulogised the Sun, the result being that he became purified and was given the name ‘Dīndī’. The Sun advised Rudra to live in a highly sacred place on earth where he himself would live with him in company with his eighteen chief attendants as well as fourteen others. The Sun also conferred divine knowledge on Rudra, gave the name of Avimukta-kṣetra to the place where Rudra practised austerities for attaining the Sun’s favour, and assured Rudra that those people, who would bow down to Rudra and the Sun at that place having the measurement of a krośa, would become sinless.

Besides these stories, there are also others which are no less interesting and important than those already mentioned. For instance, in chaps. 42-43 the story of the establishment of the Sun’s image in the Sun’s penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean is given as follows:—

‘After Sāmba had brought the Yājakas and had a temple constructed for the Sun’, the gods, sages, Siddhas, men and others heard of ‘Mitravana’ (Mitra’s forest) and at once came to this ‘penance-forest’ (tapovana) which was situated on the shore of the salt-ocean and was made by Viśvakarman. Being thanked by Nārada for enabling him to see the Sun’s ‘penance-forest’ (tapovana) which was furnished with an eternal image of this god, Sāmba approached the Sun and was advised by the latter not to be proud of his glorious deed. Moreover, the Sun narrated the story that in ancient times some sages performed austerities there for many centuries, became the creators of this place through the Sun’s favour, and thereby attained great fame for a Manvantara. Now, once the sages, Siddhas, Gandharvas and others, who lived in the Sun’s penance-forest (tapovana, also called Sūrya-
kānana) situated on the shore of the salt-ocean and worshipped him in various ways, stood in wait for his rise, eulogising him all the while. At dawn they were surprised to see that the Sun made the ocean, the sky and the earth red by means of his rays and appeared simultaneously in the sky and in the ocean. There was yet another form of the Sun which remained in water. Manus recovered it by entering the ocean, placed it in the 'tapovana', and cited hymns in its praise. On Manus' enquiry as to who constructed it and how it came to that place the image replied that after being constructed by Viśvakarman and worshipped by the gods for the good of the world, it was placed on the Kalpavṛkṣa in the Himalayas, whence it passed successively through the rivers Candrabhāgā, Vaipāśa, Sāadrava, Yamunā, Jāhnāvi (also called Bhāgīrathī) and Modagaṅgā until it reached the salt-ocean. The image also asked Manus to establish itself. Consequently, Vaivasvata Manu had a temple built for it, and the gods eulogised it, named it as Muṇḍita and Muṇḍīra after being initiated by it to Sun-worship, and established the Sun in three (?) different places.

In chap. 45 the story of the origin of shoes and umbrellas is narrated thus:

Once Jamadagni began to shoot arrows playfully, and his wife Reṇukā was engaged in collecting them. When, at mid day, the earth became extremely hot due to the burning rays of the Sun, Reṇukā delayed in fetching the arrows thrown by Jamadagni. Understanding Reṇukā's difficulties Jamadagni became so angry with the Sun that the latter appeared before the former in the form of a Brahmin and appeased him by handing over a pair of shoes and an umbrella for Reṇukā's use.

32 The reading 'modagaṅgā-maḥānadau' in Sāmba-p. 43. 32b (bhāgīrathītī vijñeyā modagaṅgā-maḥānadau) is obviously wrong. It should be 'modagaṅgā maḥānadi.' Cf. the adjective 'vijñeyā' and also the line 'tasmād vai modagaṅgāyaḥ praviṣṭā lavaṇodadhīm' (Sāmba-p. 43. 33b) which shows that from the Modagaṅgā the Sun's image did not pass into any other river before entering the sea.

It is needless to repeat that the present edition of the Sāmba-p. is full of mistakes.

33 Cf. sthāpayitvā raviṁ bhaktyā triḥṣṭhāneṣu surottamāḥ.—Sāmba-p. 43. 36b.
In addition to the above-mentioned stories, the following topics have been introduced into this Purāṇa for the effective glorification of the Sun: —

The Sun’s creation of Prajāpatis and various kinds of creatures in the form and capacity of Brahmā, and his division of himself into twelve parts and birth from Aditi as twelve Adityas, viz., Indra, Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvāṣṭṛ, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Viṣṇu, Aṃśu, Varuṇa and Mitra, of whom Indra ruled over the gods, Dhātṛ became a Prajāpati and created beings, Parjanya remained in clouds, Pūṣan resided in food and nourished the created beings, Tvāṣṭṛ remained in trees, plants and herbs, Aryaman resided in the bodies of animals for facilitating the movement of air, Bhaga remained in the earth as well as in bodies, Vivasvat dwelt in fire and helped digestion, Viṣṇu, the ninth form of Citrabhāṇu, became the slayer of the enemies of gods, Aṃśumān resided in air and gladdened the creatures, Varuṇa resided in water contained in the sea and enlivened the whole world which depends on water, and Mitra, the twelfth from of the Sun (Bhānu), resided on the bank of the Candrasarit for the good of the world, performed austerities there by living on air, and favoured his devotees with boons, this original place of Mitra’s residence being known as Mitravāna, which was later on developed into a town by Sāmba (paścāt sāmbena nirmitam). —(Chap. 4). The origin of the visible Sun, with its shooting rays, from the Egg brought forth by Aditi; the dimension of the Sun; the names and functions of its rays in general; the names and functions of its seven principal rays and their connection with the stars and planets, which are said to have originated from the Sun; and the way in which the Sun fills the universe with its rays. —(Chap. 7). The Sun as the original source and the main stay of the universe; the absolute necessity of the Sun for the measurement of time, the performance of Vedic sacrifices, and the growth of the vegetable world; and the different auspicious colours of the Sun during the different seasons. —(Chap. 8). The twelve common names

34 The text reads ‘Mitrabhāṇu’ (Sāmba-p. 4, 16a). But this reading is erroneous. Cf. Sāmba-p. 9, 2 and Bhavisya-p. I. 74, 18a and 78, 55a (corresponding to Sāmba-p. 4, 16a and 9, 2 respectively), in which ‘Citrabhāṇu’ is given as a name for the Sun.
of the Sun (viz., Āditya, Savitṛ, Śūrya, Mihira, Arka, Prabhākara, Māitrāṇa, Bhāskara, Bhānu, Citrabhāṇu, Divākara and Ravi), the names of the twelve Ādityas (viz., Viṣṇu, Dātṛ, Bhaga, Pūṣan, Mitra, Indra, Varuṇa, Aryanam, Vivasvat, Aṃśumat, Tvaṣṭṛ and Parjanya), the different months in which these twelve Ādityas shine, and the numbers of their rays. —(Chap. 9). The evolution of the universe according to the principles of the Sāmkhya system, and the appearance of the Supreme Being (īśvaraḥ param) as a luminary (called Savitṛ) at the prayer of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahēśvara and others who were all confused by darkness: —(Chap. 14). The origin of Vyoman (which is called ‘sarva-devamayā’, ‘sarva-bhūtamayā’ and ‘sarva-śrutimayā’ and whose worship is said to be equivalent to the worship of all gods) from the space of the Cosmic Egg and of the four-peaked Meru, which, like the pericarp of a lotus, formed the centre of the earth, round which the Sun moved in his chariot, and which was resorted to by the thirty-three sacrificing gods (viz., eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, eight Vasus, and two Aśvins, whose names also are given); the names of the fourteen Manus, the fourteen Indras and the Viṣvedevas living during the reigns of these Manus, the seven Maruts (from whom forty-nine Maruts arose), the three Fires (whose sons and grandsons were forty in number), the different kinds of years, the nine planets (with the mention of their nature, their origin, their relative position, their dimensions, and their distance from the earth), the seven

35 Sāmba-p. 9. 3b wrongly reads ‘varuṇo yamah’ for ‘varuṇo ryamā.’ In its corresponding line the Bhaviśya-p. (I. 78. 56a) has the latter reading. See also Sāmba-p. 9. 5b and 9a for the name ‘Aryanam.’

36 The names of the nine planets are the following: —Āditya, Soma, Lohitāṅga, Budha, Bhṛhaspati, Ēkra, Sanaiścara, Rāhu and Dhūmaketu. Of these, Āditya and Soma are called maṇḍala-graha, Rāhu is called chāyā-graha, and the rest tārā-graha. Soma is chief of the nakṣatras (nakṣatradhipati), and the Sun is graha-rāja. Among the planets the Sun occupies the lowest position (sarveṣāṃ tu grahaḥṇāṃ vai hy adhāstac carate raviḥ—18. 48b), and above it the other planets and the different maṇḍalas are situated, one above the other, in the following order: —Soma (nakṣatra-maṇḍala), Budha, Bhṛgava, Angāraka, Bhṛhaspati, Sanaiścara, (ṛṣi-maṇḍala), and (Dhrurva); Rāhu moves mostly in the Āditya-maṇḍala but sometimes traverses the path of Soma (āditya-nilaye rāhuḥ kadācit soma-mārgagāhaḥ—18. 51b); and Ketu always remains in the Śūrya-maṇḍala. The
lokas (viz., bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, suvaḥ, mahaḥ etc., which are said to be contained in Vyoman), and the eight classes of demi-gods.—(Chap. 18.). Geography of the earth (its seven duṣpas, the seven oceans, the varṣa mountains, etc.), the names of the fourteen lokes, the measurement of the mountain Meru (which is said to be golden and to be situated at the centre of the earth), and the names and description of its four peaks.—(Chap. 19). The towns surrounding the Meru; the speed with which the Sun goes round the Meru; and the names of the different gods who worshipped the Sun at different times.—(Chap. 20). Description of the Sun’s one-wheeled chariot, of which the different divisions of time were the component parts, and which was drawn by the seven metres (viz., Gayatrî, Triṣṭubh, Jagati, Anuṣṭubh, Paṇkṭi, Bṛhati and Uṣṇij) in the forms of seven horses and was attended by the gods, Ādityas, sages, Gandharvas, Apsaras, snakes, Rākṣasas etc.; the names of those gods, Ādityas, and others who, with their followers, attended the Sun’s chariot in the different seasons of the year (the spring season consisting of Caitra and Vaiśākha); and the way in which the Sun nourished dimension (vistāra) of the Sun is 9000 yojanas, and the measurement of its maṇḍala is thrice its dimension; the dimension (vistāra) of the Moon is twice that of the Sun, and its maṇḍala is thrice its dimension; the dimension of Bhārgava (i.e. Sukra) is one sixteenth of that of the Moon, the dimension of Bṛhaspati is less by one fourth than that of Bhārgava; the dimension of Kuja (i.e. Maṅgala) is less by one fourth than that of Bṛhaspati; and the dimension of Budha is less by one fourth than that of Kuja. The ṛkṣas (stars) have generally the same dimension as that of Budha, and there is no star having a dimension less than half a yojana. Rāhu is equal in dimension to the Sun, but the expanse of Ketu is not fixed (aniyataḥ).—Sāmba-p. 18. 41ff.

It should be noted here that Sāmba-p., chap. 18 has many verses in common with Devi-p., chaps. 46 and 47.

37 The names of the four peaks of the Meru are the following:—Saumanasa (which is golden), Jyotiska (which has the colour of rubies), Citra (which abounds in all kinds of metals), and Cāndramasa (which is white and silvery).—Sāmba-p. 19, 20ff.

38 Amarāvati (capital of Indra) was situated on the east of the Meru, Yamani (the city of Yama) on its south, Sukhā (the city of Varuṇa) on its west, and Vibhāvati (the city of Soma) on its north.—Sāmba-p. 20, 21ff.
the gods and Pitṛs with nectar communicated through the moon developed by his ray called Suśumnā, and men and other creatures by means of water drawn up with his rays and poured down as rain.—(Chap. 21). Consumption of fifteen digits of the moon by the gods and Pitṛs during the dark half of the month; the moon’s entrance, with its sixteenth digit, into the Sun in the morning, into trees and planets at mid-day, and into water in the evening during the new-moon day; and its nourishment by the Sun during the bright half of the month; and the names of two kinds of Paurṇamāśi and Amāvāsyā; and the names of the gods who consume fourteen digits of the moon during the dark half of the month.—(Chap. 22). Description of solar eclipse, in which the Sun is not really eaten up by Rāhu (who is described as ‘tamomaya’), but the fact is that when on a new-moon day (amāvāsyā) Rāhu approaches the Sun for having his share of nectar from the moon which enters the Sun on that day, he covers the Sun as well as the moon which intervenes between the Sun and Rāhu;39 description of lunar eclipse, during which Rāhu approaches the moon on the full-moon day (pūrṇimā) with the same purpose and covers it with the shadow of the earth.—(Chap. 23). Description of the Magas as those who used to meditate on the syllable ‘y’, and of the Yājakas as those who worshipped the Sun by burning incense, offering garlands and various other articles, and muttering mantras, the aim of the Magas and the Yājakas being the attainment of final emancipation (mokṣa) through service (karma-yoga) to the Sun who resides in the phenomenal Sun and is both ‘sakala’ and ‘niṣkala’.—(Chap. 27). Acquisition of jñāna through the practice of yoga (which consists of prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, pratyaḥśāra and dhyāna); attainment of Śūrya-maṇḍala (solar region) through yoga by those who are given to Traṇidya-siddhānta as well as by those who are versed in Śūrya-siddhānta (also called Āditya-siddhānta).—(Chap. 28). Characteristics of the Sun’s images.40 Construction of Sun-temples, in

39 Cf. ‘ataś chādayate rāhur abhravac chaṣi-bhāskaran’ (Śambha-p. 23. 33a), and ‘adho rāhuḥ paraḥ somah somād urdhanām divākaran’ (Śambha-p. 23. 37a).

40 It has already been noted that in connection with the description of the characteristics of the Sun’s images the Śambha-p. (29. 2-3a, 5b and 6b) says, “In ancient times there was no image (of the Sun); the Sun was worshipped in a
connection with which the following topics have been dealt with:

selection and preparation of the site for the temple; placing of the Sun’s image with its face turned very often towards the east and in rare cases towards the west; position of the snāna-grha and the agnihatra-grha; and position of Śambhu and Mātṛṣa, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Nikṣubhā, Rājñī, Pīṅgala, Daṇḍanāyaka, Śrī and Mahāśvetā (i.e. Laxṇi and Sarasvatī respectively), the Aśvins, Rājña and Stoṣa, Kalmāṣa and Pakṣin, Jāndaka and Māṭhara, Prāpnyāna and Kṣutāpa,1 Kuvera and Soma, Revanta and Vināyaka, Vyoman, and Dīṇḍi.42 Drawing circle. The Sun, worshipped by his devotees in early days, was circular, just as there is the disc (of the Sun) in the sky.41 No rule is (to be observed) in the case of those images which are (worshipped) in (private) houses; . . . . . . . . , the examination of an image is to be made in case it is placed in a temple."

41 Though Śāṃba-p. 29, 20a reads ‘prāpnyāna-nukṣutāyan’, the names are Prāpnyāna and Kṣutāpa.—See footnote 31 above.

42 The text of Śāṃba-p. 29, 13b-24b (on the position of the Sun’s attendants) is as follows:—

of three circles (maṇḍala) for the offer of materials of worship at Sunrise, at mid-day and at Sun-set.—(Chap. 29). Seven kinds of images (so far as their materials are concerned), viz., kāncanī (made of gold), rājatī (made of silver), tāṃrī (made of copper), pārthivī (earthen), śailajā (made of stone), vārākṣī (wooden) and ālekhyā (painted); directions about the construction of wooden images (viz., selection of trees for the construction of images; time and method of worship of the trees selected; method of cutting down the trees; effects of the fall of the trees in particular directions; heights and measurements of the different limbs of the images; dresses of the images, viz., avyānga, pada-bandha etc.; and so on).—(Chaps. 30-31). Method of consecration (of the Sun’s image), which is free from Tantric elements and in which Vedic and Purānic mantras only are to be used.—(Chap. 32). Directions about the making of flags and flag-staffs for different deities (viz., Viṣṇu, Iśvara i.e. Śiva, Brahmā, Ravi, Jalādhīpā i.e. Varuṇa, Dhanada, Kārttikeya, Heramba i.e. Gaṇeśa, Devarājā, Yama and

The important variations in readings in these lines as occurring in the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 130, 47b-56 and 59-60a) are the following:—

śaṃmukham (for ‘prāṃmukham’ in line 1); sthāpiyaṁ gṛham samyak prāṃmukhaṁ hastānakaḥpanaḥ (for line 2); ‘nimbas tu’ (for ‘nikṣubhā’ in line 7); ‘tataḥ sthāpyāsinoḥ sthānāḥ pūrva-deva-ghṛhād bāhiḥ’ (for line 10); ‘rājā-sravaśa’ (for ‘rājñāstośa’ in line 11); ‘jāndakāmacarau (v. l. jānakāmacarau) sthāpyau daksīṇām disam āśtitau’ (for line 13); ‘kuvero loka-pājitaḥ’ (for ‘kuveraḥ soma eva ca’ in line 15); ‘yatra viśyate sthānām dīkṣu sarvā guhādayah’ (for line 17); ‘pratīmyāyārī suṣṭraṇā kāryaṁ madhye ‘sya maṇḍalam’’ (for line 22); line 14 (prāṇayaṁnūkṣartayaḥ tu etc.) does not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p.

It is to be noted that in Śambha-p., chap. 16, wherein the position of the attendants of the Sun has been given, there is mention neither of Śri and Mahāśvetā nor of Soma, and the position of the Aśvinś and Revanta is different. Mahāśvetā is, however, mentioned in Śambha-p. 37-32 and 38-39 and Soma is included in chap. 36 (verse 41b) among the attendant deities of the Sun.

According to Viṣṇudh. III. 67 the names and position of the attendants of the Sun are as follows:—Dāndin (i.e. Danda-nāyaka), Dharma in the form of a lion, and the banner (dhvaja)—on the left of the Sun; Piṅgala—on the right; the Sun’s four sons (viz., Revanta, Yama and the two Manus) as well as his four wives (viz., Rājāi, Nikṣubhā, Chāyā and Suvarsa)—on both sides. The Sun, who is the king of planets, may also be surrounded by other planets.
Durgā), the tops of these flags being furnished with the figures (which may either be made of gold, silver or gems, or be painted) of the animals which serve as the carriers of the respective deities; method of furnishing temples with flags.—(Chap. 33). Method of performing the annual worship (sāṃvatsāri pūjā) and the annual car-festival (ratha-yātrā) of the Sun with the use of Vedic and Purānic mantras (there being no Tantric element); performance of the rite for the pacification of planets (graha-sānti) in case the car was damaged while being drawn.—(Chap. 34). Mental performance of the car-festival by the devotees, who are to have their heads always shaved.—(Chap. 35). Offer of incense by raising the vessel, first to the atmospheric Sun and then to his image and his attendants and other atmospheric deities (viz., Rājā, Nikṣubhā, Daṇḍanāyaka, Piṅgala, Rājña, Stoṣa, Kal-māṣa, Garutma, the quarter-deities, Diṇḍi, Revanta, Indra, Yama,

43 The car-festival was performed in the following way;—A car was constructed with gold, silver or hard wood, and fitted with good and well-decorated (artificial) horses. The image of the Sun was placed in it and duly worshipped with the performance of sacrifice to the Sun. The car was then drawn by men or bulls. At the end of the festival Brahmans were gratified with various kinds of food, and sānti-homa was performed.

The Sāṁba-p. (34. 14-17a) says that the car of the Sun, which was originally made by Brahmā with the different divisions of a year as its component parts, and in imitation of which Viśvakarman constructed cars for other gods, was introduced in the world of mortals by Ikṣvāku to whom it was given by Vaivasvata Manu.

44-45 In Sāṁba-p. 36. 39a these two names are wrongly given as Rājā and Toṣa (tato rājā ca toṣāya kalmāṣāya garutmate) In other places of the Sāṁba-p. the names Rājña and Stoṣa are found, Bhav. I. 143. 40a, which corresponds to Sāṁba-p. 36.39a, gives the names as Rājña and Srauṣa (tathā rājñāya srauṣāya tathēśāya garutmate).

46-47 These two names have been given as Daṇḍin and Raivanta in Sāṁba-p. 36. 40a (daṇḍine ca tato dādyād raivantańcāraya ca); but in other places of this Purāṇa the names Diṇḍi and Revanta (or Raivata) occur. Bhav. I. 143. 51a, which corresponds to Sāṁba-p. 36.40a, reads ‘diṇḍine tu tato dādyādelhemanṭāya yadūttama.’ The reading ‘hemantāya’ is obviously a mistake for ‘revanta.’

In the Viṣṇudharmottara (III. 67. 5) it is Daṇḍanāyaka who is named as Daṇḍin.
Jaleśa i.e. Varuṇa, Kuvera, Soma, and others), after summoning the Sun by falling on knees, offering flowers to him on a copper vessel by muttering the Ā-lītya-hṛdaya mantra, and worshipping the Sun with the citation of Vedic and Purānic mantras.—(Chap. 36). Method of burning incense (during which a fire is to be kindled, the Sun is to be summoned with a Purānic mantra, homa is to be performed with the citation of Vedic mantras, and so on); names of the sacrificial and non-sacrificial trees, the proper time for homa, and the persons eligible for performing homa.—(Chap. 37). Results of various kinds of service rendered to the Sun (viz., worship, offer of various articles to the deity, gifts to be made to Brahmans and others, salutation, fasting, etc.); characteristics of Sūrya-bhaktas ('bhakti' and 'śraddhā' being defined as 'manaso bhāvanā bhaktir icchā śraddhā ca kathaye'); the six mediums of worship, viz., fire, water, air, holy place, image, and pedestal for the image of a deity (there being no mention of yantra and maṇḍala).—(Chap. 38). Method of initiation (which requires the selection and preparation of the ground, selection of spiritual preceptors and disciples, offer of argha to the Sun with the mahāmantra, drawing of a maṇḍala with the figure of a twelve-petalled lotus in it, performance of homa and of tattva-nyāsa and mantra-nyāsa, worship of the quarter-guardians, to some of whom fish, meat etc. are offered, and so on, the mantras used in connection with initiation having Tantric symbolism).—(Chaps. 39 and 41). The import of letters used as symbols in mantras (which have Tantric symbolism).—(Chap. 40). Sadācāra for the Sun-worshippers.—(Chap. 44). Methods and results of observing the seven different Saptamī Tithis, viz., Vijaya-saptamī, Kāmikā Saptamī etc., as well as

48 Sāmba-p. 38. 45
agnau toye cāntarikṣe ṣucau bhūmyaṁ tathaiva ca/
pratimāyaṁ tathā pindyaṁ dadyād argham prayatnataḥ//

49 In the section on sadācāra the following lines are noteworthy:—
(a) par-asmin daṇḍane na icchet/kruddho 'pi na hanyāt anyatra bhāryā-putra-dāsa-dāsi-tisya-bhrātrabhyāh/
(b) prātar utthāya pitaram ācāryam abhivādayet/
(c) vrddho 'gatir avasanno mitrāni ūka-sārikāh/
pārāvatāḥ punyakṛtam gehe syus tailapāyikāh//
the twelve Sukla Saptamīs.—(Chap. 46). Method of Sun-worship with the performance of nyāsas and mudrās and the citation of mantras which have Tantric symbolism; method of performance of different kinds of mudrās; dissertation on the formation and import of bijas used in mantras (with classification of all the letters of the alphabet); performance of abhicāra; rites to be performed at the time of saṃnyāsa; method of practising yoga; and so on.—(Chaps. 47-83). Results of actions (karma-vipāka); gifts to be made to the reader (pāṭhaka) of the Samba-p. for the pleasure of the Sun.—(Chap. 84).

Besides the above-mentioned topics the Samba-p. contains a number of hymns (stava) in praise of the Sun. It also contains the etymological meanings of the following:

(1) The epithets Āditya, Aja, Mahādeva, Iśvara, Brahmā, Bhava, Prajāpati, Puruṣa, Svayambhū, Hiranyakarbhā and Nārāyaṇa as applied to the Sun (chap. 7, verses 16-21).

(2) the Sun’s twelve common names (except Mihira and Ravi), the names of the twelve Ādityas, and the names Sakra, Brahmā, Mahādeva, Rudra and Kāla as applied to the Sun for his different functions (chap. 9, verses 15ff.).

(3) the names Rājñī and Nikṣubhā for the Sun’s two wives (chap. 11, verses 54-57), and

(4) the names Rājña, Stoṣa, Jāndakāra and Māḍhara for four of the Sun’s attendants (chap. 16, verses 9-10 and 14-15).

The above contents of the present Samba-p. show that the Purāṇa is pre-eminently a work of the Sauras whose sectarian mantra is ‘khakholkāya namah’. Herein the Sun is called the highest deity and the Supreme Brahma. He is both the individual and the supreme soul and is both one and many. While residing as kṣetrajña in the material body this Supreme Being, who is both personal and imper-

50 Samba-p. 12, 13ff.; 13, 3ff. (eulogy of Viśvakarman); 15, 7ff.; 17, 1ff. (the ‘great hymn’ pronounced by Rudra in the form of Diṇḍi); 25, 5-8 (the ‘stava-rāja’ consisting of the twenty-one principal names of the Sun, viz., Vikartana, Brahmā, Śrimān etc.).

51 These are Āditya, Savitṛ, Sūrya, Mihira etc., as enumerated above.

52 These names (Viśṇu, Dhārtr, Bhaga, Pūṣan etc.) have been mentioned above.
sonal, remains formless and is not contaminated by actions or
influenced by the objects of senses. When transcending the three
gunas he is called Puruṣa. It is he who is worshipped in different
forms by gods and by men in the different stages of their life, and
who pervades the universe and is its protector and regulator.\footnote{52}

The present Sāmba-p., with its varied contents, is certainly not
a unified work. Its chapters can be divided into two main
groups, viz.,

I. Chaps. 1-38, 44-46 and 84; and
II. Chaps. 39-43 and 47-83.

That the chapters of these two groups were composed by different
hands in different climes and ages, can be established by numerous
evidences, the most important of which are noted below.

(1) All the chapters of the first group, except chaps. 17, 22-23
and 37, are found to occur, partly or wholly, in the Bhavisya-p., as
the following list will show. (It is to be noted that not even a single
verse of any of the chapters of the second group is found in the
Bhavisya-p.):

Sāmba-p.

Chap. 2 (except verse 21b) = I. 66, verses 42-46, 49-63a.

3 (except verses 10-12, 26-27, 30b, 31b-32a,
52b, 56) = I. 72, verses 3, 6-14a; I. 73,
verses 1, 2b-10a, 14-24a, 25-41a,
43b-45, 49-50.

4 = I. 74, verses 1-4, 7-24, 26a,
28b-29.

5 (except verses 1-9a, 21a, 26a, 30b-39) = I. 67, verses 3-6a, 7b-10, 12b-15,
25b-32a

6 (except verse 12b) = I. 75, verses 1, 3a, 4-6a, 7a, 10-13,
16-17; I. 76, verses 1-5a, 6b-8a,
10b-15.

7 (except verses 37, 62b-71) = I. 76, 16b-20a; I. 77, 1-21;
I. 78, 1-24a, 25b-41a.

8 (except verse 13b, and = I. 54, 2-14 (except the fourth
second half of verse 13a) pāda of verse 14).

\footnote{53 See Sāmba-p., chaps. 5, 7, 9, 14, and so on.}
Sāmba-p.  
Chap. 8 (except verses 11b-13) = 1. 78. 43b-53b.
 8, verses 1-4a, 5, 6b-7 = 1. 161. 2-5 and 6b-7.
9 (except verses 11a, 15-43) = 1.78.53b-66,67-69,71-73,75-78a.
10 = 1. 79. 1-22a.
11 (except verses 2-12a, 39, 48b-50, 70) = 1. 79. 23, 24-58, 63a, 64-79a, 78b-81a, 82b-83a.
11, verse 51a = 1. 124. 32a.
12 (except verses 3, 20a) = 1. 121. 1-13, 15b-19a, 20b-28.
13 (except verses 9b-11) = 1. 122 (except verses 8b-9).
14 (except verses 17b, 21) = 1. 123. 1-19, 21b-22, 23b-34.
15 (except verses 16, 26) = 1. 123. 36-40a, 41a, 42a, 43b-44a, 45-46a, 53-56a, 46b-49a, 51a, 56b-57, 58-66a.
16 (except verses 14-16) = 1. 124. 1-10, 13-15a, 16-24a, 19b-20a, 33.
18 (except verses 2b-8) = 1. 125. 2, 4, 7-25a, 26b-38a, 20a, 32.
19 (except verses 2-3, 15a) = 1. 126. 1, 3-6a, 7-9a, 10b-28.
20 (except verses 1-4, 7b-8, 15-16) = 1. 15. 35b-44, 45b-51a.
21 (except verses 4b, 29a) = 1. 52. 8-23, 24b-25a, 28-45a, 38b-39, 40b, 42b, 52-53, 58.
24 (except verses 17b, 3-9, 10b-27a, 28-29a, 30-36a) = 1. 127. 3-9, 10b-27a, 28-29a, 30-36a.
25 = 1. 128.
26 (except verses 15, 22b) = 1. 129. 1-2, 4, 6a, 7b-17a; 23, 50a.
27 (except verses 5, 19a) = 1. 139. 1-9a, 10b (first half), 70a (second half), 70b-81, 83-97.
28 = 1. 140. 20-23; I. 144. 9b-16a, 17-24, 25b-26.
29 (except verses 1-7, 20a) = 1. 130. 42-56, 59-60a, 63b.
Sāmba-p.  
Chap. 30 (except verses 28b-29) = I. 131. 1a, 2-3a, 10b-13a, 5-10a, and 31b)  
  32 (except verses 13, 36b, 39a, 43-44, 49-50a, and 62)  
  = I. 133. 1a; I. 135. 6b-8, 9b-16, 9b-11a, 25b-26a, 37b-52a, 67-73, 75b-79a, 82; I. 137. 1-2.  
  33 = I. 138. 1a, 2-4, 21b-22a, 34a, 35-36a, 37-38a, 53a, 40b, 47, 39a, 41b, 64-69a, 70a, 71a, 72a, 73, 76.  
  34 (except verses 1-3, 1ob, 72)  
  = I. 55. 23b-25, 28b-29a, 30b, 31b-32, 36b-37a, 39a, 48b-50a, 51-54a, 55b-65a, 66b-75; I. 56. 7b-29a, 30-31, 47-51a; I. 57. 27b, 31a; I. 58. 1a, 2, 18-20a.  
  35 (except verses 1b, 2b) = I. 58. 22b, 23-29, 30b-31a, 32b-37a, 38-45.  
  36 (except verses 1, 4b, 1ob-11a, 30, 40b-44) = I. 143. 5b-13, 14b-41a, 46-55a.  
  38 (except verses 1-3a, 4b-16a, 21a, 24-26a, 33-35a, 36b-39, 40b, 46a, 47b-48a, 50, 52b, 55b-56)  
  = I. 8a, 2, 9-11, 14, 16-18; I. 81. 2-3, 15b-16a; I. 82. 3a, 6a; I. 93, 1, 3-5a, 7, 9a, 15b-16a, 26a, 28, 30, 32a, 42a, 64, 66.  
  46 (except verses 1-3a, 4b-5a) = I. 208. 6, 4-5, 7-16a, 17-18a, 9b, 22b-23a, 25b-26a, 27b-28a, 38-39)  
  = I. 209. 1a, 6b-12a, 13b-14a, 15b-16a.  
  84, verses 1-2a, 3 = I. 120. 1a, 2b-3a, 4.  

We shall see hereinafter that the Bhavisya-p. borrowed these chapters from the Sāmba-p.
(2) The chapters of the first group are concerned with ‘Mitravana’ which is said in a good number of verses to have been situated on (or very close to) the bank of the ‘great river’ (mahānadi) Candra-bhāgā, a tributary of the river Sindhu in the Punjab, and in which Sāmba established a Sun-temple and the city called Sāmbapura (modern Multan).

The expression ‘sindhor uttara-kūlataḥ’, occurring in Sāmba-p. 24. 5-6, which are the same as Bhav. I. 127. 6-7, must not be taken to indicate that Mitravana, mentioned in the chapters of the first group, was situated on the northern shore of the sea and was, therefore, identical with Mitravana in Orissa; because, in the chapters of the first group there is no second mention of Mitravana as being situated on the sea-coast. Moreover, in Sāmba-p. 26. 10b-12 (which are the same as Bhav. I. 129. 13b-15) it is said that the image of the Sun, which was constructed by Viśvakarman with the Kalpa-vrksa, was taken by him to the Himalayas and sent down the river Candrabhāgā, so that it might reach Sāmba who was living in Mitravana. Here it is clear that the Candrabhāgā rises in the Himalayas and is thus the same as the Candrabhāgā which is a tributary of the river Sindhu. So, Mitravana, which is said to have

54 Sāmba-p. 3. 2 (=Bhav. I. 72. 6); 4. 1-2a (=Bhav. I. 74. 1-2a); 4. 20 and 23 (=Bhav. I. 74. 22 and 24 respectively; in verse 24 the Bhavisya-p. wrongly reads ‘mitrapadam’ for ‘mitravanam’); 24. 5-6 (=Bhav. I. 127. 6-7); 24. 31 (=Bhav. I. 127. 31b-32a); 26. 2b and 4b (=Bhav. I. 129. 2b and 7b); 26. 46a (=Bhav. I. 139. 90b); 26. 50 (=Bhav. I. 139. 94b).

55 See the references in the immediately preceding foot-note.

56 For the text of these verses in the Sāmba-p. as well as in the Bhavisya-p. see foot-note 20 above.

57 prityā te sāmpratām caiva sa mayā kāritaṁ punah// teneṇām kalpa- vrksāt tu nirmittā pratīmā mama/ kṛtvā himavatāḥ pṛṣṭhe punya-siddha-nīṣevite// tvadarthaṁ candrabhāgāyāṁ tatas tenāvatāritā// bhavatas tāraṇārthāṁ hi jātaṁ sthānam idam mama// The Bhavisya-p. reads ‘kṛtvā teṣām prapañcāḥ yaṁ sa mayā kāritaḥ punah’ for the first line; ‘viśvakarmanā’ for ‘pratīmā mama’ in the second line; ‘pura’ for ‘punya’ in the third line; ‘pratāritā’ for ‘avaṭāritā’ in the fourth line; ‘tataḥ’ for ‘jātaṁ’ in the fifth line.
been situated on this Candrabhāgā, must be the same as the Mitravana of the Punjab.

But in chaps. 42-43\(^{58}\) (of the second group), the place of Sun-worship is, in all cases, said to have been situated on the shore of the salt-ocean (lavanodadhi),\(^{59}\) and never on or near the bank of the river Candrabhāgā.

(3) In the chapters of the first group the place at which ‘Mitra’ and Śamba practised austerities and the latter established a Sun-temple and a Sun-image as well as a city called Śambapura, is called Mitravana. But in chaps. 42-43 (of the second group) the place of Sun-worship is called the ‘tapovana’ (penance-forest) of the Sun (called Savitṛ, Bhāskara, Śūrya, Bhānu, Divākara etc. but never Mitra) in more places than one;\(^{60}\) it is also called Śūrya-kānana, Ravi-kṣetra and Śūrya-kṣetra;\(^{61}\) and it is only once (viz., in Śamba-p. 42. 2) that this place is called ‘Mitravana’. So, the word ‘Mitravana’, as occurring in Śamba-p. 42. 2, is to be taken, like ‘Śūrya-kānana’, in its literal sense to mean the ‘(penance-) forest of Mitra’, rather than a name.

(4) The chapters of the first group must have been written in Northern India (and most probably in its western part)\(^{62}\). But chaps. 42-43, which deal with the Sun’s penance-forest (called tapovana, and also Śūrya-kānana, Ravi-kṣetra and Śūrya-kṣetra) situated on the

\(^{58}\) For the contents of these two chapters see above.

\(^{59}\) Śamba-p. 42.7 and 17; 43.1, 33 and 45. Cf. also Śamba-p. 40.9-14.

\(^{60}\) Śamba-p. 42. 7, 9, 12 and 26; 43. 1.

\(^{61}\) Śamba-p. 43. 6; 43. 46; and 43. 50 respectively.

\(^{62}\) The following holy places and rivers have been mentioned in chaps. 32 (verses 1-3) and 34 (verses 5-7) in connection with the holy water with which the Sun’s image is to be bathed during its consecration and annual worship:—

Puṣkara, Naimiṣa, Kurukṣetra, Prthūdaka, Gaṅgā, Sarasvati, Sindhu, Candrabhāgā, Narmadā, Payoṣṭi, Yamunā, Tāmrā, Kṣíprā and Vetravati. It is to be noted that all these holy places and rivers (except Payoṣṭi) belong to Northern India, especially to its western part, and that in the chapters of the first group no holy place or river (except Tapatī) of Southern India has been mentioned. It should be mentioned here that both Payoṣṭi and Tapatī (of which the latter is said to have risen from the Vindhya-pāda and has been identified with the Sun’s daughter of the same name) belong to the northernmost part of Southern India.
shore of the salt-ocean, are certainly concerned with a place very close to, or even identical with, Kōnārka in Orissa, because Kōnārka, which was situated on the sea-shore very close to the river Candrabhāgā (a small branch of the river Prācī), is called Sūrya-kṣetra, Ravi-kṣetra and Mitravana in the Brahma-p., Ravi-kṣetra and Maitreya Vana in the Kapila-saṃhitā, and Sūrya-kṣetra in the Siva-p.

(5) In the chapters of the first group, it is Śamba who is said to have established at Mitravana a Sun-temple and a Sun-image as well as a city called Śambapura, and the image, which Śamba established at Mitravana, is said to have been constructed by Viśvakarman, taken to the Himalayas, and sent down the river Candrabhāgā for the sake of Śamba. But in chaps. 42-43 the history of the Sun’s image, which was placed at the Sun’s penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean, is given as follows. An image of the Sun was constructed by Viśvakarman and worshipped by the gods. It was then placed on the Kalpa-vṛkṣa in the Himalayas, whence it came down to the salt-ocean successively through the rivers Candrabhāgā, Vaipāśa (i.e. Vipāśā), Sātadrava (i.e. Satadru), Yamunā, Jāhnāvi (also called Bhāgīrathī) and Modagaṅgā. Now, once the residents of the Sūrya-kānana assembled on the sea-shore in order to see the Sun-rise and found to their great surprise that the rising Sun, who reddened the sky, the ocean and the earth by means of his rays, appeared in two forms—one remaining in the sky and the other in the ocean. In water they found another form of the Sun, which Manus (and not Śamba) recovered by entering the ocean and established in a temple which was built there for it by Vaivasvata Manu (and not by Śamba).

(6) In verses 9-10 of chap. 42 (of the second group) the Sun’s penance-forest (tapovana), situated on the shore of the salt-ocean, is said to have been made by Viśvakarman; but in the chapters of the first group there is no such statement.

63 Brahma-p. 28, 10 and 17. Brahma-p. 30, 41 and 28, in which the name Mitravana occurs, have been taken, along with other verses, from the Śamba-p.
65 See Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 439.
(7) In verses 16-36 of chap. 42 (of the second group) an attempt has been made to give a garb of greater antiquity to the Sun’s penance-forest by saying that before Samba had gone to this place, some sages of old performed austerities there for many centuries in order to please the Sun and became the creators (sraṣṭārāḥ) of this place through the Sun’s favour. But in the chapters of the first group there is no mention of any sages living at Mitravana before Samba’s arrival there.

(8) In chaps. 42 and 43 there are a few instances of such bad versification as is not to be found in any of the chapters of the first group.

(9) In the chapters of the first group the Vedas have been held in the highest esteem. The hymns, recited by the gods and others in praise of the Sun, are called ‘vedokta’ or ‘veda-vedāṅga-saṁmita’; the three Vedas are said to attend upon the Sun; the agni-hotra-grha (the house for the offer of oblations to the fire) is an unavoidable part of the Sun-temple; and so on. Among these chapters there are a few (viz., chaps. 30, 32 and 34-37) which deal with the method of Sun-worship, but in none of them there is any trace of Tantric influence. In these chapters the Vedic homa forms an important part of the worship; the mantras to be used are either Vedic or Purānic or both; and the mediums of worship (viz., fire, water, air, holy place, image, and pedestal for the image of a deity) do not include the Tantric yantra or mandala. On the other hand, Tantric influence is very prominent in almost all the chapters of the second group. Mantras with Tantric symbolism are employed at every step; methods of drawing maṇḍalas and performing various kinds of mudrās are given; the necessity of performing nyāsas and mudrās in worship is emphasised; the word ‘tantra’ has been used to mean not only ‘procedure’ but

66 Samba-p. 42. 34-35; 43. 2a.
67 Ibid., 12. 8; 12. 13; 24. 7; and so on.
68 Ibid., 6. 15.
69 Ibid., 29. 15.
70 Ibid., 30. 18; 32. 12ff., especially verse 25; 34. 30-34 and 43-49; 37.
19b (purāṇoktena mantrena); and so on.
71 Ibid., 38. 45.
also Tantric works; methods of performing abhicāra rites have been given; and so on.

(10) That the present Śamba-p. ended with the chapters of the first group is shown by the facts that in Śamba-p. 39.1 Bṛhadbala says to Vasiṣṭha, “O venerable Brahmin, you have made me hear, both synthetically and analytically, this imperishable and highly blissful ‘Purāṇa’”, and that in Śamba-p. 39.5 the portion of this Purāṇa beginning with chap. 39 is called the Uttarā (bhāga) and is said to have been spoken out by Bhāskara.²²

(11) The names of the twelve Ādityas (viz., Aruṇa, Sūrya, Aṃśu-mālin, Dhāṛt, Indra, Ravi, Gahastī, Yama, Svarṇa-retas, Tvaṣṭṛ, Mitra and Viṣṇu), as given in Śamba-p. 51. 66-67 and 162-170, do not all agree with those contained in Śamba-p. 4.6 and 9.3ff. (In Śamba-p. 4.6 the names of the twelve Ādityas are given as follows:—Indra, Dhāṛt, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭṛ, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Viṣṇu, Aṃśu, Varuṇa and Mitra. The list, as contained in Śamba-p. 9.3ff., agrees with that in Śamba-p. 4.6 in respect of the names but not of their order).

(12) Chap. 51 has borrowed many verses from chaps. 7 and 9.²⁴

(13) Among the chapters of the first group there are several cross-references²⁵ to the topics dealt with in these chapters, but there

²² Ibid., 41.1; 51.195; 55.99 and 101; 57.15; 61.50; 68.9; 74.10; and so on.

²³ Ibid., 39.5a—purāṇasyottaraṃ rājan yad uktam bhāskareṇa tu.

²⁴ A list of these common verses is given below:—

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51. 139 = 7. 19b-20a.</td>
<td>58b-59a, 62-63.</td>
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<tr>
<td>51. 140a = cf. 7. 17b.</td>
<td>51. 163 = 9. 19.</td>
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<td>51. 141a = 7. 16b.</td>
<td>51. 164b-165a = 9. 31.</td>
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<td>51. 141b = 7. 17a.</td>
<td>51. 165b-166a = 9. 25.</td>
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<td>51. 142a = 7. 18a.</td>
<td>51. 168a = 9. 38b.</td>
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<td>51. 170 = 9. 39.</td>
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²⁵ Viz., Śamba-p. 5. 3a refers to 4. 5-7; 7. 1-4 refer to chaps. 7-16 and 18-20; 7. 36 refers to 7. 12; 10. 4 refers to 6.20; 34. 3a refers to chaps. 29-32; 34. 4b refers to chap. 32; 34. 14 refers to chap. 21; 35. 2b refers to chaps. 25 and 29; 35. 3b refers to 10. 4ff.; 38. 2 refers to chaps. 29-31 and 34-37; 45. 1a refers to chap. 44.
is not a single verse which refers to the topics dealt with in any of the chapters of the second group. On the other hand, in verse 14 of chap. 42 (of the second group) there is a reference to the contents of chap. 3. Hence the chapters of the second group must have been added later than those of the first group.

(14) The chapters of the first group, unlike those of the second, contain several instances of grammatical solecism, viz., the roots ‘pracch’, ‘vas’ (in the sense of residing) and ‘jval’ (in the sense of burning) have been used in the their Ātmanepadiya forms.76

From the above disagreements between the chapters of the two groups it is clear that all these chapters could not be the works of the same hand nor could they belong to the same clime or age. Among the chapters of the first group, again, there are some which must have been added later. We shall now try to find them out.

Though in the concluding verse (iti muni-ṛṣabhaḥ sutāya viṣṇor vidhim upadīṣya ca nārado jagāma/etc.) of chap. 32 Nārada is said to have left Sāmba after giving him necessary instructions on the consecration of images of the Sun, chap. 33 opens as follows:—

'nārada uvāca—

ataḥparam pravakṣyāmi dhvajāropañam uttamam/etc.'

This disagreement between the statements about Nārada in these two chapters raises doubt in our mind about the genuineness of chap. 33. This doubt is considerably strengthened by Vasiṣṭha's statement in Sāmba-p. 34. 1-2 that 'on the expiry of a complete year after Sāmba's consecration of the image of the thousand-rayed (Sun), Sāmba again approached Nārada and asked him how he was to perform the annual worship (sāṃvatsari pūjā) of the Sun'. Moreover, Sāmba-p. 34. 3a (yathoktena vidhānena pratimā-sthāpane kṛte) refers to the contents of chaps. 29-32, and Sāmba-p. 34. 4b (pūrvoktena vidhānena pratimāṃ snāpayed budhah) refers to chap. 32, the contents of chap. 33 being ignored totally. Hence chap. 33 must have been added later. But as this chapter occurs in the Bhavīṣya-p., it must have been inserted

76 Sāmba-p. 6. 6 ('pṛchhasva' for 'pṛchha'); 6. 12 ('pṛchhate' for 'pṛchhati'); 11. 12 ('vasamānā' for 'vasanti'); 38. 38 ('jvalamānām' for 'jvalantaṃ').
into the Sāmba-p. earlier than the time of incorporation of the chapters of the Sāmba-p. into the Bhaviśya.

Chaps. 17, 22-23 and 44-45 do not occur in the Bhaviśya-p., nor are they referred to by any of the remaining chapters of the Sāmba-p. Sāmba-p. 7. 1-4 refer to chaps. 7-16 and 18-20, ignoring chap. 17. So, chaps. 17, 22-23 and 44-45 must be taken as later additions.

The second group is made up of a few units which might not have been written at the same time. Chaps. 39-41 form such a unit. We have already noted that according to verses 1 and 5 of chap. 39, chaps. 39ff. form a distinct part, called Uttara (bhāga), which is not a continuation of, but is quite different from, chaps. 1-38. Towards the end of chaps. 40 and 41, the section on dīkṣā (in chaps. 39-41) is called the ‘Purāṇokta Śāstra’ which everybody is advised to read. Hence chaps. 39-41 can safely be taken to be a distinct unit.

As regards chaps. 42-43, we have already said much on their distinct character and their connection with Mitravana of Orissa.

Chaps. 53-83 form a distinct section called Jñānottara, the name Jñānottara being mentioned in the colophons of many of these chapters. This section, which is really a Tantra, as it is called in many of its verses, is not peculiar with the printed edition only but is found in all the Mss of the Sāmba-p. hitherto discovered. Moreover, the chapters of this section are often called Paṭala (just as in the Tantric works) and numbered afresh. For instance, the colophon of chap. 53 runs as follows:—iti sāmbapuruṣa pūjā-vidhi-nirūpaṇe prathamaṁ paṭalaṁ nāma tripaṇcāsattam’o dhyāyah.

Among the chaps. 53-83, there are a few, viz. chaps. 53-55 (except verses 98-117 of chap. 55), which are originally Saura, but the rest prominently exhibit Śaiva influence. In these remaining

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77 Sāmba-p. 40. 41a—
aprameyam idam śāstraṁ purāṇaṁ pūrva-coditam.
Sāmba-p. 41. 1—
nāyac chaśtraṁ samuddistam bhānoḥ pūjā-nivedane/
purāṇoktam imaṁ rājan sarva-vedopāḥśhitam ///
* * adhyetavyam idam śāstram * * * ///
Sāmba-p. 41. 7—
purāṇoktam idam śāstraṁ * * * ///
chaptets (viz., chap. 55, verse 98 to chap. 83) Siva and his linga have been mentioned on numerous occasions, Siva is called Paramatman (55. 114), and all gods are said to be 'Sivatmaka' (68. 49). Going to describe the way in which a devoted householder can attain the Sivaloka easily, chap. 69 says that the devotee should have, among other things, the following qualifications, viz., he should worship his spiritual preceptor like Siva himself, follow the path of Siva, and always meditate on the deity.  

In Samba-p. 71. 1 Samkara is called the best bija and the highest deity; Samba-p. 77. 1 proposes to describe the means by which a devotee may attain the likeness of Siva and his tie of bondage (pasa) may be severed;  

In Samba-p. 80. 10 it is said that the Yogins do not revert to rebirths after attaining the imperishable and the highest deity, namely Siva;  

chap. 82 explains what is meant by bhava-linga, emphasises the necessity of its worship with flowers in the forms of eight mental attitudes (bhava, viz., abhima, indriya-nigrama, dhriti, ksama, sauca, akrodha, bri and satya) for the pleasure of Siva, and says: "One, who always worships the imperishable Siva with these flowers, is able to see this Supreme Being by breaking open the door of ignorance";  

the tie of bondage, which subjects all creatures to rebirths, is in many places called pasa;  
the names of Siva occur in many of the mantras; and so on. So, it is highly

78 Samba-p. 69. 1ff.  

79 Samba-p. 77. 1  

80 Samba-p. 82, 8b-9a  

81 Samba-p. 77. 1 and 6; 83. 12, 18 and 19; and so on.  

83 Samba-p. 55. 98; 61. 18.
probable that these chapters with Saiva influence were taken from some work of the Saivas and adapted to the need of the Tantrik Sauras with certain modifications. That these chapters originally belonged to some other work, is shown by the fact that the introduction of Bhāskara as speaking to the inquisitive Brahmā in Sāmba-p. 55. 98ff. and of Mahēśvara as speaking to Brahmā in chaps. 82-83 is made suddenly without any previous notice of the interlocutors.

The remaining chaps. 47-52 of this group must be taken to be another unit. These chapters seem to have been written at the same time.

From the above analysis it is evident that the present Sāmba-p. consists of different units mostly belonging to different eras and ages. We shall now try to determine the dates of composition of these units. But the problem of date of these units is intimately connected with the problems of mutual relation between the Sāmba-p., Bhaviṣya-p., Brahma-p. and Skanda-p. (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, i). We shall first see ourselves to the solution of these problems.

It has already been shown that a large number of chapters is found common to the Sāmba-p. and the Bhaviṣya-p. That as regards these common chapters the Bhaviṣya-p. is the borrower, can be established by the following evidences.

(1) Regarding the Sāmba-p. the Matsya-p. (53, 61) says:—

\[
\text{yatra sāmbam puraskṛtya bhaviṣye'pi kathānakaṃ/ procyate tat punar loke sāmbam etan munivratāḥ/}^{44}
\]

84 This verse, which agrees also with Skanda-p. VII, i. 2. 82 (v. l. 'bhaviṣyatī' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'; 'eva' for 'etat'), is found ascribed to the Matsya-p. (or Mātasya) in Kṛtya-kālpataru, I. p. 30 (v. l. 'yat tu' for 'yatra' and 'bhaviṣyatī' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'), Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533 (v. l. 'bhaviṣyatī' for 'bhaviṣye 'pi'; 'eva' for 'etat') and II, i, p. 22 (v. l. 'bhaviṣyatī' f.r 'bhaviṣye 'pi'; 'eva' for 'etat'; 'ṣuci-vratāḥ' for 'muni-vratāh'), Kṛtya-ratnakara, p. 32 (v. l. 'yat tu' for 'yatra'; 'tat procyate' for 'procyate tat'; and 'eva' for 'etat'), Jiva Gosvāmin’s commentary (called Krama-saṃdarbha) on Bhāgavata-p. XII. 7. 17-22 (v. l. 'ya ca' for 'yatra'; 'eva' for 'etat'; 'muni-vratāḥ' for 'muni-vratāh'), Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18 (v. l. 'eva' for 'etat'; 'muni-vratāḥ' for 'muni-vratāh'), and Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15 (v. l. 'yat tu' for 'yatra'; 'eva' for 'etat').
O sages, (the section, occurring) in the Bhavisiya also, wherein there is a small tale concerning Samba, is, again, called Samba (-purāṇa) in society'. The words ‘āpi’ and ‘punaḥ’ in this verse, as well as the word ‘prthak’ in the verse ‘āṣṭādaśabhyaśa tu prthak purāṇaṁ etc.’ show that though at the time of composition of these verses the Samba-p. was found to exist separately and was also found incorporated in the Bhavisiya-p., the author of these verses was quite conscious of the fact that the Samba-p. was really an independent Purānic work.

(2) In Varāha-p., chap. 177, in which the story of Samba's penance for the Sun's favour in order to get rid of leprosy caused by

85 The reading ‘āpi’ is found not only in the Veṅkaṭ, ed. (53. 61) and Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's ed. (53. 61) of the Matsya-p. but also in Kṛtya-ratna-kāra, p. 32, Jīva Gosvāmin's commentary on Bhāgavata-p. XII. 7. 17-22, Nityācāra-pradīpā, i. p. 18 and Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 15. (See the immediately preceding foot-note). The reading ‘bhaviṣyati’ (for ‘bhaviṣye’ ‘pi’), as found in the AnSS ed. of the Matsya-p., in Skanda-p. VII. i. 2. 82, and in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, i. p. 533 and II. i. p. 22, is metrically defective.

86 aṣṭādaśabhyaśa tu prthak purāṇaṁ yat pradīṣyate/
viṣāṇidhvam dvija-sreṣṭhās tadd etebhyo vinirgatam// (Mat. 53. 63).

For the different readings of this verse in different works see Chap. I, footnotes 37 and 38.

87 In Varāha-p., chap. 177, the story of Samba has been given, with certain innovations, as follows:—

Once Nārada saw Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā and told him that all his 16000 wives were enamoured of Samba for his physical beauty and that this fact used to be discussed by the gods in Brahma-loka. In order to be convinced of the truth of Nārada's allegation Kṛṣṇa called Samba before his wives and saw with his own eyes the mental agitation his wives had at the sight of Samba. Kṛṣṇa was ashamed of his wives' conduct, and decried female nature as being unscrupulously lustful. With the intention of making Samba an object of Kṛṣṇa's curse, Nārada said that this guilt was certainly not one-sided but was equally shared by Samba who used to encourage Kṛṣṇa's wives in their desire for sexual enjoyment, and that even the residents of Satya-loka were of opinion that Kṛṣṇa's wives were corrupted by Samba. Nārada even advised Kṛṣṇa to forsake Samba. Consequently, Kṛṣṇa cursed Samba to be deformed; and in a moment Samba became an ugly leper. As a remedy Nārada advised Samba to go to Udayācalā and worship the rising Sun there in the forenoon. He also assured Samba that there would be a 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' on the basis of Samba's words (cf. bhaviṣyat-purāṇam iti ca tava vādād bhaviṣyatā) and that this Purāṇa would always be read
Krṣṇa’s curse has been narrated briefly with the mention of the ‘Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa’ as the source, Sāmba is said to have ‘made the famous Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa new’. This shows that originally the Bhaviṣya-p. did not contain any story of Sāmba, and that the chapters on Sāmba were added to the Bhaviṣya-p. later.

(3) According to Nārada-p. I. 100, the Bhaviṣya-p. consisted of five Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Saiva, Saura and Pratisarga, and of only 14000 ślokas. In connection with a description of the contents of these Parvans, the Nārada-p. says that the Brāhma Parvan, which dealt with creation etc., sacraments, and the Tithi-kalpas up to the Saptamī Tithi, and which represented all the śāstras, related to the Aghora-kalpa, contained mainly the praise of Brahmā,88 and was ‘āditya-carita-prāya’ and ‘sarvākhyāna-samanvita’. The non-mention of the famous story of Sāmba among the contents of the Brāhma Parvan, the mention of a short extent of 14000 ślokas for the entire Bhaviṣya-p., and the statement that the Brāhma Parvan abounded in the praise of Brahmā and related to the occurrence of the Aghora-kalpa, tend to show that the Brāhma Parvan, described by the Nārada-p., was much shorter than the present one (in which there is no mention of the Aghora-kalpa and which has retained some of the contents of its earlier prototype),89 and that it lacked the story of Sāmba.

by Nārada himself before Brahmā in Brahma-loka and be declared by Sumantu to Manu in the world of mortals. But as the disabled Sāmba intimated his inability to go to Udayācala, Nārada asked him to go to Mathurā (which was evidently nearer to Dvārakā than Udayācala) and worship the Sun there after taking his bath in the Yamunā, so that Sāmba might derive the benefits of worshipping the Sun in the morning on the Udayācala, at mid-day, and in the evening. Sāmba did so and was cured of his disease. He asked the Sun about the Purāṇa declared by the latter (cf. raviṃ papraccha dharmaṁ puraṇaṁ sūrya-bhāṣītaṁ), made the famous ‘Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa’ new (cf. bhaviṣyat-puraṇaṁ iti khyātam kṛtvā punar navam), and established three images of the Sun,—one on the Udayācala, another named Kālapriya, on the south of the Yamunā, and the third, named Mūlāsthāna, on the Astamānācala. Sāmba also established another image of the Sun, named Sāmbapura, at Mathurā.

88 Cf. Nārada-p. I. 100. 11a—
esu pañcaśu parvasu brahmaṇo mahimādhikah.
That the Bhaviṣya-p. was originally much shorter than the present one and that it grew in bulk with the addition of various stories in later times, are shown by the present Bhaviṣya itself, in which Sumantu says to king Satānika that all the Purāṇas originally contained 12000 ślokas each but later on increased in bulk by incorporating various stories, and that in course of time the Bhaviṣya-p. came to have half a lac of ślokas. 90

(4) In the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a Ms91 of the Bhaviṣya-p. which consists of five Parvans, viz., Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Saiva, Tvāstra (i.e. Saura) and Pratisarga. The extent of this Ms is much shorter than that of the printed Bhaviṣya, and it lacks the story of Śambha.

The evidences, adduced above, are certainly not very strong when taken individually. So, they are to be considered with the following internal ovidences.

(5) In Bhav. I. 93, in which many of the verses of Śambha-p., chap. 38 are found, there is mention of both the Bhaviṣya-p. and the Śambha-p. 92 among the objects to be offered to the Sun.

(6) The story of Saṃjñā has been given in two places of the Brāhma Parvan of the Bhaviṣya-p., viz., in chap. 47 and 79. Of these, chap. 79 has the great majority of its verses in common with Śambha-p., chaps. 10-11, and narrates the story of Saṃjñā in the same way as the latter. 93 But in Bhav. I. 47 the story of Saṃjñā has been given very differently in the following way.

90 Cf. Bhav. I. 1. 104b-107a—
sarvāṇy eva purāṇāni saṃjñeyāni nararṣabha//
dvādāśiva sahasrāni proktāniha maniṣībhiḥ/
punar vṛddhiṁ gatāniḥ ākhyānair vividhāraṁ nrpa//
yathā skāndam tathā cedaṁ bhaviṣyaṁ kurunandana/
skāndam śata-sahasrasm tu lokānām jñātām eva hi//
 bhaviṣyaṁ etat āśiṇāṁ lakṣārdham āṃ samkhya-yā kṛtam//

91 No. 4500.—See Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 424-428, No. 3738. It should be mentioned here that this Ms gives a text which is quite different from that of the printed Bhaviṣya.

92 Bhav. I. 93. 71—
bhaviṣyaṁ śambha-saṃjñōṁ vā dattvā sūryāya pustakam/
rājasūyāśvamedhiḥbhīyāṁ phalam prāpnoti mānavah//

93 For the story of Saṃjñā as given in Śambha-p., chaps. 10-11, see above.
While the Sun (called Mārtanda) was yet in the Cosmic Egg (aṇḍastha), Dakṣa gave him his incomparably beautiful daughter named Arūpā\(^4\) as wife, and Yama and Yamunā were born to her. Now, the Sun was beautiful but so bright that, being dazzled by his brilliance, Arūpā was unable to see any of his limbs; even her beautiful golden complexion was turned black by the Sun's rays. So, being dejected in mind, Arūpā determined to place her own chāyā (shadow) there and go to the Northern Kuru country for practising penance. Consequently, she left Chāyā to occupy her own place, with a request not to divulge the matter to the Sun, went to the Northern Kuru country, and lived there with deer for many years in the form of a mare. The Sun took Chāyā to be his wife and begot on her 'two children named Śani and Tapti.'\(^5\) Chāyā was very partial to her own children and did not look upon Yama and Yamunā with much affection. Now, once Yamunā and Tapti quarrelled with each other and were turned into rivers (by their mutual curse); and Yama was beaten by Chāyā so severely that he stood before her by raising his foot. Chāyā was enraged at Yama's behaviour and cursed him saying, "Thou, fool, hast raised thy foot towards me! So, the gruesome work of killing the lives of creatures will undoubtedly be thine as long as there will be the sun and the moon. If thou placest this foot on the ground, worms will consume it, polluted as it is by my curse". When Yama and Chāyā were thus quarrelling, the Sun came there. Yama intimated to the Sun Chāyā's unequal treatment towards them, and added that she was merely the chāyā (shadow) of his mother and not his mother herself. Yama also informed the Sun of the unhappy incident concerning Yamunā and Tapti. Hearing all this, the Sun said that the worms would not

\(^4\) In Bhav. I. 47 the name of Dakṣa's daughter is given as Saṃjñā only once, viz., in verse 48b, but even in that line the reading 'saṃjñāyāh' is found replaced by the reading 'sāvarnāyāh' in some Mss.

\(^5\) Though here (in Bhav. I. 47. 12a) only two children, namely Śani and Tapti, are said to have been born of Chāyā by Mārtanda, in Bhav. I. 47. 48a Chāyā is said to have three children, viz., Tapti, Śani and Sāvarṇi (tapti śanīś ca sāvarṇīś chāyāpatyāni vai viduh). So, verse 48 of Bhav. I. 47 must be spurious.
enter the earth after taking flesh and blood from Yama’s foot placed on the surface of the earth, that the water of the Yamunā would be as holy as that of the Ganges, into which the Yamunā would ultimately flow, that the Tapatī would be equal to the Narmadā in respect of sanctity and would flow on the south of the Vindhyas, that Yama would become the Lokapāla, and that Chāyā would thenceforward remain in her own body. The Sun then went to Dakṣa and asked him the reason of his daughter’s departure. Dakṣa, who understood the whole matter, told the Sun that being unable to see the Sun’s figure his daughter went to the Northern Kuru country. He also proposed that he might make the Sun’s figure discernible, only if the latter agreed to stand the pain. The Sun consenting, Dakṣa thought of Takṣan (the divine architect), who immediately came there and, with the Sun’s consent to bear the pain, began to pare out his limbs from head to foot by means of his instruments. When the rays of his different limbs were thus being pared, the Sun fainted at every moment. So, being afraid of the Sun’s curse, Takṣan left the parts of his feet from the heels to the toes unpared and removed the pain by applying on his body a paste made of Karavira flowers and red sandal. The Sun went to the Northern Kuru country, took the form of a horse, and had physical union with his wife. The two Aśvins and Revanta were born of this union. After meeting his wife the Sun reassumed his divine form.

The above story differs from that in Bhav. I. 79 on many important points; viz., there is mention neither of Vaivasvata Manu nor of Śrutaśravas (who was destined to become Sāvarṇī Manu) among the sons of the Sun; the name of the Sun’s wife is given as Arūpā; Arūpā is said to have gone direct to the Northern Kuru country without stopping at her father’s house; Yamunā and Tapatī are said to have been turned into rivers by their mutual curse; and so on. So, it is evident that these two divergent stories could never have been written by the same hand.

(7) The Bhaviṣya-p. begins to have verses in common with the Sāṁba-p. from I. 52 (dealing with the following topics: —the description of the Sun’s one-wheeled chariot, and the method and results of saluting the Sun). Bhav. I. 52 is intimately connected with, and
is a continuation of, Bhav. I. 51 which deals with the solar vow called Mahāsaptami requiring the worship of the Sun, the gift of a chariot, and the performance of a procession after mounting the Sun’s image in a chariot (ratha-yātā). It is the mention of Ratha-yātā in Bhav. I. 51. 13b that introduces the topics of Bhav. I. 52ff. Moreover, Vasudeva, who speaks to Śambha in Bhav. I. 48-51 and who is said to have vanished from Śambha’s presence in Bhav. I. 52. 1-2, is introduced by Sumantu at the very beginning of Bhav. I. 48. As Bhav. I. 48-49, which deal with the method of Sun-worship in Saptamī-vrata, are imbued with Tantric elements, and as Śambha-p., chaps. 1-15, 16 (verses 1-24), 18-21, 24-38 and 46, being remarkably free from Tantric elements, must have been written at a time when the cult of the Sun was still immune from Tantricism, it is sure that the Bhāvīṣya-p. incorporated the verses of the Śambha-p. at a time when the method of Sun-worship was being influenced by Tantricism.

(8) The same verses of the Śambha-p. occur in three different places of the Bhāvīṣya-p., viz.,

chap. 8 (except verse 13b) = I. 54. 2-14;
chap. 8, verses 1-11a = I. 78. 43b-53a;
chap. 8, verses 1-43, 5 and 6b-7 = I. 161. 2-5 and 6b-7.

(9) Śambha-p., chap. 9 gives the etymological meanings (ḥātv-aṛtha-nigama) of the Sun’s different names in verses 15-43 and then says:

apy ekam vetti yo nāma ḍhāṭvvarthanigamai raveḥ/
sa rogair varjitaḥ sarvaiḥ sadyaḥ pāpāt pramucyate/// (verse 57). Bhav. I. 78 (which has a large number of verses in common with Śambha-p., chap. 9) contains the verses ‘apy ekam vetti yo nāma’ etc. but lacks the verses on the etymological meanings of the Sun’s different names.

(10) In verse 23 of Bhav. I. 79 Nārada proposes to speak of the offspring of the Sun and says that the Sun begot three children on Śaṃjñā, but in verses 24ff. he goes on narrating the story of Śaṃjñā abruptly from her residence in her father’s house for one thousand years before she started for the Northern Kurū country. It is to be
noted that although the whole of Sāmba-p., chap. 10, and the large majority of the verses of Sāmba-p., chap. 11, are found to occur in Bhav. I. 79, the Bhavisya-p. remarkably lacks Sāmba-p. 11. 2-12a which state why Saṃśāna determined to go to her father's house without informing the Sun and how she created Chāyā for the purpose and left her in charge of her husband and children.

(11) In Bhav. I. 53, in which Brahmā speaks to Rudra and which has the large majority of its verses in common with Sāmba-p., chaps. 20-21, verse 50b reads 'viṣṇur'bhavān aham rudrāḥ pūjayāma (v.l. 'pūjayanti' and 'pūjayāmah') niśā-kṣaye' in place of 'brahmā viṣṇus ca rudraś ca pūjayanti niśā-kṣaye' of verse 23b of Samba-p. 20 (in which Nārada speaks to Samba on the names of the towns surrounding the Meru, the speed with which the Sun goes round the Meru, and the names of the different gods who worship the Sun at different times).

(12) Sāmba-p. 35. 2b-3a (yasya yaś ca niyogah syād devasya kathito mayā/sa tasminn eva manasā sthāpaniyo rathe budhahiḥ/) refers to Sāmba-p., chap. 29 (dealing with the characteristics of the Sun's image, the construction of Sun-temples, and the position of the image of the Sun as well as of those of the Sun's attendant deities in these temples). But Bhav. I. 58, which contains almost all the verses of Sāmba-p., chap. 35, omits the lines 'yasya yaś ca niyogah syāt' etc. but retains the line 'sa tasminn eva manasā sthāpaniyo rathe budhahiḥ' which is meaningless without the first line (yasya yaś ca niyogah syāt etc.). The cause of this omission is that in the Bhavisya-p. there is no chapter (preceding chap. 58) to which the line 'yasya yaś ca niyogah syāt' may refer and that the verses of Sāmba-p. 29, which deal with the position of the Sun's image and of those of his attendant deities in the Sun-temple, have been inserted in the Bhavisya-p. as late as in chap. 130.

(13) Sāmba-p. 35. 3b (dyaur mahī deva-mūrtisthe yathā-pūrvam prakirtte) refers to Sāmba-p. 10. 4ff. (in which the Sun's two wives Rājñī and Nikṣubhā have been identified with Dyauḥ and Prthivī respectively), but this line, as retained in Bhav. I. 58. 24b (dyaur

96 See Bhav. I. 58. 24a.
mahī ca dvimūrtisthe yathāpurvaṃ pratiṣṭhite), has no preceding chapter to refer to, and the verses of Śāmba-p. 10, to which it might refer, have been inserted as late as in Bhav. I. 79.

(14) Though in Bhav. I. 58 Brahmā speaks to Rudra, line 32b (which corresponds to Śāmba-p. 35. 10a) runs as follows:—yathokta-karanaḥ rudra sadā sāntir bhaven nṛpa. The use of the word ‘nṛpa’ in the Vocative Case in this line is unwarranted and proves that the Bhavisya-p. is the borrower, because in the corresponding chapter (35) of the Śāmba-p. Vasiṣṭha speaks to king Bṛhadbala.

(15) The Bhavisya-p. has plagiarised a large number of verses from Varāhamihira’s Bṛhat-saṃhitā, viz.,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bhav. I. 54. 15-16} & = \text{Bṛhat-saṃhitā 3. 21-22.} \\
\text{I. 130. 8-37a} & = \text{56. 1-28a and 29b-30.} \\
\text{I. 131. 4} & = \text{59. 1.} \\
\text{I. 131. 14-18} & = \text{59. 5-7.} \\
\text{I. 131. 31b-35} & = \text{59. 8-11.} \\
\text{I. 131. 42b-45} & = \text{59. 12-13.} \\
\text{I. 132. 26-32} & = \text{58. 48, 47b, 50-52 and 41-42.} \\
\text{I. 133. 1b-2} & = \text{60. 1-2a.} \\
\text{I. 133. 3a} & = \text{60. 2b.} \\
\text{I. 133. 3b-8a} & = \text{60. 3-6a.} \\
\text{I. 137. 4-6a} & = \text{60. 14-19 and 22a.}
\end{align*}
\]

97 The Bhavisya-p. is taken to be the borrower for the following reasons:—

(1) In Bhav. I. 1. 7 Vyāsā is said to have narrated briefly in the present Bhavisya the contents of the Smṛti and other works written by the sages such as Parāśara. So, the present Bhavisya-p. calls itself a compilation rather than an original work. As a matter of fact, Bhav. I. 2ff. frequently refer to Manu and have numerous verses derived from the Manu-smṛti. Aparākṣa and Kullūka-bhaṭṭa even say that the Bhavisya-p. expounds the passages of the Manu-smṛti (see Aparākṣa’s com. on the Yājñ, pp. 1071 and 1076, and Kullūka-bhaṭṭa’s com. on Manu-smṛti XI. 73, 74, 76 and 101).

(2) The peculiar metre, which Varāhamihira uses in many of the chapters of his Bṛhat-saṃhitā, is found only in some of those verses of the Bhavisya-p. which are common with the Bṛhat-saṃhitā. There are two verses (viz., Bhav. I. 137. 3 and 6b-7a) which, though written in this peculiar metre, do not occur in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā. Of these, the former (i.e. verse 3) is introductory and the latter is concluding to verses 4-6a (=Bṛhat-saṃhitā 60. 14-19 and 22a).
But in the Sāmba-p. there is not even a single line which has its parallel in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā, although almost all the verses of chaps. 8 and 29-31 of the Sāmba-p. are found to occur in the above-mentioned chapters of the Bhaviṣya-p., viz.,

Chap. 8 (except verse 13b)    = I. 54. 2-14;
  29 (except verses 1-7, 20a) = I. 130. 42-56, 59-60a, 63b;
  30 (except verses 28b-29, 31b) = I. 131. 1a, 2-3a, 10b-13a,
                              5-10a, 19-20, 23-26, 27b-
                              30, 36-41, 46-47;
  31                                 = I. 132. 1-24;
  32, verse 1a                       = I. 133. 1a.

On the other hand, Bhav. I. 24-28, though dealing with the physical characteristics of men and women (stri-puruṣa-sāmudrika-lakṣaṇa), betray no influence of the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (which deals with

(3) A great scholar and astronomer like Varāhamihira cannot be expected to have plagiarised verses from the Bhaviṣya-p., especially when we consider that although in Bṛhat-saṃhitā 1. 2 Varāhamihira says that he has treated in an easy style the same subject-matter as was revealed by the former seers, he refers very often, by name, to the authors of those works from which he has taken verses, and that the extant Purāṇas, which are often called compilations (saṃhitā), are found to have incorporated verses or even complete chapters from standard Sanskrit works on different subjects.

Hence it is sure that the Bhaviṣya-p. borrowed the verses from the Bṛhat-

saṃhitā.

Regarding the mutual relation between the Bhaviṣya-p. and the Bṛhat-saṃhitā, Nagendra Nath Vasu says that the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (60. 19) quotes the verse 'viṣṇur bhāgavatān magāṃ ca savitur etc.' from the Bhaviṣya-p. (see Vasu, Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja, Vol. I, p. v. foot-note 1). It is evident that Vasu jumped into his conclusion on the basis of only the above-mentioned verse (viṣṇur bhāgavatān), and that he was quite unconscious of the numerous coincidences between the Bṛhat-saṃhitā and the Bhaviṣya-p. So, his view can safely be rejected.

Vasu’s view has been repeated by J. N. Farquhar in his Outline of the Religious Literature of India (p. 153), but the latter says “......the sloka may have been in common use; we cannot be sure that it is quoted from the Purāṇa by Varāha Mihira”, (See Outline, p. 153, foot-note 2).
the same topics in chaps. 68-70). So, it is evident that the chapters of the Bhavisya-p., which deal with the story of Sāmba, were originally taken from the Sāmba-p. and improved with verses from the Brhat-samhitā and then added to the Bhavisya-p.

(16) In Bhav. I. 66 Sumantu, being asked by Satānīka to speak on the glory of the Sun, narrates the interlocution between the sage Saṅkha and a Brahmin; and in this interlocution Saṅkha says:

"imam arthaṃ vasiṣṭhena pṛṣṭah sāmbo yathā purā/
sa covāca vasiṣṭhāya tad aham kathayāmi te/"

This seems to be a reference to the Sāmba-p. in which Vasiṣṭha narrates the story of Sāmba to king Brhadbala.

(17) In Bhav. I. 78. 58-60 (=Sāmba-p. 9. 5b-8a) the names of the twelve Ādityas, shining respectively in the twelve months from Caitra, are as follows:—

Viṣṇu, Aryaman, Vivasvat, Amśumāt, Parjanya, Varuṇa, Indra, Dhātṛ, Mitra, Pūṣan, Bhaga and Tvaṣṭṛ.

But in Bhav. I. 65. 26b-29 the twelve Ādityas, shining respectively in the twelve months from Caitra, are the following:—

Dhātṛ, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Vivasvat, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Iṣu, Bhaga, Tvaṣṭṛ, and Viṣṇu.

(18) In Bhav. I. 139. 1-9a (which are the same as Sāmba-p. 26. 16-22a and 24-25) we are told that after regaining his former physical beauty Sāmba approached Nārada and asked him which Brahmins were fit for worshipping the Sun's image established by himself. Nārada said that no twice-born of any worth could be prevailed upon to worship the image and accept its property, because by such acceptance they would be regarded as apāṅkteya Devalaka Brahmins. So, Nārada advised Sāmba to take recourse to the Sun who alone was able to give him necessary information in this matter. Next, in Bhav. I. 139, verses 9b-69 (none of which, except the first half of 10b, is found in the Sāmba-p.) we see that Nārada also gave an alternative suggestion to Sāmba saying: "Or, Oh tiger in the family of Yadu, go to Gauramukha, the priest of Ugrasena, and ask him. He will fulfil your desire"88. Consequently, Sāmba approached
Gauramukha and requested him to accept the huge temple (vipulām grham) as well as the property that was donated by Samba to the Sun’s image established there by himself. But Gauramukha declined saying that he could not lower himself to the status of apāṅktyeya Devalaka Brahmīns by accepting the property of the image. Next, being asked by Samba as to whether he saw or heard of any Brahmin to whom these things might be given, Gauramukha spoke of the ‘Magas’, whom he described as descendants of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra, according to some Mss)⁹⁹. About the origin of this Jaraśabda, Gauramukha narrated the following story.

Due to a curse of the Sun, his wife Nikṣubhā was born in a human form as the daughter of the sage Rjiśvan⁹⁹ᵃ (more often called Rjihva, and once Sujihva) of the Mihira gotra. Rjiśvan named her Hāralilā (or Hāvanī according to some Mss),¹⁰⁰ and the latter ‘was to sport with Fire according to her father’s command’ (pitur niyogāt sā kanyā viharej jātavedasam—Bhav. I. 139. 36b)¹⁰¹. Accordingly, the Fire was kindled (samiddhah)¹⁰² by her. Now, once the Sun chanced to see Hāralilā and was attracted by her youthful beauty. Finding no other means of enjoying her person, he entered fire¹⁰³;


⁹⁹ᵃ The Rg-veda names one Rjiśvan (almost undoubtedly a king) in a number of verses, two of which (viz., Rg-veda IV, 16. 13 and V. 29. 11) call him a ‘Vaidathina’ (a son or descendant of Vidathin) and one (viz., Rg-veda X. 99.11), an ‘Ausīja’ (a son or descendant of Usīja). As there is no possibility of Vaidathina Rjiśvan and Ausīja Rjiśvan of the Rg-veda being different persons, it seems that Rjiśvan was the son or descendant of Vidathin belonging to the family of Usīja. (See Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 161). In Rg-veda VI. 20.7 Rjiśvan has been called ‘a donor of (sacrificial) gifts’.


¹⁰¹ This shows that Hāralilā (or Hāvanī) was betrothed by her father to the Fire god, who alone was thus entitled to enjoy her person.

¹⁰² The word ‘samiddhah’ may also mean ‘excited amorously’.

¹⁰³ In the verses

\[
\text{anayāvahṛto yo 'yaṃ pāvako deva pūjītah/}
\text{vanam āvīṣya tanvangim bhajeyam loka-pūjītām/}
\text{iti sāṃcintyā devesāḥ sahastrāṃśur divaspatih/}
\text{viveśā pāvakaṃ vīra tat-putrās cābhavat tadā/}
\]
and Hāralilā also transgressed the kindled Fire and met the Sun. Seeing that Hāralilā transgressed himself, the Fire, which was kindled by Hāralilā, became enraged. He assumed his own form and said under the inspiration of the Sun (nodito bhāskareṇa tu), “As you have superseded me by violating the Vedic injunctions, the son, who will be born to you, will be famous under the name of Jaraśābdha (or Jaraśastra, according to some Mss) and will be the perpetuator of his family and the multiplier of fame (vaṃśa-kirtivivarvadhanah). (His descendants) will be called Magas, because of (his) origin from fire; they will also be known as dvijatis (twice-born) for (his) origin from Soma, and as Bhojakas for (his) origin from Aditya. All these will be called divine.” Saying this the Sun (who resided in the Fire) vanished.

The sage Rjiśvan knew, through meditation, about Hāralilā’s pregnancy. He deemed himself lowered and cursed Hāralilā saying: “Oh extremely fortunate (girl), as, due to the fault of yourself who have become passionate, the foetus has been generated in you under the cover of fire, it will become dishonourable (āpūjya)”. Being aggrieved, Hāralilā prayed to the Sun for raising her child to an honourable position. The Sun took the

(Bhav. I. 139. 39-40) the word ‘vanam’ must be a wrong reading for ‘etam’. Aufrecht’s Ms reads ‘etam’ for ‘vanam’.—See Bod. Cat., p. 33a.

104 In the printed edition, Bhav. I. 139. 43b ff. read as follows:—vedoktam vidhim utsṛjya yathāḥam laṅghitas tvayā/tasmān mattaḥ samutpanno na ca putro bhaviṣyati/ /jaraśābdha iti khyāto vaṃśa-kirti-vivarvadhanah/agni-jātyā magāḥ proktāḥ soma-jātyā dvijātayā/ / etc.

But these readings are not given any clear meaning, and the third line remains unconnected. So, we are to accept the text of the second line as given in Aufrecht’s Ms., viz., tasmā tu samutpannas tava putro bhaviṣyati.—See Bod. Cat., p. 33a.

105 The printed ed. reads:—
tam evam uktvā bhagavān ādityo ’ntaradhiyata

(Bhav. I. 130. 40a). But Aufrecht’s Ms reads:—
tam evam uktvā bhagavān ādityo ’ntardadhe ’gnimān

(see Bod., Cat., p. 33a). The latter reading seems to be better.

106 Cf. patitaḥ sūn mahātejā rjiḥvahḥ sumahāmātiḥ.
form of fire and said that though he did not like to make R̄ṣiśvan's words futile, he would make her disreputable son worthy of respect and versed in the Vedas, that her son would have as his descendants such teachers of the Vedas as Vasiṣṭha and others who would sing the Sun's praise, worship the Sun and fire with devotion, observe the solar vows, have matted hair and beards, carry a pūrṇaka in their right hand and a 'varśmā' in their left, cover their face with a veil called 'patidāna', and, being purified by these and other practices, attain the Sun's proximity, and that even those who would worship the Sun without observing any rule or using any mantra out of ignorance or displeasure, would delight in the presence of the Sun. The Sun then vanished.

Thus, Gauramukha said, 'the Bhojakas came into being'. Gauramukha advised Śamba to give the town as well as the gifts to these Bhojakas. At the request of Śamba to tell him where these great sons of the Sun called Bhojakas lived, Gauramukha intimated his ignorance in this matter and advised him to take recourse to the Sun.

Then in Bhav. I. 139. 70-81 and 83-97 (which are the same as Śamba-p. 26. 26-49 and 50b-52) we are told that Śamba approached the Sun, bowed down to him, and asked him: "Who will perform your worship?" Being thus questioned by Śamba, the Sun spoke of the Magas, Magagas, Gānasas (or Mānasas) and Mandagas of Śāka-dvīpa, who, he said, were produced by Viśvakarman from his rays, to whom he imparted the four Vedas, and who were given to his worship. At the Sun's advice Śamba went to Śāka-dvīpa and brought eighteen families (aṣṭādāsa kulāni) of Magas to Mitravana.

A careful comparison between the above contents of the three parts of Bhav. I. 139 shows that the third part is a direct continuation of the first, and that the second part (viz., Bhav. I 139. 9b-69), which is not found in the Śamba-p., differs on many points from the first and the third. For instance, Śamba's question 'kas te pūjām kariṣyati'

107 The printed ed. wrongly reads 'varmā'.—Bhav. I. 139. 60a.
108 The 'varśmā' (or Barsom,—Avestan 'baresta') is a bundle of twigs held by Magian priests during Sun-worship.
109 This veil is called 'patidāna' in the Avesta.

11
to the Sun in Bhav. I. 139. 70b follows from the conversation between Sāmba and Nārada in Bhav. I. 139. 1-9a but does not agree with Bhav. I. 139. 69 in which Gauramukha says:

"nāham jāne mahābāho vasante yatra vai magah/
  ravis taj jānate vīra tasmāt taṁ śaraṇām vraja/"

and in Bhav. I. 139. 76b the Magas, Magagas etc. are said to have been produced by Viśvakarman from the Sun’s rays, whereas in Bhav. I. 139. 9b-69 a different origin of the Magas is given.

Just like the Bhavisya-p., the present Brahma-p. also has a large number of verses in common with the Sāmba-p., viz.,

Brahma-p.

Chap. 29 (except verses 1-2, 6b-7a, 9b and 25b) = Chap. 38 (except verses 1-2, 34a and 53b);
  30, verses 2b-21
  30, verses 22-23a, 24-42a, =
  44
  30, verses 45, 60a, 62-65, =
  75a, 76-86, 88-92
  31, verses 1-14a
  31, verses 14b-27
  31, verses 29b-38
  32, verses 50-54, 55b-67a, =
  68a, 69-73, 75a (partly),
  76-79 and 81
  32, verses 89a, 90-92, =
  93b-94, 95b-105,
  106-108
  33, verses 1-22a and
  23-31

Sāmba-p.

Chap. 38 (except verses 1-2, 34a and 53b);
  2, verses 2a and 3-21;
  4, verses 3-18 and
  20-24;
  5, verses 1-20, 21b-23a,
  24-30, 31b-39;
  8, verses 1-13;
  9, verses 1-13a and 14;
  25, verses 3b-12;
  11, verses 1b-2a, 3b-5a,
  9-11, 12b-16a, 19-31,
  32a(partly), 34b-38.41;
  12, verses 5a, 9a, 11-20,
  22-26; 11, verses 42-43;
  12, verse 27;
  14, verses 1, 4-17a,
  18-24a and 26-34.

That the above verses of the Brahma-p. originally belonged to some other source is shown by the fact that though in Brahma-p., chap. 28 Brahmā begins, at the request of the sages, to describe the place (kṣetra) of Koṇāḍitya or Koṇārka situated in Utkala (or Oḍradeśa) on the northern shore of the salë-ocean

Brahma-p. 28, verses 1-2 (...........dakṣinodadhi-saṃsthiraḥ/ oḍradeśa iti khyātah.....// samudrād ūttaram tāvat.........), 11 (lavanaśyodadhes tire,....), 19-20, 56 and 64 (koṇārkaśyodadhes tire..............).
he is found to describe Mitravana situated on the bank of the Candrasarit mostly in the same verses as found in the Sāmba-p. and the Bhavisya-p., no mention being made by him of Koṇāḍītya (or Koṇārka), of Utkala (or Oḍrādeśa), or of the ocean in these chapters. A comparison between the above-mentioned chapters of the Brahma-p., on the one hand, and those chapters of the Sāmba and the Bhavisya-p. which have verses in common with the Brahma-p., on the other, shows definitely that the Brahma-p. borrowed these common verses from the Sāmba-p. For instance, many verses are found common to Brahma-p. 29, Sāmba-p. 38 and Bhav. I. 80-82 and 93; and a textual comparison between these chapters shows that Brahma-p. 29 agrees much more with Sāmba-p. 38 than with Bhav. I. 80-82 and 93.\footnote{The nature of agreement will be evident from the following table.}

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<td>= I. 80. 2.</td>
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<td>= 38. 3b-4a</td>
<td>= I. 80. 3-8.</td>
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<td>29. 4b-6a</td>
<td>= 38. 4b-6a</td>
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<td>29. 6b-7a</td>
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<td>29. 7b-9a</td>
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<td>29. 13b</td>
<td>= 38. 12b</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. 14a</td>
<td>= 38. 11b</td>
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<td>= 38. 13-16a</td>
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<td>29. 18-20</td>
<td>= 38. 16b-19a</td>
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<td>= I. 80. 14.</td>
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<td>29. 23-25b</td>
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<td>= I. 80. 16b-18.</td>
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<td>29. 25b</td>
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<td>= I. 80. 19.</td>
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<td>29. 26</td>
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<td>= I. 80. 21-36.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Similarly, the text of Brahma-p., chap. 30 follows much more that of Sāmba-p. 2 and 4-5 than of Bhav. I. 66, 74 and 67. The arrangements of those chapters of the Brahma, Sāmba and Bhaviṣya-p. in which the common verses occur,¹¹² also point to the Sāmba-p. as the source of the Brahma.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>29, 27-29a</td>
<td>38, 24-26a</td>
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<td>29, 29b-31a</td>
<td>38, 26b-28a</td>
<td>1. 81, 2-3 and 15b-16a.</td>
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<td>1. 81, 4-15a.</td>
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<td>1. 81, 15b-18.</td>
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<td>38, 28b</td>
<td>1. 81, 1-2.</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>1. 82, 3a.</td>
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<tr>
<td>29, 32a</td>
<td>38, 29a</td>
<td>1. 82, 3b-5.</td>
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<tr>
<td>29, 32b-35</td>
<td>38, 29b-32a</td>
<td>1. 82, 5a.</td>
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<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</table>

The text of the Brahma-p. follows that of the Sāmba-p. not only in the number of verses but also in their readings. For instance,

<table>
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<tr>
<td>38,3b-deva-pūjā-phalam</td>
<td>I. 80,2a-sūrya-pūjā-phalam</td>
<td>29,3b-deva-pūjā-phalam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38,4a-pranipāte namaskāre tathā caiva pradakṣiṇe</td>
<td>I. 80,2b-pranipāte phalam</td>
<td>29,4a-same as in the Sāmba-p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38,16b-pūjāyā ca vivasvataḥ</td>
<td>I. 80,9a-pūjāyā ca naro ravoḥ</td>
<td>29,18a-pūjāyāpi vivasvataḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td>38,17b-bhūmyām namaskāraṁ karoti yaḥ</td>
<td>I. 80,10a-bhūmān namaś-kāra-paro ravoḥ</td>
<td>29,19a-same as in the Sāmba-p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38,19a-sapta-dvīpā vasundharā</td>
<td>I. 80,11b-sapta-dvīpā bhaven mahi</td>
<td>29,20b-same as in the Sāmba-p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</table>

For those few cases in which particular verses or readings of the Brahma-p. are found in the Bhaviṣya-p. and not in the Sāmba, the changes undergone by the Sāmba-p. are to be held responsible.

¹¹² The corresponding chapters in these three Purāṇas are the following:—

<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chap. 29</td>
<td>Chap. 38</td>
<td>I. 80-82 and 93.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 30</td>
<td>Chaps. 2, 4 and 5</td>
<td>I. 66, 74 and 67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 31</td>
<td>8, 9 and 25</td>
<td>I. 54 (or 78 or 161), 78 and 128.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 32</td>
<td>11 and 12</td>
<td>I. 79 and 121.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 33</td>
<td>Chap. 14</td>
<td>I. 123.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that most of the chapters of the Sāmba-p., which correspond to Brahma-p., chaps. 29-33, follow their preceding ones in regular succession.
The Skanda-p. (Prabhāsa khaṇḍa) also has a large number of verses in common with the Sāmba-p., Bhaviṣya-p. and Brahma-p. The corresponding chapters of these four Purāṇas in which the common verses occur are the following:

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<tr>
<td>(Prabhāsa-kh.).i,</td>
<td>Chaps. 11-12</td>
<td>Chaps. 10-13 and 15</td>
<td>I. 79 and 121-123</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chaps. 100-101</td>
<td>Chaps. 4 (slightly), 3 and 9</td>
<td>I. 72-73 and 78</td>
<td>Chap. 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaps. 128 and</td>
<td>Chap. 25</td>
<td>I. 128</td>
<td>Chap. 31</td>
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A comparison between the texts of these corresponding chapters shows that the text of the Skanda-p. is based mainly on that of the Bhaviṣya but is sometimes supplemented by that of the Brahma-p., as the following table will indicate.

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THE SAURA UPAPURĀṆAS
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<tr>
<td>(Prabhāsa-kh.). i,</td>
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<td>Cf. 11. 101-102</td>
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Much more striking is the resemblance between Skanda-p. VII.i. 100-101 and Bhav. I. 72-73 and 78 which agree not only in the number of verses but also in their contents. In Skanda-p. VII.i.100 and Bhav. I.72 the sage Durvāsas is said to have cursed Sāmba to become a leper, because Sāmba imitated the uncouth look and movement of the sage; but in Sāmba-p., chap. 3, which corresponds to Skanda-p. VII.i.100, there is no such story of Durvāsas.

We are now in a position to discuss the dates of the different units of the present Sāmba-p.

This Purāṇa not only mentions the Mahābhārata in verse 15 of chap. 1 but also derives the majority of the verses of its chap. 45 (dealing with the story of the origin of shoes and umbrella) from the latter, viz.,

Mahābhārata 7-13, 15-17a, 19, and 20b-28; 96, verses 1-2a, 3a, 4-8a, 12, 13b-15, 18-19, and 20-21 (cf.).

It speaks of many ‘Purāṇas’, and refers most probably to the Skanda-p., Brahmāṇḍa-p., Vāyu-p., Mārkandeya-p., etc. It knows the week-days, as it mentions Sunday on several occasions. In Sāmba-p. 3. 52-53 Sāmba is said to have enraged the sage Durvāsas and become the object of his curse which brought about the destruction of the Yadu family through a mace (musala) born of Sāmba. The mention of Durvāsas as cursing Sāmba to give birth to a mace is found in Bhāgavata-p. X. 1. 12ff. In the Mahābhārata (XVI. 1. 15ff.) and the Viṣṇu-p. (V.37.6ff.) the story of the birth of a musala from Sāmba is given, but in both these works Sāmba is said to have been cursed by the sages Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada, but not by Durvāsas. So, the upper limit of the date of the Sāmba-p. should not be placed earlier than 500 A.D.

Again, the Sāmba-p. was mentioned by Alberūni in 1030 A.D. Çanḍeśvara quotes a verse from Sāmba-p., chap. 36 in his Kṛṣṭya-ratnā-

113 Sāmba-p. 5.9b—vedeṣu ca puraṇeṣu sāṅgo-pāṅgesu giyate. The word ‘puraṇa’ has also been used in the sense of ‘old narrative’.—See Sāmba-p. 1.16; 5.33; and so on.

114 Sāmba-p. 1. 8b-11—
tvayātra kathitā sūta purāṇa bahu-vistarā/
shaṇmukhasya kathā cādau punar brahmāṇḍam eva ca//
vāyuṇāpi ca yat proktam tathā śāvarṣikena ca/
mārkandaṇeṇa yat proktam yad vaisampīyoṣiṣaneṇa ca//
dadhicinā ca yat proktam yac ca sārveṇa bhāṣitam/
harināpi ca yat proktam śīvibhiḥ samudāḥrtaḥ//
bālakhilāyīṣ ca yat proktam yac (v.l. ‘tac’ in Ind. Off. Ms) chruṭaṃ carsibhiḥ saha//

115 Sāmba-p. 36.28; 38.26; 46.3; 51.117; and so on.

116 śāmbena punar apy evaṃ durvāśāḥ kopito muniḥ/
bhāvyenaśreṇa cātyartham pūrvānusmaraṇena vai//
prāptavān sumahācchāpaṃ śāmbo vai manujottamaḥ/
tacchāpāṃ musalāṃ jātaṃ kulaṃ yenāsaṃ pātītaṁ//

117 Sachau, Alberūni’s India, I. p. 130.
kara; Sulapäni has a few lines from chap. 46 in his Vratakäla-viveka; Haläyudha has three verses from chaps. 24 and 36 in his Brähmapa-sarvasva; Vallälasena draws upon chaps. 36, 38 and 45 in his Däna-sägara; and Vandyaghatiya Sarvänanda has, from chap. 9, a few lines (on the etymological meanings of the names ‘Brahmä,’ ‘Varuña,’ ‘Märtaśa’ and ‘Mihira’) in his commentary called Tikä-sarvasva on Amarsimha’s Nämaliṅgänusāsana. Sarvänanda quotes from the Sämbo-p. another line which, as Sarvänanda says, was given in the Sämbo-p. in connection with the description of flags for different deities (dhvajanirñaya), but which is not found in Sämbo-p., chap. 33 (dealing with the same topic). Besides these, a few more verses of the ‘Sämbo-p.’ are found quoted in Mitra Miśra’s Viramitrodaya (Paribhäsä-prakäsä, p. 24), Ananta-bhaṭṭa’s Vidhäna-pârijäta, II, p. 519, Gadädhara’s Kâlasâra (pp. 125-126), Raghusandana’s Smṛti-tattva (I, p. 417), Hemädi’s Caturvarga-cintämäni (III. ii, p. 644), and Jimütavähana’s Kâlaviveka (pp. 417 and 492), but none of these verses is found in the present Sämbo-p. We have already seen that the text of Skanda-p. VII. ii, chaps. 11-12, 100-101, 128 and 240 is based on Bhavisya-p. I, chaps. 72-73, 78-79, 121-123 and 128 and Brahmas-p., chaps. 31-32, that the Brahma-p. (chaps. 29-33) has borrowed a large number of verses from the Sämbo-p., and that the Bhavisya-p. has plagiarised a

118 The line, which Sarvänanda quotes from the Sämbo-p. on the etymological meaning of the name ‘mihira,’ is ‘miheti secane dhätrur mehanän mihiraḥ smṛtah.’ But this line is not found in the present Sämbo-p. That this line once did occur in chap. 9 of the present Sämbo-p. is shown definitely by the fact that though towards the beginning of this chapter the Sämbo-p. first gives the 24 names of the Sun and then proposes, in verse 15, to give the etymological meanings (dhätvartha-nigama) of these names, it actually gives the etymological meanings of 23 names, and makes no mention of the name ‘mihira’.

119 Tikä-sarvasva, p. 20—

tad uktaṃ sambapurāṇe dhvaja-nirñaye—
tālas tāḷākṛtiḥ kāryo makaro makaraṃkṛtiḥ.

This line (tālas tāḷākṛtiḥ) has its parallel in verse 38b of Bhav. I, 138 which corresponds to Sämbo-p., chap. 33.

120 For the comparatively late date of many of the chapters of the present Prabhäsä-khaṇḍa, see foot-note 35 under Saura-p. in Vol. II of the present work. See also Hazra, Purānic Records, p. 163.
large section, including complete chapters, of the Sāmbo-p. Now, Brahma-p. 29-33 (on Końarka in Orissa) are to be dated between 950 and 1200 A.D.; 121 and the Bhaviṣya-p. must have borrowed the chapters of the Sāmbo-p. not later than 950 A.D., because Varāha-p., chap. 177 122 mentions the story of Sāmbo as occurring in the ‘Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa,’ and among the verses quoted by Jimūtavāhana, Vallālasena and Hemādri from the Bhaviṣya-p. there are some which are common to the Bhaviṣya and the Sāmbo-p. 123 Hence the date of the Sāmbo-p. cannot be placed later than 800 A.D.

Thus the Sāmbo-p. is to be dated between 500 and 800 A.D. As this Purāṇa is mentioned in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas as well as in Matsya-p. 53 and Skanda-p. VII. i. 2, it seems to have been composed towards the beginning of this period. J. N. Farquhar also supposes, without adducing much evidence, that the present Sāmbo-p. was written between 550 and 900 A.D. 124

The above date of the Sāmbo-p. is certainly not the date of all its chapters. We have already seen that the chapters of the present Sāmbo-p. are to be divided into two main groups, viz.,

(1) chaps. 1-38, 44-46, and 84, and
(2) chaps. 39-43 and 47-83.

121 See Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 153-4 and 156.
122 For the probable date of Varāha-p., chap. 177, see Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 105-106.
123 Bhav. I. 81. 2-3 and 15b-16a, quoted in Jimūtavāhana’s Kālaviveka, p. 415, are the same as Sāmbo-p. 38. 26b-28a; Bhav. I. 81. 2, quoted in Kālaviveka, p. 492 and Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 63, and II, i, p. 663, is the same as Sāmbo-p. 31. 26b-27a; Bhav. I. 93. 42a, quoted in Vallālasena’s Dānasāgara, p. 681 is the same as Sāmbo-p. 38. 55a; Bhav. I. 81. 3, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, i, p. 663, is the same as Sāmbo-p. 38. 27b-28a; Bhav. I. 208. 4-16a, 17-18a, 21-22a and 30b-34a, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, i, pp. 687-690, are the same as Sāmbo-p. 46, verses 3b-4a, 5b-6, 7-9a, 10-20a and 28b-32; Bhav. I. 209. 1-5a, 6b-12a and 13b-14a, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, i, pp. 714-725, are the same as Sāmbo-p. 46, verses 33b-37 and 40-46; Bhav. I, chaps. 55-57 and 58 (verses 1-33), quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, ii, pp. 424-440, are very much the same as Sāmbo-p., chaps. 34 and 35, and so on.
124 Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 205.
and that the chapters of the second group were added to the Śāmaka-p at a later date. We have also noted that among the chapters of the first group, there are a few interpolated ones, viz., chaps. 17, 22-23, 33 and 44-45, and that none of these interpolated chapters, except chap. 33, occurs in the Bhavisya-p. So, chap. 33, though spurious, must have been added to the Śāmaka-p before the Bhavisya-p. borrowed chapters from the Śāmaka-p. Thus it is to be dated between 700 and 950 A. D. The remaining interpolated chapters, viz., 17, 22-23 and 44-45, which do not occur in the Bhavisya-p., must have been inserted after 950 A. D. This late date of insertion of these last-mentioned chapters must not be taken to indicate that all the verses of these chapters were composed at a later date. We have already seen that chap. 45 (dealing with the origin of shoes and umbrella) is composed of verses mostly taken from Mahābhārata XIII. 95 and 96. Chap. 44 also (which deals with manners and customs laid down in aphorisms and which records two metrical gāthās125, one of which is said to have been sung by Yama) must have been based on an earlier work. As, of these two chapters (44-45), the latter is drawn upon by Vallālasena, and as chap. 45 refers to, and is introduced by, chap. 44, it is sure that chaps. 44 and 45 were inserted at the same time and that this insertion was made before 1050 A. D. It should be mentioned here that none of the early Nibandha-writers quotes even a single line from chap. 44, although it deals with manners and customs (ācāra).

The chapters of the second group do not occur in the Bhavisya-p. Unlike the chapters of the first group, they are full of Tantric elements. So, they must have been added to the Śāmaka-p. after Vallālasena's time; otherwise, Vallālasena would never quote verses from the

125 atra gāthā yamena gitā—
āyur asya nikṛntati praśaḥ nāśya bhavet tathā/
y a ucchīṣṭaḥ prapaṭhaḥ svādhyāyaṃ cādhigacchati//

and

atra gāthā—
ākośaka-samo loke suhṛd anyo na vidyate/
yas tu duṣkṛtam ādāya sukṛtenābhisamāsa//
Sāmba-p., so deep his hatred towards Tantricism was. These chapters with Tantric elements seem to have been added before 1500 A. D., because Gadādhara quotes from the Sāmba-p. a line in which a worshipper is directed to perform nyāsa according to the prescribed manner before worshipping the deity, and Mitra Misra quotes a verse in which people, who have deviated from the path of the Vedas, are advised to take recourse to Tantras in order that they may gradually return to the path of the Vedas. Likewise, Ananta-bhaṭṭa quotes from the same Purāṇa another verse which says, “For the sake of those who deviated from the Veda the lord of Kamalā spoked out the Pāṇcarātra ( Tantra), the Bhāgavata (Tantra) and the Tantra named Vaikhānasa.”

The results of the above analysis, so far as chronology is concerned, are as follows:—

Group I—

(1) Chaps. 1 (except verses 17-25 which give the contents of the spurious chapters), 2-15, 16, 18-21, 24-32, 34-38, 46 and 84.

(2) Chaps. 17 and 22-23.

(3) Chap. 33

(4) Chaps. 44-45

Group II—

(1) Chaps. 39-43 and 47-83

—Composed between 500 and 800 A. D. (Most probably towards the beginning of this period).

—Added later than 950 A. D.

—Added between 700 and 950 A. D.

—Inserted into the Sāmba-p. between 950 and 1050 A. D.

—Added between 1250 and 1500 A. D.

126 For the names of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas which Vallālasena rejected wholly or partly as unauthoritative for their Tantric elements see Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verses 59 and 63-67).

127 Kālasāra, p. 126—evam nyāsa-vidhīṃ kṛtvā tataḥ pūjāṃ samācāret.


(The second group is made up of a few units, viz.,
(a) chaps. 39-41 — on initiation to Sun-worship;
(b) chaps. 42-43 — on the Sun’s penance-forest on
the shore of the salt-ocean;
(c) chaps. 47-52 — on japa-yajña-vidhi, mudrā-lakṣaṇa,
pūjā-vidhāna, etc.;
(d) chaps. 53-55 (verses 1-97) — which are originally Saura:
(e) chaps. 55 (verses 98 ff.).-83 — which exhibit Śaiva influence and
seem to have belonged original-
ly to some other work).

The original chapters, which are now found in the present Śambap., were not all that constituted this Purāṇa originally. That several chapters have been lost, or rather eliminated, from this Purāṇa, will be clear from the following evidences.

After narrating how Śamba dishonoured Nārada and became the object of Kṛṣṇa’s curse Vasiṣṭha says in Śamba-p. 3. 52-53—
“sāmbena punar api evaṁ durvāsāḥ kopito muniḥ/
bhāvyenārthena cātyartham pūrvānusmaranena vai//
prāptavān sumahacchāpaṁ sāmbo vai manujottamah/
tacchāpāṁ musalamā jātaṁ kulaṁ yenāsyā pātītam//”

“(Being urged) by destiny and by the recollection of the previous (event) Śamba enraged very much the sage Durvāsas again in the same way. Śamba, the best of men, received a severe curse, (and) due to that curse there was born a mace which destroyed his family”.

The words ‘punar api’ and ‘pūrvānusmaranena’ in the former verse show that the story of Śamba’s creation of Nārada’s displeasure and his incurring the curse of Kṛṣṇa was preceded by the story of Śamba’s incurring the displeasure of Durvāsas and becoming the object of the latter’s curse. But in the present Śamba-p. there is no such story about Durvāsas. That this story once occurred in the Śamba-p. is shown by the Bhaviṣya-p. (I. 72. 14-20) which states that once Durvāsas came to Dvārakātī in course of his wanderings. At the sight of the tawny eyes, extremely emaciated body, and ugly look of the sage, Śamba, who was proud of his physical beauty, ridiculed him by imitating his uncouth look and movement. Durvāsas was enraged at Śamba’s behaviour and cursed him to became a leper before long.
This Purāṇa then narrates, like the Samba-p., the story of Nārada’s arrival at Dvāravatī in order to see Vāsudeva, Samba’s negligence towards the sage, and Kṛṣṇa’s curse on Samba, and concludes with the verse—

śambena punar apy eva durvāsāḥ kopito muniḥ/
tac-chāpān musalām jātaṁ kulaṁ yenāśya ghācitam/ /
(Bhav. I 73. 44).

These stories of Durvāsas and Nārada are also found in Skanda-p. VII. i. 100 (verses 12-17) and 101 (verses 1-43) which are the same as Bhav. I. 72 (verses 14-20) and 73 (verses 1-43a).

In Bhav. I. 140.23a Samba asks Vyāsa to tell him who the Magas and the Bhojakas were and how they became the worshippers of the Sun (kathāṁ pūjākarāḥ hy ete kim magāḥ kim ca bhojakāh). Consequently, in Bhav. I. 140. 29ff., Vyāsa speaks on the Magas and the Bhojakas ‘in the same way as he was told about these by Vasiṣṭha’ (cf. yathākhyātaṁ vasiṣṭhena tathā te vacmi kṛṣṇaśaḥ—Bhav. I. 140. 30b) and says at the end of Bhav. I. 144—

“makāra-dhyāna-yogāc ca magāḥ hy ete prakīrtitāḥ/ dhūpa-mālāyair yataś cāpi upahārāis tathaiva ca/ bhojayaṁtī sahasrāṃśaṁ tena te bhojakāḥ smṛtāḥ/.”

But in Samba-p., chap. 27 (in which Vasiṣṭha speaks to king Bhādbala, and of which verses 1-4 agree with Bhav. I. 140. 20-23, and verses 6-18 and 19b-23 agree with Bhav. I. 144. 9b-16a, 17-24 and 25b-26) there is no account of the Bhojakas; and the word ‘bhojaka’ has been replaced, obviously for the sake of this elimination, by the word ‘yājaka’ in Samba-p. 27. 4a (‘kathāṁ pūjākarāḥ hy ete kim magāḥ kim ca yājakaḥ’ which corresponds to Bhav. I. 143. 23a mentioned above) and 22b-23 (makāra-dhyāna-yogāc ca magāḥ hy ete prakīrtitāḥ/ dhūpa-mālāyair japaś cāpi hy upahārāis tathaiva ca/ ye yajānti sahasrāṃśaṁ tena te yājakaḥ smṛtāḥ/). Nay, in other verses also of the Samba-p. the word ‘yājaka’ has been substituted for the word ‘bhojaka’.131 That the word ‘yājaka’, now found in the

130 The printed text wrongly reads ‘maya’ for ‘magā’.
131 See Samba-p. 30, 22b—brāhmaṇe bhyaḥ tato dattvā yājakebhyaḥ ca daksinām (=Bhav. I. 131. 36b—...dattvā bhojakebhyaḥ ca........);
Sāmba-p., was a later substitute for the original word 'bhojakā' and that an account of the Bhojakas once occurred after Sāmba-p. 27. 4a, are proved not only by the above comparison of the texts of the Sāmba and the Bhavisya-p. but also by the fact that the word 'bhojakā' has been retained in Sāmba-p. 27. 3.\(^{132}\) In Sāmba-p. 36. 36a (= Bhav. I. 143. 37a) also, the word 'bhojakā' is found to occur. As the Bhojakas have not been mentioned in any of the verses preceding Sāmba-p. 27. 3a, Bṛhadbala's anxiety to know about the Bhojakas (cf. kim tu cintayataḥ sūryaṃ cintayitvā tu bhojakān) in Sāmba-p. 27. 3ff. indicates that there were verses on the Bhojakas preceding Sāmba-p. 27. 3.

It will be interesting here to note why and by whom the accounts of the Bhojakas were eliminated from the Sāmba-p. and the word 'bhojakā' was substituted by the word 'yājakā' in it.

The indiscriminate use of the names 'Maga' and 'Bhojaka' for the Sun-worshippers in the Sāmba-p. shows that this Purāṇa makes no serious distinction between the Magas and the Bhojakas. According to this Purāṇa, a Sun-worshipper was called Maga, because he meditated on the syllable 'n'\(^{133}\); he was also called Bhojaka, because he worshipped the Sun with incense, garlands and other offerings\(^{134}\). In Bhav. I. 140 (verses 20-23) and 144 also, which correspond to Sāmba-p. 27, the Magas and the Bhojakas are not at all distinguished.

\(^{32}\) 35b —havisyaṃ bhojayitvā tu brāhmaṇān yājakāṃs tathā (=Bhav. I. 136. 44a—havisyabhojakāmāṃs tu brāhmaṇān bhojakāṃs tathā); 32. 47a—viprebbhyo yājakebhyaś ca tato dadyāc ca daksinām (=Bhav. I. 136. 67b—viprebbhyo bhojakebhyaś ca .............).

kim tu cintayataḥ sūryaṃ cintayitvā subhojakān/
janām prati tathā caisāṃ hrdaye mama saṃśayah//
kathāṃ pujākarā hy ete kim magāḥ kim ca yājakāḥ/
ocr etc. etc.

The verse 'kim tu cintayataḥ' is the same as Bhav. I. 140. 22. The Bhavisya-p. reads 'tu bhojakān' for 'subhojakān' of the Sāmba-p.

\(^{133}\) The syllable 'n' was regarded as a symbol for the Sun.—See Bhav. I. 144. 25a—makāro bhagavān devo bhāskaraḥ parikirtitaḥ. This line does not occur in the Sāmba-p.

\(^{134}\) See Sāmba-p. 27.22b-23 (=Bhav. I. 144. 25b-26; the Bhavisya-p. reads 'magāḥ' for 'mayā', and 'bhojakāḥ' for 'yājakāḥ' of the Sāmba-p.).
It is even said in the Bhaviṣya-p. that none becomes entitled to attain final emancipation without acquiring the qualifications of a Bhojaka. But in Bhav. I. 139. 9b-69 (which are not found in the Sāmba-p.), the Magas and the Bhojakas are described as the descendants of Jaraśabda (or Jaraśastra) who was cursed to be regarded as ‘apūjya’ (not deserving honour) by the Fire sustained by Hāralī (or Hävanī), daughter of the sage R̄jīśvan; and in Bhav. I. 140, verses 1-19 and 24-50 and chap. 141 (which also do not occur in the Sāmba-p.) the Bhojakas are said to have descended from those ten of the eighteen Sun-worshipping Magas who were married to the girls of the Kṣatriyan Bhoja family by Sāmba. From these stories of the Bhaviṣya-p., which are mostly imaginary but not without any basis on historical facts, and from the other accounts of the Magas and the Bhojakas as occurring in the common portions of the Bhaviṣya and the Sāmba-p. we make the following deductions:

(i) The Sun-worshipping Magas, who came to India in early times, were, in course of time, divided into two groups known as Magas and Bhojakas.

(ii) In spite of their ritualistic, and sometimes ideological, differences, which appear to have been partly responsible for their separation, the Bhojakas were at first regarded as holy Brahmins as much as, or even more than, the Magas.

(iii) Due to their objectionable activities and matrimonial relations, as known from Bhav. I. 140 (except verses 20-23), 141 and 146 (which do not occur in the Sāmba-p.), the Bhojakas came to lose their position of respect with the progress of time and turned Devalaka Brahmins (temple-priests) attached to Sun-temples. They were hated so much that other Brahmins looked upon them as ‘apāṅka-

135 Bhav. I. 144. 7a—nāgatvā bhojakatvam hi mokṣam āpnoti kaścana.

See also Bhav. I. 171-172 in which Bhojakas have been praised, so much so that they have been identified with the Sun himself (tat sūryo bhojakah so 'tra bhojakaḥ sūrya eva hi.—Bhav. I. 172. 5ra).

136 See especially Bhav. I. 149 (verses 7-19) and 141 (verses 4-10).

137 Cf. Bhav. I. 141. 9a—bhojakāṁs tāṁ gaṇāṁ prāhur brāhmaṇāṁ divya-saṁjñitāṁ.
teya’ (unfit for sitting in the same row with them at meals) and did not take food prepared or served by them. In his Bhāṣya on Manu-smṛti 2, 6 Medhātithi names the Bhojakas as extra-Vedic people having no connection with the Vedas.

(iv) Besides the Sun-worshipping Magas and Bhojakas mentioned above, there came to India in later times other Magas who were the Fire-worshipping followers of Zoroaster and must have left Iran as a result of the spread of Islam after the sixth century A.D.

(v) The Sun-worshipping Magas did not look upon these Fire-worshipping followers of Zoroaster with respect. They recognised these new Magas as Brahmīns of low status like the Bhojakas, and, in order to win them over to Sun-worship, invented the story of the birth of Jaraśābdha (or Jaraśastra, i.e. Zoroaster), from whom both the Fire-worshipping Magas and the Sun-worshipping Bhojakas are said to have descended. The motive underlying this peculiar story is evidently to impress upon the Fire-worshipping Magas that their religious leader Zoroaster was really the son of the Sun and worshipped the Sun-god in the form of Fire, that they could attain final liberation from bondage not by Fire-worship but by worshipping the Sun through Fire as a medium, and that they were free to retain, to a great extent, their own peculiar practices, viz., use of ‘patidāna’, holding of ‘pūrṇaka’ and ‘varśma’, having matted hair and beards, offering of Soma during worship, and so on.

(vi) A section of the Fire-worshipping Magas must have been absorbed by the Bhojakas, and this seems to be the cause why both the Fire-worshipping Magas and the Sun-worshipping Bhojakas have been said to be the descendants of Jaraśābdha (or Jaraśastra).

138 Bhav, I. 146, 1-3—

satānīka uvāca—

ya ete bhojakāḥ proktā devadevasya pūjakāḥ/
nānmaṁ bhojyaṁ athaiteśāṁ brāhmaṇāṁ ca kadaṁca

... ... ...

abhojybatvaṁ kathāṁ yātā bhojakās tad vadasva me

139 See Medhātithi’s Bhāṣya on Manu-smṛti 2, 6—na hi śākya-bhojaka-
kṣapaṇkādīnāṁ veda-sambhavaḥ............./ evaṁ sarva eva bāhyā bhojaka-
pāñcarātrikā-nirgranth-ānarthavāda-pāṣupata-prabhṛtayah........../,
From inscriptive evidence we learn that the Bhojakas enjoyed a respectable position at least down to the eighth century A.D. Narasimhagupta Bālāditya and Jīvitagupta II, who reigned in Magadha in the fifth and eighth centuries A.D. respectively, are said to have shown respect to the Bhojaka Brahmins of Magadha and to have made donations of land to them. But from the tenth century A.D. the descendants of Brahmins from Śāka-dvīpa called their ancestors 'Magas' or 'Śāka-dvīpī' Brahmins but not 'Bhojakas' at least in Magadha and Bengal. This fact is evidenced not only by a number of inscriptions (such as the Govindapura stone inscription which mentions the Māna kings of Magadha), but also by the Kulajī-granthas and other works. It is clearly for this lowered position of the Bhojakas that the word 'bhojaka' has been replaced with the word 'yājaka' in the Sāmba-p., and this replacement seems to have been made by the people of Orissa who added chaps. 42-43 to the Sāmba-p. in order to glorify the Sun's place on the sea-coast there.

Scholars are inclined to regard the Sāmba-p. as 'a Saura document connected with Orissa'. But this view is untenable. We have already seen that the present Sāmba-p. is originally a work connected with Mitravāna in the Punjab and that it is only the interpolated chaps. 42-43 which deal with the Sun's penance-forest in Orissa.

The present Sāmba-p. must have been written in Northern India, and most probably in its western part. With the exception of the rivers Tapātī and Payoṣṇī, all the holy places and rivers, mentioned in this Purāṇa, belong to Northern India, especially to its western part.

140 Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III (Gupta Inscriptions), p. 217.
141 For this inscription see Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, pp. 59-64.
142 For the names of many of these works as well as the relevant extracts from them, see Nagendra Nath Vasu, Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, pp. 66ff.
144 See foot-note 62 above.
According to the Saura-saṃhitā of the Skanda-p. the Sāmba-p. was also called ‘Susūkṣma’. A ‘Bhāskara-purāṇa’ is mentioned in Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). 199. 4-5 as dealing with the story of the birth of the two Nāsatyas (nose-born, i.e. the Āsvins) in connection with the praise of Mārtanda. This ‘Bhāskara-purāṇa’ may be the same as the present Sāmba-p., because the latter also calls itself ‘bhāskarasya purāṇam’ in verse 13 of chap. 1 and contains the story of the birth of the Āsvins in chaps. 10-11. In his Malamāsa-tattva Raghunandana gives from the ‘Kaurma’ (i.e. Kūrma-p.) a list of Upapurāṇas including the Sāmba-p. and a Purāṇa ‘named Bhāskara’ (bhāskarāhvyam). So, this Bhāskara-p. of the Malamāsa-tattva must be different from the Sāmba-p. Both Raghunandana and Kāśirāma Vācaspāti, the commentator on the Malamāsa-tattva, identify this Bhāskara-p. with the Āditya-p.

D. R. Bhandarkar mentions a Sūrya-purāṇa as known to the Brahmins called Sevaks, who live round about Jodhpur. But as we

145 Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, p. 1382—
tataḥ sāmbapurāṇākhyāṃ susūkṣmam iti ceritam.

146 yuddhiṣṭhīra uvāca—
ādityasya sutau tāta nāsatyau yena hetunā/
saṃjñātav śrōtum icchāmi nīrṇayaṃ paramaṃ dvija///
mārkaṇḍeyā uvāca—
purāṇe bhāskare tāta etad vistarato mayā/
saṃśrutaṃ devadevasya mārtaṇḍasya mahātmanah///

147 Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3.

148 Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 792-3—
kaurme—
‘anyāny upapurāṇāni munibhiḥ kathitāni api’
tāni ca naraśīṃha-nandy-āditya-kālikā-purāṇādīni, yathā—
‘ādyaṃ sanatkumārokatam nāraśīṃham tataḥ param/’ etc.

See also Malamāsa-tattva (Cāndicaraṇa Smṛtiḥuṣaṇa’s edition with Kāśirāma Vācaspāti’s com.), pp. 212-3—bhāskarāhvyam āditya-purāṇam.

149 ‘Round about Jōdhpur there is a class of Brāhmaṇas known as Sēvaks, most of whom are religious dependants of the Osvāl Śrāvaks. They call themselves Śākadvipa Brāhmaṇas and know that their story is told in the Nāmagramtha of the Sūrya-purāṇa and also in the Bhavisya-purāṇa’.—Ep. Ind., IX, p. 279.
are quite ignorant of the contents of this Purāṇa, we do not know whether it is the same as the Sāmba-p. or not.

The whole of the present Sāmba-p. is not metrical. There are portions which are written in prose (viz., in chaps. 39, 41, 52, and so on). Chap. 44 is written in a sūtra form.

We have already seen that the Sāmba-p. has borrowed verses from the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata. It has also derived verses from the Bhagavad-gītā and the Upaniṣads.

Though, as we have already seen, the present Sāmba-p. in its original form was connected with Mitravana of the Punjab, it must have known the other two most prominent places of Sun-worship, viz., Kālapriya and Sutīra. This is evidenced by the verse

"sāṁnidhyām mama pūrvāhṇe udite rajyate janaḥ/
kālātyaye ca madhyāhne sāyāhne cātra nityāsah//"
(Sāmba-p. 26.14) which is a changed form of the original verse

"sāṁnidhyām mama pūrvāhṇe sutīre drakṣyate janaḥ/
kālapriye ca madhyāhne 'parāhne cātra nityāsah//"

retained in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a. That Sutīra was the same as Munḍira mentioned in the Bhavisya-p., Skanda-p. etc. and was situated in Orissa, and that Kālapriya was situated on the bank of the Yamunā, will be evident from the following discussion.

According to Bhav. I. 72. 4-6 the three places of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvipa are Munḍira, Kālapriya and Mitravana, and it is only at Sāmbapura (in Mitravana) that the Sun resides permanently. 151

150 See, for instance, Sāmba-p. 5. 20 and 14. 17 ( = Bhagavad-gītā 13. 13).

151 sthānāni triṇi devasya dvīpe 'smin bhāskarasya tu/
pūrvam indravanaṃ (v.l. 'mitrabalām' and 'mitravanaṃ' for 'indravanaṃ') nāma tathā munḍirām ucyate/
kālapriyaṃ (v.l. kolaṃ kopaṃ) trītyām tu triṣu lokeṣu viṣrutam/ tathānyad api te vacci yat purā brahmaṇoditaṃ/
candrabhāgā-ṭate nāmā puraṃ yat sāmba-saṃjñitam/
dvīpe 'smin chāśvataṃ sthānāṃ yatra sūryasya nityātā//

Though the reading ‘indravanaṃ’ occurs in the body of the text of our printed edition as well as in the Ms. of the Bhavisya-p. described by Aufrecht in his Bod. Cat. (p. 31, foot-note 6), the reading ‘mitravanaṃ’ is undoubtedly the
But in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a the Sun, speaking of Mitravana, says:

"sāmnidhyām mama pūrvāhne sutire draksyate janaḥ/
kālapriye ca madhyāhne 'parahne cātra nityaśah//

"People will ever see my proximity at Sutira in the forenoon, at Kālapriya at mid-day, and here in the afternoon". Thus in Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a the names of the three places of the Sun are given as Sutira, Kālapriya and Mitravana. In Bhav. I. 189. 23-26 Puṇḍirāsvāmin, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna have been mentioned among the places which are said to be resorted to by gods and Siddhas; and in Bhav. I. 55. 27 Sunḍirsvāmin, Kālapriya and Mitravana are found mentioned among the holy places from which water should be collected for bathing the Sun's image in its annual worship. In Varāha-p. 177, in which the story of Samba's penance for the Sun's favour in order to get rid of leprosy caused by Kṛṣṇa's curse has been narrated briefly with the mention of the 'Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa' as the source, Samba is said to have established three images of the Sun—one on the Udayācala, another, named Kālapriya, on the south of the Yamunā, and the correct one; because the name 'Mitravana' has been mentioned in a large number of verses in the Bhaviṣya-p., whereas there is no second mention of 'Indravana' anywhere in the whole Purāṇa. Moreover, Skanda-p. VII. i. 100. 2b-3a, which reproduces the verse 'sthānāni triṇi devasya' of the Bhaviṣya-p., reads 'mitravanaṁ' and not 'indravanaṁ'; and in the Samba-p., the name of the place is given as Mitravana in all cases.

Aufrecht's Ms of the Bhaviṣya-p. reads 'munḍaram' for 'munḍiram'. But the evidences of the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 100. 3a and 139. 11a) and the Samba-p. (43. 41 and 53) show that the reading 'munḍiram' is the correct one.

For the name 'Kālapriya' see Aufrecht's Ms of the Bhaviṣya-p., Varāha-p. 177. 52, Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11b, and Bhav. I. 129. 17a.

152-153 'Puṇḍirāsvāmi' and 'Sunḍirsvāmi' are obviously mistakes for 'Munḍirāsvāmi'. Cf. Skanda-p. VIII. i. 139. 11 (munḍiira-svāminām prātar gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgane), Bhav. I. 72. 4 (……,munḍiram ucaye), and Samba-p. 43. 41b and 53b (munḍirām).

154 For the story of Samba as given in Varāha-p., chap. 177, see foot-note 87 above.
third, named Mūlasthāna, on the Astamāṇācala.\textsuperscript{138} So, from the Varāha-p. we get the names of the three places of Sun-worship as Udayācala, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna.\textsuperscript{139} According to Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 12-12a the Sun resided in the morning at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama as Munḍirasvāmin; at mid-day he resorted to the bank of the Yamunā as Kālapriya; and in the evening he remained on the bank of the Candrabhāgā as Mūlasthāna.\textsuperscript{137} In Skanda-p. VI.76 also the names of the three places and forms of Bhāskara have been given as Munḍīra, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna, and it has been said that the Sun presents himself at Munḍīra after the expiry of the night, at Kālapriya at mid-day, and at Mūlasthāna at the approach of the night, that Munḍīra is situated ‘in the eastern part of the earth’, Kālapriya in its middle, and Mūlaschāna (in its western part) beyond Kālapriya, and that, while residing at Munḍīra and Kālapriya, the Sun is also known as Munḍirasvāmin and Kālanātha (or Kālavallabha) respectively.\textsuperscript{138} So, according to the Skanda-p. the names of the three places of the Sun are Munḍīra, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna.

155 Verses 51b-53—
śambhaḥ sūrya-pratisthāṁ ca kārayāmāsa tattvavīrt/
uḍayācale ca samśrito yamunāyāś ca daksīne//
madhye kālapriyaṁ devam madhyāhne sthāpya cottaṁam/
mūlasthānaṁ tataḥ pāscād astamāṇācale rāvim//
sthāpya trimūrtiṁ sāmbas tu,......................//

156 The use of the names Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna for the images of the Sun situated on the south of the Yamunā and on the Astamāṇācala respectively, need not confuse us. These names for the images must have been derived from the names of the places at which these images were situated. Similar instances of the use of place-names for those of the images are found in Varāha-p. 177. 54-56 (in which Sāmbapura is mentioned as the name of an image of the Sun at Mathurā), and Sāmba-p. 43. 39-41 (in which ‘Munḍīra’ is said to be a name of the Sun’s image established by Manus in the Sun’s penance-forest on the shore of the salt-ocean).

157 munḍirāsvāmināṁ prātart gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgame/
kālapriyaṁ tu madhyāhne yamunā-ṭīrata āśritam//
mūlasthānaṁ cāstamane candrabhāgātate sthitam//

158 See Sk VI. 76. 1-3. 5. 22. 44-45. 59-60. 71. Of these, verses 3 and 5 run as follows: —
tatra samkramate sūryo munḍire rajani kṣaye/
kālapriye ca madhyāhne mūlasthōne kṣapāgame//
As regards the position of these places, the Bhaviṣya and the Skanda-p. say that the Sun is close to Sutīra (or Munḍira according to the Skanda-p.) in the forenoon, to Kālapiṭra at mid-day, and to Mitrvana (or Mūlasthāna according to the Skanda-p.) in the afternoon. The Varāha-p. also contains clear references to the belief that the greatest benefit was derived by worshipping the rising Sun on the Udayācala, the mid-day Sun at Kāḷapiṭra, and the setting Sun at Mūlasthāna. Hence it is evident that Munḍira, Sutīra and Udayācala were situated in the eastern part of India, Kāḷapiṭra in the middle, and Mitrvana and Mūlasthāna in its western part. Now, Mūlasthāna (literally meaning ‘original place’), which is said in the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 139. 12a) to have been situated on the bank of the Candrabhāgā and in the Padma-p. to have been the abode of Sāmba and which is mentioned in Bhav. I. 189. 24-25 along with Munḍirāsvāmin and Kāḷapiṭra, must be the same as Mitrvana (in the Punjab) which is said to be the ādyā-sthāna (original place) of the

munḍirah pūrva-dig-bhāge dhāritryāh śrūyate kila/
madhye kāḷapiṭra devo mūlasthānaṁ tad-antare//

159 See Bhav. I. 129. 16b-17a cited above, and Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11-12a and VI. 76. 3 and 5 cited in the two immediately preceding foot-notes (157 and 158).

160 Cf. Varāha-p. 177. 36-38a—
yathodayācale devaṁ arādhya labhate phalam/
mathurāyam tathā gatvā satśūrye labhate phalam//
madhyāhne ca tathā devaṁ phalapriyam akalmaśam/
mathurāyam ca madhyāhne madhyāmīna-ravau tathā/
astamgate tathā devaṁ sadyo rājya-phalam bhavet/
mathurāyam tathā punyam udāyāstām raver japam//.

(Did the third line read ‘madhyāhne ca yathā devaṁ kāḷapiṭraṁ akalmaśam’?)

See also Varāha-p. 177. 31-32—
sāmba sāmba mahābāho śṛṇu jambavati-suta/
udayācale ca pūrvāhne udyantam tu vibhāvasum//
namaskuru yathānīyāyaṁ vedopanīṣadādibhiḥ/
tvayoditam raviḥ śrutvā tuṣṭīm yasyati nānyathā//

Cf. also Varāha-p. 177. 52-53 cited in foot-note 155 above.

161 For the identification of Mitrvana with Mūlasthāna (modern Multan) in the Punjab, see Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 154; Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 152; N. L. De, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, pp. 133-4; and so on.
Sun in a number of places both in the Bhaviṣya and the Sāmba-p., and Kālapriya was evidently situated on the southern bank of the Yamunā, as the Varāha and the Skanda-p. show. So, the problems, which remain to be solved, are whether Munḍira, Sutira and Udayācala are identical, and where we are to locate the place or places bearing these names.

We have already seen that in its two lists of the names of the three prominent places of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvīpa the Bhaviṣya-p. mentions ‘Munḍira’ in the one (viz., I. 72. 4) but replaces it by ‘Sutira’ in the other (viz., I. 129. 16b). So, according to the Bhaviṣya-p. Munḍira and Sutira are identical. This identification is supported by the Sāmba-p. (chaps. 42-43) which informs us that the ‘beautiful’ (ramya) penance-forest of the Sun (in Orissa) was situated on the ‘shore’ (tīra) of the salt-ocean (lavaṇodadhi), that the sight of the rising Sun there was deemed highly meritorious, and that the Sun’s image, which was established there by Manus, was given a name ‘Munḍira’. So, Sutira (literally meaning ‘beautiful shore’) must be another name for Munḍira, which, again, must be very close to, or even identical with, Koṇārka situated on the sea-shore very close to the river Candrabhāgā (a branch of the river Prācī in Orissa). In Sāmba-p., chaps. 42-43 the Sun’s penance-forest on the sea-shore

162 Varāha-p. 177. 52. Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11.
163 Sāmba-p. 43. 40-41—
tato nāma prakurvanti samprahṛṣṭa-tanūrūhāḥ/
anena munḍitāh sarve tena munḍita ucyate//
atha kr̥tārtha-saṁjñās ca nigamaṁnair udāhṛtāḥ/
munḍi pramardane dhātuḥ saṁjñāyām ca vidhiyate/
prakarṣād ardaved yena tena munḍira ucyate//
Also Sāmba-p. 43. 53-54a—
elā mūrtir dviḍhā kṛtvā bhūtaḥ avatāritā/
pratyuṣe caiva munḍirām ye paśyanti naṁb sakṛt//
na kadaṁcid bhayaṁ śoko ṛgas teṣaṁ prapadyate/
164 Though the name ‘Koṇārka’ does not occur in the Bhaviṣya-p., the Sun is called ‘koṇa-vallabha’ in Bhav. I. 153. 50. So, it seems that in later times Munḍira came to be known as Koṇārka because of its position in the north-east corner (koṇa) with respect to Puri. (See Mano Mohan Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 437).
(in Orissa) has been called Sūrya-kānana, Ravi-kṣetra and Sūrya-kṣetra and once Mitravana; in the Kapila-saṃhitā Koṇārka has been called Maitreya Vana and Ravi-kṣetra, and in Brahma-p., chaps. 28-32 the place (kṣetra) of Koṇāditya or Koṇārka in Utkala (or Oḍrādeśa) is called ‘sūryasya kṣetram’ (28. 10), ‘raveḥ kṣetram’ (28. 17), ‘savituh kṣetram’ (28. 62) and ‘bhāskarasya kṣetram’ (29. 1). Mitravana, situated on the bank of the Candra-sarit, has been identified with this holy place of the Sun, and the Sun’s devotees, attending this place, are directed to worship the rising Sun there with the three-syllabled mantra.

By its mention that in the morning the Sun remained at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama as Muṇḍirasvāmin, the Skanda-p. (VII. i. 139. 1) appears to disprove the above identification of Muṇḍira with the Sun’s penance-forest (called Mitravana) in Orissa, because the word ‘gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama’ is generally used to mean the place where the Bhāgirathī falls into the sea. But the Bhavisya-p., which mentions Gaṅgā-dvāra, Gaṅgā-sāgara (i.e. the mouth of the Bhāgirathī), Kālapriya, Mitravana and Sunḍirasvāmin (which must be a mistake for Muṇḍirasvāmin) in its list of different holy places and rivers to be named during the bathing of the Sun’s image in its annual worship, shows clearly that Muṇḍirasvāmin and Gaṅgā-sāgara (the mouth of the Bhāgirathī) do not refer to the same place. So, the word ‘gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama’, as occurring in Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 11, must be taken to mean the place where the river Candrabhāgā (a branch of the river Prācī in Orissa) falls into the sea, because in the Purāṇas all rivers which flow into the sea are called ‘Gaṅgā’. Or, it may mean the mouth of the Sūrya-gaṅgā, which is mentioned in the Kapila-saṃhitā as one of the holy places and rivers in Arkakṣetra. In the

165 Sāmśa-p. 42. 2.
166 ASB Ms (No. 311), chap. 6.
167 udyantāṃ bhāskaram dṛṣṭvā sāndra-sindūra-saṃnibham/
tryakṣāreṇa tu manreṇa sūryāyārghyam nivedayet//

Brahma-p. 28. 32-33.
168 Bhav. I. 55. 24-30.
169 sarvāḥ punyāḥ saravatayoḥ sarvā gaṅgāḥ samudragāḥ.—Mārkaṇḍeya-p., 57. 30b; Vāyu-p. 45. 108a (v.l. sarasvatayah); and so on,
Padma-p. (Pātāla-khaṇḍa) there is mention of a Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama near Puruṣottama-kṣetra (modern Puri).  

As regards Udayācala, we are not absolutely sure whether it is the same as the Udayagiri in Orissa; because, in his Kathā-sarit-sāgara Somadeva mentions an Udayādri, the abode of Siddhas (siddha-kṣetra), as situated much farther east from Paunḍravardhana (most probably beyond Kāmarūpa), and in their description of Kūrma-saṃsthāna, the Märkaṇḍeya-p. (chap. 58) and the Brhat-samhitā (chap. 14) mention Prāgjyotiṣa, Lauhitya, Udayagiri, Paunḍra etc. as situated in the east. But the Kālikā-p., which names the holy places, mountains, rivers, lakes and pools in and about Kāmarūpa, including the Ravikṣetra (Sun’s place) lying between the river Sumadanā on the west and the Brahma-kṣetra on the east and containing a temple of the Sun, is silent about any Udayācala in or near Kāmarūpa, although it mentions a mountain called Saṃdhya-ācala of that locality. So, the Udayācala of the Varāha-p. is most probably to be taken to be the same as the Udayagiri in Orissa.

The great popularity of the story of Sāmba as the antiquated founder of the Sun-temple and the Sun’s image at Mitravana (in the Punjab) tempted the people of different parts of India to connect their own Sun-temples and Sun-images with Sāmba as the founder. Thus, Skanda-p. VII. i. 100 says that Sāmba established an image of the Sun, named Sāmbāditya, in Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and that the place at which this image was established was called Sāmbapura; according to Skanda-p. VII. i. 139. 22 the Sun was called Sāmba at Vardhamāna.

170 See Padma-p., Pālāta-khaṇḍa, chaps. 19 and 21-22. [In chaps. 17-22 there is the story of a king named Ratnagriha of Kānci, who, in course of his pilgrimage, went to Puruṣottama-kṣetra and visited Puruṣottama after bathing at Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama.] See also Sāhitya-Parīṣat-Patikā, XLIII. 1343 B.S., pp. 80-81 (for information regarding the presence of a Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama near Puri).

171 Kathāsaritsāgara, pp. 67-69. The Vidūṣaka, who went to the Udayādri successively through Tāmrāliptra, Karkopaka and Paunḍravardhana in search of the Vidyādhari princess named Bhadrā, is said to have travelled over 60 yojanas of difficult (durgāma) country, crossed the Śitodā, a river that cannot be crossed by mortals, and reached the border of the mountain of the rising Sun.

(vardhamānē ca sāmbākhyām); in the Brahma-p. the Sun’s image, called Koṇādītya, at Koṇārka is said to have been established by Sāmba; and so on. It is for this reason that in Skanda-p. VII. i. 100 the third important place, except Mitravāna and Munḍīra, of Sun-worship in Jambu-dvīpa is called Sāmpapura, the place of Sāmbādītya, in Prabhāsā-kṣetra, and not Kālapriya.

The names of Munḍīra, Kālapriya, and Mitravāna (in the Punjab) as prominent places of Sun-worship were known to the original author of the Sāmba-p. as well as to the interpolator of chaps. 42-43, but the latter was so anxious for adding to the importance of Mitravāna in Orissa that he eliminated the lines

sthānāni triṇi devasya dvīpe ’smin bhāskarasya tu/
pūrvaṃ mitravānam niṃta maṇḍiram ucyaTe/
kālapriyam tṛtīyam tu triṇu lokeśu viṣṭurum/

from chap. 3 and distorted those original verses of the Sāmba-p. which contained, or referred to, the names of these prominent places of Sun-worship, in order that Mitravāna in Orissa might be regarded as the only sacred place of the Sun.

From what has been said above it is clear that the Magian Sun-worship spread at least as far as Orissa even before the time of composition of the present Sāmba-p.


sāmnādhyām mama pūrvāhne udite drakṣyate janaḥ/
kālītaye ca madhyāhne sāyāhne cātra nityaśaḥ//

which is the distorted form of the original verse ‘sāmnādhyām mama pūrvāhne surīre drakṣyate janaḥ etc.’ retained in Bhav. I. 129, 16b-17a.

Cf. also Sāmba-p. 43. 36b-37a—

sthāpyetvā raviṃ bhaktyā triṣṭhāneṣu surottamāḥ/
nivṛttaṃ yanti sukṛto devakāryārtha-tatparāḥ//

Sāmba-p. 43. 50b—

yāṃ yāṃ kriyāṃ samārabhēt śuryakṣetresu mānavaḥ/

etc. etc.

(Nota the plural number in ‘śuryakṣetresu’).

And Sāmba-p. 42. 53b-56a—

prāyaṣe caiva munḍiram ye paśyantī narāḥ sakṛt/
na kādacid bhayaṃ kṣo rogas teṣāṃ prapadyate/
kālaḥrta-kālaprityā ca madhyāhne tv avekṣakāḥ/
teṣāṃ eva sukhodarko by acirepāva jāyate/
sāmba-kṛte pure bhānuḥ sāyāhne yair udikṣitah/
sadyāḥ sampadyate teṣāṃ dharmakāmārtha-sādhanam//
CHAPTER III

THE MAJOR VAIŚNAVA UPAPURĀṆAS

In this chapter we shall analyse three Upapurāgas, viz., Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara and Narasimha-purāṇa. All these works come from early dates and enjoy very wide reputation as respectable authorities on Dharma. The other Vaiśnava Upapurānas, now extant, are of comparatively late origin and limited or localised authority. Those of these works, which have been available to us, will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The term ‘Vaiśnava’, as used here, is comprehensive and includes both the Pāṇcarātra and the Bhāgavata works. A study of the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa, the Upaniṣads, the Pāṇcarātra Sanhītās, and the Mahābhārata indicates that the Pāṇcarātra system originated at a very early period, preached the worship of the post-Vedic deity Nārāyaṇa,¹ and had non-Vedic, and probably also anti-Vedic, ideas and practices. In the Nārāyaṇiya section of the Mahābhārata,² which is the earliest document of the Pāṇcarātras, it is said that the seven Citra-sīkhaṇḍin Rsis, namely, Marici, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasishtha, proclaimed jointly, on the mount Meru, an excellent ‘Śāstra’ which was on a par (samita) with the four Vedas and contained one lac of verses,³ and that, being meant for the populace and their guidance both in activity (pravṛtti) and inactivity (nivṛtti), this ‘Śāstra’

¹ According to R. G. Bhandarkar, Nārāyaṇa is ‘the cosmic and philosophic god’.—Bhandarkar, Vaiśnavism etc., p. 35. See also S. K. De in Our Heritage, Vol. I (1953), pp. 13-23.

² The facts that in the Mahābhārata the Pāṇcarātra system is differentiated from the Vedic (Mbh XII. 349. 1 and 64), that the Śāstra, written by the seven Citra-sīkhaṇḍin Rsis on the mount Meru, is said to have been made consistent with the four Vedas (Mbh XII. 335. 40), and that this Śāstra was meant for the populace (Mbh XII. 335. 39 and 29), tend to indicate the popular origin of Nārāyaṇa. Also Mrinal Dasgupta, Early Viṣṇism and Nārāyaṇiya Worship, IHQ. VII, pp. 346-79.

³ Mbh XII. 335-351.
was made consistent with the four Vedas. Although at present we have got no decisive evidence at our disposal to prove the actual compilation of any ancient Sāstra jointly by the seven sages mentioned above, the very statement that the scripture was meant for the common run of people and made to conform to the four Vedas, is important and implies the originally non-Vedic, and probably also anti-Vedic, ideas and practices of the early Pāṇcarātras. The Mahābharata itself differentiates the Pāṇcarātra system from the Vedic, saying: “Know, O saintly king, the Sāmkhya, the Yoga, the Pāṇcarātra, the Vedas and the Pāśupata as knowledges holding different views.” It has been held by some scholars that the above-mentioned ‘Sāstra’ compiled by the seven sages was the forerunner of the Pāṇcarātra Saṃhitās. But this view is hardly tenable. The prescriptions of the early Saṃhitās of the Pāṇcarātras are not at all favourable to the Varṇāśrama-dharma and the Vedas; on the other hand, the influence of the Varṇāśrama-dharma on the Pāṇcarātra Saṃhitās increases gradually with their comparatively late dates. So, it is more reasonable to hold that the original non-Vedic as well as anti-Vedic ideas of the Pāṇcarātras were permeated through the Saṃhitās, while the seven sages’ spirit of reconciling their views with the Vedas found its later expression in the epics, Purāṇas and similar other pro-Vedic sectarian works.

In spite of its originally indifferent, and probably also irreverent, attitude towards the Vedas and the Varṇāśrama-dharma, the Pāṇcarātra system came to be connected even in the later Brāhmaṇic period with the sacrificial religion of the Vedas, and in later times it identified

4 Ibid., XII. 335. 29-40—
   Ṙtaṁ sata-sahasraṁ hi ślokānāṁ idam uttamam/
   loka-tantrasya kṛτnasya yasmād dharmaṁ pravartate//
   pravṛttanu ca nivṛttanu ca yasmād etad bhaviṣyati/
   yajur-ṛk-sāmabhīr justam atharvāṅgirasais tathā//
Also Mbh XII. 335. 29a—loka-dharmam anuttamam.

5 Ibid., XII. 349. 64—
   sāmkhyāṁ yogah pāncarātram vedāḥ pāśupatam tathā/
   jānānāṁ etāṁ rājarṣe viddhi nānā-matāṁ vai//
See also Mbh XII. 349. 1.

6 Farquhar, Outline, p. 98.

7 Bhandarkar, Vaishnavism etc., pp. 31ff.
Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu and was affiliated to the more popular worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva through the doctrine of Vyūha. This modified state of the Pāncarātra system is found in the extant Pāncarātra Samhitās, on the one hand, and in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, on the other. In the last two classes of works, which betray the hands of Śmārta adherents of the types of Ānāptas, Ārambhins and Saṃpravartins mentioned in the Jayākhya-samhitā, an attempt has been made to make the system conform to the Varṇāśrama-dharma as well as to the principles of Saṃkhya and Vedānta.

Among the Śmārta Pāncarātras there must have been different groups believing in, and adoring, the different manifestations of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). It was probably the members of these groups who, being inspired by a sense of high regard for the Vedas and the Varṇāśrama-dharma, compiled Purānic works bearing the names of the different manifestations such as Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, etc.

In comparatively late periods, a large section of people threw Nārāyaṇa into the background, looked upon Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva as the object of their devotion, and began to add great importance to his character as a cowherd. They made him the Supreme Being by identifying him with Viṣṇu, often ignored the doctrine of Vyūha, and laid great stress on love and emotional bhakti as means of realising this Supreme Being. These people and their followers took Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva to be the Bhagavat and came to be known as Bhāgavatas. In order to propagate their own faith, the Śmārta Bhāgavatas wrote several Purānic works, in all of which juvenile Kṛṣṇa of Vṛndāvana figures prominently.

It should be mentioned here that as both the Pāncarātras and the Bhāgavatas believed deeply in the doctrine of ahimsā (non-killing),

8 For clear exposition of this doctrine see F. O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāncarātra and the Ahirbudhyāna Saṃhitā, pp. 27ff. For the older dogma see Barnett, Introduction to his English translation of the Bhagavad-gitā, pp. 52-55; Mrinal Dasgupta in IHQ, VIII, pp. 68-73.

9 XXII, 34b-37a. See also Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 203-4 (for the relevant verses of the Jayākhya-samhitā as well as for explanation of the terms 'Śmārta Pāncarātra,' 'Śmārta Śaiva,' etc.).
their ideas became the subject-matter of many of the Purānic works, which were meant for saving the Vedic religion especially from the onslaught of Buddhism, Jainism and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious systems. The identification of Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu connected the systems of the Pāṇcarātras and the Bhāgavatas closely with the Vedic ideas and made them favourable for the establishment of the Varṇāśramadharma and the authority of the Vedas. It was most probably for this reason that in later times even Tantric Sāktism had to be infused with Vaiṣṇava ideas.

The tradition of compilation of a ‘Śāstra’ by reconciling the sectarian views with the Vedic ones, which is said to have been set up by the seven Citra-śikhaṇḍin Rṣis on the mount Meru, does not appear to have died out or failed in inspiring people of later ages to compose similar works for the popularisation of the Vedic views of life and conduct. With the rise and spread of Buddhism, Jainism and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious faiths, the protagonists of the Vedic way of life must have been actively busy in devising ways and means for creating a favourable field for the Vedas in popular mind. As a matter of fact, during the few centuries preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era the Smārta adherents to leading sectarian faiths such as Vaiṣṇava, Saiva, Saura, etc. compiled a number of works entitled ‘Viṣṇudharma’, ‘Śivadharma’, ‘Sauradharma’, and so on, which were neither Purāṇas nor Smṛitis but were ‘Śāstras’ prescribing religious and other duties to the respective sectaries in consonance with the teachings of the Vedas. The early rise of these ‘Śāstras’ is evidenced by the Bhaviṣya-p., in which Sumantu is found to explain the term ‘Jaya’ to king Satānika, saying:

“aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṁ tathā / viṣṇudharmādi-sāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata // kārṣṇaṁ ca pañcamo vedo yan mahābhāratam smṛtam / saurāś ca dharmā rājendra mānavokta mahūpate / / jayeti nāma caiteśaṁ pravadantī maniṣīnāḥ 7/110

10 These verses, which have been quoted in Kṛṣṇa-kalpataru, I, p. 25, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, pp. 19-20, Kṛṣṇa-ratnākara, p. 30, Nityācāra-pradipa, I, p. 22 (omitting the fifth line), Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 71, Viramitrodaya, Pari-bhāṣā-prakāsa, p. 17, and so on, are much the same as Bhav, I. 4. 87b-89.
"The eighteen Purāṇas as well as the biography of Rāma; the Viṣṇudharma and other Sāstras, and the Sivadharmas, O descendant of Bharata; the fifth Veda which is known as the Mahābhārata compiled by Kṛṣṇa (Dvaipāyana); and the Saura Dharmas declared by Mānava, O paramount ruler, the lord of the earth;—the name ‘Jaya’ for (all) these the learned declare."

In another place of the same Purāṇa king Śatānika is found to put the following question to Sumantu:

"bhagavan kena vidhinā śrotavyaṁ bhāratam naraṁ /
caritaṁ rāmabhadrasya puraṇāṁ viśeṣataḥ //
katham tu vaisṇavā dharmāḥ sivadharma aśeṣataḥ /
saurāṇāṁ cāpi viprendra ucayatāṁ śravaṇe vidhiḥ //" 12

"In what way, O venerable one, are the Bhārata, the biography of Rāmabhadra, and especially the Purāṇas, to be heard by men, and how, again, the Vaiṣṇava Dharmas and the Sivadharmas in their entirety? (Kindly) tell (me), O chief of Brahmīns, the procedure of hearing (the Dharmas) of the Sauras also."

It is hardly necessary to say that in these verses of the Bhavisya-p. definite works on the religious duties (Dharma) on Viṣṇu, Siva, Sūrya and other deities have been meant, and that these works were entitled ‘Viṣṇudharma’, ‘Sivadharmā’, ‘Sauradharma’ and so on.

In the extant Viṣṇudharma (chap. 1) Saunaka gives a tradition, according to which the topics of this work were spoken out by Brahmā to Bhṛgu, Marīci and other sages, by Bhṛgu to Uśanas, by Uśanas to Saunaka’s grandfather, by the latter to Saunaka’s father, and by Saunaka’s father to Saunaka. The present Sivadharmottara, 13 which claims to be the latter part of the Sivadharma, says in its concluding

The Bhavisya-p. reads ‘viṣṇudharmādayo dharmāḥ’ (for ‘viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi’ in the first half of the second line) and ‘nāradokṭāḥ’ (for ‘mānavokṭāḥ’ in the second half of the fourth line) and gives the alternative reading ‘śrautāḥ’ (for ‘saurāḥ’ in the first half of the fourth line). It is needless to say that the reading ‘śrautāḥ’ (for ‘saurāḥ’) is wrong. Cf., Bhav. 1. 216, 37 quoted hereinafter.

11 It means ‘(the cause of) victory or prosperity.’
12 Bhav. 1. 216, 36-37.
13 This Saiva ‘Śāstra’, which still exists in Mss, will be examined in another Volume of the present work.
chapter that originally this work was spoken out by Kumāra to the
sage Agasti in 12000 verses and that the latter spoke out its essence
briefly in twelve chapters. The Sivadharma also states that it was
originally spoken out by Śiva to Pārvatī, Śānmukha, Nandikesvara
and others. So, there is little scope for doubt that Śāstras bearing
the titles ‘Viṣṇudharma’, ‘Sivadharma’, ‘Sauradharma’, etc. had been
compiled even before the rise of the extant texts of the same
titles.

A new situation arose in the country with the unprecedented spread
and popularity of Buddhism during the reign of Aśoka Maurya. In the
few centuries following the death of this great emperor Buddhism
grew up to be the most powerful rival of Hinduism and gave incenti-
ves to the compilation of the present Viṣṇudharma, in which the
atheists, especially the Buddhists, have been denounced on many
occasions. This work was followed at intervals by the compilation of
the present Viṣṇudharmitara, Sivadharma and Sivadharmitara. The
Sauradharma (which, as the quotations from it in the Śrī Nibandhas
show, was spoken out by Vasiṣṭha and might consequently be different
from that declared by Mānava or Nārada) and the Sauradharmitara
(drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers) also must have belonged to this
period; but they appear to have been lost, no Ms of any of them
having been found as yet.

We have already seen that in a verse of the Bhaviṣya-p. the
Viṣṇudharma has been called a ‘Śāstra’. The extant Viṣṇudharma
also gives itself out to be a ‘Śāstra’ in two places and not a ‘Purāṇa’,

14 The relevant verses are the following:
   uktam dvādaśa-saḥsaṁi (?-ṣaṁ) śivadharmottaraṁ mahat/
   agastaye munindrāya kumāreṇa mahatmanā//
   itiha karma-yogasya jñāna-yogasya tattvataṁ/
   dharmaḥdharma-gatīnāṁ ca svarūpam upavaranītām//
   ity etad akhilam buddhīvā saṁkṣipyāgastir abravit/
   dvādaśādvāya-saṁyuktam iti sāraṁ vimuktād//
   śivadharmottarāṁ śāstraṁ ... ... ...//
Śivadharmottara, chap. 12 (ASB Ms No. 3852, fol. 88a).
15 This work also has not yet been printed. It will be examined later.
16 See Śivadharma (ASB Ms No. 3852), chap. 1.
‘Upapurāṇa’ or ‘Smṛti’ even once. Consequently, scholars have been divided in their opinion regarding the true character of this work. For instance, on the strength of the said verse of the Bhavisya-p. Lakṣmidhara takes the Viṣṇudharma to be a ‘Śāstra’ and includes it among the Smṛti works;18 and his opinion is followed in very much the same words by Caṇḍeśvara, Narasimha Vājapeyin, Mitra Mīra and others.19 Vallālasena calls the Viṣṇudharma a ‘Śāstra’ (śāstram ca viṣṇudharmākhyam), which is taken as different from the epics, Purāṇas and Smṛti Samhitās.20 Hemādri also seems to be of the same opinion as Vallālasena, his authorities being the said verse of the Bhavisya-p. and another ascribed to the Saura-p.21 On the other hand, most of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas include the name of the ‘Śivadharma’, thus giving wide recognition to this work as an Upapurāṇa in spite of the fact that it frequently calls itself a ‘Śāstra’ and once a ‘Śivātmaka Dharmāśāstra’.22 As regards the Viṣṇudharma, it may be said that the Bhaddhārman-p.23 names it in its list of eighteen Upapurāṇas and that, as we shall see presently, the Viṣṇudharmottara was taken by many to be a Purāṇa or Upapurāṇa. In all the catalogues of Sanskrit Mss both the Viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottara have been classed with the Purāṇas. Consequently, we have thought it desirable to look upon the Viṣṇudharma as an Upapurānic work and not as a mere ‘Śāstra’.

17 See Viṣṇudharma, chap. 105, fol. 260a (nāṣṭy anyad viṣṇudharmānāṁ sadēṣam śāstram uttamam) and fol. 260b (iti ... śāstra-māhātmyam,.....).
18 Kṛṣṇa-kalpitāru, I, p. 25.
19 Kṛṣṇa-ratnākara, p. 30, Nityācāra-pradipa, I, p. 22; Viramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 16; and so on.
20 Dānasāgara, pp. 2–3, verses 11–19.
22 In most of the chapter-colophons of the present Śivadharma the name ‘Śivadharmasāstra’ occurs. For the name ‘Śivātmaka Dharmasāstra’ see the line ’uktam ca dvādaśadhyāyaṁ dharma-śāstram śivātmakam’ occurring in chap. 12 (fol. 39a).
23 We shall see afterwards that this work was written in Bengal most probably in the last half of the thirteenth century A.D.
As to the character of the Viṣṇudharmottara a similar confusion arose among scholars on account of the facts that this work, as its title shows, professes to be the latter part of the Viṣṇudharma and that its claim has been clearly put forth in two of its verses,24 in which the Viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottara have been taken to form one complete work known by the general title ‘Viṣṇudharma’. It is most probably due to this alleged unity of these two works that Alberūni considered both of them to be one and made his citations from the Viṣṇudharmottara under the name of ‘Viṣṇudharma’, that Smṛti-writers are often found to ascribe verses of the Viṣṇudharmottara to the Viṣṇudharma and vice versa,25 and that in some Mss the Viṣṇudharma has been called ‘Viṣṇudharmottara’. In his Nityācāra-pradīpa Narasimha Vājapeyin regards the Viṣṇudharmottara as a ‘sāstra’ and as a part of the Viṣṇudharma, and supports his view by citations from the Bhaviṣya-p. and the Viṣṇudharmottara.27 So,

24 Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 35—
saṃśāra-kṣaya-hetvarthe bhāvopakaraṇeṣu ca/
sottarā vaisṣāvā dharmāḥ sāram etat prakirtitam/ //
Vṛṣṇudh. I. 143. 16—
adhitē sottarāṃ yaś ca viṣṇudharman idam śubham/

25 For instance, the verse ‘ahorātraṃ na bhoktavyam’ is ascribed to the Viṣṇudharma in Madana-pārijāta, p. 538 and to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Mādhavacārya’s com. on the Pārāśara-smṛti, I. i. p. 437; the line ‘dattvā kāṛpāśikam’, which is the same as Viṣṇudh. III. 313, 4a, has been ascribed to the Viṣṇudharma in Dāna-kaumudi, p. 46; the verse ‘upōṣṭavyam nakṣatram’, which is the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 60, 26b-27, has been ascribed to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālaviveka, p. 508, Vṛatakāla-viveka, p. 14, Tithi-viveka, p. 47, and Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 302, but to the Viṣṇudharma in Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 8; and so on. On the other hand, verses really belonging to the Viṣṇudharma have been wrongly ascribed to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālanirṇaya, pp. 200-201, 202, 210 etc., Kālasāra, p. 151, and so on.

It can hardly be denied that such wrong ascription of verses is partly due to scribal mistakes.

26 See foot-note 36 below.

As a matter of fact, R L Mitra and J. Eggeling confuse the Viṣṇudharma with the Viṣṇudharmottara, taking these two works to be one.

27 Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 22—
‘bhaviṣya-purāṇe—
aśṭādāsa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā/
viṣṇudharmādi-sāstrāṇi śivadharmās ca bhūrata//

...
Narasimha Vājapeyīn is clearly not in favour of recognising the Viṣṇudharmottara as a Purāṇic work. Mitra Miśra also does not include this work among the Purāṇas, although he takes it to be 'as authoritative as a Purāṇa'. According to Alberūnī the Viṣṇudharmottara (named by him as 'Viṣṇudharma') is a 'book' (and not a 'Purāṇa') on 'the religion of God who in this case is understood to be Nārāyaṇa'. The present Kālikā-p. (92.2) calls the Viṣṇudharmottara a ' tantra'. Except in only one most-probably-spurious verse, nowhere does the Viṣṇudharmottara claim, in the body of its text, to be known as a 'Purāṇa' or 'Upapurāṇa'. On the other hand, Vallālasena calls the Viṣṇudharma a 'Śāstra' but seems to look upon the Viṣṇudharmottara as an Upapurāṇa; the Bṛhadharma-p. (I. 25. 25) regards the Viṣṇudharmottara as distinct from the Viṣṇudharma and includes both of these works in its list of Upapurāṇas; the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi once names the Viṣṇudharmottara as 'Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa'; in the final colophons of some of the Mss of

tatra viṣṇudharmottaraṁ viṣṇudharmaṁ bheda iti na pṛthaṁ nirdeṣṭam/ viṣṇudharmottare—
ete ye vaisṇavā dharmā dālabhyaṁ prakṛtītāṁ/
uttāram kathitaṁ tubhyaṁ mayaitat pariścchate//'

The former verse is the same as Bhav. I. 4. 87b-88a, but the latter verse (ete ye vaisṇavāḥ etc.), which is ascribed to the Viṣṇudharmottara, is not found in the printed edition.

28 In connection with Śruti works Mitra Miśra says in his Viramitrodaya, Parisbhāṣā-prakāṣa, p. 16—
‘evaṁ vṛddha-manaśvināṁ manvādyabhedaḥ sīṣṭa-prasiddhyādibhir avagantavyāḥ/yāṁ ni gṛhya-tatpariśiṣṭāṁ tāṁ bhīṁna-kośīṁ eva purāṇavat pramāṇī/ tathā viṣṇudharmottara-mahabharata-rāmāyaṇādīnī api//’

29 Sachau, Alberūnī's India, I, p. 132.
30 Viṣṇudh. III. 355. 5—
rāja'pi vajra dharmātmā mārkaṇḍeyena bhāṣītam/
putraṁ cintayan nityam nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇah/
rāja'yaṁ ca prāśīsan nityam praja dharmena pālayan//

This is the final verse of Viṣṇudh. III. It does not occur in any other Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara known to us.

31 Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verses 12b-15a).
32 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii. p. 462.
the Viṣṇudharmottara the name ‘Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa’ occurs; as the Nārādiya-p. (I. 94. 17b-20) says that the Viṣṇu-p. consists of two parts—the Viṣṇu-p. proper (forming the first part—aḍī-bhāga) and the Viṣṇudharmottara; in the final colophons of its Khaṇḍas the printed Viṣṇudharmottara calls itself the second part (dvitiya-bhāga) of the Viṣṇu-mahāpurāṇa; as in his Vidhāna-pārījata, I, pp. 245 and 419 Anantabhaṭṭa quotes Viṣṇudh. II. 52. 47–52a and II. 52. 110ff. respectively with the words ‘tatra padma-purāṇe viṣṇudharmottara-khaṇḍe paraśurāmaṁ prati (p. 419—āha) puṣkaraḥ’, in which the Viṣṇudharmottara has been taken to be a part of the Padma-p.; in the final colophons of some of its Mss the Viṣṇudharmottara has been connected with the Garuḍa-p.; and so on. From all these it appears that originally the Viṣṇudharmottara was not regarded as a Purāṇa. But in course of time its Purānic form and character encouraged people to include it among the Purānic works, and the result was that some took it to be an Upapurāṇa, while others attached it, as a part, to one or other of the Mahāpurāṇas.

The above discussion explains our attitude towards the Viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottara. We shall now analyse the individual Upapurāṇas.

1. THE VIṢṪUDHARMA

This is an extensive and widely popular work awaiting publication. It consists of more than 4000 verses distributed in 105

33 See Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 308 and 326; and List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 22. See also Mitra, Notices, II, p. 16 (No. 550) for a Ms of the Dharmaghaṭa-vrata-kathā which, in its colophon, claims to belong to the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa.

34 These colophons run as follows:—iti śrī-viṣṇu-mahāpurāṇe dvitiya-bhāge śrī-visṇudharmottare .... ... ....


36 For its Mss see

(1) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 764–5
[No. 4099 (Ms No. 1670).—
This is a complete Ms written in Nāgara scripts. It begins with two verses
chapters in the ASB Ms (No. 1670), which we have chiefly used here. It has very little of the principal characteristics of a Purāṇa, and although it deals exclusively with the religious rites and duties of the Vaiṣṇavas and consequently calls itself a ‘Śāstra’ on two occasions and not a ‘Purāṇa’ or ‘Upapurāṇa’ even once, it came to be recognised by many as a ‘Purānic’ work, obviously because the later Purāṇas turned into religious books, caring much more for religious matters than for accounts of ancient history.

Beginning, in most of its Mss, with a verse extolling the sanctity of the Bhārata (i.e. Mahābhārata) and, on rare occasions, with a

‘nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya naraṁ caiva nartottamam, etc.’ and ‘dvāipāyaṇāṁ śrī-bhāṣa-puṭānīṁḥ śrīṣṭām aprameyam, etc.’ (in which the ‘Bhārata’ has been praised), and its extent has been given by Shastri as 4600 Slokas.

No. 4100 (Ms No. 3506).—This Ms also is complete, but it is written in Bengali characters. Of its two introductory verses the second runs as follows:

namo vyāsāya gurave vedajñāya mahārṣaye/
pārāśaryāya śāntāya namo nārāyaṇāya te//


[This Nāgara Ms has practically the same text as that of the ASB Ms No. 1670, its first two introductory verses being the same as those of the latter.]


[This is a Nāgara Ms consisting of 102 chapters and having practically the same text as that of the ASB Ms No. 1670 (single chapters of the former being at times split up into two in the latter). It begins with the same two verses as those of the latter and ends with the words ‘iti śrīvīṇudharmottara sūcikā samāptā.’]

(4) Shastri, Nepal Cat., pp. 29-30 (No. 1002) and p. 30 (1002).

[Of these two Mss, which are written in Newari scripts, the first is dated Samvat 167 (= 1047 A.D.) and was copied during the reign of Parama-bhaṭṭarakasūryavarma-bhāskara-deva in 1877 (Allahabad, 1878), pp. 32-33.


[This is a Nāgara Ms beginning with the same verses as those of the ASB Ms No. 1670 and consisting of 3819 Slokas according to Mitra. It is dated Samvat 1910 and called ‘Viṇñudharmottara’ like the Berlin Ms.]
salutation, in a single verse, to Vyāsa, son of Parāśara, this work describes the occasion of the narration of its subject-matter as follows.

Once Saunaka and other sages came to see king Satānika, son of (Janamejaya) Pārīkṣita, after the latter’s coronation had been over. Satānika received these sages with due honour and requested them to favour him with the best discourses on Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa), through whose grace his ancestors could recover their lost kingdom and the life of his grandfather Pārīkṣit was saved from the deadly weapon hurled by Drona’s son (Aśvatthāman). He described Nārāyaṇa as eternal and boundless and as one who gave birth to Rudra from his rage and to Pitāmaha from his grace. He then expressed his desire for hearing the ways, secret Mantras, service, gifts, vows, fasts or Homas, by which Hari might be worshipped for getting over the miseries of life. Being highly pleased with Satānika’s devotion for the god the sages praised Saunaka as a rich store-house of all knowledge and as a lamp for dispelling all darkness of doubt in the three worlds and requested him to speak to Satānika about Kṛṣṇa-Nārāyaṇa. Consequently, after briefly explaining the process of origin of the universe from the Supreme Being, who appeared, for the sake of creation, as Pradhāna and Puruṣa by ilā and also became Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra by fancy (chandataḥ), Saunaka referred to the tradition of inheritance of all these topics from Brahmā and narrated the following story:

Once Brahmā spoke to Marici and others about the highest type of Yoga which is capable of leading one to Kaivalya by effecting the complete cessation of the functions of the mind (samasta-vṛtti-samtroddhāre kaivalya-pratipādakam). But as success in this kind of Yoga requires strenuous efforts extending over many births and as it is often found that one fails to control the organs of senses and to get over their objects (viṣaya) even in a hundred lives, Marici and others requested the god to speak to them on some easier method of Yoga which could be practised with success even by a common man in a

37 We have already noted that in chap. 1 of the Viṣṇudharma (fol. 3b-4a) these topics have been said to have come down from Brahmā to Saunaka successively through Bhṛgu, Uṣanas, Saunaka’s grandfather, and Saunaka’s father.
short period of time. Consequently, Brahmā spoke on Kriyā-yoga which consists in the constant propitiation of Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) by sacrifice, worship, salutation, service, observance of vows and fasts, gratification of Brahmīns, and other acts. Saunaka said that on the basis of Brahmā’s instructions Marīci and other sages compiled treatises (śāstra) on Kriyā-yoga for the good of the people.—(Chap. 1).

Next, going to speak on this Kriyā-yoga, which liberates people from bondage, Saunaka narrated the story of king Ambariṣa thus:

Being desirous of bringing the duals (dvandva) to an end through Viṣṇu’s favour, king Ambariṣa practised austerities with great devotion. Viṣṇu was pleased, but he would not favour the king without putting him to test. He appeared before the latter in the form of Indra, gave himself out to be the god of gods ruling over the Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, Nāsatyas, Maruts, Prajāpatis, Sādhyas, Viśvedevas and others, and asked the king to choose a boon. But the latter made it clear to him that he was not eager for having anything from Indra but was trying to please Viṣṇu who ensured prosperity to Indra by killing Hīranyākṣa, Hīranyakaśipu and other demons, by recovering his kingdom from Bali, and by various other acts, and who was the creator, protector and destructor of the universe and the source of origin of the gods forming the triad. At these words of the king Viṣṇu, in the form of Indra, pretended to be enraged and threatened the king with his thunder-weapon. But the latter pleaded innocent and remained unmoved. His unswerving devotion pleased Viṣṇu so much that the god revealed himself in his real form, in which he has four hands and wears yellow clothes, and spoke briefly to the king on the best system of Yoga which is ‘nirbija’ and ends all miseries of life for ever (nirbijam atyanca-duhkha-samyoga-bheṣajam). But as this type of Yoga was too difficult for the king, he requested Viṣṇu to tell him about such Yoga as could be practised by people like himself. Consequently, Viṣṇu spoke of Kriyā-yoga which puts a stop to all sufferings of life (kleśa) and advised the king to be devoted to him heart and soul, to worship him constantly with flowers and other things as well as with the offer of highly valuable articles of gold, silver, etc., to think of him incessantly, and to see him everywhere and in all beings. Next, being requested by the king to speak elaborately on this Kriyā-
yoga, Viṣṇu (called ‘Keśava’) referred him to his priest (purohita) Vasiṣṭha, who, he said, would tell him about it through his favour. Viṣṇu then disappeared; and the king returned to his capital. (—Chap. 2). There he met Vasiṣṭha, intimacy to him what Viṣṇu had said, and requested him to speak on Kriyā-yoga concerning Viṣṇu-worship. Vasiṣṭha narrated the story of Prahlāda thus:

Once Prahlāda, a devotee of Nārāyaṇa, told his high-priest Sukra, the chief of the Bhṛgus, that he found in the body of Nṛṣimha all the three worlds as well as the gods, goddesses and Pitṛs, and requested him to describe the method of worshipping this deity. Sukra said that if he really desired to worship ‘Viṣṇu, the lord of gods’, he was to become a Bhāgavata, because no mortal other than a Bhāgavata is able to know Viṣṇu rightly, or to eulogise him, or to see him, not to speak of merging in him.\(^3\text{8}\) Sukra then spoke on the characteristics and praise of Bhāgavatas (who respect the Brahmans and the Veda, practise ahimsā, have their minds absorbed in Viṣṇu in many of their births, and are far superior to the performers of Tapas or austerity and of costly sacrifices), worship of Viṣṇu in images with the offer of flowers, lamps etc., construction of temples for him, and singing of songs, recitation of hymns, and sounding of musical instruments during his worship. (—Chap. 3). Next, after defining ‘upavāsa’ (fasting)\(^3\text{9}\) and pointing out its benefits, Sukra reproduced what Pulastya had said to Dālhbhya in ancient times on the following topics:

Devotional service to Viṣṇu\(^4\text{0}\) (—chap. 4), procedures and praise

\(^3\text{8}\) na hy abhāgavatāir viṣṇur jñātum stotum ca tattvatah/.

\(^3\text{9}\) draṣṭum vā śakyaṭe martyaiḥ praveṣṭum kuta eva hi //

\(^4\text{0}\) upāvṛtt三亚 pāpebhō yas tu vāṣo guṇaiḥ saha/


It should be mentioned that the Viṣṇudharma adds great importance to fasting in Viṣṇu-worship and prescribes it especially to females.

Viz., worship of the deity with fragrant flowers and other things, especially with fast; sweeping, washing, and besmearing of Viṣṇu-temples with earth, cow-dung, substances of metallic preparation (? dhātu-vikāra), and so on; offer of flowers, lamps, pots of sesamum, flags, and other things; narration of sanctifying stories; praise of Viṣṇu as the highest god worshipped by Indra, women, Vaikhānasas, Pativrājakas, and others.
of a number of Vaiśnava vows and worshipes, some of which were described by way of reporting the dialogues of others; Kṛṣṇa's speech to Arjuna on his own identity with Kāla and unity with Arjuna, and also on the names of the principal holy places in which Kṛṣṇa is to be worshipped under particular names (—Chaps. 35-36); description of

Viz., Sugati-dvādaśi-vrata (in which 'Kṛṣṇa' is to be worshipped and meditated upon, and his name to be repeated)—chap. 4; Eka-bhakta-vrata, Dhādaśa-māsika-kṛṣṇāṣṭami-vrata (in which 'Kṛṣṇa' is to be worshipped), Kulā-vāpti-dvādaśi-vrata (alias Sukla-dvādaśi-vrata, said to have been described to Bharata by his mātāmahā Kanva), Vijaya-dvādaśi-vrata, Jayantya-aṣṭami-vrata, Atijayaikādaśi-vrata, and Viṣṇu-snapana-vrata (—chaps. 6, 12 respectively); Puṣya-rkṣaikādaśi-vrata, Pada-dvaya-vrata, Manoratha-dvādaśi-vrata, and Asoka-pūrṇamāsi-vrata (—chaps. 17-20 respectively); Naraka-dvādaśi-vrata—chap. 24; Tila-dvādaśi-vrata—chap. 34; Sukṛta-dvādaśi-vrata—chap. 37; Aśūnya-śayana-dvitiyā-vrata—chap. 41.

Worship of Viṣṇu and his wife under the names of Janārdana and Lākṣmi, Śrīlāhara and Śri, and Keśa and Bhūti in the four months beginning respectively with Phālguna, Aṣāḍha and Kārttika (chap. 3); Māsa-rkṣa-pūjā (chap. 27).

Pulastya reproduced the dialogues in which

(i) Yājñavalkya spoke to Maitreyi on Manoratha-sampatti-kāraka-vrata (chap. 13), Samprāpti-dvādaśi-vrata (chap. 14), Govinda-dvādaśi-vrata (chap. 15), and Akhaṇḍa-dvādaśi-vrata (chap. 16);

(ii) Śaṃkara spoke to Devī on Sōbhana-pati-prāpti-vrata (chap. 21) and Śrī-dharma-vrata (chap. 22);

(iii) Vasiṣṭha spoke to Arundhati on Nākastra-puruṣa-vrata (chap. 29);

(iv) Maitreyi spoke to Śīladhana (a sonless queen of Kṛṣṭavirya, the Haihaya king) on Ananta-vrata (chap. 30).


The corresponding chapter in ASB Ms No. 3506 contains in fol. 61a a few more names such as Kusvāmīdhyā (?), Nepāla, Mandodapāna, Kiśkindhyā, Kāśi, Viśākhayūpa, Virajā, etc. In this Ms Lohadaṇḍa has been named as Loladaṇḍa, Kasmira as Kahlāra (?), and Māgadhavāna as Mādhava Vana.
hells in which sinners are punished for various sins, viz., adultery, killing of cows and women, denouncement of Viśṇu and the Brahmins, and so on (chap. 23); description and denouncement of Pāṣandās, and the atonements for seeing or touching them or for speaking with them (chap. 25); enunciation of the Aparaṁjarana, which allays the troubles caused by malevolent rites (viz., abhicāras and kṛtyās), poison, evil Grahas, all kinds of fever and other diseases, and so on; method and praise of besmearing Viśṇu-temples with earth, cow-dung etc. and of presenting lamps there (chaps. 31-32); glorification of gods, Brahmins, Vedas and sacrifices, and denouncement of those who decry them (chap. 33); eulogy of Viśṇu with the mention of his exploits in different incarnations (chap. 39); muttering of the different names of Viśṇu (including ‘Kāmapāla’) for security under different circumstances (chap. 40); statement of the causes of rebirths and release (chap. 42).

After listening to the dialogue between Pulastya and Dālbhya Satānīka requested Saunaka to speak on Dharma as described by Krṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira. Consequently, Saunaka reported the statements made by Krṣṇa on the following subjects: the names of the authors of the Dharma-samhitās; hells, and gifts of shoes, mules, clothes and other articles to Brahmins for escaping these (chap. 45); glorification of Brahmins as well as of service and gifts made to them (chap. 46); praise of practice of various restraints, such as silence, sacrifice, celibacy, nonkilling, living on roots, fruits or leaves, fasting, lying on

44 In chap. 28 there are the names of a large number of diseases caused by any of the three humours of the body, viz., wind (vāta), bile (pitta) and phlegm (kapha), various kinds of poison, different classes of Grahas such as Preta-grahas, Dakini-grahas, Vedā-grahas, Gandharvas, Yakṣa-rākṣasas, Vināyakas, Bāla-grahas, and so on.

45 Viz., those of Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara, Ātreya, Gārgya, Śaṅkha, Lākhita, Yama, Jāvali, Dvaipāyana, Umā-Maheśvara (umā-maheśvarāś caiva jātr-dharmaś ca payanah—fol. 89a), Kāśyapa, Bahvāyana, Sakulī, Agasty, Mudgala, Śaṇḍilya, Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras, Kaśyapa, Uddālaka, Sumantu, Paulastya, Vaiśampāyana, Pīśāgama, Indra, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Āpastamba, Gopālaka, Śūrya, Hārita, Yājñavalkya, the seven sages (saptarṣayaḥ), and others.

For this list see also ASB Ms No. 3506, fol. 76a-b.

The verse containing the names of Umā-Maheśvara and Kāśyapa does not occur in ASB Ms No. 3506.
the ground, entrance into fire, and so on (chap. 47); description and praise of gifts of paddy, fuel, virgin girls (for marriage in the Brähma form), gold, cows, footwears etc. to Brahmans, especially to one widely learned in the Vedas—bahuśruta (chaps. 48, 53 and 58-60); enumeration of sixteen cases (including those of such Brahmans as are priests of villages, husbands of Sudra wives, sellers of the Veda, snake-catchers, and hen-pecked husbands) in which gifts, made, become unproductive (chap. 49); results of insulting or respecting a Brahmin (chap. 50); praise of a Brahmin who regularly repeats the Gāyatri (chap. 51); praise of tapas (austerity) and satya (truth), and denouncement of anṛta (untruth) (chaps. 54 and 55); fasting and observance of the Eka-bhakta-vrata in different months (chap. 56); elevation and lowering of caste caused respectively by the due performance of one's own Dharma and by neglect of it (chap. 57); praise of fighting bravely and courting death in the battle-field; principles of war (saṃgrāma-prāśaṃsā—chap. 61); praise of avoiding meat and practising ahimsā (chap. 62).

Saunaka then reported

1. Nārāyaṇa's speech to Yudhiṣṭhira on the science of government (daṇḍa-niti, including the divinity and duties of a king, necessity of daṇḍa, and punishment for different kinds of crimes—chap. 63), praise of devotion to Viṣṇu (chap. 64), and incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Buddha (chap. 66);

2. Bhūṣma's statement to Yudhīṣṭhīra on remembering Viṣṇu and muttering his names for allaying the effects of bad dreams (chap. 67);

3. Viṣṇu's enumeration to Lakṣmī of the characteristics of those who become his favourites 46 (chap. 74);

46 Such people are those who are given to knowledge of Ātman, avoid hiṃsā, culture universal friendship, feel completely satisfied with whatever they possess, are truthful, upright and compassionate, look upon others' wives as mothers, are completely satisfied with their own wives, always remain engaged in lawful work, do not hesitate to give up their life for the sake of Brahmans, and so on. As regards females, they are to be devoted to their husbands and should culture love and service.
4. Prahlāda’s description of the powers of Viṣṇu and his disc, his speech on Vaiśṇava Kriyā-yoga,⁴⁷ and his advice to Bali to become a Bhāgavata (chaps. 76-81);

5. Prahlāda’s narration, in chaps. 83-91, of what Vasiṣṭha had said to Māndhātṛ on a number of vows⁴⁸ and gifts.⁴⁹

Saunaka further spoke on the following topics: benefits of meditating on and rendering various kinds of devotional service to Viṣṇu (chap. 71); practice of one’s own duties as well as of the virtues such as kindness, tolerance etc., and shunning of unlawful work (vidharma) and association with uncultured people (grāmya-saṅga) (chap. 74); building of Viṣṇu-temples, and construction of images of the god with gold, silver, copper, brass, stone, wood, earth etc. (chaps. 75, 99); description of Viṣṇu as Brahma and the source of the universe (chap. 95); process of origin of the world from Viṣṇu, although he is unchangeable (aparīṇāmī—chap. 96); description and praise of Yoga said to have been declared originally by Hiranyagarbha (chaps. 97-98); distinction of Yoga into Para and Apara, and their characteristics; description of a Viṣṇu-image,⁵⁰ which is to be constructed with

⁴⁷ This Kriyā-yoga is said to have been spoken out by Brahmā, from whom it came down to Prahlāda through Svārociṣa Manu, Rtaćakṣus, Sukra and others. It includes construction of images and temples of Viṣṇu with different materials, bathing of an image of Viṣṇu with ghee and milk on different occasions, offer of various articles (including different kinds of cloth, viz., dukūla, paṭṭa, kausāya, kārpāsīka, etc.) and of select flowers and leaves (including Tulasī and Kāla-tulasī).


⁴⁹ Viz., Go-dāna, Tila-dhenu-dāna, Ghṛta-dhenu-dāna, Jala-dhenu-dāna, etc. (chaps. 85-88 and 91).

⁵⁰ The relevant verses, as reconstructed from ASB Mss Nos. 1670 (fols. 231b-232a) and 3506 (fols. 166a-b), run as follows:

kāryas tu viṣṇur bhagavān saumya-rūpaś caturbhujah/
salila-dhvānta-meghābhaḥ śrīmān śrivatsa-bhūṣītaḥ/
ábbaddha-mukutaḥ sragvī hāra-bhārārpiṭodaraḥ/
svikṣaṇaḥ cāru-cikuraḥ sulalāṭena subhrunā/
svōṣṭhena sukapolena vadanena virājitah/
kaṇṭhena śubha-lekhena varābhaṇa-dhāraṇī/
nānā-ratnārcaṭībhyāṁ ca śravānābhīyāṁ abānakṛtaḥ/
gold, silver, copper, brass, stone, wood, earth etc. or to be painted, and in which Brahma is to be contemplated during worship (chap. 99); description and practice of yama\textsuperscript{31} and niyama\textsuperscript{32} and the other means of attaining Yoga (yogāṅga), viz., āsana, prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi;\textsuperscript{33} detailed discourse on dhyāna; praise of Yogsins, who only are said to experience Viṣṇu in his supreme state (chap. 100); due performance or neglect of one’s lawful work causing birth in a higher or lower caste; discourses on universal duties\textsuperscript{34} and on those enjoined by one’s caste or order of life (chap. 101); means of attaining Advaita-jñāna; explanation of Viṣṇu’s highest state (paraṁ rūpam) and his birth in parts on earth (chaps. 102-103); measurement of time by kāṣṭhā, kalā, muhūrtta etc.; duration of yugas; state of Dharma and Viṣṇu-Nārāyana’s appearance in different forms (including Kalkin) in the different yugas (chap. 104); elaborate description of the evils of the Kali age (chap. 105).

For the effective glorification of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu (also called Vāsudeva) the Viṣṇudharma has a number of devotional hymns, viz., Viṣṇupañjara-stotra (chap. 69), Sārasvatata-stava spoken out by Sarasvatī (chap. 70), Viṣṇvaṣṭaka (chap. 71), Bali’s eulogy of Viṣṇu’s Sudraśana-cakra (chap. 78), two hymns for the removal of sins (pāpa-praśamana-stava

puṣṭa-sliṣṭayata-bhujas tanu-tāmra-nakhāṅguliḥ, 
madhyena trivāti-bhaṅga-bhūṣitena ca cāruṇā, 
supādaḥ sūru-yugalaḥ sukaṭi-gulpha-jāmunakāḥ, 
vāma-pārśve gaddā-devi cakram devasya daksīne, 
śaṅkho vāma-kare deyo daksīne padma-sūpurbham, 
urddha-drṣṭim adho-drṣṭim tiryag-drṣṭim na kārayet, 
nimilitākṣo bhagavān uprasāsto janārdanah, 
saumyā tu drṣṭih kartavyā kiṅcita-prahasiteva ca, 
kāryaḥ caraṇa-vinyāsah sarvataḥ supratīṣṭhitah, 
caraṇāntara-samsthā ca vibhrati rūpam uttamam, 
kāryā vasumdhārā devi tat-pāda-tala-cārīṇi, 
yādrg-vidhā va manasah sthairyam lambhopapādikā, 
ṛṣimha-vāmanādīnāṁ tādṛṣṭīṁ kārayed budhah, 

51 It consists of ahiṁsā, śama, asteya, brahma-caryā, and aparigraha. 
52 Consisting of saṁśtoṣa, śauca, svādhyāya, tapas, and iśvara-bhāvanā. 
53 For the definition of ‘samādhi’ see ASB Ms No. 1670, fol. 233a, and No. 3506, fol. 167a. 
54 These are the eight guṇas, viz., anasūyā, dayā, kṣantī, śauca etc.
—chaps. 92-93), Arjuna's eulogy of Kṛṣṇa (in which many incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa’s infancy at Vṛndāvana have been mentioned —chap. 35), and many others (for which see chaps. 2, 39, 68, 72, 76 and 103).

In connection with the above contents the Viṣṇudharma narrates a number of stories, one of which is highly interesting and sheds a flood of light on the attitude of an important section of people towards Buddhism and other non-Vedic and anti-Vedic religious systems current in those days. This story, which has been given in chap. 25 in connection with the description and denouncement of Pāṇaḍas, runs as follows.

In ancient times the mortals, being pious through the due performance of their duties, could go to heaven at the mere wish, and the gods also grew stronger by getting their due share in the sacrifices. Consequently, the Daiteyas and Asuras could not prevail upon the gods. In course of time two Daiteyas, Śaṇḍa and Marka by name, intended to annihilate the gods and performed a dangerous kṛtyā (a magic rite meant for destructive purposes), from which came out a dreadful figure called Mahāmoha, who had a very dark body resembling a mass of darkness and was extremely fierce, haughty, deceitful and lazy. This Mahāmoha was divided by Śaṇḍa and Marka into four parts, one of which decried the gods and Brahmmins, another discouraged people from practising Yoga, the third engaged them in unlawful acts (vikarman), and the fourth deprived them of their jñāna, made them accept ajñāna as jñāna under infatuation, and took delight in whatever went against the Vedas (veda-vāda-virodhena yā kathā sāsya rocate). Thus produced by Śaṇḍa and Marka, this Mahāmoha, ‘who was adharma in person’ (adharmā-svarūpaḥ) and was polluted by pride and other vices, took his position among the people (lokeṣv eva vyavasthitah) and deluded them in various ways. By his misleading instructions he turned them worthless through infatuation (mohābhibhava-niḥsārān) and made them discard their conscience as well as their respective duties enjoined upon them by their castes. Being mad with their wrong knowledge, these infatuated people set themselves to unlawful

55 tatrotpanno 'tikṛṣṇāṅgas tamāḥ-prāyo 'tidārūṇah/
dambhādhārāḥ śāṭhya-sāro nirdā-prakṛtir ulvaṇah// —fol. 42b.
acts by defying the instructions of their friends and the learned people, to whom they gave replies with misleading and confusing arguments (prayaechanty uttaraṃ mūḍhāḥ kīṭa-yukti-samanvitam). They turned Pāṣāṇḍins (or Pāṣāṇḍas)\(^{56}\) and Vṛatyas, knew no sacraments, spoke highly of the food received from others (parānna-guṇa-vādinah), caused mixture of castes, did not care for the purification of the body, decried the rites sanctioned by the Vedas—Ṛk, Yajūḥ and Sāma, and preached the doctrine of the non-existence of any thing (nānyadastīti-vādinah). They also spread their influence upon the less intelligent (alpa-mati) section of people and made them discard their own lawful duties and perform unlawful acts. Thus, they led themselves as well as others to hell (fol. 43a-b).

There is another story, given in chaps. 102-103, which narrates the creation of Urvāṣī by the sage Nārāyaṇa, one of the four sons of Dharma, the other three being Nara, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. In this story it is said that while Nara and Nārāyaṇa were practising austerities (tapas) and yoga in the Gandhamādana mountain, ‘lions, tigers etc. (turned nonviolent and) moved about complacently in that mountain with deer’,\(^{67}\) that, apprehending the occupation of heaven by Nara and Nārāyaṇa, Indra sent Rambahā, Tilottamā and other nymphs with Cupid (Smara, Madana) and Spring (Vasanta) to distract the sages, that Nara and Nārāyaṇa gave themselves out to the unsuccessful nymphs to be parts of Vāsudeva who was catur-vyūha, māyin, and identical with Paramātman and pervaded and comprised all, and that, being propitiated by the nymphs, Nārāyaṇa gave out a laugh and thus showed the entire universe, together with the gods, in his mouth.

The other stories include those of Sāmbharāyaṇi’s attainment of an extremely long life by performing the Māsa-ṛkṣa-pūjā, and her narration to Indra and Brāhaspati of the accounts of the previous Indras from her personal knowledge (chap. 27); (Kārtavirya) Arjuna’s

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56 According to Lakṣmīdhara, Caṇḍēśvara and others, Pāṣāṇḍas are those who are extra-Vedic (pākhaṇḍādaya veda-bāhyah—Kṛtya-kalpataru, I, p. 22; pākhaṇḍā veda-bāhyah—Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 28; and so on). Vallālasena takes Pāṣāṇḍins (or Pāṣāṇḍas) to mean those people who give instructions on anti-Vedic Dharma (pāṣāṇḍino veda-viparita-dharmopadeśāraḥ—Dānasāgara, p. 57).

57 śimha-vyāghrādayaḥ saummyā śeṣa saha mṛgair girāu.—Fol. 24a.1a.
birth to her mother Śiladhanā as a result of the latter’s observance of the Ananta-vrata, his worship of Viṣṇu in the form of Dattātreya, and his attainment of paramountcy through his favour (chap. 30); keeping a thousand lamps burning day and night in a Viṣṇu-temple by Lalitā (daughter of Citraratha, king of Vidarbha, and chief queen of Cāruvarman, king of Kāśi), who was, in her previous birth, a mouse in a Viṣṇu-temple (constructed by Maitreya, a Brahmin minister of the king of Sauvīra) on the bank of the river Devikā and chanced to keep a lamp burning there in course of her escape for fear of a cat (chap. 32); Virabhadrā of Vaidiśa, who, being at the point of death in the Vindhyā forest, was found lying on heated sand by a Brahmin named Pīpīta (chap. 37); the two Aśvins’ meeting at Pratiṣṭhāna with Aila Purūravas, who would not see them without being properly dressed, their explanation to him of the transitoriness of everything on earth by referring to the opinions of Kapila, Pañcasikha, Maṇḍarika (?), Janaka, Hiranyagarbha, Jaigisavya and Devala on the highest bliss (param śreyāḥ), "and their instructions to the king on karma to be done by him (chap. 38); appearance of Dharma in the form of a Cāṇḍāla, and his instructions to Yudhiṣṭhira on Viṣṇu-worship (chap. 64); Viṣṇu’s assumption of the form of a Brahmin and meeting with Janaka, and the latter’s praise of the former as the highest truth (chap. 65); an elephant’s eulogy of Nārāyaṇa and getting free from the clutch of a crocodile living in a lake on the Citrakūta mountain (gajendra-mokṣaṇa—chap. 67); a Kṣatriya’s turning a Rākṣasa after death, his attack in his new form on two Brahmins, who saved themselves from his hands by citing the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra and the Sārasvata-stava, and his going to Śalagrama for practising austerities (chaps. 69-70); Cedi-rāja Vasu’s loss of power of moving through the sky, his consequent fall into Pātala, a nether world, his self-protection from the hands of the Dānavas, who tried to take his life, and his rescue from there by Viṣṇu (chap. 72); Aditi’s prayer to Kṛṣṇa for the safety of her sons and the security of Indra, and Kṛṣṇa’s entrance into Aditi’s womb to be born as her son Vāmana (chap. 75); birth of Vāmana, and his sending of Bali to Sutala, a nether world, saying that as soon as Bali would go against the Brahmins, he would be bound with Varuṇa’s
noose (chaps. 76-77); appearance of Viṣṇu's Sudarśana-cakra before Bali after it had been worshipped by the latter to stop the mischief it had been doing to the pregnant wives of Daityas by its passage through the air (chap. 78); Sumanā’s dialogue with Śaṇḍili, a Brahmin woman, who found Sumanā residing happily in heaven with her husband and having an odorous and beautiful body by worshipping Viṣṇu with various articles dear to themselves and by bathing the god with ghee (chap. 81); and king Māndhātṛ’s attainment of royal fortune as a result of serving, with his devoted wife, in a Viṣṇu-temple and attending upon Yogins in his previous birth as a cruel Śūdra, who was always bent on doing harm to others, maltreated his chaste and devoted wife, and failed to earn his livelihood by agriculture (chaps. 82-83). In chap. 94 Saunaka is found to narrate the story of a wicked, treacherous and undutiful Kṣatriya named Vimati as follows: Being discarded by his parents and relatives for his misconduct Vimati used to maintain his family by killing animals. During the summer he met in a forest a sage who was afflicted with thirst. Vimati took pity on him and took him to a lake. The sage was satisfied, and, learning Vimati’s conduct by meditation, advised him to utter the word ‘Govinda’ incessantly. Vimati did so and felt happy. In course of time Vimati died and was reborn in a Brahmin family with the power of recalling the memory of his previous births. In this life he remembered all the previous sufferings and had great indifference. He eulogised Kṛṣṇa for his pity, and the latter freed him from all sins and gave him final release.

From the above indication of the contents of the Viṣṇudhārma it is evident that the entire subject-matter of this work has been set out in the forms of a number of primary and secondary dialogues, which are as follows:

1. Principal interlocutors—Saunaka and Śatānīka.

A. Saunaka reports to Śatānīka the interlocutions between the following persons:

1. Brahmā and the sages (Marici and others) (chap. 1).
2. Viṣṇu and Ambaraṭa (chap. 2).
3. Vasiṣṭha and Ambaraṭa (chaps. 2-42).
[Vasiṣṭha reports to Ambaraṭa the interlocution between
1. Sukra and Prahlāda (chap. 3).]
Sukra reproduces to Prahlāda the interlocution between
(a) Pulastya and Dālbhya (4-42).
Pulastya reproduces to Dālbhya the interlocutions
between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī (chaps. 13-16),
between Śaṃkara and Devī (chaps. 21-22),
between Vasiṣṭha and Arundhati (chap. 29),
between Maitreyī and Śiladhanā (chap. 30),
between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna (chaps. 35-36),
between the Āśvins and Aila Purūravas (chap. 38).]
(4) Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira (chaps. 43-63).
(5) Bhūma and Yudhiṣṭhira (chap. 67).
(6) Prahlāda and Bali (chaps. 76, 79-83).
[Prahlāda reports to Bali the interlocution between
Vasiṣṭha and Māṇḍhāṭrī (chaps. 83-91).
Vasiṣṭha reports to Māṇḍhāṭrī the dialogue between
Gauramukha and Parikṣit (chaps. 89-90).]
In the remaining chapters Saunaka speaks direct to Satānika.

A perusal of the Viṣṇudharma shows that it is purely a Vaiṣṇava
work on the glorification and worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, who, in his
supreme state, is said to be the same as Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. Accord-
ing to this work, Kṛṣṇa (often called Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa) is all-
powerful (īṣa), unborn, eternal and boundless, and, being the Uni-
versal Soul, resides in the heart of all. He has no beginning, trans-
cends both the real and the unreal (sadasatāḥ param—chap. 2) and
is identical with the Supreme Brahma. He has two states of existence
—‘para’ and ‘apara’, and is consequently both dual and nondual (bheda-
bheda-s-varūpastha—chap. 1). Although he is unchangeable (apari-
nāṁśi), he is the cause and source of creation, which is explained from
the standpoint of ‘bheda-bheda’ (duality and nonduality—chap. 96).
It is he who, in creation, becomes Pradhāna and Puruṣa by īlā, and
also Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra by fancy (chap. 1). He comprises all
including the universe, which lies in his belly (brahmāṇḍam udare-
śayam). For the good of created beings he incarnates himself on
earth in parts (kalā, amaśa) as Vāmana, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, and others.58

58 Vāmana is said to be a partial incarnation of Vāsudeva—vāsudevaḥ
Even Kṛṣṇa (son of Vasudeva and Devaki) is said in more places than one to be a partial incarnation of this Supreme Kṛṣṇa (also called Vāsudeva) who, as has already been said, is the same as Viṣṇu in his supreme state. In chap. 102 Vāsudeva is identified with Paramātman and said to be catur-vyūha and māyin.

As to the best way of realising Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu the Viṣṇudharma puts great stress on the practice of Yoga, which it characterises in the following verse of Saunaka (said to Satānaka):

"pareṇa brahmanā sārdham ekatvaṃ yan nṛpātmanah/
sa eva yogo vikhyātaḥ kim anyad yogo-lakṣaṇam/ /"  
(Chap. 99, fol. 231a).

"It is unity, O king, of the (individual) soul with the Supreme Brahma that is well known as yoga. What else is the characteristic of yoga?"

kalayāvatirṇah (chap. 76, fol. 161b); anśāvartirṇena ca yena (chap. 76, fol. 162a).

Nara and Nārāyaṇa describe themselves as extremely small parts of Vāsudeva.—

sa sarva-vāsi-devatvād vāsudevety udāhīṭah/ vayam anśāṁsakās tasya caturvyūhasya māyinah/ / (chap. 102, fol. 244a).

Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu calls Lāṅgali Rāma (i.e. Balarāma) the second part of himself.—

Cf. dvitiyo yo mamāṁsas tu rāmo 'nantalḥ sa lāṅgali (chap. 66, fol. 127a).

In chap. 101 Brahmā and other gods are said to be parts of Viṣṇu.—

yato hi devatāḥ sarvā brahmādyāḥ kuru-nandana/ anśabhūtā jagad-dhātur viśpot avyakta-janmanah/ / (fol. 239b).

59 Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, being worshipped by Devaki, assured the latter of his birth as her son, saying:

"bhavisyatī acirād devi mad-anśena sutas tava" (chap. 90, fol. 206a).

See also fol. 206b—

avāpa ca tato garbham devaki vasudevataḥ/ ajāyata ca viśveśāh svenāṁśena janārdanaḥ/ /

By calling Lāṅgali Rāma the second part of himself Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu suggests that Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa also was one of his parts.

60 For the relevant verse see foot-note 58 above.
It classifies Yoga into two types, viz., \( \text{para} \) and \( \text{apara} \), which are better known as jñāna-yoga and kriyā-yoga (i.e., karma-yoga) respectively; and it briefly distinguishes between these two types saying:

"jñāna-yogaś ca saṁyogaś cittasyaivātmanā tu yah/
yas tu bāhyārtha-sāpeksaḥ sa kriyā-yoga ucyate//"

(Chap. 80, fol. 183a-b).

"Yoga by knowledge is communion of the mind with Ātman, but Yoga by work is what depends upon external objects."

By the \( \text{apara} \) type of Yoga (or Kriyā-yoga, which is intended for those who are unable to control their mind in spite of their sincere devotion for the god)\textsuperscript{62} it means worship of the deity in spite of images, with the practice of \( \text{yama} \) and \( \text{niyama} \), which are said to be the causes of success in Yoga (chaps. 99-100). It looks upon \( \text{karma} \) (work) as the only cause of bondage for creatures, and says that \( \text{karma} \) causes the distinction between Kṣetrajña and Paramātman (bhedaś ca karma-janitaḥ kṣetrajña-paramātmanah—chap. 96, fol. 225a). It follows the Bhagavad-gītā in stating that it is selfless work and constant devotional service and complete self-surrender to the god which can liberate people from the bonds of \( \text{karma} \) and make them merge into him.\textsuperscript{63}

By way of pres-

\textsuperscript{61} For detailed treatment of \( \text{para} \) and \( \text{apara} \) yoga see chap. 99 (fols. 230b-232b).

\textsuperscript{62} Cf. chap. 2—

bhaktyātipravānasayāpi cañcalamā tvan-mano yadi/
mayy upāsyē bhaved bhūpa kuru mad-rūpiṇīṁ tanum// (fol. 10a).

\textsuperscript{63} Chap. 2, fol. 10a-b—

mad-bhāvanā mad-yajanā mad-bhaktā mat-parāyanāḥ/
mama puţā-parāś caiva mayi yānti layaṁ nārāḥ//

... ... ... mat-kriyā-paramāḥ param/
padam āpsyasi mā bhais tvam mayy arpita-maṁ bhava//

mayi saṁnyasya sarvaṁ ... ... ... /

mad-artham kuru karmāṁ ... ... ... //

Chap. 79, fol. 176b—

karōsi yāṁ karmāṁ tāṁ deve jagat-patau/
samarpayasva bhadrāṁ te tataḥ karma prahāsyasi//

kṣīna-karmā mahābhāo śubhāśubha-vivarjitaḥ/
layaṁ abhyeti govinde tad brahma paramāṁ mahat//

For relevant verses see also chap. 1 (fol. 4b—tannīśṭhās tad-gata-dhiyas tat-karmāṇas tad-āśrayāḥ, etc.).
cribing *karma* which the Vaiśṇavas should do for freedom from bondage and the consequent rebirths, this work extols not only worship, muttering of *mantra*, constant remembrance of the deity, service to Viṣṇu-temples, presents and donations, fasting and other austere practices, and so on, but also the due performance of Vaiṣṇavism as known from the Vedas, the Smṛtis (especially that of Manu), and the Purāṇas. In chap. 74 Viṣṇu is found to speak to Lakṣmī on the characteristics of his favourites, thus:

"O beautiful lady, those people are my devotees who fare without transgressing even by mind the duties declared by Śruti and Smṛti.

"As I took the form of Brahmā, the Vedas came out of my mouth; and it is to me appearing in the forms of Manu and others that the Smṛtis are known to belong.

"Śruti and Smṛti are my command. He, O auspicious one, who worships me with all his belongings by violating that (command of mine), does not attain me, O venerable one, a violator of (my) command as he is.

"To him, who does not deviate from his own duty or indulge in doing harm (to others) and who always has devotion for me, I am not difficult to attain."  

It is further said that by the due performance of his duties enjoined by his caste and order of life a member of a lower caste is elevated in his next birth to the immediately higher caste, that the reverse happens in case of neglect of the same, and that an honest

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64 For mention of some of these practices see chap. 47 (fols. 93a ff.).  
65 See especially chaps. 42, 44, and 52.  
66 śruti-smṛty-uditaṁ dharmam manasāpi na ye narāḥ/ samullaṅghya pravartante te bhaktā mama bhāmīni// brahma-rūpa-dharasyāyāṁ mama vedā viṁśṭāh/, manvādi-rūpinaś caiva samastāḥ smṛtayāḥ smṛtāḥ// śrutiḥ smṛtir mamaivajñā tūm ullaṅghya yajec chubbe/ sarvasvenāpi māṁ devi nāpnoty ājñā-vaṅghātkṛt// yaḥ sva-dharmān na calati hiṁsādau yo na sajyate/ vahatas tasya mad-bhaktim sadaivāham na durlabhah//  

Fol. 157a-b.
and dutiful Brahmin is blessed with final release. Thus, the Viṣṇudharma firmly believes in caste-system, which, in its opinion, is a pointer to a man’s progress to the attainment of final emancipation.

As regards the highest (para) type of Yoga (i.e. Jñāna-yoga) the Viṣṇudharma says that it is this Yoga which finally severs the bonds of karma and leads one to kāivalya by putting a stop to all the functions of the mind. Although this type of yoga is thus ‘the veritable ambrosia ensuring the complete cessation of sufferings’, it is extremely difficult to attain and requires strenuous efforts extending over many births, because one finds it very difficult to control the organs of senses and to get over their objects (viṣaya). On the other hand, being deluded by their own karma creatures regard their souls as separate from Paramātman and undergo rebirths.

So, the Viṣṇudharma extols and prescribes the much easier Kriyā-yoga, which leads definitely to jñāna and thus makes one experience unity with Brahma by completely severing the bonds of karma. According to this work Yoga benefits all without distinction of caste and sex, and this distinction is determined by their progress in Yoga, because by its practice one may pass from womanhood successively through the different states of existence as members of different castes beginning with that of a Śūdra, until one becomes a Brahmin and attains final emancipation. By naming a number of persons of different castes and sexes who attained success in Yoga, it asserts that the proper

67 Chap. 101, fol. 236b-237a—
śūdra-dharmān aśeṣaṇa kurvan śudro yathāvidhi/
vaiśyātvan eti vaiśyaś ca kṣatriyatvaṁ sva-karmakṛt//
vipratvam kṣatriyāḥ samyak dvija-dharma-parato nṛpa/
vipraś ca mukti-lābhena yuyjate sat-kriyā-paraḥ//

68 paśyaty ātmānam anyatra yāvad vai paramātmānāḥ/
tāvat sa bhrāmyate jantur mohito nīja-karmanā//

Chap. 96, fol. 225a.

69 saṁkṣīṇāśeṣa-karma tu param brahma prapaśyati; and saṁkṣīna-karma-bandhasya na bheda brahmaṇā saha.

Chap. 96, fol. 225a.

70 These persons are Jaigisavya, Asita, Hiranyanābha, Janaka, Tulaḍhāra and other Vaiśyas, Pelavaka and other Śūdras, Maitreyi, Sulabhā, Gargi, Sāndili, Dharmaṇyādha and others. (Fol. 230a-b).
practice of Yoga is sure to lead one of any caste or sex to final release.\textsuperscript{71}

It has already been said that in chap. 1 the Viṣṇudharma describes Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu) as 'bhedābheda-svarūpastha', and in chap. 96 it explains the creation of the universe from the standpoint of 'bhedābheda'. So, there is little scope for doubt that the philosophical view advocated by the Viṣṇudharma is 'bhedābheda' or 'dvaitādvaita' (duality and nonduality). As a matter of fact, this work expressly says:

``advaitam paramārtho hi dvaitam tad-bheda ucyate/
ubhayamaṇ brahmaṇo rūpaṁ dvaitādvaita-vibhedataḥ/''\textsuperscript{72}

The Viṣṇudharma, as we have it at present, is decidedly a work of the Bhāgavatas. It prescribes the sectarian mantra 'om namo vāsudevāya' (chap. 79, fol. 181b), and characterises and highly praises the Bhāgavatas at more places than one.\textsuperscript{73} It looks upon these sectaries as superior to the performers of austerity (tapas) and costly sacrifices, and says that to be eligible for Viṣṇu-worship one has to become a Bhāgavata, because no one other than a Bhāgavata can merge in him or even eulogise him rightly or see him or have true knowledge about him.\textsuperscript{74} It further adds that it is by great religious merit that a person becomes a Bhāgavata devoted to Bhagavat Janārdana, who is the same as Paramātman,\textsuperscript{75} and that the god of death does not allow his servants to lay their hands on the sincere Bhāgavatas.\textsuperscript{76}

We shall now try to determine the period of composition of the present Viṣṇudharma, which has been recognised very widely as a

\textsuperscript{71} See chap. 98.
\textsuperscript{72} Chap. 96, fol. 225b.
\textsuperscript{73} See chaps. 3, 79 and 80.
\textsuperscript{74} For the relevant verse see foot-note 38 above.
\textsuperscript{75} paramātma ca bhagavān visvakṣeno janārdanaḥ/
tad-bhaktimān bhāgavato nālpa-puṇyena jāyate//
\textsuperscript{76} Chap. 79, fol. 176a.
\textsuperscript{76} Cf. ye tu bhāgavatā loke bhavitās tat-parāyaṇāḥ/
pūjयायति sadā visuṇāṁ te vaṣ tyājyāḥ sudārṣatāḥ//
(said by Yama to his servants).—Chap. 80, fol. 184a.
respectable source of Dharma. As a matter of fact, on the strength of some verses of the Bhāvīṣya-p.\textsuperscript{77} Lakṣṇmidhara, Caṇḍesvara and others accept the Viṣṇudharma to be as much authoritative on Dharma as the Purāṇas and rank it with the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa etc.\textsuperscript{78} These scholars as well as many others quote from it numerous verses, and sometimes even complete chapters, in their respective works. For instance, verses are found quoted from chap. 4 in Gadādhara’s Kālāśāra, from chaps. 2, 4, 10, 25, 32, 81 and 105 in Gopāla-bhaṭṭa’s Hari-bhakti-vilāsa, from chaps. 49 and 53 in Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya’s Dāṇa-kaumudi, from chaps. 9, 25, 89 and 91 in Caṇḍesvarā’s Kṛtya-ratnākara, from chaps. 6, 11, 12, 14, 16, 21, 24, 25, 34, 49, 50, 53, 61, 79, 83, 84 and 86-89 in Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, from chap. 81 in Devaṇabhāṭṭa’s Smṛti-candrikā, from chaps. 22, 25, 38, 60 and 86-88 in Aparākṣa’s commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, from chaps. 25, 45, 53, 58-60, 85-88 and 91 in Vallālasena’s Dāṇaśāgara, from chaps. 9 and 13 in Jīmūtavāhana’s Kālaviveka, and from chaps. 96-98 in the Svetāsvatara-upaniṣad-bhāṣya ascribed to Saṃkara.\textsuperscript{79} In his account of India Alberūní names the ‘Viṣṇudharma’, to which he ascribes the verses quoted by him from the present Viṣṇudharmottara, obviously by taking the latter work to be a part of the former. The present Viṣṇudharmottara, which, as we shall see afterwards,\textsuperscript{79a} was composed between 400 and 500 A.D., betrays

\textsuperscript{77} These verses are the following:

aṣṭādaśa-purāṇeṣu yāni vākyānī putraka/
tāny ālocya mahābāho tathā smṛty-antareṣu ca//
manv-ādi-smṛtayo yās tu ṣattraṁśat parikirtiḥ/
tāṣaṁ vākyāni kramaśaḥ samālocya bravimi te//

and

aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāṁ rāmasya caritam tathā/
viṣṇudharmādī-śastrāṇi śivadharmāṁ ca bhārata// etc. (quoted above).

For these verses see Kṛtya-kalpātaru, I, pp. 24 and 25, Kṛtya-ratnākara, pp. 29 and 30, and so on.

\textsuperscript{78} See Kṛtya-kalpātaru, I, p. 25, and Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 30. See also Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{79} According to S. K. Belvarkar the ascription of the Svetāsvatara-upaniṣad-bhāṣya to Saṃkaraçārya ‘is more or less debatable.’—See Belvarkar, Shree Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedanta Philosophy, p. 218.

\textsuperscript{79a} Under ‘Viṣṇudharmottara’ below. See also Hazra in Journal of the University of Gauhati, III, 1952, pp. 43-58.
its knowledge of the Viṣṇudharma by claiming, in two of its verses, to be the latter part of this work and by giving some stories which are decidedly based on and developed from the same as occurring in it. By a critical examination of the genuine Agneya-pūrāṇa (alias Vahni-pūrāṇa) we have found that this work originally concerned itself with the Fire cult of the Agnihotri Brahmins of the Yajurveda, dealt with the five Purāṇic topics as well as with the various duties and sacrificial rites of these Brahmins, and advocated the worship of Rudra in the form of Agni, that it passed through three main stages before attaining its present form, extent and character, and that in the second stage it was appropriated by the Viṣṇuvas (most probably the Bhāgavatas) who modified this work with chapters and verses from the Viṣṇudharma dealing with Viṣṇu Kriyā-yoga and having Vasiṣṭha and king Ambariṣa as the principal interlocutors. As these chapters and verses common to the two works are very numerous and as the Viṣṇudharma has not yet been printed and its verses are not numbered, we give below a list of only those chapters of the two works which have large numbers of verses common to them.

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<td>and 66.</td>
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That the Agneya-p. took these common chapters and verses from the Viṣṇudharma, can be established by the following evidences:

(2) At the beginning of chap. 28 of the Agneya-p. the sages

80 For these two verses see foot-note 24 above.
80a For the relevant chapters containing these stories and for the grounds of their later date, see under ‘Viṣṇudharmottara’ below.
81 In 1951 I discovered this work from the ASB Ms No. 8090, which was found wrongly described in Shastri’s ASB Cat., V, p. 422 to be a Ms of the spurious Agni-p. published so often from different parts of India.
request Sūta to speak on the various acts which please 'Kṛṣṇa' and yield final liberation; and in compliance with this request Sūta agrees to tell them elaborately about (Kriyā-) Yoga, which, he says, was spoken out to him by his father, who had received it from Vahni, the Fire-god, through Marīci. He then goes on to speak on Kriyā-yoga and narrates the story of king Ambariṣa in almost the same way and the same words as those in Viṣṇudharma, chaps. t-3, the main difference between the two sources being that in the Viṣṇudharma this story is narrated by Saunaka to king Satānika and Kriyā-yoga is said to have been spoken out first by Brahmā to Marīci, Bṛigu and others and then by Vasiṣṭha to king Ambariṣa through Viṣṇu's favour, whereas in Āgneya-p., chap. 28 it is narrated by Sūta to the sages of the Naimiṣa forest as an interlocution between Vahni (the Fire-god) and Marīci, and the discourse on Kriyā-yoga is traced back to the Fire-god (Vahni, Agni), who is said to have narrated it first of all to Marīci and others and from whom Vasiṣṭha is said to have heard it during a sacrifice (instituted most probably by Marīci).

(2) In all the Mss of the Āgneya-p. we have been able to consult, the colophon of chap. 28 (which contains the said story of king Ambariṣa and has, in its latter part, many verses in common with chap. 2 of the Viṣṇudharma) has been given as 'devāmbariṣa-saṃvādo nāma dvitiyo 'dhyāyaḥ', clearly in imitation of the colophon of chap. 2 of the Viṣṇudharma which runs as 'iti viṣṇudharmasya acyutāmbariṣa-saṃvādo nāma dvitiyo 'dhyāyaḥ'.

(3) It is in chap. 28 of the Āgneya-p. (and not in chap. 3, wherein the story is given as to how the Fire-god came to speak to Marīci and other sages on the various Purānic topics) that Vasiṣṭha is mentioned for the first time and said to have heard the Kriyā-yoga from Vahni during a sacrifice (instituted most probably by Marīci).

(4) In several places of the Āgneya-p. the words 'viṣṇudharma', 'vaiṣṇava dharma' and 'vaiṣṇava-dharma' have been used, though in their literal sense.

It should be mentioned here that in chap. 3 of the Āgneya-p. the Fire-god is said to have spoken to Marīci and other sages on the

83 For the relevant verses see Āgneya-p., chap. 28, verses 10-12 (fol. 97a) and 118-119 (fol. 101a).
different Purānic topics during the sacrifice instituted by Mañjika, there being no mention of Vaiśnava Kriyā-yoga or of Vaisīṣṭha as a hearer, that it is as late as in chap. 28 (which, as we have already seen, is constituted of verses mostly taken from Viṣṇudharma, chap. 2) that Vaisīṣṭha is mentioned for the first time and said to have heard discourses on Vaiśnava Kriyā-yoga from the Fire-god during a sacrifice (most probably the one instituted by Mañjika),84 and that in several places of the Āgneya-p. Vaisīṣṭha has been made to refer either to Vahni as the original speaker or to the interlocution between Vahni and Mañjika.85 So, there is no doubt that the interlocution between Vaisīṣṭha and Ambāriṣa marks a later stage in the constitution of the present Āgneya-p. than that in which this Purāṇa was a work of the Agnihotri Brahmins of the Yajurveda and had Vahni and Mañjika as interlocutors.

From what has been said above it is evident that the Āgneya-p. borrowed the common chapters and verses from the Viṣṇudharma. Our critical analysis of this work has shown that it must have been recast by the Vaiśnava not later than 500 A.D.86 The way in which the language and contents of the Viṣṇudharma, as well as the colophon of chap. 2 and the speaker Vaisīṣṭha in chaps. 2-42 of the same work, have been utilised in the Āgneya-p., shows definitely that at the time when the Āgneya-p. was recast by the Vaiśnava, the Viṣṇudharma attained sufficient recognition in society. That this recognition was very wide and deep-rooted is quite evident from the facts that in two of its verses the Viṣṇudharmottara claims to be the latter part of the Viṣṇudharma and that the Bhaviṣya-p. mentions it once in the Madhyama-parvan (7. 8b-11), and twice in the Brāhma-parvan (4. 87-89, and 216. 36-37) together with 'the eighteen Purāṇas', the Rāmāyaṇa (called 'Rama's biography'), the Sīvadharma, the Mahābhārata and the Saura-dharma. It may be mentioned here that the present Brāhma-parvan of the Bhaviṣya-p. cannot be dated

84 For the relevant verses see Āgneya-p. 28. 10-12 (fol. 97a), 28. 118-9 (fol. 101a), and 29. 3 (fol. 101a).
85 See, for instance, Āgneya-p. 29. 3 (fol. 101a), 53. 4 (fol. 161a), and 54. 35a (fol. 165b).
86 See Our Heritage, II, 1954, p. 79.
much later than the sixth century A.D. Like the Āgneya-p. the Bhaviṣyottara also has a good number of chapters in common with the Viṣṇudharma, and it may be that these chapters were taken by the Bhaviṣyottara from the Viṣṇudharma. As the Bhaviṣyottara must have been compiled between 700 and 800 A.D., and most probably towards the end of the eighth century, it could not have been utilised by the Viṣṇudharma, except in the case of two chapters to be mentioned hereinafter. Whatever the relation between the Bhaviṣyottara and the Viṣṇudharma may have been, it is evident that the Viṣṇudharma attained wide recognition as a respectable authority on Dharma by the beginning of the fifth century A.D. So, it could not be composed later than about 300 A.D.

This lower limit of the date of the Viṣṇudharma finds full support in the facts that this work, though speaking so often of Viṣṇu-worship, is completely free from Tantric elements, that it does not betray its knowledge of any work written later than the end of the second century A.D., and that it mentions the Nakṣatras in the old order from Kṛṣṭikā. We know from the evidence of the Śrauta- and the Grhya-sūtras, the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, and the latest books of the

87 See Hazra, Purānic Records, p. 172.
88 These common chapters are the following:

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<th>Bhaviṣyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV)</th>
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Bhav. I. 107 = Viṣṇudharma, chap. 18.

89 The line ‘vārāheṇa purā proktam mahāpātaka-nāsinim’ of Bhav. IV. 152 (which agrees with Viṣṇudharma, chap. 86) raises doubt about the source of the Bhaviṣyottara and seems to suggest that at least this chapter was derived by the Bhaviṣyottara from the Vārāha-p.

91 See Viṣṇudharma, chap. 26 (fol. 44a).
Mahābhārata that the old arrangement of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī was in vogue at least some time after the beginning of the third century A.D. When this order of the Nakṣatras was changed we do not know definitely. It is only as late as about 550 A.D. that we find in the Brhat-saṃhitā of Varāhamihira the order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī to be an established fact in all parts of India. So, it can be held, and not quite unreasonably, that the old order of the Nakṣatras held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A.D.

As regards the upper limit of the date of the Viṣṇudhāra it may be said that it mentions the Smṛti works of Manu and others,92 incorporates verses from the Mahābhārata,93 the Bhagavad-gitā,94 and the Manu-smṛti,95 frequently denounces the Pāṇḍas, especially the Buddhists,96 speaks very highly of the Bhāgavatas,97 and narrates the interesting story of Mahāmoha,98 which must have preceded that (in Viṣṇu-p. III. 17-18) giving out the Buddha to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu. So, the Viṣṇudhāra is to be dated not earlier than 200 A.D.

Thus, the date of composition of the present Viṣṇudhāra falls between 200 and 300 A.D.

92 Ibid., chap. 44 (fols. 88b ff.), in which the Dharma-saṃhitās of Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara, Acī, Gārgya, and many others have been mentioned. For these names see foot-note 45 above.

93 For instance, Mbh I. 74. 30 (āditya-candraw analānilau ca) etc. occur in Viṣṇudhāra, chap. 55 (fol. 101b), Mbh XIII. 115. 64 (caturu vārṣikān māsān) etc. occur in Viṣṇudhāra, chap. 62 (fols. 112b ff.), Mbh III, 190. 13b-21a, 23, 25-26a, 30, 36, 43b-44, 46b, 49, etc. occur in Viṣṇudhāra, chap. 105 (fols. 255a ff.), and so on.

94 For verses of the Bhagavad-gitā see Viṣṇudhāra, chap. 2 (fol. 9a—man-manā bhava mad-bhaktah), chap. 66 (fol. 123a—yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānīḥ). In chap. 35 (fols. 65b-66a—bhagavān uvāca—pūrvam eva yathākhyātam raṇārambhë tavārjuna, etc.) there is a clear reference to the Bhagavad-gitā.

95 For verses of the Manu-smṛti (3. 2, 6. 2, etc.) see especially chap. 101 of the Viṣṇudhāra.

96 See Viṣṇudhāra, chaps. 25, 66, 73, 105, and so on.

97 Ibid., chaps. 3, 80, etc.

98 Ibid., chap. 25.
This early origin of the Viṣṇudharma must not be taken to be disproved by the mention of the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 66, because from an examination of the different lists of Viṣṇu’s incarnations as given in the Purāṇas, Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, and various other works we have found that the Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu not very much earlier than 500 A.D.\(^9\) The relevant verses of Viṣṇudharma, chap. 66 run as follows:

tataḥ kali-yuge ghore samprāpte ‘bja-samudbhava/ śuddhodana-suto buddho bhavisyāmi vimatsarāḥ//
bauddham dharmaṁ upāśrya kariṣye dharma-dēsānām/
narānām atha nārinām dayāṁ bhūteṣu darsaṇaḥ//
raktāmbra-vyañjitāṅgāḥ praśānta-manasas tathā/
śūḍrā dharmam pravakṣyanti mayi buddhatvam āgate//
edūka-cīhna ṗṛthivi na deva-gṛtha-bhūṣita/
bhavitri prāyaśo brahman mayi buddhatvam āgate//
skandha-dāśana-mātrām hi paśyantāh sakalāṁ jagat /
śūḍrāḥ śūdraṁ dāśanti mayi buddhatvam āgate//
alpāyaṇas tato martyā mohopahata-cetasah/
narakārāḥi karmāṇi kariṣyanti prajāpate//
svādhyāyeyṣv avasādanto brāhmaṇāḥ śauca-vaṁjāṭāḥ/
antya-pratīgraḥadānam kariṣyantī alpa-medhasah//
na śroṣyantī pituḥ putrāḥ śvaśṛuśvaśuryojno naḥsaḥ/
na bhāṛyā bhartur iṣasya na bhṛtyā vinaya-sthitāh//
vāna-saṃkaratāṁ prāpte loke ’smin dasyutāṁ gate/
brāhmaṇādiṇa varṇesu bhavisyatī adharottaram//
dharma-kaṁcūka-saṃvītā vidharma-rucayas tathā/
mānuṣan bhakṣaṇīyanti mlecchāḥ pṛthiva-rūpināḥ//\(^{100}\)

There is no scope for doubt that these verses (in which Viṣṇu speaks to Brahmā) are later additions and were inserted into the Viṣṇudharma.

\(^{9}\) See Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 41-42.

\(^{100}\) The above text of these verses is based on those given in ASB Mss Nos. 1670 (fol. 127a-b) and 3506 (fol. 101a), which have variants too numerous to be noted here.

The line ‘edūka-cīhna ṗṛthivi na deva-gṛtha-bhūṣita’ is the same as Mbh III. 190, 67b.
after its language and contents had been utilised in the genuine Agneya-p. in the second stage of its modification. The reasons for such a conclusion are as follows:

(1) In connection with a description of the Kali age Āgneya-p. 29. 41 (fol. 102b) names the Buddha in the line ‘sūdrā dharmam vadiśyanti sākṣād buddhopaśivinaḥ’; but here the Buddha appears as the founder of a heretical faith, and there is not the slightest indication anywhere in the whole work that it looked upon the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. There is, of course, mention of ‘ten incarnations’ (daśāvatāra), without any complete list, in three places of the Āgneya-p., viz., in chaps. 3, 23 and 28, but this mention does not necessarily mean that the Buddha was one of them. According to the Narasimha-p., which, as we shall see afterwards, has a good number of verses in common with the Āgneya-p., the ten manifestations or incarnations (prādurbhāvāḥ, avaṭārāḥ—Nar. 54. 1, 6) are the following: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma (son of Daśaratha), Balabhadra (Rāma), Kṛṣṇa and Kalki (Nar. 36-54).101 Thus, in its list of Viṣṇu’s ten manifestations or incarnations the Narasimha-p. names both Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa, but not the Buddha. As a matter of fact, the Buddha came to be included in the list of Viṣṇu’s incarnations in place of Kṛṣṇa after the latter had ceased to be looked upon by a considerable section of people as a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu and had become the Bhagavat himself.

(2) Like the Narasimha-p., Viṣṇu-p. and other early works, the Viṣṇudharma names both Kṛṣṇa and ‘Lāṅgali Rāma’ as partial incarnations of Viṣṇu in the thirteen lines (on fols. 126b-127a) immediately preceding those on the Buddha incarnation quoted above. It also names Kalkin, son of Viṣṇuyaśas, in the nine lines following those on the Buddha.

(3) By way of describing dharma in the different Yugas in chap. 104 the Viṣṇudharma names Kṛṣṇa and Kalkin, but not the Buddha.

101 That Nar. 36. 9a, mentioning the Buddha as one of the manifestations of Viṣṇu, is undoubtedly spurious, we shall see below (under ‘Narasimha-p.’).
(4) In many other places of the Viṣṇudharma the incarnations of Viṣṇu have been named, but there is no mention of the Buddha as an incarnation of this god anywhere except in the verses of chap. 66 quoted above. On the other hand, the Buddha has clearly been identified with Mahāmoha born of the malevolent rite (called kṛtyā) performed by the demons Śaṇḍa and Marka for the destruction of the gods, and his followers have been denounced at every step.

The name ‘Māyāmohaka’ for Viṣṇu, as occurring in king Ambariṣa’s eulogy of the god in chap. 2 (fol. 7b) of ASB Ms No. 1670 of the Viṣṇudharma, need not be taken to be based on Viṣṇu-p. III. 17 and 18, which narrate the story of Viṣṇu’s creation of the delusive figure called Māyāmoha from his own body. In the other ASB Ms (No. 3506) of the Viṣṇudharma, which we have been able to consult, this name has been given as ‘Māyāmohana’ (which, therefore, has to be taken in its literal sense). The tradition of Viṣṇu’s deluding creatures with his Māyā is very ancient and well known. The Viṣṇudharma itself says that pleasure in the association of Pāsaṇḍas and partiality for their logic are caused by Viṣṇu-māyā. Moreover, the story of Māyāmoha in Viṣṇu-p. III. 17-18 is to be dated later than the middle of the fourth century A.D. and probably not earlier than 500 A.D.

102. For instance, chap. 28 names Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Rāma (Dāsaratthi), Vaikunṭha, Nara and Hayagriva, chap. 39 omits Vaikunṭha and Nara of chap. 28 but adds Bhārgavottama, chap. 40 names only Narasimha, Rāma (Dāsaratthi) and Paraśurāma, chap. 67 names Kaurma, Mātsya, Vārāha, Vāmana, Tūrāṣya and Nārasimha, chap. 68 names Varāha, Vāmana and Naراسimha (the line ‘tāmo rāmaś ca rāmaś ca etc.’ on fol. 137a not occurring in ASB Ms No. 3506), and chap. 90 names Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Āśvāsiras, Jāmadagnya, Rāghava and Kṛṣṇa (who is called ‘recent’—sāṃpratam).

The incarnations, named in chap. 66, are the following: Varāha, Kāpila (said to be the first incarnation in a human form—jñānāmi kāpilaṁ rūpaṁ prathamaṁ prauruṣaṁ mama—fol. 126a), Nṛsiṃha, Kūrma, Vāmana, Dattatreya, Bhārgava-rāma, Rāghava-rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Lāṅgali Rāma (said to be the second part of Viṣṇu—dviṁyo yo mamāṁśah—fol. 127a), and Kalkin, the verses on the Buddha being spurious.

103 pāsaṇḍeṣu ratīḥ pumsāṁ hetu-vādānuṅkūlatā/ jāyate viṣṇu-māyāṁbhah-patitānāṁ durāṭmanāṁ// Chap. 3 (fol. 11b).

104 See Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 24-25.
The early date, to which we have assigned the Viṣṇudharma, must not be taken to be that of all its chapters and verses. We have already seen that a part of chap. 66, dealing with the Buddha incarnation, is spurious. There are also two more complete chapters which were derived, most probably at a much later date, from the Bhavisyottara. These are chaps. 19 and 20, which are practically the same as Bhavisyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV), chaps. 80 and 105 respectively. It is remarkable that in the other chapters of the Viṣṇudharma in which Pulastya speaks to Dālbhya, the latter has been addressed as 'dvijasreṣṭha', 'brahman', 'mahāmune' etc.; but in the said two chapters (19 and 20) he has been addressed as 'pārthiva', 'nīpa', 'manujeśvara', 'rājan' etc. This abrupt change in the personality of Dālbhya is due to the facts that in the Bhavisyottara, from which these chapters were derived, Kṛṣṇa speaks to king Yudhiṣṭhira, and that when chaps. 80 and 105 were incorporated into the Viṣṇudharma to form chaps. 19 and 20 respectively, no attempt was made to adapt them to the interlocutors Pulastya and Dālbhya of the Viṣṇudharma.

It will be interesting here to describe the circumstances which, according to the Viṣṇudharma, necessitated and inspired the composition of this Viṣṇava 'Śāstra' as early as in the third century A.D.

From a study of ancient Indian history we learn that during the few centuries from the time of Aśoka Maurya's reign, there was a great spread of Buddhism in and outside India. The Viṣṇudharma amply testifies to the spread of this and other heretical faiths, the followers of which it calls 'Pāṣaṇḍins' (or 'Pāṣaṇḍas') and defines thus:

"śruti-smṛty-uditam dharmaṁ varṇāśrama-vibhāgajam/
ullaṅghya ye pratartante svacchayā kītā-yuktibhibh//
vikarmābhiratā mūḍhā yukti-prāgalbhya-durmadāḥ/
pāṣaṇḍinas te duḥśilā narakārthā naraḍhamāḥ//"105

"Those, who fare wilfully by transgressing, with puzzling argumentation, the duties (dharma) arising from the distinction of castes and orders of life (and) declared by Śruti and Smṛti, and who, being infatuated, set themselves to unlawful work and are maddened by

105 Chap. 25 (fol. 42a).
(their) skill in reasoning, are Pāśāṇīṇs, the worst of men, having reproachable conduct and deserving (residence in) hell."

We have already seen in the story of Mahāmohā how, according to the Viṣṇudharma, these Pāśāṇīṇs encouraged indiscipline in society by decreeing Śruti and Smṛti and encouraging the violation of their prescriptions as regards the rites and duties of the different castes and orders of life and the performance of unlawful acts. In giving a dismal picture of the evils of the Kali age in chap. 105 the Viṣṇudharma repeats many verses of Mahābhārata III. 190 and adds:

"People will hanker after property earned by unfair means, and females (eager for union with males) will ardently wish (to imitate) the beauty and gestures of prostitutes.

""... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...""

"... ... ... People will forsake the Vedas and the twice-born (Brahmins) and direct their attention to other things.

"Then, being overpowered by Time, they will forsake Brahmā and other gods who enjoy shares in the sacrificial offerings and are read of in the Vedas by the twice-born (people), and, being given to (heretical) dialectics, will create other deities.

""... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...""

"... ... At that time they will have much regard neither for bath nor for (physical) purification.

"The minds of people will not be inclined to devotion for Viṣṇu in the Kali age, after Kṛṣṇa, being characterised by blackness, comes down.

"During the first quarter (of this age) people will decry Hari, but at its end none will utter his name.

""... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...""

"If, during this Kali age, in which the earth will be crowded with many heretics, a virtuous person will utter the words 'I bow down to you, Kṛṣṇa' (kṛṣṇāya te namah),

"the heretics, decrying the system of the four stages of life, will create delusion (of the mind) by means of (their) power of (rationalistic) argumentation and the rogues.

106 For these verses see foot-note 93 above.
"Then this earth, turning heretical to a very great extent and (consequently) growing uncultured, will be made difficult (for residence) by the pseudo-ascetics.

"At that time the vile Śūdras, bearing the signs of mendicancy, will not serve the twice-born people, nor will they practise their own dharma.

"Some will become Utkocas (?), Saugatas, Mahāyānists, and the heretical Kāpilas and Bhikṣus,

"while other wicked Śūdras will turn Śākyas, Śrāvakas, Nītriants and Siddhaputras in the Kali age.

"Turning wandering mendicants the villainous Śūdras will undergo no (physical) purification, have crooked nature, and habitually live on food prepared by others.

"These and many others, as well as the Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiṣyas etc. will turn heretics.

"These mean people will misappropriate state revenue, rob the householders, remain concealed by (assuming) the appearance and dress of sages, and subsist on trade.

"Being perverted by (heretical) reasoning (and) by compositions (made) in the language of Mlechas, people in the Kali (age) will respect neither the twice-born (Brahmins) nor the Vedas.

"With their growing extremely wicked in this way, others (also) will turn wicked by following their path and moving about in a wrong way.

"Then people will utter unrefined speech, denounce the Vedic works, and make the world stray from the right path." 108

107 In ASB Ms No. 3506 (fol. 179b) this name has been given as `Utkauca` (utkaucaḥ).

108 The relevant verses, as reconstructed from ASB Mss Nos. 1670 (fols. 255b-257a) and 3506 (fols. 179a-180a), are the following:

anyāyopātta-vitteṣu kariṣyanti narāḥ sṛṇāṁ/ veṣyā-lāvanya-bhāveṣu sṛṇāṁ yoṣīt kariṣyati//

... ...

narā veda-dvijāṁs tyaktvā bhaviṣyanty anyato-mukhāḥ/
yajña-bhāga-bhujo devā ye veda-paṭhitā dvijāṁḥ/ brahmādyās tān parityajya narāḥ kāla-balākértāḥ/

hectu-vāda-parā devān kariṣyanty aparāṁs radā//

... ... ...

... ... ...

... ... ...
Regarding the state of Vaiśnavism and Kṛṣṇa-worship in those days the Viṣṇudharma further says in chap. 73:

“(Those) who, though ignorant, take themselves to be wise by following heretical dialectics and, with their knowledge screened by nescience (avidyā), consider a life dependent on Kṛṣṇa to be not worth living,

“and (also those) who take to misleading argumentation in refuting the statements in favour (of the authority) of the Vedas,—in their heart Keśava never becomes a dear guest.

bahu maṁsyanti na snānam nāpi śucaṇā tadā narāḥ//
na viśuḥ-bhakti-pravanām naraṇām nṛpa mānasam//
bhavitā tu kalau prāpte kṛṣṇe kāṛṣṇyopalakṣite//
vindicāṁ prathame pāde kariṣyanti harer narāḥ//
yugānte tu harer nāma naiva kaścid grahiṣyati//

... ... ... ...

bahu-pāśaṇḍa-saṁkirṇe jagaty asmin kalau yuge/
krṣṇāya te namas tatra sukti yadi vakṣyati//
hetu-vāda-balair mohant kubhaksiṣ ca janais tadā/
pāsaṇḍinaḥ kariṣyanti cāturāranya-duṣākāḥ//
pāsaṇḍa-bhūtam atyartham jagad etad asaṁskṛtam/
bhaviṣyati tadā bhūpa vrthā-pravrajitotkotam//
nu tu dvijāti-śuṣrūṣāṁ nāv sva-dharmānupālanam//
kariṣyanti tadā śūdrāḥ pravrajyā-līṅgino 'dhamaḥ//

utkocāḥ saugatāś caiva mahāyāna-rātās tathā/
bhaviṣyanty atha pāsaṇḍāḥ kāpiṇa bhūkṣavas tathā//
śākyāḥ śrāvaka-nirgranthāḥ siddhāputrās tathāpāre/
bhaviṣyanti durātmānaḥ śūdrāḥ kali-yuge nṛpa;

nīḥśaucā vaktra-matayaḥ para-pākāṇna-bhojinaḥ/
bhaviṣyanty durātmānaḥ śūdrāḥ pravrajitās tadā//
ete cānye ca bahavah pāsaṇḍāḥ purusārṣabhā/
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā váśyā bhaviṣyanti tathāpāre/

rāja-śulka-narāḥ kṣudrā grhaśtha-parimośakāḥ/
muni-veśākṛti-cchannā vāpiyam upajitakāḥ//

na dvijān na kalau vedān pujayiṣyanti mānavaḥ//
mleccha-bhāṣā-nibandhis tu hetu-vādaṁ vikūlitaṁ/

evaṁ teṣv atiduṣṭeṣu vimārga-parivartinaḥ/
bhaviṣyanty apane duṣṭas teṣāṁ mārgānuyāyinaḥ//
asaṁskṛtakā-vaṁkāro veda-śāstra-vinindakāḥ/

agad unmārga-kartāro bhaviṣyanti tadā narāḥ//
"There is no expiation for those wicked people who decry his (i.e. Kṛṣṇa's) activities by taking him to be a human being.

"Some (people) call him a god, some of poor intellect give him out to be a man, (while) others, being deluded by his Māyā, take Viṣṇu (to have been born) in the state of a lower animal".

From the above description of the effects of the spread of the heresies in the Indian society of those days it is evident that the indefatigable efforts of the heretic dialecticians, especially Buddhist, helped the wide spread of the anti-vedic faiths, especially Buddhism, among all grades of people and encouraged the breach of social discipline as understood by the followers and supporters of the Vedic way of life. As a matter of fact, it was the irrefutable reasonings of the heretic dialecticians which popularised their faiths to such a great extent and made the people lose faith in Kṛṣṇa and other deities respected and worshipped by the followers of the Vedas and the Varnāśrama-dharma. We have already seen how the heretical dialectics have been mentioned repeatedly in the Viṣṇudharma with a feeling of awe and frustration. In a verse of chap. 105 it has been said that in the Kāli age even a fool gives an irrefutable answer by taking to the (heretical) way of reasoning. So, it is was clearly the wide spread of the heresies, especially Buddhism, which encouraged the composition of the present Viṣṇudharma and similar other sectarian 'Sāstras' of the Saivas, Sauras and others.

We have already seen how, by following the teachings of the Bhagavad-gītā, the present Viṣṇudharma advocates the practice of Yoga for the realisation of Viṣṇu-Brahma; and it can hardly be denied

109 heyāṁ kṛṣṇāśrayāṁ vr̥ttam manyante hetu-saṁśrītāḥ/
avidyopahata-jñānā ye jñāna jñāna-mānīnat
veda-vāda-virodhena kūta-yuktam upāśrītāḥ/
ye keśavas taddhādaye na kadācit priyācīthīḥ/
māṇuṣāṁ tāṁ manuṣyaṃvate manuṣyānāṁ ku-buddhayāḥ/
karmāṇi ye 'syā nindanti na teṣāṁ niṣkriti niṣṇām/
kecid vadanti tāṁ devaṁ manuṣyaṁ cālpa-medhasah/
tiryaktve cāpāre viṣṇum māyāyā tasya mohitāḥ/

110 hetu-vādāśrito mūḍho dadāty uttaram aksesayaṁ. —Fol. 259a.
that this advocacy was inspired to a great extent by the teachings of the heretical faiths, for which theistic Yoga was the most suitable antidote. Though prescribing this Yoga to all including women and Sudras, the Visnu-dharma extols the Vedas and the Varna-srama-dharma and tries hard to keep the people aloof from the influence of the Pashandas. It declares Sruti and Smrti to be the commands of the Bhagavat himself,\(^{111}\) regards the Purana, the Manava Dharma (Sastra), and the Vedas together with the Angas as authoritative by origin and consequently unquestionable, and says: "One should know that man to have derived his origin from a part of an Asura who bears hatred towards Govinda and decries the twice-bom (Brahmins) and the Vedas"\(^{112}\). It tries to impress upon the people that one's caste depends wholly on one's actions in the previous births (chap. 57), that the due performance of one's caste-duties without any feeling of attachment, hatred, etc. destroys the previous actions causing rebirth,\(^{113}\) and that 'it is the Vedas, the deities, the sacrifices and the twice-born (Brahmins), who, being eulogised, praised and worshipped with much respect, confer the highest bliss (parama-sreyah)\(^{114}\). It speaks very highly of Brahmins as well as of various kinds of service\(^{115}\) rendered to them and glorifies them saying that they can reduce people to ashes, create Lokas and Lokapalas, and lead the aspirants to heaven, and that it was they who made the waters of oceans saline and undrinkable and whose fire of wrath still burns in the Danaka forest (chap. 52). It encourages the cultivation of various personal virtues such as universal friendship, satisfaction, kindness, tolerance, regard for others' wives as mothers, and so on, and urges the avoidance of attachment, untruth, himsa and other vices, and especially of association and conversation with the Pashandas not only during Visnu-worship and the observance of the Vaisnava

\(^{111}\) For the relevant verse see foot-note 66 above.

\(^{112}\) Chap. 3 (fol. 11b).

\(^{113}\) Chap. 42 (fol. 87a).

\(^{114}\) Chap. 33 (fol. 63b).

\(^{115}\) Such as rendering hospitality to Brahmins as guests, shampooing their feet, saving them at the sacrifice of one's own life, and so on.
Vratas but also on other occasions\textsuperscript{118}. In case of conversation with these heretics it prescribes expiations, viz., citation of particular Vedic and Purānic verses, remembering of Acyuta, and looking at the sun, and in case of physical contact with them the expiation consists of all these acts as well as bath (chap. 25, fol. 42a-b). So, the ideal society aimed at by the Viśnudharma is Brāhmaṇical. According to this work a ‘worthy son’ (sat-putra) is one who is devoted to the gods and Brahmins, knows the Śāstras, and attains Nirvāṇa (chap. 30); and as regards feeding of Brahmins in a Śrāddha ceremony it does not favour any discrimination between them but says that the squint-eyed, hunchbacked, poor, diseased and similar other Brahmins are to be mixed up with those who are versed in the Veda.\textsuperscript{117}

As to the position of females in society the opinion expressed by the Viśnudharma is not always very encouraging. According to this work, women, as creatures, are inferior even to the Śūdras, for it says that by practising Yoga a female can become a Brahmin by passing successively through the states of Śūdras and others in her different births (chap. 98). It prescribes Vratas and worship to females but says that in undertaking these a virgin girl must seek the permission of her parents, and a married woman, of her husband. “A wife has no separate sacrifice, Śrāddha or fast. She attains her desires merely by serving her husband.”\textsuperscript{116} In case her husband forsakes her, or dies, or, turning a heretic (pāṣānta), does not allow her to worship Viṣṇu, she is to worship her husband and remain faithful to him in body and mind.\textsuperscript{119} If she is a widow, she should remain chaste, give

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{116} See chaps. 3 (fol. 11b), 4 (fol. 16a), 5 (fol. 17a), 7 (fol. 20a), 8 (fol. 22b), 14 (fol. 26b), 15 (fol. 27b), 22 (fol. 36b), 73 (fol. 153a), and especially 25.
\item \textsuperscript{117} na brāhmaṇam parīkṣeta śrāddha-kāle hy upasthite/
  sumahān parivādo hi brāhmaṇānām parīkṣane//
  kānāh kubjāś ca śāndhāś ca daridrā vyādhitās tathā,
  sarve śrāddhe niyoktavyā misritā veda-pāragaḥ//
  Chap. 52 (fol. 97a).
\item \textsuperscript{118} naiva tasyāḥ prthag yajñā na śrāddhāṁ nāpy upoṣitam/
  bhartr-śūrūṣanenaiva praṇātā stri yathĕṣpitam//
  Chap. 22 (fols. 35b-36a).
\item \textsuperscript{119} Chap. 22 (fol. 36b).
\end{itemize}
libation of water to her deceased husband, worship Viṣṇu daily by observing fast, receive guests, perform the Agnihotra rites without Mantra (agnihotram amantrakam), make gifts, and do other pious acts (chap. 22).

From what has been said above it is evident that the present Viṣṇudharma is an interesting work and has to be valued for its religious matters and more particularly for its philosophical views. It seems to be a compilation rather than an original work, and it is probable that it derived chapters and verses from more ancient works of the same type. Chap. 152 of the Bhaviṣyottara (i.e. Bhav. IV), which agrees remarkably with chap. 86 of the Viṣṇudharma, is said in verse 5 to have been ‘spoken out in ancient times by the Vārāha’ (vārāheṇa purā proktām). Moreover, in some chapters of the Viṣṇudharma the deity has been named much more frequently as Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu than as Kṛṣṇa, while in others the name ‘Kṛṣṇa’ or ‘Vasudeva’ is very common. From the facts that in chap. 1 of the Viṣṇudharma Satānīka wants to hear ‘discourses on Nārāyaṇa’ (nārāyaṇa-kathā), that in the first two chapters of this work the name ‘Kṛṣṇa’ occurs very rarely, and that the Viṣṇudharmottara, which, as we shall see below, was written by the Pāṇcarātras, claims to be a part of the Viṣṇudharma, it appears that in its origin the Viṣṇudharma also was a Pāṇcarātra work but was later on appropriated and recast by the Bhāgavatas to its present form and character.

The text of the Viṣṇudharma, that we find now in Mss., does not agree completely with those used by the commentators and Nibandha-writers. A very large number of verses ascribed to the ‘Viṣṇudharma’ in these works is not found in the present text of this work. For instance, none of the numerous verses of the ‘Viṣṇudharma’ quoted in Raghunandana’s Smṛti-tattva, Govindānanda Kavikānkanācārya’s Śrāddhā-kaumudi, Sudhālī-kaumudi and Varṣa-kaumudi, Madanapāla’s Madana-pārijāta, and Madhavācārya’s Kālanirṇaya, occurs in the present Viṣṇudharma; of the 103 metrical lines quoted from this work in Gopālabhaṭṭa’s Haribhaktivilāsa, only 37 are traceable in the present text of the same; and among the verses ascribed to the ‘Viṣṇudharma’

120 See especially chaps. 2, 42, 79-80, 95-100, and 102-3.
in Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, the number of those which are not traceable in the present Viṣṇudharma, is considerable. 121 This large proportion of the untraceable verses indicates that a more extensive text of the Viṣṇudharma was once current in some parts of India.

As to the provenance of the present Viṣṇudharma it is very difficult to say anything definitely. From the facts that of the holy places named in chap. 36 almost all belong to Northern India, and a large number to its western part, and that the small river Devikā has been mentioned on two occasions (in chaps. 32 and 36) and considered as much sacred as the Gaṅgā, Yamunā etc., it appears that the Viṣṇudharma was written in the north-western part of Northern India.

2. THE VIṢṬUDHARMOTTARA122

This work, as we have it now, is an encyclopaedic work consisting of three Khaṇḍas and dealing not only with various stories, myths and legends but also with varied subjects, viz., cosmology and cosmogony, geography, astronomy and astrology, division of time, pacification of unfavourable planets and stars, omens and portents, genealogies

121 A list of these untraceable verses will be given in Appendix II in the final Volume of the present work.

122 The only printed edition of this work is that published by the Veṅkaṭ press, Bombay.

Being based on highly insufficient Ms material, this edition contains various defects, some of which are as follows:

(a) Besides printing mistakes, it has lacunae in a large number of places.
(b) One complete metrical line after Viṣṇudh. I. 81. 4a is missing.
(c) In Viṣṇudh. I. 146 the description of the characteristics of bulls (veṣa-lakṣaṇa) is begun abruptly (from verse 41b) with the second half of a verse in which the description of bulls called 'samudra' (ṛṣabhaḥ ... samudrākhyāḥ) was given. The missing verses of this incomplete chapter are to be found in Mat. 207.
(d) A few lines after Viṣṇudh. I. 175. 1 appear to be missing.
(e) Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 223 and 225 are incomplete, and chap. 224 is wanting.

It may be mentioned here that H. P. Shastri also found chaps. 223 and 224 incomplete (trayoviṃśa-caturviṃśādhīyāya khaṇḍitau) in the Ms. of the Viṣṇudharmottara described by him in his Notices, II, pp. 164-172.
STUDIES IN THE UPAPURĀNAS

(mainly of kings and sages), manners and customs, penances, results of actions, rules about urata and śrāddha, description and praise of various kinds of donations, law and politics, science of war, anatomy, medicine, treatment of diseases of human beings and lower animals, cookery, manufacture of perfumes, horticulture, grammar, lexicography,

(f) Though in Viṣṇudh, I. 226. 63b-64a Nāḍāyana proposes to mention the names of the ‘thirty-two’ Mātrṣ created by Narasiṃha from his own body, he practically names twenty-four Mātrṣ only. Hence a complete verse after Viṣṇudh, I. 226, 66a must have been lost. This verse occurs in the Matsya-p. (179. 69b-70a).

(g) One complete chapter on āhirbudhnya snāna is wanting. This chapter is referred to in Viṣṇudh. II. 99. 81b (āhirbudhnyaṃ tathā snānaṃ godam uktam purā tava) and is found quoted, in its entirety, in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii. pp. 654-5.

For MSS of the Viṣṇudharmottara, see

(i) Shastri, Notices, II, pp. 164-172 (No. 190).—In this MS, the work is divided into three Kāṇḍas, of which the first two have exactly the same contents as those of the first two Khaṇḍas of the printed Viṣṇudharmottara, but the last Kāṇḍa ends abruptly with chap. 120 of the third Khaṇḍa of the printed edition. Hence this MS does not contain the complete text of the Viṣṇudharmottara.

(ii) Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 305, 308 and 326.

(iii) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 214. (This MS has been described as follows: kāṇi truṭita-patrāṇi vihāya sansāpūṃṣam/ navinā kāśmirīkā lipiḥ).

(iv) Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 150. (This MS claims to be a part of the Garuda-p.).


(vi) Dacca Univ. Ms No. 4669. (This is an incomplete MS of the third ‘Kāṇḍa’ of the Viṣṇudharmottara. It consists of fols. 8-259, 261 and two more without number. Of its first seven folios, two are missing and the rest are mutilated. The arrangement of its chapters does not, in all cases, agree with that of the printed edition. It ends with a part of chap. 329 of the third Khaṇḍa of the printed edition).

(vii) List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi MSS, p. 92.

(viii) In his essay on the Viṣṇudharmottara published in Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 381-410, Bühler says that he used MSS Nos. 89-91 of the Deccan College Collection of 1875-77. According to Bühler’s description, the text of the Viṣṇudharmottara, as preserved in these MSS, consists of three Kāṇḍas, of which the first two appear to have the same contents as those of the first two Khaṇḍas of the printed edition, but the third ‘is much shorter than
metrics, rhetorics, dramaturgy, dancing, vocal and instrumental music, sculpture, painting, architecture, Vaiśṇava theology, and so on. As, due to want of space, it is not possible to give a complete summary of the contents of all its chapters, we note below the different topics dealt with in it, with the mention of some of the most striking points.

Khaṇḍa I.

Chap. 1.—Vajra's request to some sages to speak on various kinds of 'Viṣṇu-dharma' or 'Vaiśṇava dharma' (duties to Viṣṇu); and the latter's selection of Mārkaṇḍeya to do so. Mārkaṇḍeya's consent to comply with Vajra's request.

the other two and contains only 118 Adhyāyas'. (See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 382-3).

(ix) M, Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV, i, pp. 1437-41, Nos. 2111-18. (All these Mss are incomplete, the first three consisting of 27 chapters each. No. 2111 is written in Nandi-nāgari and has the colophon: śri-garuḍa-purāṇe viṣṇudharmottare prathamā dhīyāyaḥ).

(x) There is yet another Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara in Bhaū Dājī's Collection in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay). This Ms is written in Devanāgari and was copied in Vikrama era 1925.

For Mss of Stotras, Vrata-kathās etc., claiming to belong to the Viṣṇudharmottara, see

(i) Eggeling, Ind. Off., Cat., VI, p. 1309, No. 3605 (Aparājitā-stotra).
(ii) Keith, Ind. Off., Cat., II, i, pp. 912 and 913 (Aparājitā-stotra); II, ii, p. 1014 (Dvārakā-mahātmya).
(iii) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 765-9, Nos. 4101-4 (Aparājitā-stotra; Vyādhi-prāśamanāpāmārjanaka; and Apāmārjana-stotra), and p. 841 (extracts belonging to the Viṣṇudharmottara).
(v) Chakravarti, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat Cat., p. 115 (Trailokya-vijaya-parājitā-stotra and Siva-rātri-vrata-kathā).
(vi) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 214 (Aparājitā-stotra).
(vii) P.P.S. Sastri, Tanjore Cat., XV, pp. 7173-74, Nos. 10578-81.


And so on.

123 King Vajra was the son of Aniruddha and the great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa,
Chaps. 2-3.—Description of the origin of the universe as well as of Brahmā, Rudra and others from Nārāyaṇa. Account of Viṣṇu’s raising of the earth by assuming the form of a Boar.

Chaps. 4-5.—Description of the nether worlds (viz., Pātāla, Sutala etc.) and the different regions (viz., Varāha-loka, Kālāgnirudra-loka, Viṣṇu-loka, bhūrloka, bhuvanloka etc.), in which Viṣṇu remains with Lakṣmī by assuming different forms.

In chap. 4, verses 1-4 there is a description of the different measurements of space, viz., trasarṇa, likṣā, rāja-sarṣapa, gaura-sarṣapa, sarṣapa, yava, aṅguli, šaṅku, basta, dhanuḥ, kroṣa, gavyūti and yojana.

Chaps. 6-11.—Geography of the earth.—Names and description of its dvīpas. Names of its mountains, oceans etc. Position of mount Meru, and the names of the cities (of Indra, Vahni, Yama, Varuṇa and others) situated round it. Description of Jambu-dvīpa, with the mention of the names of its vārṣas, mountains etc. Description of Bhārata-varṣa124 (including Laṅkā)125—the names of the tribes living in its central, eastern, south-eastern, southern, south-western, western, north-western, northern and north-eastern parts;126 the names of its

125 Ibid., I. 8. 9—

lavaṇasyottare pārve sāgarasya ca daksīne/
puri laṅkā saṁnivyā̄ta yasyā̄ṁ vai rāvaṇo hataḥ/

126 Viṣṇudh. I. 9. 2-10—
pāncālāḥ kuravo matsyaḥ yaudheyāḥ savaṭāścarāḥ/
kuntayaḥ śūrasenāḥ ca madhyadeśa-janāḥ smṛtāḥ//
vrishadvājānjanāḥ pannāḥ suhmā māgadhṣa-cedayāḥ/
kāśayaḥ ca vidchāś ca puruṣyāḥ kośālaḥ tathā//
kaliṅga-vaṅga-pundr-āṅga-vaibardbhā mūlakās tathā/
vindhyāṁra-nilayāḥ proktāḥ pūrva-daksinātaḥ smṛtāḥ/
punindaśmaka-jimūta-nararāṣṭra-nivāsinaḥ/
karnāṭakā bhajakaṭā daksināpatha-vāsinaḥ/
ambaṣṭhā dравidā nāgāḥ kāmbojāḥ strimukhāḥ śākāḥ/
ānantvasinaḥ caiva jāyeyā daksinā-pāścime/
stri-rājyaṁ saṁdhavā mlecchā nāstikyā yavanās tathā/
pāścime ca vijnayeḥ paṭumānaṇusadhaiḥ saha/
māṃḍavyāś ca tuṣārūś ca mūlikās ca mukhāḥ khaśāḥ/
mahākeśā mahānāsā deśās tūṭtara-pāścime//
seven principal mountains (kula-parvata) as well as of the principal rivers arising from them; the names of those chief rivers which arose from the Himalaya and are regarded as specially sacred.

Chaps. 12-22.—Description of Kośala and Ayodhyā.

Names and accounts of the kings of the Solar dynasty from Ikṣvāku (son of Vaivasvata Manu) downwards.

Story of Sagara, whose sons were burnt to ashes by Kapila, a form of Vāsudeva. Story of Bhagīratha’s bringing Gaṅgā down to earth.

127 The names of these rivers are as follows:—Kauśika, Gaṇḍakī, Lohitya, Dr̥advati, Menā, Bāhudā, Mahānadi, Gomati, Devikā, Vitastā, Candrabhāgā, Sarayū, Irāvati, Vipāsā, Satadru, Yamunā and Sarasvati.

Of these rivers, the Kauśiki is said to be the beloved of Kauśika and is described as ‘nimjugottamā’, ‘gajendra-bhinna-kūlā’, and ‘gaṅgā-tulyā ca punyatāḥ’; the Bāhudā is said to have restored the severed arm of the sage Likhita; the Devikā is identified with the beloved wife of Śaṅkara; the Vitastā is called ‘viṣṇu-loka-pradā’ and ‘agha-nāśini’; the Candrabhāgā is described as ‘candra-loka-pradā’; the Irāvati is called ‘indrebha-sevita-taṭā’ and ‘indra-loka-pradāyini’; the Vipāsā is said to be ‘viśiṣṭa-pāsa-vicchede kuśalā’; and the Satadru is described as ‘sarva-pāpānāṁ vipākalākāriṇī’ and ‘vaśiṣṭha-vidrutā’.

For description of all the above-mentioned rivers see Viṣṇudh. I. 11. 2-21. In this description, the Sarasvati is called ‘saptā-prakārā’ and is said to consist of seven parts known by seven names, viz., Suprabhā (at Puṣkara), Kātarākṣi (at Nāmisa), Viśālā (at Gayā), Mānasa-hradā (at Kośala), Sarasvati (at Kurukṣetra), Ogha-nāḍā (at Gaṅgā-dvāra), and Suveṇu (on the Himācala).

It is to be noted that in these verses the word ‘devi’ has been used with respect to the following rivers:— Devikā, Vitastā, Irāvati, Satadru and Sarasvati.

128 In chap. 19, verses 18ff. it is said that Gaṅgā, being let out from Śiva’s matted hair, first entered the Bindu-saras (which had been created by the drops of water of Gaṅgā) and then divided herself into seven streams, of which three (viz., Hlādini, Hrāḍini and Plāvini) flowed towards the east, three (viz., Sītā, Vaktra and Sindhu) rushed towards the west, and one (viz. Gaṅgā) flowed towards the south by following the track shown by Bhagīratha.
Digressions:

(i) Viṣṇu’s killing of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, who had originated from a drop of Brahmā’s perspiration.—Chap. 15.

(ii) Story of Kuvalayāśva, who was named Dhundhumāra for killing the aquatic demon Dhundhu (son of Madhu and Kaitabha) with the help of sage Uttanka.—Chap. 16.

(iii) Story of Jahnū, king of Kānyakubja, who drank up Gaṅgā, because the latter flooded his sacrificial hall in which preparations were made for the performance of a horse-sacrifice. Jahnū’s letting Gaṅgā out through his ear.—Chap. 20.

(iv) Story of Vāmana (Trivikrama), who chastised Bāskali and ushered Gaṅgā into the world. Presence of Gaṅgā in different places in different names and forms. 129

Chaps. 23-71.—Story of Viṣṇu’s birth as Bhārgava Rāma, his attainment of Kṣatriya characteristics, and his performance of various exploits, viz., his extermination of the Saimhikeyas as well as of the demons living in the nether world, and his killing of the Kṣatriyas including Kārtaviryārjuna.

Stories of Nahuṣa’s change into a snake; Indra’s residence in a lotus-stalk in the Mānasā lake for getting rid of Brahma-hatyā arising from Vṛtra-vadha; Viṣṇu’s manifestation as Dattātreya; Vasiṣṭha’s curse on Kārtaviryārjuna for burning his forest for pleasing Āditya; birth of Viśvāmitra, and the cause of his turning a Brahmin; Śūrya’s offer of an umbrella and a pair of shoes to Renukā, wife of Jamadagni; churning of the ocean by gods and demons; Viṣṇu’s beheading of Rāhu; and Bhārgava Rāma’s meeting with Varuṇa in the latter’s residence.

In connection with these stories, portents (utpāta) have been dealt with in chap. 37, bad dreams (duḥśvapna) in chap. 39, and evil omens (durnimitta) in chap. 46.

Chaps. 52-65 constitute a separate section called ‘Saṃkara-gītā,’ in which Saṃkara, being requested by Bhārgava Rāma, glorifies Nārā-

129 Gaṅgā is said to sanctify the Daradas, Jahuḍas, Kāśmiras, Nairasas, Ābhīras, Kalāpa-grāmakas, Tāmraliṃtakas, Vaṅgas, Puṇḍras and others.—Chap. 24, verses 17-24.
yaṇa (i.e. Viṣṇu) as Para Brahma and the source of the universe, admits that he himself meditates on Nārāyaṇa, and then speaks on the following topics:—Viṣṇu’s manifestation as Varāha, Narasimha and Vāmana; Viṣṇu’s various vibhūtis; praise of devotion (bhaktī) to Viṣṇu; enumeration of actions 130 which please Keśava; results of worshipping Viṣṇu by observing fast on the different days (from Sunday to Saturday) of the week, on different Tithis (from Pratipad to Pañcadaśi) and under different Nakṣatras from Kṛṣṇī to Bharaṇī; worship of Viṣṇu with the due observance of ‘paṇca-kāla,’ viz., abhigamana-kāla, upādāna-kāla, ijjā-kāla, svādhyāya-kāla and yoga-kāla. 131

Chaps. 72-73.—Varuṇa’s speech to Bhārgava Rāma on the following topics:—Division of time according to saura, cāndra, sāvana and nākṣatra māṇa; measurement of time—duration of a nimeśa, truti, prāṇa, vināḍikā, nāḍikā, muhūrta, ahorātra, pakṣa, māsa, ayana, saṁvatsara, yuga, kalpa etc.; duration of the day and night of the Pitṛs; longevity of Brahmā; condition of dharma etc. during the four yugas, especially in the Kali-yuga.

Chap. 74.—Condition of Bhārata-varṣa at the end of each yuga; and Viṣṇu’s appearance in human forms (such as those of Pramati, Bhīmaratha, Vāsudeva-and-Arjuna, and Kalkin) for relieving the earth of her burden.

This chapter gives us information regarding the literary activity of Vālmiki and Vyāsa at the ends of Tretā and Dvāpara respectively. It is said that at the end of the Dvāpara-yuga Viṣṇu would be born as Vyāsa, divide the original Veda into four, viz., Rg-veda, Sāma-veda, Atharvāṇa and Yajur-veda, and write Vākavākya, Purāṇa and Bhārata, and that at the end of the Tretā-yuga Viṣṇu would be born as Vālmiki and write the ‘Rāmākhyāṇa’. (See verses 22ff.).

Chaps. 75-77.—Condition of the world at the ends of Manvantaras, Kalpas and Mahākalpas.

Chaps. 78-79.—Entrance of Mārkaṇḍeya and Brahmā into the

130 Such as non-giving of Viṣṇu-naivedya or Viṣṇu-nirmālya to non-Vaiṣṇavas; showing respect to all deities and faiths; honouring the Pāṇcarātras; and so on.—Chap. 58

131 For details see chaps. 61-65,
body of Viṣṇu, and their experience at the close of a Manvantara and a Kalpa respectively.

Chap. 80.—Measurement of time beginning from the origin of Brahmā. Duration of the periods of reign of Vajra and Parīkṣīt.

Chap. 81.—Names of fourteen Manus. Difference between the Manvantaras and Kalpas.

Chaps. 82-105.—On astrology and astronomy.—Different kinds of years, and their characteristics and results; names of deities dominating the different seasons, months, planets, stars, tithis and muhūrtas; names and description of karanās (viz., bava, bālava, kauluva etc.), and the names of their presiding deities; description of horā, kulika-velā and lagna; nature of the influence of planets and stars on different countries under different circumstances; long and detailed description of the method of performing graha-yajña (which consists of prak-tantra and uttara-tantra); relative position of the planets and stars.

Chap. 106.—Stories of the birth of Dhruva and the different Planets.132

Chap. 107.—Brahmā’s creation of gods, demons, sages, Pitrś and others, as well as of planets, birds, snakes etc.

Dakṣa’s descendants (including Sati, who is said to have forsaken her body and been reborn as Umā).

Chaps. 108-109.—Dhruva’s descendants including Veṇa133 and Prthu, whose stories have been given at length. Dakṣa’s rebirth as the son of Pracetas, and his creation by sexual intercourse.

Chaps. 110-118.—Descendants of Bhṛgu, Āṅgiras, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Parāśara and other sages. Origin of gotras and pravaras. Restriction as regards marriage among them.

Digression:—Story of Nimi and Vasīśṭha’s mutual curse, and the latter’s birth as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa.—Chap. 117.

Chaps. 119-121.—Descendants of Dharma and Kaśyapa.

132 For the peculiar stories of the birth of Bhauma, Budha and Sukra, see verses 34-51 and 54-60.

133 Following the Lokāyatikas Veṇa says:—

yāvaj-jīvam sukham jiven nāsti mṛtyor agocaram/
bhasmiḥbūtasya śāntasya punar āgamanam kutaḥ//

Viṣṇudh. I. 108. 18-19.

Chaps. 129-137.—Story of Purūravas and Urvasi.—The latter’s origin from Nārāyaṇa’s thighs; Tumburu’s curse on her; her love for and residence with Purūravas (of Pratiṣṭhāna)\(^\text{134}\) on certain conditions; Urvasi’s departure, and Purūravas’s vain enquiry for her to beasts and birds; Nārada’s request to Urvasi to pass one night with the king; Urvasi’s meeting with Purūravas in a lake in Kurukṣetra; and so on.

[Though based on its Vedic and Purānic versions, this story has innovations and betrays the influence of Kālidāsa’s Vikramorvaśiṇya.]

Cause and praise of performing śrāddha on the Amāvāsyā Tithi. (Chap. 137, verses 29ff.).

Chap. 138.—Names and classification of Pīṭhas; and the effect of offering śrāddha to them.

Chap. 139.—The custom of offering śrāddha—first introduced on the Varāha-parvata by Viṣṇu in the form of Varāha in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.

Chaps. 140-144.—Performance of śrāddha.—Detailed description of its procedure; persons entitled to offer śrāddha under different circumstances; selection of proper place;\(^\text{135}\) different kinds of articles (including meat of particular animals) to be offered to the Pīṭhas; proper time and occasions for the performance of śrāddha; persons (viz., vārdhuṣika, cikitsaka and others) who do not deserve to be invited in śrāddha ceremonies; persons\(^\text{136}\) who are ‘paṅkti-pāvana’; results of

\(^\text{134}\) For mention of Pratiṣṭhāna see Viṣṇudh. I. 130, 21; 131, 12; and

\(^\text{135}\) for mention of śrāddha see Viṣṇudh. I. 141, 2-4.

\(^\text{136}\) Such as those who have studied any of the four Vedas, Dharmaśastras, Purāṇas, Itiḥāsa, ‘sottara Viṣṇudharma’, or grammar; those who know Jyotiṣa
performing śrāddha at selected places (viz., Gayā, Puṣkara, Prayāga, Naimiṣa, Vārānasī, Prabhāsa and Kurukṣetra; banks of the Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Narmadā; mountains such as Amarāntika-parvata, Varāha-paravata and Himavat; and so on).

Chap. 145.—Pitr-gāthās. Method of observing the Aśūnya-sayana-dvitiyā (as described by Pulastya to Dālbhya).

Chap. 146.—Ways of release from rebirths. Characteristics of bulls (vrṣa-lakṣaṇa) as mentioned by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira.

[This chapter refers to the contents of the Sānti and Anuśāsana Parvans of the Mahābhārata, and to the Dharmaśāstras of Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara, Atri, Saṅkha, Gārgya, Likhita, Yama, Jāvāli and many others.]

Chap. 147.—Procedure and praise of dedication of bulls (vrṣotsarga) to the Pitr.

Chaps. 148-156.—Purūravas’s penance and worship of Viṣṇu on the Dvādaśi Tithis in the Himalaya in his previous birth as a king of Madra, his performance of the Rūpa-satra-vrata according to the method described by Atri, and his consequent attainment of uncommon physical beauty through Viṣṇu’s favour.

Chaps. 157-161.—Description of various kinds of Dvādaśi-vratas, viz., Rājya-prada-dvādaśi-vrata, Kāma-dvādaśi-vrata, Sukla-pakṣa-dvādaśi-vrata, and Sravaṇa-dvādaśi-vrata (in all of which Viṣṇu is to be worshipped.)

Chap. 162.—Praise of the Sravaṇa-dvādaśi-vrata by means of a story of a merchant who strayed into a forest in Dāseraka and met a group of spirits (preta), one of whom told him that he had been a merchant of Sākala and that, as a result of his observance of the Sravaṇa-dvādaśi-vrata and giving food to Brahmins on this occasion at the confluence of the rivers Tauṣi and Candrabhāgā, he used to have a regular supply of food and water even after his death.

In this chapter, the Candrabhāgā is described as a part of the

or Ayurveda but do not earn their livelihood with these; and so on.—Chap. 143, verses 12-19.
Gaṅgā,¹³⁷ and the Tausī is called ‘arka-nandini’ (daughter of the Sun),¹³⁸ and the meeting places of the following rivers are said to be highly sacred: — (a) Gaṅgā and Sarayū, (b) Gaṅgā and Šoṇa, (c) Gaṅgā and Ikṣumati, (d) Gaṅgā and Yamunā, (e) Gomatī and Sarayū, (f) Kauśikī and Gaṇḍakī, (g) Viśā and Devahradā, (h) Viśā and Satadru, (i) Sindhu and Irāvati, (j) Candrabhāgā and Viṭastā, and (k) Sindhu and Viṭastā.— Verses 61-65.

Chaps. 163-164.— Description of the Tila-dvādaśī-vrata (which is Vaiṣṇava).

Praise of this Vrata by means of the story of Nayanāsundari, wife of king Caṇḍavega of Magadha, who, in her previous birth in a country watered by the river Viṭastā, performed the Tila-dvādaśī-vrata on the bank of this river and consequently attained royalty.

In Chap. 164, verses 23-26 the Viṭastā has been praised as a highly sacred river and identified with Umā, the beloved wife of Hara.

Chap. 165.— Method and praise of muttering the Gāyatrī; and the cause and efficacy of its use in various kinds of Vaiṣṇava homa (viz., lakṣa-homa, koṣṭi-homa etc.) and in abhicāra.

[For the method of using Gāyatrī in abhicāra and the restrictions under which it is to be employed for this purpose, see verses 55-67.]

Chaps. 166-7.— The method and result of dipa-dāna in Viṣṇu-temples and other places. (The use of animal-fat and of blue or red wicks in lamps is strictly prohibited.— Verses 31 and 35).

Story of Lalitikā (or Lalitā), daughter of king Citraratha of Vidarbha and wife of the king of Kāsi, who always kept herself engaged in dipa-dāna and who, in her previous birth as a female mouse, chanced to cause an extinguishing lamp to continue to burn in a Viṣṇu-temple constructed by Maitreya (the Brahmin minister of the king of Sauvīra) at Nṛṣimha-tūrtha on the bank of the river

¹³⁷-¹³⁸ candrabhāgā saric-chreṣṭhā yatra sitāmalodakā/
 mahādeva-jaṭājūte gaṅgā nipaṭiti purā//
candrenā bhāgato nyāstā candrabhāgā smṛtā tataḥ/
tat-kāla-tapta-salilā tāusī tatrārka-nandini//
Devikā in Madra and was consequently born and married in royal families.

In chap. 167, verses 15-18 it is said that, for the good of mankind, Brahmins caused Umā, wife of Hara, to come down to the earth in the form of the river Devikā.

Chap. 168.—Praise of Viṣṇu-worship with wild flowers, fruits etc. by poor people.

Chaps. 169-170.—Results of sweeping a Viṣṇu-temple and besmearing it with cow-dung.

Story of a destitute Śūdra and his wife, who felt a strong desire for royal fortune at the sight of Cīravāhana, king of Sauvīra, and were reborn as Māndhārīt (son of Yuvanāśva and king of Ayodhyā) and Prabhāvatī (daughter of Bhīmavega, king of Kāśī) respectively as a result of besmearing, with cow-dung, a Viṣṇu-temple which was situated on the bank of the Sindhu and in which an image of Varāha was established by sages of old. Māndhārīt's conquest of the world, and his devotion to Viṣṇu.

[The river Sindhu has been praised in chap. 170, verses 4ff.].

Chaps. 171-172.—Being questioned by Vajra as to how this Māndhārīt could be killed by Lavaṇa with the śūla of Maheśvara, Mārkaṇḍeya says that such an incident became possible simply because the energy of Viṣṇu (vaiṣṇavaṃ tejah) resorted to the tip of Śiva's śūla.

Mārkaṇḍeya's description and praise of 'vaiṣṇava-tejas', without which, Mārkaṇḍeya says, even Brahmā and Śiva cannot live and which cannot be comprehended without bhakti. Mārkaṇḍeya adds that it is Viṣṇu who is the single eternal Being (avināśī tad evaikam) known by different names such as Sadāśiva, Vāsudeva, Kāla, Daiva, Svabhāva, Puruṣa, Praṇava etc. and who, though himself eternal, formless, omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, manifests himself as Varāha etc. for accomplishing various objects but is not bound by his actions.

Description of kings of the Tretā-yuga.—It is said that these kings could cleanse their faces with their own tongues; each of them had 68 teeth and possessed seven gems (saptatratnāni), viz., basti-ratna, aśva-ratna, ratha-ratna, bhārīya-ratna, āyudha-ratna, mani-ratna and nidhi-ratna; their movement was not obstructed in the nether world,
the sky, the mountains and the sea; and so on.—Chap. 172, verses 37-46.

Chaps. 173-174.—Description of the Ananta-vrata (by performing which Yuvanāśva and Kṛtavīrya had Māndhātṛ and Kārtavīryārjuna respectively as sons) and Māsa-nakṣatra-pūjana-vrata (in which Viṣṇu is to be worshipped for one year from Kārttika).

[In chaps. 175-191 Mārkaṇḍeya reports, in connection with Māsa-nakṣatra-pūjana-vrata, what Śāmbarāyaṇi said to Indra.]

Chaps. 175-189.—Accounts of the past, present and future Manvantaras, with the mention of Viṣṇu’s killing of the foes of the respective Indras during these Manvantaras by assuming different forms such as those of Matsya, Kūrma, Haṁsa, Aśva, Nṛ-varāha, Mayūra etc.

Chap. 190.—Eternity of Viṣṇu; and his innumerable manifestations in different Manvantaras, viz., Varāha, Vāmana, Trivikrama, Narasimha, Matsya, Kūrma, Haṁsa, Nṛ-varāha, Rāma (Bhārgava), Rāma, Māndhātṛ, Prthu, Kārtavīryārjuna and others.

Chap. 191.—Śāmbarāyaṇi’s statement that it was by observing the Māsa-nakṣatra-pūjana-vrata that she was able to attain such an extremely long life and residence in heaven.

Chaps. 192-194.—Praise of Viṣṇu-stuti.

Story of the transformation of the Gandharvas Hāhā and Hūhū into an elephant and a crocodile respectively as a result of Devala’s curse, because these Gandharvas disrespected Devala by taking him to be ignorant of music.

Fight between the elephant and the crocodile; and the former’s eulogy of Viṣṇu, who consequently saved the elephant by killing the crocodile and restored both the animals to their former states.

[This story is called ‘gajendra-mokṣaṇa’. In chap. 194, verses 58 ff. Gaṅgā, Naimiṣāranya, Prayāga, Brahma-tīrtha and Daṇḍakāranya have been praised.]

Chap. 195.—Method of self-protection by means of the Viṣṇupañjara-stotra, which Brahmā discovered for Śaṅkara’s safety when the latter destroyed Tripura.

Chap. 196.—Protection of others from various kinds of diseases.
and calamities by means of the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra and other Vaiṣṇava stotras and mantras (especially those of Narasimha).

Chaps. 197-198.—Origin of Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Piśācas and Yābudhānas; and the names of their descendants (including Heti, Praheti, Rāvaṇa, Puloman and others).

Chap. 199.—Story of the birth of Cyavana and his reducing Puloman to ashes with an angry glance when Cyavana’s mother Pulomā was being abducted by this Rākṣasa.

Chap. 200.—Birth of the Rākṣasa named Lavaṇa, and his death at the hand of Satruighna.

Chaps. 201-269.—Rāma’s order to Bharata to chastise the impious (adharma-nirata) Gandharvas living on both banks of the Sindhu; and Bharata’s consequent march against, and killing of, these Gandharvas including Sailūṣa, and sending the rest to the Himālaya.

Bharata’s march against the Gandharvas has been described elaborately in chaps. 202-209.

According to chap. 203 Rāma sent with Bharata a retinue consisting of actors, musicians, dancing girls, public women, merchants (or contractors), poison-doctors, physicians, surgeons,139 dentists (dantakārāḥ, dantopajivināḥ), engineers, weavers, leather-workers, fishermen, tailors, scribes, astrologers, manufacturers of weapons, washermen, painters etc.140

During his march Bharata is said to have seen the following rivers and places:—Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sannīti (a holy place in Kurukṣetra), Amarakaṇṭaka, Saṭadru (also called Gaurī), Vipāṣā, Irāvati, Devikā, Candrabhāgā, Vitastā, Sudāmā (a river) and Rājagrha (capital of Kekaya).—Chaps. 206-207.

In chap. 207 the holy place Sannīti and the rivers Yamunā, Saṭadru, Vipāṣā, Irāvati, Devikā, Candrabhāgā and Vitastā have been specially glorified as being highly sacred; regarding Sannīti it has been said that here Dadhīca called together all the holy places and rivers on earth before giving up his life for the sake of Indra and that thence—

139 viṣa-vaidyāḥ śalya-vaidyās tathā kāya-cikitsakāḥ//

—Chap. 203, verse 9a.

140 This list seems to have been influenced by Rāmāyaṇa II. 83. 12ff.
forward all the gods and tirthas used to visit this place every month; the reasons for the names ‘Satadru’ and ‘Vipāśā’ have been stated; and the rivers Satadru and Devikā have been identified with Umā, the beloved wife of Hara.

Chap. 208 contains description of the hurry and eagerness of women of Rājagṛha to see Bharata when he was entering the city.

In chaps. 212-247 Nādāyana advises Sālīṣa not to declare war against Bharata but to repair peacefully to the Himālaya, and relates the following stories:

(1) Agastya’s drinking of the waters of the ocean for helping Indra to kill the demons who had taken shelter in it after Vṛtra’s death; his lowering of the Vindhya which had covered the paths of the sun and the moon; his killing of Vatsāpin by thoroughly digesting him; and his furnishing the bows of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with invincible ‘vaishnava-tejas.’—Chap. 213.

(2) Viṣṇu’s war with and killing of the demon Mālin of Laṅkā, —a story which had been narrated to Rāma by Agastya.—Chaps. 214-215.

The following rivers are said to have joined Viṣṇu in his march against Mālin:—Gaṅgā, Kālindī, Sarayū, Gomati, Godāvari, Sarasvati, Satadru, Vipāśā, Candrabhāgā, Irāvatī, Sindhu, Vitastā, Devikā, Gaṇḍakī, Kāverī, Hiranyavatī, Ikṣumati, Parnāśā, Kauśikī, Vedasmṛti, Narmadā, Sitā, Hṛdāntī, Pāvanī, Lauhityā, Sindhu, Cākṣu, Siṣṭā, Gautami, Dṛṣadvatī, and ‘others.’—Chap. 215, verses 43-52.

(3) Story of Rāvaṇa and his exploits and death.—Birth of Kuvera from Devavarṇini by Viśravas, and his residence at Laṅkā which was situated on the mountain Trikūṭa. Birth of Daśagrīva, Kumbhakarṇa, Vibhiṣaṇa and Sūrpanākhā from Kaikāśi by Viśravas, their penance at Gokarna, and their receipt of boons from Brahmā; Rāvaṇa’s leadership of those Rākṣasas who had fled to Pāṭala after Mālin’s death, his wrestling of Laṅkā from Kuvera, and his world-conquest. Rāvaṇa’s attempt to molest Vedavati,141 daughter of Kuśadhvaja, and the latter’s entrance into fire with the threat that she would be born again as an

141 For the story of Vedavati, see chap. 221, verses 17ff.
This story is based on Rāmāyaṇa VII, 17.

22
‘ayoniya’ being for bringing about his destruction; birth of Vedavati as Sitā; and the incidents in her life (including her entrance into the nether world). Rāvana’s taking away of the chariot called Puṣpaka from Kuvera, and his sad experience in Kailāsa (where he was cursed by Nandī that monkeys would bring about his destruction); his victory over the gods; his conquest of Pātāla; and his experience at Kiṣkindhya (where there was a conflict between Bālin and Suṅrīva). Rāvana’s meeting with Bali, the former’s inability to remove one of the ear-rings which Bali inherited from Hiraṇyakaśipu, and Bali’s praise of Viṣṇu who had killed Hiraṇyakaśipu; Rāvana’s meeting with Viṣṇu, in whose body he saw all the gods and the whole universe and who told him that he would be born as a human being and kill Rāvana.—Chaps. 219-223 and 238-239.

(4) Siva’s eulogy of Vināyaka, and his burning of Tripura with an arrow, the tip of which was occupied by Viṣṇu.—Chaps. 224(?)142-225.

(5) Siva’s killing of the demon Andhaka with the help of the Mātrīs created by himself as well as by Viṣṇu and Narasimha whom Siva had eulogised for help.—Chap. 226. (This chapter contains the names of a large number of Mātrīs including Kālī and Mahākālī).

(6) Birth of Śaḍānana on the mountain Śveta; his boons to the Kṛttikās to be worshipped with himself at a time when the moon would remain with the Kṛttikās, and to Gaṅgā to be worshipped on the Vaiśākha-śukla-ṭṛīyā (which is called Akṣaya-ṭṛīyā); Indra’s creation of a large number of highly pernicious beings called Grahas, viz., gods, Pitṛs, demons, Rākṣasas, evil spirits, Nāgas etc., for doing harm to Śaḍānana’s life; Śaḍānana’s creation of a far larger number of similar Grahas named Skanda, Viṣṇu etc. to counteract the influence of those created by Indra, and his prescription of particular duties to these Grahas; Indra’s praise of Skanda and his worship; Siva’s appointment of Skanda as the general of gods; and Skanda’s killing of the demon Mahiṣa and others.—Chaps. 228-230 and 233.

142 In the printed ed., chaps. 223 and 225 are incomplete and chap. 224 is wanting.
(7) Nārāyaṇa’s saving of Yajña from the hand of Siva.—Chap. 234.

(8) Destruction of Dakṣa’s sacrifice by Virabhadra and Bhadrakāli born of Siva and Pārvatī respectively, because Dakṣa refused to give to Siva a share of the sacrificial offerings; Dakṣa’s eulogy of Siva at Bhadra-karnेतस्वरā according to Virabhadra’s advice; Siva’s boon to Dakṣa.—Chap. 235.

(In this chapter the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Jāhnāvī at Bhadrakarṇेतस्वरā as well as the five holy places—‘tīrtha-panicaka’, viz., Gaṅgādvāra, Kuśāvartā, Bilvaka, Nilaparvata and Kanakhala, have been highly praised by Siva, Mahākāli has been eulogised and described as ‘aśādaśa-bhuja’, ‘śūla-mudgara-dhārini’, ‘kamandalu-dhārā’, ‘pītakausāyā-vasana’, and ‘niłotpala-dala-śyāma’, and her worship has been prescribed on the Sukla-navami).

(9) Story of sage Śveta, who used to worship a Siva-līṅga and whom Siva saved from the hands of Yama by reducing him to ashes, because Yama refused to wait till Śveta could finish his worship of Siva. Description of Viṣṇu-kavaca, with which Siva protected himself against Yama.—Chaps. 236-237.

(10) Sattruṃha’s fight with and killing of the Rākṣasa named Lavaṇa who lived at Madhuvana.—Chaps. 240-247.

Chap. 227 contains the names of herbs, food materials etc. with which the enraged Mātra can be pacified.

Chaps. 231-232 deal with the following topics:—Various kinds of actions which bring people under the influence of the Grahas created by Indra and Śaḍāṇana; causes which encourage these Grahas to exert their influence;143 symptoms of persons influenced by different kinds of Grahas; and treatment of such persons by means of herbs, mantras etc.

In chaps. 248-253 Nāḍāyana further speaks to Śailuṣa on the following topics:—

Beasts and birds descended from Pulaha.—Chap. 248.

Brahmā’s appointment of kings over herbs, stars, water, gods,

143 For these causes see chap. 231, verses 12b-14a.
Yakṣas, Daityas, Dānavas, Piśācas etc.; coronation of Indra.—Chaps. 249-250.

Origin of the eight elephants named Airāvana, Padma, Puṣpadanta etc. (which are called quarter-elephants—dig-gajāh), and the classification of their descendants.

Location of the eight forests in which the eight quarter-elephants live with their descendants. Characteristics of elephants living in these forests.—Chap. 251.

Monkeys descended from Pulaha.—Chap. 252.

Description of the fight between the elephants and monkeys at Antarvedi. Indra’s severing of the wings of elephants and sending them down to earth to serve Lomapāda, king of Aṅga. Lomapāda’s authorship of a Sūtra-work on medical treatment of elephants.—Chap. 253.

Chaps. 254-257.—Sailūsa’s determination to wage war against Bharata in spite of Nāḍāyana’s advice to the contrary. Inability of the Gandharvas, sent by Sailūsa, to create the least disturbance in Ayodhyā, Rājagrha and Bharata’s camp.

Description of love-lorn women in Ayodhyā.

Chaps. 258-268.—Description of the war between Bharata and Sailūsa,—a war which resulted in the death of the latter. Description of the battle-field.

Chap. 269.—Bharata’s performance of Viṣṇu’s sayanotsava and jāgaraṇotsava for five days each from Āsādha-suklaikāḍāśī and Kārttika-suklaikāḍāśī respectively; his construction, for his sons Puṣkara and Takṣa, of two cities named Puṣkarāvati and Takṣaśilā on both banks of the Sindhu; his return to Ayodhyā and worship of Viṣṇu.

Khaṇḍa II

[This Khaṇḍa deals with the duties of kings—rāja-dharma.]

Chap. 1.—Vajra praises Mārkaṇḍeya for narrating, with various other topics, the story of Bharata’s successful war against the Gandharvas and requests him to describe what Bhārgava Rāma heard from Varuṇa after reaching the latter’s region. Mārkaṇḍeya says that Rāma Jāmadagnya first heard from Varuṇa about measurement of
time and then asked him to speak on the duties of kings (rāja-dharma), that Varuṇa referred Bhārgava Rāma to his own son Puṣkara, who, Varuṇa said, had heard about rāja-dharma from Indra, and that, in compliance with Varuṇa’s request, Puṣkara took Bhārgava Rāma to his own residence.

Chaps. 2-7.—Being requested by Bhārgava Rāma, Puṣkara spoke on the following topics:

Necessity of a pious and dutiful king for the establishment of law and order in the country; various qualifications (such as submission to the opinions of ministers and the state-astrologer) that a king must possess; selection, to be made by the king’s predecessors as well as by the most prominent people of the state, of a worthy member of the royal family for the throne; the king’s oath; appointment of a qualified Brahmin as state-astrologer (sāṃvatsara)—the first duty of the king; qualifications of the state-astrologer, and the king’s submission to him; selection of ministers, priest (purohita) and chief queen in accordance with the instructions of the state-astrologer; the king’s coronation to be performed by the state-astrologer; qualifications of the Purohita (who is to be an Atharvan versed in the Yajur-veda and the Atharva-veda and to have thorough knowledge of the five kalpas, viz., nakṣatra-kalpa, vaitāna-kalpa, saṁhitā-kalpa, aṅgiraḥ-kalpa and śānti-kalpa); necessity of Purohita for peace and prosperity of the king; qualifications of ministers, who are to be Brahmans versed in the Vedas and the Niti-śāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uṣanas; qualifications to be possessed by the chief queen.

Chaps. 8-9.—Auspicious signs of men and women.

Chaps. 10-11.—Characteristic signs of good and bad elephants and horses.

Chaps. 12-14.—Making of a chowry, an umbrella and a holy seat (bhadrāsana) for the king.

Chap. 15.—Names and characteristics of jewels to be worn by the king.

144 See chap. 3, verse 8, and chap. 4, verse 1.
145 See chap. 6, verse 2.
Chaps. 16-17.—Construction of bows with metals (such as gold, silver, copper and steel), horns (of buffaloes, śarabhās and other beasts), bamboo, wood etc. Construction of arrows, and of swords with steel of different countries, viz., Vaṅga, Śūrpāraka, Videha, Aṅga etc. Characteristics of swords manufactured in these countries.

Story of the origin of 'khāḍga' (sword) from a divine being named Nandaka and of 'loha' (steel) from the different limbs of a demon named Loha.

[In connection with the selection of materials for the construction of bows, Puṣkara says:

vaṃśānām api tac chreṣṭaṁ yatra gaṅgā mahānadi/
śālānām api tac chreṣṭaṁ gomati yatra bhārgava/
vitastā-kūlajāṁ sreṣṭhāṁ vetasīnāṁ tathaiva ca/]

Chap. 16, verses 14-15a.

The countries manufacturing the best arrows are mentioned in the following lines:—

śaṅkāh kirāçajāh sreṣṭhāh kaṃcīpura-samipatah/
tebhya'pi te sreṣṭhatamāh skanda-janma-samipatah/]

Chap. 16, verses 20b-21a.

The following verses name the countries producing steel of different qualities for the manufacture of swords:—

lohaṁ pradhiṇāṁ khāḍgārthe praśastam tad viśeṣatah/
kaṭikadūra-ṛṣikāṁ vaṅge śūrpārakeṣu ca/
videheṣu tathāṅgeṣu madhyamaṁ grāmadeśu/
sahagrāmeṣu nipėṣu tathā kālaṇjare 'pi ca/

Chap. 17, verses 21b-23a.]

Chaps. 18-23.—On coronation.—Proper time for coronation; performance of Purandara-Sānti; characteristics of fire in which homas are to be performed; procedure of coronation; mantras to be used on this occasion,—all these mantras being Purānic in character and containing invocations to the gods, goddesses (including Durgā mounted on a lion), Dīk-pālas, Prajāpatis, Piṭās, Mātṛs, wives of Dharma, Kaśyapa and others, Nakṣitras, Planets, Manus, Rudras (including Dhūmaketu, Bharata and Kāpāli), Sādhyas, Ādityas, Maruts, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Daityas, Dānavas, Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, Piśācas, Suparṇas and others.
[In some of the mantras given in chap. 22, there is mention of
(i) Rg-veda, Yajur-deda, Sāma-veda, Atharva-veda, Itihāsa,
Dhanurveda, Gandharva-veda, Āyurveda, the six Āṅgas (viz., śikṣā,
kāla etc.), Mīmāṃsā, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāṇca-
rātra, and Pāśupata (chap. 22, verses 129-134);
(ii) a large number of holy places, rivers, lakes etc., the majority
of which belongs to the western and north-western parts of Northern
India (chap. 22, verses 142-184).

It is to be noted that the names of the rivers include the
following:—Sindhu (mentioned thrice), Sarasvati, Satadru, Gomati
(mentioned twice), Sarayū, Vipāśā, Candrabhāgā, Irāvati, Vitastā,
Devikā (mentioned twice) and Ikṣumati.

Kauśikī and Karatoṭa also have been mentioned.]

Praise of tīrthas.

Chaps. 24-25.—The first and the most important duty of a newly
crowned king.——Selection of qualified persons for the posts of generals
(who should be Brahmins or Kṣatriyas), messengers (who should know
the local dialects), body-guards, tāmbula-dhārī, sandhi-vigrāhaka,
khadga-dhārī, kośa-dhārī, sārathi, sūdādhyakṣa, cooks, judge, scribe
(lekha), gate-keeper, gajādhyakṣa, aśvādhyakṣa, durgādhyakṣa etc.
Conduct of these officers towards the king.

Chaps. 26-27.—Selection of proper place for residence; construc-
tion of forts (viz., dhana-durga, mabī-durga, nara-durga, vārāsa-durga,
ambu-durga and giri-durga) and furnishing these with houses, means
of protection, herbs etc.

Chaps. 28-32.—Protection of the king from poison etc. Science
of house-building (vāstu-vidyā). Directions about gardening and plant-
tation. Building of temples, and making provisions for the worship
of different deities. Praise of rendering service and making gifts to
Brahmins; and glorification of Brahmins as superior to, and more
powerful than, gods.

Chaps. 33-41.—On the conduct and duties of women.—
Praise of chaste women, and the protection to be given to them by
the state.

Duties of a chaste woman.—She is to live under the guardianship
of her father, husband or sons. She is not to take to magic (mūla-
karma) for any reason whatsoever. In case she becomes a widow, she is to die by mounting the funeral pyre of her deceased husband or remain devoted to him without marrying for the second time. A wife, who dies in the above-mentioned way, is said to have a very happy future. If a widow has none on her husband's side, she is to be maintained by her father or some other relative on her father's side.—Chap. 34.

Duties of women continued.—Their worship of Śrī, Aśokikā, Chando-deva, vāstu-devatā, Viṣṇu, a cow with a calf, the constellations called Kṛttikā and Rohiṇī, Kārttika, Gauri and Nārāyaṇa.—Chap. 35.

Story of Sā vitrī, narrated elaborately to exemplify the power of a devoted wife.—Chaps. 36-41.

Chaps. 42-44.—On cows.—Sanctity of cows; praise of service to cows; medical treatment of various diseases of cows (viz., those of the eyes, teeth, mouth, heart etc.); description of rites (śānti-karma) and measures for the welfare of cows in normal times as well as in various kinds of crises.

Chaps. 45-50.—On horses and elephants.—Necessity of these to kings; medical treatment of various diseases of these animals; description of rites (viz., aśva-śānti and gaja-śānti) and measures for their welfare.

Chaps. 51-60.—Necessity of man-power to the king. Directions about the selection of persons for helping the king in his work of public administration.—Chap. 51.

Medical treatment of females, so that they may give birth to numerous healthy sons.

Nursing and medical treatment of children from their very birth.

146 pati-vratā tu yā näri saha bhartrā divaṁ gatā/ kalpāvāśeṣām muditā pūjyate tridaśālaye/ (chap. 34, verse 41), and

mṛtam bhartāram ādāya yadi vātha pati-vratā/ praviśed dvija-śārdūla jvalitaṁ jītavedasam/ tisrāḥ kotyo 'rdha-koṭi ca yāni lomāṇi mānave/ tāvanty eva śatābdānī svarga-loke mahiyanē/ and so on (chap. 34, verses 47ff.).
Use of herbs and performance of various rites for their welfare. Performance of other rites and sacraments, viz., jāta-karma, karṇa-vedha, niṣkramaṇa, anna-prāśana and vidyārmbha.—Chap. 52.

Rites and vows (viz., Rohiṇī-snāna, Saptami-vrata and Āṣṭami-vrata) to ensure the birth of male children.—Chaps. 53-55.

Symptoms and medical treatment of various diseases of males.—Chap. 56.

Description of ceremonial baths and vows (viz., Satabhiṣā-snāna, Ārogya-dvitiyā-vrata, Ārogya-pratipad and Ārogya-vrata) meant especially for ensuring freedom from diseases.—Chaps. 57-60.

Chap. 61.—On rāja-dharma.—Appointment of administrative officers, viz., grāmādhipati, daśa-grāmādhipa, sata-grāmādhipa and viṣayēśvara, whose activities are to be keenly observed through spies.


Chap. 62.—Necessity of females in life. The king’s duties to the inmates of his harem.

Chaps. 63-64.—Directions about the preparation of food and perfumes.

Chap. 65.—Education and protection of princes; general conduct

147 Chap. 52, verses 102-109. This rite includes the testing of the future tendency of the child by means of books, weapons, wares etc.
148 Chap. 52, verses 123ff. At the beginning of this ceremony, Hari, Lakṣmi, Sarasvati and the Śūtrakāras are to be worshipped.
149 In this vrata the Sun is to be worshipped.
150 In this vrata the Moon is to be worshipped at night.
151 In this vrata the Sun is to be worshipped.
152 bhaksyamāṇāḥ praśā rakṣyāḥ kāyasthaiś ca viśeṣataḥ.—Verse 29.
For an idea of the tyranny of the Kāyasthas in Kashmir see Kṣemendra’s Kalā-vilāsa, Narma-mālā and Deśopadeśa, and Kalhana’s Rājataraṅgini, iv. 90 and 621ff., vii. 1226, and viii. 131 and 85-114.
of a successful ruler; his duties towards his friends and foes; benefits of good deliberation and of maintenance of its secrecy.

Chaps. 66-71. — Praise of puruṣakāra (enterprise). Proper application of the expedients, viz., sāma (which is classified into tatbya and atatbya), bheda, dāna and dānda. The king’s possession of certain divine capacities, viz., those of the Sun, the Moon, the Wind, the son of Vivasvat (i.e. Yama), Varuṇa and others.

Chap. 72. — Occasions for application of dānda. — Laws about inheritance of property, unclaimed articles, stolen goods, witnesses, mortgaged property, deposits, contract, purchase, marriage, boundary, defamation, criminal assault, theft, adultery, prostitution, holy days, gambling, prize-fighting, labour, embankments, taking of forbidden food, etc.; and nature of punishment in case of violation of these laws.

Chap. 73. — Occasions for application of dānda. — Rules of expiation (prāyaścitta) for sin caused by food, killing of animals, theft etc.; and punishment for violation of these rules.

Chap. 74. — Methods of performance of various kinds of rahasya-prāyaścitta.

Chaps. 75-76. — Determination of the periods of impurity (āśauca) caused by births and deaths; cremation and other attendant rites (such as offer of food and water to the deceased, consolation of the bereaved relatives, and so on); purification of things (dravya-suddhi).

Chaps. 80-82. — Duties of the four castes. Origin, nature, and duties of the mixed castes (viz., Čaṇḍāla, Māgadha, Āyogava, Vaidehaka, Sūta, Pukkasa and others). Profession of the members of the four castes in times of extreme distress (āpad-dharma); rules about interest and agriculture.

Chaps. 83-84. — Description of ceremonial baths, viz., Pūrvāśāḍhā-snāna (meant for profit in trade) and Mūla-snāna (for gain in agriculture).

Chaps. 85-86. — Rules to be observed during cohabitation with the wife to ensure the birth of a male child; description of the different sacraments (saṃskāra). Duties of a student.

Chap. 87. — Marriage. — Intercaste marriage — permissible in the

153 For directions about agriculture see chap. 82, verses 13ff.
descending order of castes; relative position of the wives of different castes; disapprobation of the acceptance of śulka (nuptial fee); remarriage of women;\textsuperscript{134} forms of marriage; method of accepting the girls of different castes; auspicious time for marriage; rules about adhivedana; and so on.

Description of the method of worshipping Śacī before celebrating a marriage ceremony.\textsuperscript{133}

Chaps. 88-110. — Daily duties of a householder, viz., answering the call of nature, cleansing the mouth, bathing etc. Various prescriptions and prohibitions for a householder. — Chaps. 88-89.

Method of worshipping Viṣṇu, and selection of flowers for the purpose. — Chaps. 90-91.

Performance of Viśvadeva; offer of food to the manes; giving of fodder to cows; reception of guests; gifts of various things to guests. — Chap. 92.

Instructions about taking food and sleeping. Performance of paṇca-mahāyajña as well as of other sacrifices. — Chaps. 93-95.

Description of ceremonial baths (viz., Kṛttikā-sāna, Ādrā-sāna, Śravaṇā-sāna, Janmarkṣa-sāna, Dikpāla-sāna, Vināyaka-sāna, Māheśvara-sāna etc.) and of special worship of Viṣṇu under particular Nakṣatras and on special occasions for the accomplishment of desired objects, such as destruction of one’s enemies, freedom from diseases, and so on. — Chaps. 96-110.

Chaps. 111-123. On karma-vipāka. — Results of sinful acts such as murder, theft, etc. Description of birth of creatures (with a discourse on bhoga-deba and the origin of the foetus. — Chaps. 112-114).

134 naṣṭe mṛte pravrjīte klībe 'tha patite 'patau,
pancaśv āpatu nārīṣam patir anyo vidhiyate // (II. 87. 11).
This verse occurs again in Viṣṇudh. III. 329 and is the same as Parāśara-smṛti 4. 30. Both in Viṣṇudh. III. 329 (verse 14) and Parāśara-smṛti, chap. 4 it reads 'patite patau'.

135 See verses 21 ff. During this worship, an image of Śacī is to be constructed with earth, taken with great ceremony to the side of a river or a lake by such women as have their husbands living, and worshipped for three days. While taking the image to the place of worship, these women are to wear red clothes and carry arms in their hands.
Description of the structure of the human body (chap. 115). Passing of the soul out of the body, and the dissolution of the latter into the five elements; description of the region of the dead—preta-loka (chap. 116). Actions (viz., the due performance of one's duties, abstention from wine, meat etc., donation of various things, and so on) that lead to heaven; and actions leading to hell.—Chaps. 117-8.

Names and description of hells; results of stealing different articles.—Chaps. 119-121.

Actions that enable people to get over difficulties. Description of various kinds of expiatory penances, viz., Cāndrāyaṇa, Sāntapana, Taptācchra, Kṛcchrāticchra etc.—Chaps. 122-3.

Chaps. 124-129.—Praise of muttering the Gāyatrī and the different Sūktas of the Rgveda. Method of performing vaśikaraṇa, uccāṭana etc. with the use of mantras of the Yajurveda. Attainment of different objects by muttering different mantras of the Sāma-veda and the Atharva-veda and performing bomas with these. Praise of the Śrī-sūkta and the Puruṣa-sūkta, and their use in bomas.

Chaps. 130-131.—Duties of vānaprasthas and sannyāsins.

Chaps. 132-133.—Mention of various kinds of Ātharvaṇa śānti (purificatory rite) meant for the accomplishment of various objects.

Chaps. 134-144.—Various kinds of heavenly, atmospheric and terrestrial omens (utpāta), as described by Vṛddha-garga to Atri.

Chaps. 145-150.—Mention of the seven āṅgas of a kingdom, viz., sāma, dāna, durga, kośa, daṇḍa, mitra and janapada; description of a circle of kings (rāja-mañḍala) consisting of vijigīṣu, ari, mitra, pārśnigrāha, ākranda etc.

Description and application of prakāśa and aprakāśa daṇḍa; occasion for upeksā; terrifying the enemies by creating artificial omens, shouting, taking to magic, and by various other means; explanation and application of sāḍgūnya.

Chap. 151.—Daily duties of kings, viz., meeting the spies, hearing about the income and expenditure, answering the call of nature, and so on (including hearing of disputes and deliberation with ministers).

Chaps. 152-158.—Religious rites to be performed by the king; Description of Viṣṇu-worship for four months (cāturmāśya-vidhi);
worship of Indra’s banner (śakra-dhvaja), which Viṣṇu gave to the
gods after the latter’s defeat in a war with the demons and which was
worshipped by king Vasu and others according to the directions of
Garga; worship of Bhadrakāli in a picture on Āśvina-śukla-navami.

Chaps. 159-161.—Description of nirājana-śanti. Mantras of
chattra, aśva, dhvaja etc., and Ghrta-kambala-śanti, as described by
Parāśara to Gālava.

Chap. 162.—Annual coronation of the king.

Chaps. 163-165.—Proper time for marching against enemies,
Omens indicating good or evil in marches. Determination of the
king’s good or evil from questions etc.

Chaps. 166-174.—On astrology and astronomy.—Position of
planets and stars, and their influence on the life and activity of the
king; astronomical calculations (including measurement of planets
and stars).

[All these chapters are written in prose, and in these, Brahmā
speaks to Bhṛgu.

Towards the beginning of chap. 166 the former says to the
latter: “When, at the beginning of the Kalpa, you were born from
my heart, I told you about the movements of the luminaries in
twenty-four lacs of verses. ... I shall repeat all these very
briefly. ...”

156 The colophon of chap. 174 is followed by the words ‘samāptam
paitāmaha-siddhāntam’.

Chaps. 175-176.—Determination of proper time for starting
against enemies. Rites (such as worship of Vināyaka and other
deities, performance of jaya-snāna or bath for victory, consecration of
weapons, and so on) to be performed before and during the start;
the king’s conduct in the land of his enemies.

Chap. 177.—Preliminaries of war (viz., bathing of elephants and

156 See Viṣṇudh. II. 166—...śribrahmāṇam bhṛgur vijñāpayāmāsa—bhaga-
vaṁ jyotīśam ayaṇam śrotum ichhāmi/ tam uvāca bhagavān pitāmahah/ yadā me
tvaṃ kalpādau hṛdayāy jātas tadā mayā te ślokānām caturvinśati-lakṣaṁ jyotir-
ayanam uktam tad evāmin vārūpe yañē mahādeva-sāpena īvālam bhīttvā vinir-
gatasya janmāntarotpannasya atisamkṣiptam vakyāmi/ tacchṛutvā sarvam eva te
pūrva-janmābhihitam jyotir jānānām āvirbhāvīsyati/
horses, worship of Nṛsiṁha, and so on). Philosophy and method of war (with the names of vyūhas and the mention of the dexterity of people of different countries in different types of war);\textsuperscript{157} praise of death in war; duty of the king after attainment of victory.

Chaps. 178-183.—On dhānurveda (including use of khaḍga, prāsa, śūla etc. in war, and dressing of horses and elephants for the same purpose).

Khaṇḍa III.

Chap. 1.—Vajra’s enquiry about the means of attaining happiness here and hereafter; and Mārkaṇḍeya’s praise of the worship of deities in sacrifices, on the one hand, and of the observance of fasts, vows etc., on the other.

Praise of worship of deities in beautiful images constructed in accordance with the principles of painting (citrasūtra-vidhānena)

Chap. 2.—Being requested by Vajra to speak on the art of painting (citrasūtram) Mārkaṇḍeya says that knowledge of painting is dependent on that of dancing, knowledge of dancing rests on that of instrumental music (ātodya), and the science of instrumental music is dependent on that of vocal music (gīta), and that one, who is versed in the science of vocal music, can master all the rest.\textsuperscript{158}

\textsuperscript{157} See verses 40-43a—

dākṣīṇātyāś ca vijnēyāḥ Kuśālaḥ khāḍga-varmiṇaḥ/
vaṁkalā dhānvino jñeyāḥ Pārvatiyās tathaiva ca//
pāśaṇa-yuddha-kuśalās tathā Parvata-vāsināḥ/
pāncalāḥ sūrasenaḥ ca ratheṣu kuśalā naraḥ//
kāmboja ye ca gāndhārāḥ kuśalās te hayeṣu ca/
prāyaśaḥ ca tathā mlecchā vijnēyāḥ pāsa-yodhinaḥ//
āṅgā vaṅgāḥ kalingāḥ ca jñeyāḥ mātāṅga-yodhinaḥ/

\textsuperscript{158} Verses 3b-7—

vinā tu nṛtya-śāstreṇa citrasūtraṃ sudurvidam/
jagato na kriyā kāryā dvayor api yato nṛpa//

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...

ātodyaṃ yo na jānāti tasya nṛttaṃ hi durvidam/
ātodyena vinā nṛttaṃ vidyate na kathamīcana//

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...

na gitenā vinā śakyam jñātum ātodyam apy uta/
gīta-śāstra-vidhānañjōh sarvanā vetti yathāvidhi//
Going to speak on gīta-śāstra Mārkaṇḍeya refers to the following topics:—composition of songs (i) in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa and various local dialects and (ii) in prose and verse;¹⁵⁹ classification of verses into uṛtta and mātrika according to the nature of their metres:¹⁶⁰ mention of some points on grammar, viz., use of śabda-vibhaktis, mention and use of different persons, and so on.

Chap. 3.—Mention of the following uṛtas (with the number of syllables in a quarter):—Gāyatra, Uṣṇik, Anuṣṭubh, Brhati, Paṅkti, Triśṭubh, Jagati, Atijagati, Sakvari, Atiśakvari, Aṣṭi, Atyaṣṭi, Vṛcti, Ativṛtī, Kṛti, Prakṛti, Akṛti, Vikṛti, Saṃkṛti, Vikṛti(?) and Atikṛti.¹⁶¹ Rules about reckoning the syllables as laghu or guru. Characteristics of Nivṛt (?), Tamar (?), Virāṭ and Surā; and the origin of the different types of mātṛa-cchandaḥ (or metres regulated by the numbers of syllabic instants).¹⁶²

Chaps. 4-6.—Characteristics of the speeches of gods, sages,
demons etc. Definition\textsuperscript{163} and classification of śūtras; characteristics of their explanation; different kinds of pramāṇa; meaning of ‘āpta’ and ‘āpta-vacanābhāsa’; and so on.

Explanation of the terms ‘adhiṣṭhaṇa,’ ‘yoga,’ ‘padārtha,’ ‘hetvartha,’ ‘uddesa,’ ‘arthāpatī’ etc.

Chap. 7.—Characteristics of Prakrit.

This chapter ends with the following two verses:

dimātram etad uddiṣṭaṁ madhyā prākṛta-lakṣaṇam/
prayogād anukartavyo vistaro hy ativistaraḥ//
deśau deśau prthag vibhinnam na śākyate lakṣaṇatas tu vaktum/
lokeṣu yat syād apabhraṣṭa-sāṃjñaṁ jñeyaṁ hi tad-deśaṁ dhiṁkhāraṁ//

Chaps. 8-13.—Sanskrit vocabulary.—

List of synonymous words denoting various divine beings, division of time, rivers, men etc.

Lists of feminine, masculine and neuter words.

Chaps. 14-16.—On poetics (ālakāra)—

Definition of anuprāsa, and limitation in its use;\textsuperscript{164} definition and use\textsuperscript{166} of yamaka, and its classification into sāndāṣṭaka and samudga; definitions of rūpaka, vyatireka, śleṣa, utprekṣā, arthāntara-nyāsa, upanyāsa, vibhāvanā, atiśayokti, svabhāvokti, yathā-sāṃkhyā, viśeṣokti, virodha, nindā-stuti, nidarśana etc.—Chap. 14.

[In some of the verses there are references to older authorities on poetics.—See Chap. 14, verse 7—utprekṣākhyo hy aḷamkāraḥ kathitaḥ sa purāṭanaīḥ; verse 12—yathāsāmkhyam iti proktam aḷamkāraḥ purāṭanaīḥ; and verse 15—ananyākhyam kathitaṃ purāṇaṃ aṣṭāṣṭaḥ \* \* \* .]

Definitions of ‘itiḥāśa’ and ‘kāvyā’.

Definition and characteristics of ‘mahākāvyā’ (which should

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\textsuperscript{163} Chap. 5, verse 1—
apākṣaram asamśīlidham sāravad viśvatomukham/
astobham anavadyaṁ ca sūtram sūtravido vikulḥ//

\textsuperscript{164} Chap. 14, verse 2a—
atyartham tat kṛtāṁ rājan grāmyatāṁ upagacchati/
(tat=aṇuprāsəm).

\textsuperscript{165} Chap. 14, verse 4a—
samasta-pāda-yamakaṁ duṣkaraṁ parikirtīcam//
contain description of towns, countries etc. and have a nāyaka and a pratināyaka, but should not describe the death of the nāyaka.\textsuperscript{166}

Defects in poetical composition.

Delineation of nine Rasas in Mahākāvyas, viz., śṛngāra, hāsya, karunā, raudra, vīra, bhayānaka, bibhatsa, adhbhuta and śānta.—Chap. 15.

Prahelikās (Riddles).—Classification of Prahelikās into those which are faulty (doṣāh) and those which are faultless. Names and definitions of the Prahelikās of the second type, viz., samāgata, vandita,\textsuperscript{167} vṛttānta-gopikā, duṣkhitā, paribhāṣikā, samāna-rūpā, paruṣā, samkhyāta, kalpitā, nāmāntaritā, nībhṛtā, samāna-sabdā, vyāmūdhā, guccha,\textsuperscript{168} eka-cchannā, ubhaya-cchannā, babu-cchannā and samkīrṇā.

Further classification of Prahelikās into vyabhicārini, naṣṭārtha, naṣṭāksara, varṇabhrāṣṭa and lesākhyā.

Restriction on the use of even the faultless Prahelikās.\textsuperscript{169}—Chap. 16.

Chaps. 17-31.—On dramaturgy.—

Mention of ‘Pūrāṇa’ as having four Pādas (viz., Prakriyā, Upodghāta, Anuśānga and Samhāra) and five characteristics (pañca-lakṣāna—sarga, pratisarga, vanīsa, manvantara and vanśanucarita).

Origin of dramas;\textsuperscript{170} general form of dramas;\textsuperscript{171} classification of

\textsuperscript{166} Chap. 15, verses 7b-8a—
pratināyaka-ghātas tu vaktavyo netarasya tu/
nāyakasya mahārājā maraṇāṁ naiva varṇayet//

\textsuperscript{167} The name ‘varjitā’ (for ‘vandita’) occurs in the Dacca Univ. Ms (No. 4669, fol. 10b) of the Viṣṇudharmottarā.

\textsuperscript{168} The Dacca Univ. Ms (No. 4669, fol. 10b) reads ‘gūḍhākhyā’ for ‘gucchākhyā’.

\textsuperscript{169} Chap. 16, verse 2—
ślokenaīkena vā dvābhyaṁ kartavyā tu narottama/
na kartavyāś ca tā rājan bahu-śloka-nibandhanāḥ//

\textsuperscript{170} Chap. 17, verse 7—
itiḥsānusāreṇa purāṇānāṁ samikṣitam/
caritāṁ tridāśānāṁ vā nātakām tatra kṛttitam//

\textsuperscript{171} In this connection the following verses are to be noted:—
bahu-daiwatikāṁ vṛttāṁ kartavyam tu praveśakam/
samkṣeppoktiś ca kartavyā kartavyo na hi vistarāḥ//
prakhṛyāta-nāyaka-vadham na ca tatra praveśayet/
tasya prakāsanaṁ kāryaṁ anke’py eva naraḥhipa//
dramas into 12 varieties, viz., Nāṭaka, Nāṭikā, Prakaraṇa, Prakaraṇi, Utsṛṣṭikāṅka, Bhāna, Samavakāra, Iḥāṛga, Vyāyoga, Vīthi, Dīma and Prahasana; characteristics of these varieties; use of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṣṭa (i.e., Apabhramśa) in dramas; peculiarities (as regards names etc.) of different characters; characteristics of the eight types of nāyikās (nāyikāśaka-lakṣaṇam), viz., vāsa-sajjā, virahot-kaṇṭhitā, svādhina-bhartṛkā, kalahāntarīta, khaṇḍitā, vipralabdha, prośita-bhartṛkā, and abhisārika; delineation of the nine Rasas including Śānta in dramas.—Chap. 17.

Characteristics of different kinds of vocal music (gīta-lakṣaṇam); names of particular types of vocal music which are appropriate to the nine Rasas (including Śānta)—Chap. 18.

Classification and characteristics of instrumental music (ātodya); employment of particular types of instrumental music in the cases of the nine Rasas (including Śānta).—Chap. 19.

Dancing and acting.—Definition of nāṭya; necessity of nṛtta in theatrical performances; classification of nṛtta; construction of the

nāyakābhuyudayāḥ kāryo nāṭakānte tathāiva ca/
bahvyo'pi nāyikā yatra tāsām api tathā bhavet//

Chap. 17, verses 16-18.

172 Chap. 17, verses 19b-21—
kṛtaṁ prakaraṇam tadvat svayam utpādyā vastunā/
brāhmaṇo nāyakas tatra vaṇik ca nṛpa-sattama/
evaṁ prakaraṇi kārya catur-ānkāpi sa bhavet/
itiḥsānubandho vā svayam utpādyā vā kṛtaḥ/
bhārati-karunā-prāyo nivṛttaṁ samanantaram//

173 The Dacca Univ, Ms (No. 4669, fol. 11b) reads 'utsṛṣṭakāṅkaḥ', whereas the printed edition has 'catuṣṭay añkaḥ'.

174 The printed edition reads 'prāṇah' for 'bhāṇah' of the Univ. Ms (fol. 11b).

175 According to the Nāṭya-sāstra, Prahasanas are divided into Bhānas and Vīthis.

176 The line 'kāntopasarpaṇa-manās tathā jñeyābhisārikaḥ', mentioning 'abhisārikaḥ', is wanting in the printed edition but occurs in the Dacca Univ. Ms (fol. 12b).

177 Chap. 17, verse 61—
śṛṅgāra-hāsya-karunā-vira-raudra-bhayānakāḥ/
bibhatsādhuta-sītākhyā nava nāṭya-rasāḥ smṛtāḥ//
stage; religious rites preceding and following a theatrical performance; description of the different modes of abhinaya, viz., āhārya, sāttvika, vācika and āṅgika; description of aṅgahāras, karaṇas, śirah-karmans, rasa-dṛṣṭis, hasta-vyavasthās, aṅga-racanā (by means of paints), sāmānyā-bhinaya, gati-lakṣāṇas etc.—Chaps. 20-29.

Treatment of the nine Rasas (including Śanta)\(^\text{178}\) to be delineated in dramas.—Chap. 30.

Description of the 49 bbāvas (including nirveda),\(^\text{179}\) and their relation to the different Rasas.—Chap. 31.

[Chaps. 17-31 are based on Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra.]

Chaps. 32-34. — In these chapters Mārkaṇḍeya professes to speak 'briefly on nṛtya-śāstra.' The topics dealt with in these chapters are as follows:—

Names and description of the various mudrās to be performed in dancing.—Chaps. 32-33.

Story of the origin of dancing (nṛta) from Viṣṇu.—Being eulogised by Brahmā to kill the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, Viṣṇu left his bed, moved gracefully on the ocean, and thus created the art of dancing, by which, he said, one can imitate the three worlds.\(^\text{180}\)

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\(^\text{178}\) For śānta-rasa see chap. 30, verses 1-2a—

hāṇya-śṛṅgāra-karuna-raundra-vira-bhayānakāḥ/
bibhats-ālbbhuta-sāntākhīyā nava nāṭye rasāḥ sūmtāḥ//
śānto rasāḥ svatantro'tra pṛthag eva vyavasthitāḥ/

verse 4a—

śānta-svabhāva-varṇas tu rasāḥ proktō narādhipa/

and verses 8b-11a—

śāntasya devo viṇyeyah parah puruṣa eva tu//
śāntasya tu samutpattir nṛpa vairāgyataḥ smṛtā/,
sa cābhineyo bhavati līṅga-grahaṇatas tathā//
sarva-bhūta-dayā-dhyāna-mokṣa-mārga-pravartanaiḥ/
nāsti yatra sukhaṁ duḥkhhaṁ na dveśo nāpi matsaraḥ//
samaḥ sarveṣu bhūteṣu sa śāntah prathito rasāḥ//

For mention of nirveda, see verse 16.

\(^\text{179}\) Chap. 31, verse 11b—

dāridrya-ēṣṭa-vināśe ca nirvedo nāma jāyate//

\(^\text{180}\) Chap 34, verse 17b—

trailokasy-ānukaraṇaṁ nṛtte devi pratiśṭhitam//
Viṣṇu then killed the demons and imparted the dance, thus created by him, to Brahmā. The latter, in his turn, imparted it to Rudra; and Rudra worshipped Viṣṇu with it.

Praise of worshipping deities with dance; denouncement of the use of dance for earning one’s livelihood. Benefits of dancing, as mentioned in verses 30b-31 of Chap. 34—

\[
\text{iśvarānāṁ vilāsaṁ tu cārtānāṁ duḥkha nāśanāṁ/}
\text{mūḍhānāṁ upadeśaṁ tat striṁāṁ saubhāgya-vardhanām//}
\text{sāntikāṁ paustikāṁ kāmyāṁ vāsudevena nirmitam//}
\]

Chaps. 35-43.—Mārkaṇḍeya’s speech on Citraśūtra (i.e. the art of painting)\textsuperscript{181}.—First invention of the art of painting by Nārāyaṇa, who created Urvaśī after painting her figure on the surface of the earth with the juice of a sabakāra tree and taught this new art to Viśvakarman; close relation of painting with dancing; classification of males into bāṃsa, bhadra, mālavya, rucaka and śāsaka; and the description and measurement of the different parts of their body; division of females into five classes; description of the method of wall-painting; preparation of dyes; classification of paintings into satya, vaṇīka, nāgara and miśra; peculiarities, in dress etc., of different deities, demons, human beings, prostitutes, warriors and others; representation of the sky, mountains, woods, water, seasons, evening, darkness etc., as well as of the nine Rasas (including Śānta) through painting; selection of places where pictures representing the different sentiments may be placed;\textsuperscript{182} types of pictures to be kept in houses, palaces etc.; praise of painting; relation of painting with clay-modelling.

[Chap. 43 ends with the words ‘samāptaṁ citraśūtram’.]

\textsuperscript{181} On this highly interesting section see Stella Kramrisch in Calcutta Review, February 1924, pp. 311ff., and Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University), Vol. XI, 1924.

\textsuperscript{182} Chap. 43, verses 11-13—

\[
\text{śrīgāra-hāsya-sāntyākāh lekhaniyā gṛheṣu te//}
\text{para-śeṣā na kartavyā kālācīd api kasyacīt/}
\text{deva-veśmani kartavyā rasāḥ sarve tṛpālaye//}
\text{rāja-veśmani no kāryā rājñām vāsa-gṛheṣu te/}
\text{sabhā-veśmasu kartavyā rājñāṁ sarva-rasā gṛhe//}
\]
Chaps. 44-85.—Mārkaṇḍeya’s speech on the construction of images of deities.—Characteristics of images of the Triad (trimūrti) Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra (chap. 44). Construction of a lotus with gold, silver, copper or brass for worshipping the intended deity on it (chap. 45).

Causes and benefits of image-worship (chap. 46, verses 1-6).

Description, and occasional explanation, of the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu (having four faces and eight hands), Maheśvara (having five faces and ten hands), the two Nāsatyas, Indra-and-Sacī (who are said to be the same as Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī respectively), Yama (who is accompanied by Citragupta and Kāla and is the same as Saṅkarṣaṇa), Varuṇa (with Gaṅgā and Yamunā at his sides), Dhanada (i.e., Kuvera), Garuḍa, Tāla, Makara, Śiva (having one face and four hands and with Pārvatī at his side), Agni-and-Svāhā, Vīrūpākṣa, Vāyu-and-Śiva, Bhai- rava, Viṣṇu (having one face and two hands), Mahī (the Earth, having four hands and being attended with four quarter-elephants), Gagana (the Sky, having two hands and holding the sun and the moon in them), Brahmā-and-Sāvitri, Sarasvati (having four hands), Ananta (having four hands and numerous hoods and holding the earth on the middlemost hood), Tumburu (with Jayā and Vijayā on his right side and with Jayantī and Aparājitā on his left), Sūrya (the Sun, who has four hands and beautiful beards and wears a coat and a girdle called ‘aviyāṅga’, and who is lion-banneered and is attended by Daṇḍin and Piṅgala, as well as either by his four sons named Revanta, Yama, Vaivasvata Manu and Śāvartti Manu and his four wives Rājñī, Rikṣubhā, Chāyā and Suvarcasā or by the other planets), Candra (the Moon), the Planets, Manus, Kumāra (and his other forms, viz., Skanda, Viśākha and Guha), Bhadrakāli (having eighteen hands and mounting a chariot drawn by four lions), Brahmā (mounted on a swan), Viṣnūyaka (having four hands and the head of an elephant), Viśvakarman (having two hands and carrying a samādamsa in one of them), Vasus, Viśvede- vas, Rudras, Śādhyas, Ādityas, Maruts, multifarious divine andsemi-

183 ‘Aviyāṅga’ (or ‘avyāṅga’) is the name of the girdle originally worn by Magi priests of ancient Persia. In the Avesta it is called Aivyāonghen.

184 For detailed description of the image of the Moon, see chap. 68.
divine beings (viz., Kaśyapa, Kaśyapa's wives, Dhruva, Agastya, Bhṛgus, Jayanta, Bala, Puṣkara, Jyotsnā, Nalakubara, Maṇḍibhadra, Vāyu-putra, Soma-suta, Nandin, Virabhadra and Artha; Kāmadeva and his four wives; some female deities such as Sarasvatī, Vārūṇi, Cāmunḍā, Susā, Śiva-dūti and others; Kāla, Jvara, and Dhanvantari; the presiding deities of the individual Vedas, Śaḍāṅgas, and various other śāstras, viz., dharmasāstra, itihāsa, nṛta-śāstra, pāñcarātra, pāṣupata etc.). Liṅga, Vyoman, Nara-and-Nārāyaṇa (with a fruit-bearing badāri tree standing between them), Dharma (having four faces, four hands, four legs, and a white complexion), Nṛsiṁha, Varāha, Hayagrīva (having eight hands), Padma-nābha (Viṣṇu), Lakṣmī (having two hands and being attended with two elephants holding two pitchers), Viśvarūpa (Hari), Aiḍūka (representing the universe as well as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara), Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Matsya, Kūrma, Bhārgava Rāma, Rāma Dāśarathī and his brothers, Vālmīki, the five Pāṇḍavas, Draupadī, Devaki, Yaśodā, Krṣṇa, Balarāma, Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Śamba and others.—Chaps. 46-85.

Chaps. 86-95.—Building of temples.—Description of different types of temples (such as Sarvatobhadra etc.) meant for different deities (chaps. 86-88); the architect's selecting, cutting and bringing of wood and stone from forests and mountains respectively for the construction of temples (chaps. 89-90); method of preparing bricks (chap. 91); composition of cement (ch. 92); selection and purification of sites for the construction of temples; special marks and flags for the temples of different deities (chaps. 93-95).

Chaps. 96-117.—Consecration (prātiṣṭhā) of an image185 of Viṣṇu. Determination of proper time of consecration. Detailed description of the method of consecration (—initiation of the consecrator; performance of toraṇa-nyāsa; preparation of paṇica-gavya; purification of the image; performance of adhivāsa; summoning of the principal deity with his attendants; performance of boma and of the ceremony of

185 In explaining the necessity of summoning Viṣṇu although he pervades the universe, Mārkaṇḍeya supports image-worship thus:—

ādau kṛtvā mahābhāga sākāre lakṣa-bandhanam/
tataḥ samartha bhavati śunye dhyāye naroṭhama//

awakening the Bhagavat (Bhagavad-vibodhana); bathing and anointing the Bhagavat; offer of various things to the deity; worship of the deity according to Vedic and Sāttvata methods; taking out the image in procession.

Chaps. 118-125.—Results of, and occasions for, worshipping Viṣṇu’s different manifestations and muttering their names; proper time and places of such worship and muttering.


The deities, to be worshipped in these Vratas, are called the different forms of Viṣṇu.

In chaps. 215-220 Mārkaṇḍeya reports to Vajra what Pulastya said to Dālbhya about the procedure of some Vratas. These six chapters form a distinct section ending with the words ‘samāptaḥ pulastyā-dālbhya-saṁvādaḥ.’

186 Vālmiki, Dharma, Brāhma, Mahādeva, Indra, Prthu and Divākara also are regarded as Viṣṇu’s manifestations.—See chaps. 118-121.

187 The names of places include the following:—Puṣkara, Kālaṇjara, Sindhu-kīla, Kāśmirā, Kārṇaṭa, Madra-deśa, Prāggyotisa, Dakṣināpatha, Mahāya, Aṅga, Mūlāsthāna, Gayā, Lohadanda, Vindāvana, Udra (‘where Viṣṇu remains as Purusottama’—udrēṣu purusottamam) etc.—See chaps. 121 and 125.
Chaps. 223-224 contain the story of Aśṭāvakra, who learnt from Kuvera and an old woman, about the various Roca-vratas and the unstable nature of women respectively.

Chaps. 226-342.—In these chapters, which constitute the Haṃsa-gītā, Viṣṇu is said to have assumed the form of Haṃsa and spoken to the sages on the following topics:


[None of these chapters contains anything striking. They consist mainly of verses derived from the Manu-smṛti, Yaññavalkya-smṛti, Parāśara-smṛti etc.]

Various unfavourable symptoms (ariṣṭa) of approaching death.—Chap. 238.

Evils of nescience (ajñāna), sins, passion, overjoy, self-conceit, intoxication, greed, anger, atheism, egotism, want of purity, violation of ācāra, telling lies (except in some special cases), and practice of bimśā (except in certain special cases).—Chaps. 239-252.

Results of various sinful acts.—Chap. 253.

Benefits of the following:—acquisition of knowledge (jñāna), practice of dharma, service to superiors, study of sacred books (viz., the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Upavedas, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Pāṣupata, Purāṇa etc.), practice of brāhmaṇa and begetting of sons.—Chaps. 254-259.

Praise of reputation (kirti), fame (yaśā), sacrifice (yañña), good conduct (śīla), self-control, truth, religious austerity, bravery (especially in war), abhimsā, tolerance (kṣamā), gratitude, good manners and customs, purity (āuca), visit to holy places, fasting, mental purity, śraddhā, and bath.—Chaps. 260-277.

Food offered by tāṅgāvatārins, pāśandas, cikitsā-jivakas, āyudha-jīvins, sāstra-vikrayakārins, caīla-dhāvakas and others is not eatable.—Chap. 230, verses 1ff.
Method and praise of muttering the mantra, performance of praṇāyāma, and practice of pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi. —Chaps. 278-284.

Praise of perseverance (vyavasāya) and determination (saṃkalpa), which are at the root of final emancipation. —Chaps. 285-286.

Praise and results of performing homa, worshipping deities with the offer of various things and rendering service to them, offering different articles to the Pitrēs, performing the rites of hospitality to guests, serving Brahmins and cows, showing compassion, becoming courteous, speaking sweet words, and being enterprising. —Chaps. 287-295.

Praise and results of digging wells, tanks etc., planting trees, plants and creepers, making embankments and well-furnished prapās (i.e. places for distributing water to travellers), and serving and helping the travellers in various ways. —Chaps. 296-298.

Classification of wealth into (a) white (śukla), (b) variegated (śabala) and (c) black (krṣṇa), and the ways of earning these different kinds of wealth. —Chap. 299.

Praise of donation. Proper time, place and recipients (who are Brahmins in most cases). —Chap. 300.

Certain rules about receiving gifts; deities presiding over the different kinds of gifts; methods of receiving these gifts. —Chap. 301.

Results of assuring safety (abhaya-dāna) under different circumstances. —Chap. 302.

Results and praise of vidyā-dāna, kanyā-dāna (according to the

189 The names of places, as specially mentioned in verses 25-29, are the following: —Puṣkara, Prayāga, Prabhiśa, Naṁiśa, Dharmāranya, Gayā, Amara-kāṇṭaka, Gaṅgādvāra, Kuśāvarta, Bilvaka, Nila-parvata, Kanakhala, Śaligrāma, Vārāṇasi, Sarasvati, Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, Sindu-sāgara-sandhi, Tritakūpa, Plakṣa-prasravana, Camasonmajjana, Mahālaya, Kedāra, Bhṛgutuṅga, Mānasa, Uttara-mānasa and Dadhi-tīrtha.

190 In connection with vidyā-dāna, special mention has been made of teaching the Vedas, Upavedas, Vedāṅgas, Dharma-sāstras, Siddhāntas and other sāstras, the different kinds of arts (śilpa), and dhanurveda. —Chap. 303.
Brāhma, Daiva and Prājāpatya forms), bhūmi-dāna, go-mahiṣa-dāna, dadhi-dugdha-dāna, and kapilā-dāna.—Chaps. 303-306.


Results of making gifts to different types of recipients and at different times.—Chaps. 316-319.

Results of taking one meal a day and of observing fast for one day or more.—Chap. 320.

Names of different regions (loka) attainable by those who perform different kinds of pious acts.—Chap. 321.

Duties of devoted wives.—Chap. 322.

Duties of kings.—Appointment of ministers and other officers; construction of well-provided forts; marriage; appointment of officers (viz., grāmādhipa, āśa-grāmādhipa, śata-grāmādhipa and desēśvara) for carrying on rural administration; levying of taxes; and so on. —Chap. 323.

Treatment of vyavahāra (administration of justice) under the following heads:—constitution of the court of justice; laws about summoning the accused and placing him under legal restraint; method of recording a plaint; legal procedure; examination of witnesses; laws about mortgage, gifts etc.; different kinds of evidence (viz., sākṣin,

191 Land has been classified into śāka-bhūmi, ārāma-bhūmi, udvāna-bhūmi, ṛkara-bhūmi, grha-bhūmi etc.—See Chap. 304.

192 In chap. 313 clothes have been classified, according to their materials, into kārpāṣaka, sa-roma, āvika, kṣaumā, kuśa-nirmita, kauṣeṣa, kr̥imīṣa, mṛgagomika, vālkalāja, and sumera-kadaly-ādi-nirmita.

People are prohibited from giving to Brahmins clothes coloured blue or red.—Chap. 313, verses 3 and 11.

193 In chap. 314 there is mention of different kinds of rice, viz., rakta-śāli (which is said to be the best of all), kalama, mahāsāli, kṣaṭha-śāli, vrīhi, śyāmāka, āuka-dhānya etc.

194 For the rates of taxes see chap. 323, verses 38-44.
lekhya, bhoga, and divya); comparative strength of title and possession; method of writing a document (lekhya); qualification of witnesses; description of the different kinds of ordeals; recognition of the eight forms of marriage; legal position of the twelve kinds of sons (viz., aurasa, putrikā-putra, kṣetraja, paunarbhava, kānina, sahoḍha, guḍhotpanna, dattaka, krīta, apaviddha, upagata and sūdrā-putra); laws of partition and inheritance, and of debt, mortgage and deposit; laws about joint-stock companies; settlement of disputes between masters and servants; laws about transgression of compact, about purchase and sale, about guilds and corporate bodies, and about boundary disputes; determination of the nature of punishment and

195 In chap. 328 there is mention of eight kinds of ordeals—
kosām dhaṭām viṣaṁ cāgnim udakām tapta-māṣakam/
phālaṁ ca taṇḍulaṁ caiva divyāṁ aṣṭau vidur buddhāḥ/ (verse 6).

196 The following lines (on the different forms of marriage, remarriage of married girls, etc.) are interesting—
prājāpatyas tathā daivo brāhmaṁ cāpi subhāṁ trayah/
gāndharvo rākṣasaś caiva madhyamaṁ parikīrtitau/
āśuraś caiva paśaṁ āṛaś caiva tathādharmah/
na te kāryāṁ prayatnena kadācid api kenacit/
āśuraśya tathāṛaśyas vīṣeṣo naiva vidyate/
śulkam eva tato jñeyam alpaṁ vā yadi vā bahu/
prāṇi-vikrayināḥ sarve narakam yānti mānāvāḥ/
vīṣeṣaṇa ca yāḥ putram vikriṇāti svakāṁ naraḥ/
narake vasaṁ tasya bahun abda-gaṇān vidubh/
mṛte bhartari yā kanyā kevalaṁ hasta-dūṣita/
sa ced aṅkṣata-yoniḥ syāt punah sanskāraṁ arhati/
ity evaṁ kecid icchanti na tan mama matalaṁ dvijāḥ/
saptame hi pade vṛtte nānyam arhati sā patim/
vācā dattā tu yā kanyā mautraś caiva na sanskritā,
anyasya sa bhaved deyā sati bhartari dosiṇi/
nasṭe mṛte pravrajite klībe 'tha patite patau/
paṅcasv āpatu nārīṇāṁ patir anyo vidhiyate/

Chap. 329, verses 6b-14.

trīṇi varśāṁ upāśita kumāry ṛtuṁati sati/
ukta-kālāt param paraṁ kanyā vindate sāḍṛśaṁ patim/,

Chap. 329, verse 28.

The verse 'nasṭe mṛte pravrajite', as occurring in Viṣṇudh. II. 87. 11, reads 'patite 'patau',

The Major Vaiśṇava Upaniṣāsas
the amounts of line in different kinds of crimes (viz., theft, murder, adultery, drinking of wine, killing of lower animals, defamation, criminal assault, etc.).—Chaps. 324-338

[Chaps. 324-338 abound in verses taken from the Vyavahāra-section of the Yājñāvalkya-smṛti. Some of the verses of these chapters have been taken from the Dharma śāstras of Manu, Nārada, Parāśara and others.]

Duties of vānaprasthas and yatis.—Chaps. 339-340.

[These two chapters contain verses of the Manu-smṛti; and the second has a few metrical lines from the Upaniṣads.]

Results of building new Viṣṇu-temples or repairing old ones, constructing images of Viṣṇu, serving Viṣṇu in various ways, singing his praise, and offering to him various things (including female slaves and dancing girls).—Chap. 341.

The sages’ eulogy of Viṣṇu, and their vision of the universe in the latter’s body. Praise of the Haṃsa-gītā.—Chap. 342.

[The colophon of chap. 342 is followed by the words ‘haṃsa-gītā samāptā.’]

Chaps. 343-348.—In glorifying Viṣṇu as extremely kind to his devotees, Mārkaṇḍeya narrates the stories of (a) Viṣṇu’s favour to Garuḍa, although the latter, being offended with the former for assuring safety to a Nāga named Sumukha, boasted of his own capacity and reproached Viṣṇu as ungrateful, (b) Viṣṇu’s birth as Vāmana to recover Indra’s kingdom from Bali, and (c) king Vasu Uparīcaras’s self-protection in the nether world by means of the Aparājītā Vidyā which was instructed to him by Bṛhaspati, and his winning of Viṣṇu’s favour.

In these stories there are eulogies of Viṣṇu and Garuḍa and a description of the Vaiśṇavī Aparājītā Vidyā.

Chaps. 349-354.—Glorification of Viṣṇu by means of the stories of

(a) Nārada, who went to Śveta-dvīpa in accordance with the advice of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, pleased Vāsudeva there by eulogising him and by taking to ekānta-bhāva, learnt from him about thousands of his past and future manifestations, and won Vāsudeva’s favour by zeal-
ously worshipping him in accordance with the method described to him by Nara and Nārāyaṇa (chaps. 349-353), and

(b) a Sāttvata named Viśvakṣena, who, being ‘ekānta-bhāvopagata’, violated the order of a Māheśvara and worshipped Narasiṃha, instead of Śiva, in a Śiva-liṅga, and whose life was saved from the hands of the Māheśvara by Viṣṇu himself who came out of the Śiva-liṅga by assuming the form of Narasiṃha (chap. 354).

Chap. 355.—The hymn (called Liṅgāśphoṭa) that was recited by Viśvakṣena.

Conclusion of the Viśṇudharmottara.

From the summary of the contents given above it is evident that the Viśṇudharmottara is an ambitious work containing chapters on multifarious subjects. But it does not claim originality in all matters. There are indications which show that this work has more the character of a compilation than that of an original work. It contains summaries of, and extracts and isolated verses from, some of the early works of the different branches of Sanskrit literature. For instance, it widely utilises the Rāmāyaṇa and incorporates a large number of verses from the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavad-gītā and the Upaniṣads. In its chapters on astronomy and astrology, it has verses from the works

197 For instance, see Viṣṇudh. I. 1. 16—

tasmāt tvam rāja-sārdūla praṣṭum aha dvijottamān/

vaiśṇavān vividhān dharmāṅ sarahasyāṅ sasamgrahān/

198 For example, Viṣṇudh. III. 343-355 are based on the Nārāyaṇiya section of the Śānti-parvan of the Mahābhārata; the verse ‘śāmkhyaṁ yogam pāṇcaratraṁ’ (Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 34 and II. 22. 133) is much the same as Mbh XII. 349. 1 and 64; and so on.

199 For verses borrowed from the Bhagavad-gītā see Viṣṇudh. I. 38. 10, 52, 5b-7a, 122, 9b-10a, 171. 10-11, 172. 8, 20 and 33, and 190. 14. 15; II. 74. 23, 78. 28-34, and 82. 33; and so on.

200 Viṣṇudh. III. 340.40 =Śvetāsvatāropaniṣad 3.10 =Kaṭhopaniṣad 1.2.20.

III. 340.41 = 3.8

III. 340.42b-43a = 3.9

III. 340.43b-c = 4.6 =Mundakopaniṣad 3.1.1.

etc., etc.
of Garga, *Vṛddha-garga*, Parāśara and Bhāspati.  

In Viṣṇudh. II. 154 (verses 18 and 22) Garga is said to have instructed king Vasu on the method of worshipping the *Sakra-dhvaja* (banner of Indra); in Viṣṇudh. II. 134-144 *Vṛddha-garga* speaks to Atri on various kinds of omens; and in Viṣṇudh. II. 159-161 Parāśara is said to have spoken to Gālava on the *mantras* of *chatra*, *āsya* etc. as well as on Ghṛta-kambala-śānti. Viṣṇudh. II. 166-174, which constitute a distinct section called *Paitāmaha-siddhānta* and have Brahmā and Bhṛgu as the interlocutors, most probably give the summary of a bigger work of some similar title. Viṣṇudh. III. 86-95 (on the building of temples) are said to have been based on an earlier work ascribed to Pitāmaha (Brahmā).  

In its sections on ācāra, vyavahāra and prāyaścitta, the Viṣṇudharmottara refers to Manu as a law-giver on several occasions and utilises the language and contents chiefly of the *Manu-smṛti*.

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201 For instance, the verse ‘*mayūra-candrikābhō vā*’, which Vallālasena found in his Ms of the Viṣṇudharmottara, occurred in the work of Garga (see Adbhutasāgara, p. 17), and Viṣṇudh. I. 85. 27b-28a (*udayāstamane bhānoḥ etc.*) greatly resembled a verse of Garga (see Adbhutasāgara, pp. 290-1); Viṣṇudh. II. 136. 1, 135. 6a and 7a, 137. 5b-6a, 11a, 7a, 6b and 7b-8a, and 141. 1 occurred in the work of *Vṛddha-garga* (see Adbhutasāgara, pp. 416, 427, 430, 441, 442-3, 443, 444 and 563); Viṣṇudh. I. 85. 34b-35a, 26b-27a, 33b-34a, and 48b-49a, and III. 238, 2, 31, 27, 26, 28, 19 and 32 occurred in the work or works of Parāśara (see Adbhutasāgara, pp. 66, 86, 90, 101, 516, 517, 526, 541 and 551); Viṣṇudh. II. 135. 5a and 7a, 156. 1-2 and 5. 137. 7a and 6b, 141. 1, and 134. 14-26 occurred in the work of Bhāspati (see Adbhutasāgara, pp. 427, 430, 431, 442-3, 443, 563 and 743-4); and so on.

202 Viṣṇudh. III. 86. 139—

prāṣāda-lakṣaṇam idaṃ kathitaṃ samāsād
ālokyā pūrva-caritaṃ hi pitāmahoktam/
śāstraṃ hitāya nara-sattama mānusānam
dhārayām tvayaś tad atiśraya-pareṇa nītyam/ 

203 Viṣṇudh. II. 72. 43—... manu abravit (=Manu-smṛti 8. 242).
   II. 72. 48—... iti svāyambhuvo bravit.
   II. 72. 97—... manu abravit (=Manu-smṛti 8. 339).

204 The Viṣṇudharmottara (especially II. 61-1-131 and III. 226-342) has incorporated a large number of verses from chaps. iff. of the *Manu-smṛti*, as the following list will indicate.
Yājñavalkya-smṛti,²⁰⁵ Nārada-smṛti,²⁰⁶ Viṣṇu-smṛti²⁰⁷ and Parāśara-smṛti.²⁰⁸ It also seems to have incorporated verses from the Smṛti-works.

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<td>II. 65.37</td>
<td>= 8.26</td>
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<tr>
<td>II. 65.43b, 44a, 45, 46-47, 48-49, 50-51, 52-53, and so on</td>
<td>= 7.38a, 39a, 40, 43-44, 89-90, 87-88, 89-90, 87-88, 52-53, and so on</td>
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<tr>
<td>II. 70.6</td>
<td>= 8.128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. 70.8, 14b-15a etc.</td>
<td>= 7.25, 18 and so on</td>
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<tr>
<td>II. 72.5, 6-11, 12-13 and so on</td>
<td>= 8.138, 27-32, 34-35, and so on</td>
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</table>

²⁰⁵ For instance, Viṣṇudh. I. 14a. 13b-14a (etāni śrāddha-kālāni etc.) is the same as Viṣṇu-smṛti 76. z (etāṁ tu śrāddha-kālān vai etc.).

²⁰⁷ For connections between the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Viṣṇu-smṛti as regards śrāddha, see W. Caland, Alhindischer Ahnenkult, Leyden 1893, pp. 68 and 112. Cf. also Abegg, Der Pretakalpa, pp. 5ff.

²⁰⁸ Parāśara-smṛti 4. 30 (nāṣte mṛte pravrajite etc.) is the same as Viṣṇudh,
of Devala and Bṛhaspati, which are now lost. Viṣṇudh. III. 17-31 are clearly based on Bharata’s Nāṭya-sāstra, from which a large number of verses has been retained in these chapters. Similarly, the chapters on citra-sūtra, āyurveda, basti-cikitsā, āśva-cikitsā etc. must have been based on older works. In its chapters on alaṃkāra the Viṣṇudharmottara often refers to the opinions of ancient writers on poetics (purātana). The stories of Lalitikā (or Lalitā), Śambarāyāṇī and gajendra-moṣāna in Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 167 (verses 2ff.), 175-191 and 192-194 are undoubtedly derived from the same as given in Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 32, 27 and 67 respectively. In narrating these stories the Viṣṇudharmottara not only retains a large number of verses of the Viṣṇudharma but also introduces innovations not found in the

II. 87, 11 and III. 329, 14; Parāsāra-smṛti 3, 39 (anāthaṃ brāhmaṇam pratataṃ etc.) is the same as Viṣṇudh. II. 76, 2; and so on.

209 For verses common to the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Devala-smṛti, see Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, III. ii. pp. 95-96.

210 For instance, the verse ‘ekādaśy aṣṭāmi saṣṭhi’ is ascribed to Bṛhaspati in Smṛti-candrikā, IV. p. 47 but to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālanirnaya, pp. 190 and 300; the line ‘brahmānaṃ keśavam śaṃbhum’ is ascribed to Bṛhaspati and the Viṣṇudharmottara in the Dacca Univ, Mss of Raghunandana’s Āhnikatattvā; and so on.

211 Viṣṇudh. Nāṭya-sāstra
III. 24.1a, 2a, 3b, 5a = 8, 16b, 20a, 22a, 24a.
III. 24.6-7a = 8, 26a, 25b, 27a,
e tc. etc.
  "  3-4 = cf, 8, 40-41.
  "  5a, 5b, 6b = 8, 42b, 44b, 46a.
etc. etc.
III. 26.1-3 = 9, 4-5 and 6b-7a,
  "  4 = cf, 9, 8a.
  "  5-9a, 10 = 9, 8b-12, 14a, 15a.
etc. etc.

Viṣṇudh. III. 17-31 may be used for solving the textual problems relating to the Nāṭya-sāstra.

212 The ‘citra-sūtra’ is mentioned in Dāmodaragupta’s Kuṭṭanimita, verse 125.

213 Viṣṇudh. III. 14, 7, 12 and 15.
latter. For instance, it identifies the river Devikā with Umā, wife of Hara, elaborates Sāmbarāyaṇi’s account with the mention of the names of many of Viṣṇu’s manifestations, and says that two Gandharvas named Hāhā and Hūhū were transformed into the elephant and the crocodile by Devala’s curse. So, there is no doubt that the Viṣṇudharmottara gives the later versions of these stories. It is probable that Viṣṇudh., I, chaps. 169-170 (on Māndhātṛ’s activities in his previous birth as a Śūdra) and 196 (on the Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra) also are based on Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 82 and 69 respectively. It is needless to multiply examples. It is to be noted that the Viṣṇudharmottara does not utilise Varāhamihira’s Bhātsamhitā, Bhāmaha’s Kāvyālaṃkāra, Daṇḍin’s Kāvyādarsa, or any other work written later than 500 A.D. and that although the Viṣṇudharmottara is indebted to earlier authorities for many of its materials, it has not failed to improve considerably upon the borrowed portions by innovations of its own. For instance, in his Adbhutasāgara Vallālasena quotes from the works of Garga, Vṛddha-garga, Parāśara and Bṛhaspati some verses which do not agree, as regards contents, with those of the Viṣṇudharmottara and the principles of dramaturgy, as laid down in the Viṣṇudharmottara, differ on some points from those of the Nāṭya-śāstra.

Of the various types of works known to it, the Viṣṇudharmottara gives us valuable information. It speaks of ‘nṛtya-śāstra’, ‘gīta-śāstra’, ‘kalā-śāstra’, ‘dhanurveda’, ‘hastāyurveda’, ‘āśvāyurveda’, ‘vṛksāyurveda’, ‘phala-veda’, ‘sūda-śāstra’ etc. and mentions the four Vedas, the Vedāṅgas, the Bhārata (i.e. the Mahābhārata) com-

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214 Viṣṇudh., I, 167, 15-18, and 207, 55-56.
215 See Adbhutasāgara, pp. 98, 236, 410, 429, 471, 559-560.
216 Viṣṇudh., III, 73, 49.
217 Ibid., II, 91, 11; III, 297, 18.
218 Viṣṇudh., III, 73, 47.
219 Ibid., II, 24, 23, ‘Sūda-śāstra’ is also mentioned in Kuṭṭanīmata, verse 123.
220 Viṣṇudh., I, 74, 29-30; II, 22, 129-130; and so on.
221 Ibid., I, 74, 33; II, 22, 131-2.
posed by Dvaipāyana\textsuperscript{222}, the Rāmāyana of Vālmiki,\textsuperscript{223} the scriptures of the Pāñcarātras and the Pāṣupatās,\textsuperscript{224} a Sūtra work (on hasti-cikitsā) written by Lomapāda, king of Anga,\textsuperscript{225} and the Nīti-śāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas.\textsuperscript{226} Hence there is little doubt about the fact that the Sanskrit literature became enriched by various types of works even before the time of composition of the Viṣṇudharmottara.

A large number of chapters is found common to the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Matsya-p., as the following list will show.

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<td>respectively.</td>
<td></td>
<td>II. 40 = 213. 1-13, 17-18.</td>
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<td>I. 145. 1-2, 4 = 204. 2-3, 5.</td>
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<td>II. 41 = Chap. 214.</td>
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<td>I. 146. 41b-59 = 207. 24b-41.</td>
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<td>II. 66-70 = Chaps. 221-225</td>
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<td>I. 148-152 = Chaps. 115-119</td>
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<td>II. 71. 1-3 = 226. 1-3.</td>
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<td>I. 153; 154. 1-6a, 7 = Chap. 120.</td>
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<td>II. 72. 17b-200 = Chap. 227.</td>
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<td>I. 226</td>
<td>= 179. 2ff.</td>
<td>II. 133-140 = Chaps. 228-235</td>
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<td>II. 24-28 = Chaps. 215-219</td>
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<td>II. 142-144 = Chaps. 236-238</td>
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<td>II. 36 = 208. 3-21.</td>
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<td>respectively.</td>
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<td>II. 38 = 211. 1-13, 28.</td>
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That as regards these common chapters the Matsya-p. is the borrower, can be proved definitely by a number of evidences, some of which are given below.

(i) The contents of Viṣṇudh. I. 129-156 are follows:—Chaps. 129-137 deal with Purūravas’s love for Urvaśī, chaps. 138-145 with śrāddha and the Pitrūs, chaps. 146 and 147 with vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa and vṛṣotsarga respectively, and chaps. 148-156 with Purūravas’s penance

\textsuperscript{222} Ibid., I. 74. 23-28; III. 351. 49.

\textsuperscript{223} Ibid., I. 74. 37-39 (vālmikinā tu racitam... rāmākhyaṇam.../); I. 81. 26; III. 351. 48 (mayā vālmikinā kāryam kavyam rāmāyaṇam tathā).

\textsuperscript{224} Ibid., I. 74. 34; II. 22. 133; III. 73. 48; III. 257. 4.

\textsuperscript{225} Ibid., I. 253. 34-35.

\textsuperscript{226} Ibid., II. 6, 2.
in his previous birth for attaining extraordinary physical beauty. Of these, the last group of chapters (i.e., chaps. 148-156) begins thus:

vajra uvāca—
caritāṃ buddha-purāṇa mārkaṇḍe ya mayā śrutam/
śrutāḥ śrāddha-vidhiḥ punyāḥ sarva-pāpa-pranāsanaḥ//
dhenvāḥ prasūya-mānāyāḥ phalam dāne tathā śrutam/
krṣṇājina-pradānāṃ ca vṛṣotsarga tathaiva ca/
śrutvā rūpam narendrasya budha-purāṇa bhārgava/
kauto rāhāṃ samutpadanaṃ ca mamācakṣva prechataḥ//

(chap. 148, verses 1-3).

In these verses there is clear reference to the contents of chaps. 129-137 (on the story of Purūravas, son of Budha), chaps. 138-145 (on śrāddha), chaps. 146-147 (on vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa and vṛṣotsarga), and chap. 130 (verses 3ff., in which Purūravas is said to have possessed uncommon physical beauty). Though in the printed edition of the Viṣṇudharmottara there is no chapter or chapters on ‘prasūya-māna-dhenu-dāna’ and ‘krṣṇājina-dāna’, this work was not originally bereft of chapters on these topics. In his Dānasāgara, pp. 531-532 Vallālāsenā ascribes to the ‘Viṣṇudharmottara’ twenty-one metrical lines which deal with krṣṇājina-dāna and all of which occur in Matsya-p., chap. 206. In his Caturvarga-cintāmāni, I, pp. 704-5 and 705-7 Hemādri also ascribes to the ‘Viṣṇudharmottara’ two complete chapters on ‘madhyama-krṣṇājina-dāna’ and ‘mahā-krṣṇājina-dāna’ respectively.

The Matsya-p., on the other hand, contains only the story of Purūravas’s penance in his previous birth in chaps. 115-120 (which are practically the same as Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 148-153 and verses 1-7 of chap. 154) and deals with prasūya-māna-dhenu-dāna, krṣṇājina-dāna and vṛṣa-lakṣaṇa as late as in chaps. 205, 206 and 207 respectively, but it does not contain any chapter on vṛṣotsarga. Yet the opening verses of chap. 115 are the same as those of Viṣṇudh. I. 148 quoted above. It is also to be noted that although in the Matsya-p. the story of Purūravas’s love affairs does not immediately precede the story of his penance in his previous birth but occurs very briefly in chap. 24 and śrāddha is dealt with in chaps. 11-22, the opening verses of chap. 115 do not refer to the contents of the intervening chapters (25-114).
The Matsya-p. describes the characteristics of bulls (vrśa-lakṣaṇa) fully in the entire chap. 207, but this topic is dealt with partially in Viṣṇudh. I. 146. 41b-59 (which are the same as Mat. 207. 24b-41). Moreover, in the Viṣṇudharmottara this topic is begun abruptly with the line 'ṛśabhaḥ sa samudrākhyah satataṁ kula-vardhanah' (which really forms the second half of the verse 'śvetam tu jaṭharam yasya bhavet prśṭhaṁ ca gopateḥ/ṛśabhaḥ sa samudrākhyah satataṁ kula-vardhanah//', as found in Mat. 207. 24). But this abrupt beginning and incomplete treatment of the above-mentioned topic in the Viṣṇudharmottara should not be taken to prove that the Viṣṇudharmottara borrowed its verses from the Matsya-p. As a matter of fact, the original Viṣṇudharmottara contained all those verses on vrśa-lakṣaṇa which are now found in Matsya-p., chap. 207. In his Dānasāgara, p. 115 Vallālasena ascribes to the 'Viṣṇudharmottara' three verses on vrśa-lakṣaṇa which do not occur in Viṣṇudh. I. 148 but are the same as Mat. 207. 13-15.

(ii) The story of Purūravas in Matsya-p., chaps. 115-120 ends abruptly, whereas in the Viṣṇudharmottara it is continued through a few more chapters to its logical conclusion.

(iii) In Matsya-p., chap. 195 (which is practically the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 111), the second verse runs as follows:

mahādevena ṛṣayaḥ śaptah svāyambhuve 'ntare/
tesāṁ vaivasvate prāpte sambhavāṁ mama kīrtya//

This verse, as occurring in the Matsya-p., has no preceding story or statement to refer to, whereas in the Viṣṇudharmottara it occurs in chap. 111 of Khaṇḍa I and refers to Viṣṇudh. I. 110. 28.

(iv) A textual comparison between the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Matsya-p. shows that the latter work has adapted the above-mentioned chapters of the Viṣṇudharmottara to its own interlocutors often by using unsuitable words. For instance, for Viṣṇudh. I. 148.8 (purūravā madrapatiḥ karnaṇā kena bhārgava/babhūva karnaṇaḥ kena kurūpaś ca eathā dvija//), Mat. 115.9 reads 'purūravā madrapatiḥ... pārthivah/babhūva......virūpā caiva sūtaja//'; in Viṣṇudh. II. 24. 62 Puṣkara addresses Bhārgava Rāma as 'manuja-sārdula' ('a tiger among the descendants of Manu, i.e. among men'), and this word ('manuja-sārdula'), though not applicable to Manu himself, has been retained
in Matsya-p., chap. 215 (verse 88) in which Matsya speaks to Manu; and so on.

(v) The story of Sāvitri in Viṣṇudh. II. 36-41 naturally follows chaps. 33-35 (on the conduct and duties of chaste women, and the treatment they deserve from the king). But the Matsya-p., though containing this story in chaps. 208-214, has no chapters corresponding to chaps. 33-35 of the Viṣṇudharmottara. Moreover, in chaps. 208-214 the Matsya-p. has a large number of additional verses which are not found in the Viṣṇudharmottara.

The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the Matsya-p. borrowed the above-mentioned chapters from the Viṣṇudharmottara.

We shall now try to determine the date of composition of the Viṣṇudharmottara.

This work is quite familiar with the Greek terms ‘hibuka’, ‘kendra’, ‘lipta’, ‘sunaphā’ etc. and mentions ‘hora’; ‘dreskāṇa’; and the names of the rāsīs and week-days in several places. By its mention of Mūlāsthāna as a place of Sun-worship as well as of the girdle called ‘aviyāṅga’, worn by the Sun-worshippers, it betrays

227 See Viṣṇudh. II. 167ff.
228 Viṣṇudh. I. 83. 47ff.; II. 168ff.; III. 96, 97; and so on.

The occurrence of the term hora in two verses quoted by Varāhamihira from Garga shows that it came to be used by the Indians much earlier than the sixth century A.D., but there is no evidence to prove that it was used by them earlier than the end of the first century A.D.

229 Viṣṇudh. II. 167ff.; III. 96, 97.
230 Viṣṇudh. I. 72, 11, 73. 8ff., 84. 1ff., and 94. 6ff.; II. 18. 11; II. 167ff.; III. 319. 38ff.; and so on.

The total absence of the term rāṣī in all early works down to the time of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the rāṣis earlier than the second century A.D.

231 Viṣṇudh. I. 59. 2-5, and 60. 5; II. 47. 4, 50. 68, and 52. 84 and 124; III. 317. 16ff.; and so on.

The earliest dated mention of a week-day has been traced in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D. (See Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 88-89).

232 Viṣṇudh. III. 121. 12.
233 Viṣṇudh. III. 67. 3.
its knowledge of the Persian elements in the method of worshipping the Sun. It utilises, as we have already seen, the language and contents of the Upanṣads, Mahābhārata, Bhagavad-gītā, Bharata's Nātya-śāstra, the astronomical works of Garga, Vṛddha-garga, Parāśara and Brhaspati, the Dharmaśāstras of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Parāśara, and the Viṣṇudharma. By its description of 'Purāṇa' as consisting of four Pādas it points definitely to the Vāyu-p, which only claims to consist of, and is practically divided into, four Pādas, viz., Prakriyā, Upodghata, Anuṣānga and Upasamhāra. In the story of Purūravas and Urvasī, as given in chaps. 129-137 of Khaṇḍa I, it clearly betrays the influence of Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya. Viṣṇudh. I. 208 contains the description of the hurry and eagerness of women of Rājagrha to have a glance at Bharata when the latter was entering that city. This description bears the unmistakable stamp of the influence of Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa. Hence the Viṣṇudharmottara cannot be earlier than 400 A.D.

Again, the Viṣṇudharmottara has been profusely drawn upon by almost all the Smṛti-commentators and Nibandha-writers, viz., Bhava-

234 Viṣṇudh. III. 17. 2b-3—
prakriyā prathamaḥ pādaḥ kathāvastu-parigrahaḥ/
upodghātānuṣānga ca tathā saṁphāra eva ca,
caturaspadm hi kathitam puraṇam bhṛgu-nandana//
The first two lines are the same as Vāyu-p. 4. 13. (The Vāyu-p. reads the second line as 'upodghātōnuṣāga ca upaṇamhāra eva ca').
235 The Vāyu-p. and the Brahmāṇḍa-p. were originally the same.
236 The similarity in ideas and expressions between the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Vikramorvaśīya will be evident from the following parallel passages.
(a) Viṣṇudh. I. 133. 52.—Before leaving Urvasī with Purūravas, Rambhā says to the latter:

... ... ...

yathā ceyam sakhi mahyaṁ nOtkaṇṭhāṁ kurute śubhā/
sakhi-janasya svargasya tathā kāryam tvayānagha//

Cf. Vikramorvaśīya, Act III—citralekhā—......tā jahā iām me piasahi
saggasa na ukkaṇṭhādi tāha vaśeṇa kāḍavvam,
(b) Viṣṇudh. I. 135. 25-33 (in which Purūravas vainly enquires for Urvasī to beasts, birds and plants).—Cf. Vikramorvaśīya, Act IV.
237 Compare, for instance, Viṣṇudh. I. 208. 10-21a with Raghuvamśa VII, 5-12.
deva, Vijñāneśvara, Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Aniruddhabhātta, Vallālasena, Halāyudha, Devanabhātta, Hemādri, Madanapāla, Mādhavācāraya, Sulapāni, Čaṇḍesvara, Vidyāpati, Vācaspati-miśra, Govindānanda, Śrīnāthacāryacūḍāmāni, Gadādhara, Raghuṇandana and others. Some of these Smṛti-writers have made their quotations under the title ‘Viṣṇudharmottara’; some of them (such as Bhavadeva and Vijñāneśvara) have done so under the name of ‘Mārvanḍeya’ (the speaker in the Viṣṇudharmottara);238 and the rest (such as Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Devanabhātta, Hemādri and others) have ascribed some of the quoted verses to

238. The verses of ‘Mārvanḍeya’ (the word ‘mārvanḍeya’ being often used in the masculine gender), quoted in the commentaries and Nibandhas, are, except in a very few cases, not found in the present Mārvanḍeya-p.

The facts that many of the verses ascribed to ‘Mārvanḍeya’ are found in the Viṣṇudharmottara wherein the sage Mārvanḍeya is the speaker, that the same verses are sometimes ascribed to the ‘Viṣṇudharmottara’ in some places (viz., in Kālaviveka, pp. 538 and 539, Caturvarga-cintāmani, III. ii. pp. 379-380, and Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 103, Tiṭhi-viveka, pp. 6-7; and so on) and to ‘Mārvanḍeya’ in others (viz., in Mitākṣara on Yāj. III, 289, Aparārka’s com. on the Yāj., p. 429, Smṛti-candrikā, II, p. 620; Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 49, Caturvarga-cintāmani, III. ii. pp. 93 and 116; and so on), and that in some places (viz., in Kālaviveka, p. 265, Hāralatā pp. 19 and 29, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, pp. 85-86 and 332, and so on) verses of the Viṣṇudharmottara are quoted with the words ‘Viṣṇudharmottare mārvanḍeyah’, show that ‘Mārvanḍeya’, to whom these verses are ascribed in the Nibandhas, is, in the great majority of cases, identical with the sage Mārvanḍeya, the speaker in the Viṣṇudharmottara. In those cases in which the verses ascribed to ‘Mārvanḍeya’ are not found in the Viṣṇudharmottara, the changes in the text of the latter are to be held responsible. As to the few cases in which the verses of ‘Mārvanḍeya’ are found in the Mārvanḍeya-p., it may be said that due to a confusion created by the similarity between the name of the sage and the title of the Purāṇa, verses of the Mārvanḍeya-p. were sometimes wrongly ascribed to ‘Mārvanḍeya’ or vice versa. For instance, the verses ‘ekabhaktena naktena’ and ‘sukla-pakṣaya pūrvānā’, which are ascribed to the ‘Mārvanḍeya-p.’ in Caturvarga-cintāmani, II. i. p. 100 and III i. p. 320 respectively but are not found in the present Purāṇa of the same title, are ascribed to ‘Mārvanḍeya’ (the word ‘mārvanḍeya’ being used in the masculine gender) in Caturvarga-cintāmani III. ii. pp. 176 and 575 respectively. See also Aparārka’s com. on the Yāj., p. 206, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 64, Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 109 and II, pp. 88 and 95, and so on, wherein the former verse is ascribed to ‘Mārvanḍeya’
‘Mārkaṇḍeya’ and the rest to the ‘Viṣṇudharmottara’. In his account of 
India Alberūni refers to and draws upon the present Viṣṇudharmottara on 
many occasions, and most of these references and quotations have been 
traced by Bühler in the extant text of this work. The present 
Kālikā-p., which was written somewhere about Kāmarūpa not later than 
the first half of the eleventh century A. D., knows and mentions the 
present Viṣṇudharmottara in its encyclopædic character. So also


Alberūni’s references to, and quotations from, the ‘Viṣṇudharma’ have been 
traced in the present Viṣṇudharmottara thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sachau</th>
<th>Viṣṇudharmottara</th>
<th>Sachau</th>
<th>Viṣṇudharmottara</th>
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<tr>
<td>Alberūni’s India,</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alberūni’s India,</td>
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<tr>
<td>l. p. 54</td>
<td>— cf. l.81.28-29.</td>
<td>l. p. 372</td>
<td>= l. 73.17-18 and</td>
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<td>l. p. 216</td>
<td>= l. 106.29-30.</td>
<td>p. 379</td>
<td>= l. 73.21ff.</td>
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<td>l. p. 218</td>
<td>= cf. l. 130.2-3.</td>
<td>p. 380</td>
<td>= l. 73.24.</td>
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<td>l. p. 242</td>
<td>= l. 106.10-11</td>
<td>p. 386</td>
<td>= l. 81.2-3.</td>
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<td>l. p. 287</td>
<td>= l. 106.21-28.</td>
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<td>= l. 81.4-5.</td>
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<td>l. p. 291</td>
<td>= l. 106.31-32.</td>
<td>pp. 398-9</td>
<td>= cf. l. 73.20ff.</td>
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<td>pp. 328-9</td>
<td>= l. 73.14-16.</td>
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<td>l. p. 331</td>
<td>= l. 73.13.</td>
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<td>l. p. 332</td>
<td>= l. 73.39.</td>
<td>p. 3</td>
<td>= l. 81.23-27; and</td>
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<tr>
<td>pp. 344-5</td>
<td>= l. 83.3-21, and</td>
<td>l. 82.6-7.</td>
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<td>50.62.</td>
<td>p. 21</td>
<td>= l. 72.19b-23.</td>
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<td>l. p. 353</td>
<td>= l. 72.17b.</td>
<td>p. 64</td>
<td>= l. 106.12-13.</td>
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<td>l. p. 354</td>
<td>= l. 72.18b-19a.</td>
<td>p. 65</td>
<td>= cf. l. 78.1-2.</td>
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<td>l. p. 358</td>
<td>= l. 83.3-9.</td>
<td>p. 102</td>
<td>= l. 29.16b-17.</td>
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<td>p. 360</td>
<td>= l. 73.37ff.</td>
<td>pp. 140-1</td>
<td>= l. 106.34-41.</td>
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240. In Kālikā-p. 91. 70-71a Märkaṇḍeya says:

‘viṣṇudharmottare pūroṣaṇ maṇḍa bhāṣita bhāṣita/
rāja-nitiṣaḥ sadācārāḥ veda-vedāṅga-saṁgataṁ//
rahasyām satataṁ viṣṇor viṣṇadhaṁ viṣṇo-sadāmāḥ’

See also Kālikā-p. 92. 1-2, in which the sages say to Märkaṇḍeya :

samkṣepaṁ sadācāro viṣṇo rāja-nitiṣaṇ /
śrutaṁ tvad-vacanaṁ aurvaḥ sagarāya yathoktavān//
viṣṇudharmottare tantre bāhulyaṁ sarvataṁ punah/
draṣṭavyas tu sadācāro draṣṭavyas te prasādatāḥ//

The questions of the date and provenance of the present Kālikā-p. will be 
discussed fully under ‘Kālikā-p.’ in Vol. II of the present work.
does the present Nārādiya-p. (I. 94), which refers to the contents of the Viṣṇudharmottara and takes it to be the second part of the Viṣṇu-p. According to Sūlapāṇi, Bālaka and Śrikara knew the Viṣṇudharmottara and utilised its contents in their respective works.\[241\] The spurious Agni-p. (now available in print), which was written, most probably in western Bengal, during the ninth century A.D., has incorporated a large number of chapters and verses from the Viṣṇudharmottara, as a comparison of Agni-p., chaps. 151-172, 218-237, 245 ff. and 259-272 with Viṣṇudh. II, chaps. 80 ff., 76ff., 21ff., 16ff., 15, 124ff., 105ff. and 159ff. will show. In most of these chapters the Agni-p. has retained Puṣkara as the speaker, but in a few Agni appears in his place; sometimes the Agni-p. rewrites the verses briefly by retaining as much as possible the language of the Viṣṇudharmottara; and although, following the Viṣṇudharmottara, the Agni-p. retains the old order of the Nākṣatras from Kṛṣṭikā of Bharaṇī in all other places, it replaces this order with the new one in verse 8 of chap. 219 in spite of the mention of the old order in the corresponding passage (viz., II. 22. 20-24) of the Viṣṇudharmottara. The Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra-bhāṣya, ascribed to Śaṅkara-cārya,\[242\] names and draws upon the Viṣṇudharmottara as well as the Viṣṇudharma. From all these references, quotations and common passages it is evident that by the middle of eighth century A.D. the present Viṣṇudharmottara attained great

\[241\] Durgotsava-viveka, p. 16—
'aṣṭami navami-viḍḍhā navami cāṣṭami-yutā/
ardhā-nārīśvara-prāyā uṃā-māheśvari tithih/'
ity āśvināḍhikāriya-vaśūrdharmottara-vacana-mātra-darśinā bālakenātra viṣaye pūrvarde navamī-kṛṣṭam yugmād iti yad uktaṃ
'bhaṅgavatyāh praveśād-viṣargāntāś ca yāh kriyāh
ityādī-vacanenā virodhitā taddheyam/ vaśūrdharmottara-vacanam iti sandhi-pūjā-viṣayam iti śriśrāma-viṣayam/'

According to P. V. Kane, Bālaka 'flourished before 1100 A.D.' and Śrikara 'must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A.D.' and probably in the ninth century.—See Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, I, pp. 283-4 and 266-8.

\[242\] See Viṣṇu-sahasra-nāma-stotra-bhāṣya, p. 114, and pp. 22. 30. 136. According to S. K. Belvarkar, the ascription of this commentary to Śaṅkara-cārya 'is more or less debatable.'—See Belvarkar, Shree Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy, pp. 218-9.
popularity as a highly authoritative work in all parts of India. It has already been mentioned that the Matsya-p. has borrowed a large number of chapters from the Viṣṇudharmottara. Hence the Viṣṇudharmottara must have been written not later than 600 A. D. On p. 460 of his Kālaviveka Jimūtavāhana ascribes to the ‘Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma’ a few verses which have Mārkaṇḍeya and Vajra as the interlocutors and are the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 161. 1-8; and on p. 464 he quotes two more verses from a ‘Viṣṇudharmottarāṃṛta,’ but these two verses do not occur in the Viṣṇudharmottara. The titles of these two works as well as the nature of the quoted verses show that the Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottarāṃṛta, which must have preceded Jimūtavāhana by a few centuries, were distinct works written on the basis of the Viṣṇudharmottara. Hence the Viṣṇudharmottara must have preceded the Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottarāṃṛta by a few centuries, otherwise it could not be recognised as an authoritative work at the time of composition of these two works. In his commentary on the Parāśara-smṛti Mādhavācārya ascribes to ‘Kātyāyana’ a verse which mentions the ‘Viṣṇudharmottara’ along with the name of Mārkaṇḍeya as the speaker and refers to the contents of Viṣṇudh. I. 140. 19a. This verse refers to Viṣṇudh. I. 140. 19a which runs as follows:

This verse refers to Viṣṇudh. I. 140. 19a which runs as follows:

anāhitāgniḥ caupasade agny-abhāve tathāpsu vā/
early origin of the Viṣṇudharma. Nay, there is ample evidence to prove definitely that both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin knew the Viṣṇudharmottara and used it in their respective works. In describing the method of building temples in chaps. 86-95 of Khaṇḍa III the Viṣṇudharmottara makes no mention of the three styles of architecture popularly known as Nāgara, Dravīḍa and Vesara, of which the first two developed into distinction after the Gupta period. According to some commentators, Brahmagupta wrote his Sphuṭa-brahma-siddhānta in 628 A.D. on the basis of the ‘Paitāmaha-siddhānta’ as found in the Viṣṇudharmottara. This view of the commentators, which most probably owed its origin to some tradition as well as to the lines common to Brahmagupta’s work and the Viṣṇudharmottara, seems to be highly plausible because of the fact that the Viṣṇudharmottara does not refer to or utilise the works of Varāhamihira or any other later author on astrology and astronomy. As a matter of fact, we have not been able to find any work, written later than 500 A.D., which has been utilised in the Viṣṇudharmottara, Viṣṇudh. I. 9 gives the names of the tribes living in the different parts of India but does not mention the Hūnas. On the other hand, it speaks of the Sakas and the Yavanas as living in the south-western and western parts respectively. The Viṣṇudharmottara believes in ‘thousands of manifestations’ (prādurbhāva-sahasrāṇi) of Viṣṇu and gives shorter or longer lists of these (including Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛ-varāha, Vāmana, Nara-simha, Bhārgava Rāma, Dattātreya, Narā-Nārāyaṇa, Haṃsa, Aśva, Mayūra etc.) in numerous places; but it does not refer to any group of ‘ten incarnations’, nor does it mention the Buddha anywhere except

244 A study of the history of Sanskrit Poetics shows that the number of Alamkāras was multiplied in later times, but the Prahelikās, which were once very widely popular, came to lose their importance as literary compositions and experienced a gradual decrease in their number.


246 For instance, the line ‘sarvarṣa-parivarvaitais ca nākṣatra iti cocyate’ is ascribed to the Brahma-siddhānta in Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 741 but to the Viṣṇudharmottara in Kālanirṇaya, p. 63, Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 224, Smṛti-tattva, I, pp. 740-1, and so on.
in III. 351 (verse 54) which is most probably spurious. It should be mentioned here that the Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu not very much earlier than 500 A.D.²⁴⁷ The Viṣṇudharmottara names the Nakṣatras on many occasions, and it does so invariably in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī,²⁴⁸ which, as the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, the latest books of the Mahābhārata,²⁴⁹ and Varāhamihira’s Bṛhat-saṃhitā indicate, held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A.D.

From all the evidences adduced above it is clear that the Viṣṇudharmottara cannot be dated earlier than 400 A. D. and later than 500 A.D. Bühler also is of opinion that the date of its composition cannot be placed later than about 500 A.D.²⁵⁰ This early date of the Viṣṇudharmottara is fully supported by its non-Tantric character as well as by the frequent use of the word ‘prādurbhāva’ instead of ‘avatāra’ which occurs only in two places (viz., in I. 172. 56 and III. 353.8).

Although the numerous cross-references in the Viṣṇudharmottara²⁵¹ indicate that the above-mentioned general date may be taken to be that

²⁴⁷ See Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 41-42.
²⁴⁸ Viṣṇudh. I. 59. 6-15; 82. 22-33; 83. 13-21; 91. 11-23; 95. 54-99; 99. 11-24; 101. 5-14; 102. 11-23; 142. 37 (kṛttikādi-bharanyantām); II. 22. 20-24; III. 317. 20-27; 318. 1-32; and so on.
²⁴⁹ Mbh XIII, chaps. 64, 89 and 110.
²⁵⁰ Ind. Ant., XIX, 1890, p. 408.

According to M. Winternitz, the Viṣṇudharmottara was ‘compiled between 628 and 1000 A.D.’ (see Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, I, p. 580). Stella Kramrisch is of opinion that this work ‘cannot date earlier than the 5th century A.D.’ and later than Saṅkarācārya. (See Journal of the Department of Letters, XI, p. 3).

²⁵¹ For instance, Viṣṇudh. I. 111, 1 refers to I. 110, 28; I. 129, 1 refers to I. 128. 32; I. 148. 1-3 refer to the contents of I. 129-147; I. 148. 3a refers to I. 130. 3ff.; I. 165. 1 refers to I. 163. 8; I. 173. 1 refers to I. 170. 13; I. 197. 1-3 refer to I, chaps. 128ff., chap. 110 and chaps. 117-121; II. 1, 1-2 refer to I. 201-269; II. 1. 6 refers to I. 70; II. 1. 7 refers to I. 72-73; II. 99. 1 refers to II. 95-97; II. 99. 2 refers to II. 53; III. 60. 2 refers to III. 47; III. 63. 2 refers to III. 46; III. 67. 1 refers to III. 56 and 52; III. 70. 1 refers to III. 50 and 51; III. 71. 2 refers to III. chaps. 56, 52, 47 and 50; III. 73. 18 refers to III. 77; III. 73. 24 refers to III. 82; III. 83.5 refers to III. 25; III. 83.8 refers to
of the great majority of its chapters, there are certainly some extracts and even complete chapters which are spurious. For instance, Viṣṇudh. I. 105.5-20 (in which Pulastya speaks to a Brahmin named Dālbhya on Aṣűnya-sayana-dvitiyā) and I. 146.1-41a (in which Pulastya’s speech to Dālbhya on the ways of release from rebirths—saṃsāra-muktihetu—is followed by an interlocution between Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira) must have been added at a comparatively late date. These verses begin abruptly with the words ‘dālbhya uvāca’, although nothing is said in any of the preceding verses about Dālbhya and Pulastya; and their subject-matter is quite unconnected with those of verses 1-4 of chap. 145 and verses 41b ff. of chap. 146. As a matter of fact, they create a serious breach in the topics of the chapters and verses preceding and following them. The spurious character of these verses is further shown definitely by the facts that they occur neither in the Matsya-p. (although it contains verses 1-2 and 4 of chap. 145 and verses 41b-59 of chap. 146 of Viṣṇudh. I) nor in the Ms of the Viṣṇudharmanottara noticed by H.P. Shastri252 and that their subject-matter is not mentioned in Viṣṇudh. I. 148.1-3 which refer to the topics dealt with in the preceding chapters (129-147). As the Viṣṇudharma contains a good number of consecutive chapters dealing with the same topics and also others and having the same interlocutors as those of the verses mentioned above,253 it isundoubted that somebody took most of these verses from the Viṣṇudharma, adapted them to the interlocution between Vajra and Mārkaṇḍeya, and then inserted them into the Viṣṇudharmanottara after the Matsya-p. had plagiarised chapters and verses from it.

Similarly, Viṣṇudh. III. 215-220 (on Sugati-dvādaśi-vrata, Sugati-paunamāśi-kalpa, Santānaśtami-vrata, Asi-dhārā-vrata, Ananta-dvādaśi-

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In this Ms, chap. 145 deals with ‘śrāddha-deśānukritana’, chap. 146 with ‘vrśa-lakṣaṇa’, and chap. 147 with ‘vrṣotsarga-vidhi’. These chapters correspond respectively to chaps. 144, 146 (verses 41b to the end) and 147 of the printed ed. of the Viṣṇudharmanottara and do not deal with Aṣűnya-sayana-dvitiyā etc.

253 For the chapters of the Viṣṇudharma in which Pulastya speaks to Dālbhya and for their contents, see above under ‘Viṣṇudharma’.
vratā and Brahma-dvādaśi-vratā) must be later additions. These six chapters have Pulastya and Dālghya as the interlocutors and form a distinct section ending with the words 'samāptah pulastya-dālghya-samvādah'. They do not occur in the Matsya-p., and of them the first three and the fifth agree with Viṣṇudharma, chaps. 4, 5, 7 and 8 respectively, in which Pulastya speaks to Dālghya. There is no doubt that the Viṣṇudharmottara derived these chapters from the Viṣṇudharma.

As regards the provenance of the Viṣṇudharmottara it can be said that this work must have been compiled either in Kashmir or in the northernmost part of the Punjab. The evidences supporting this view are as follows.

(i) The law of inheritance (with regard to the right of the father and the son to the property inherited from the grandfather), as given in the Viṣṇudharmottara, is the same as that of the Mitākṣarā school.

(ii) The incidents of most of the stories given in the Viṣṇudharmottara have been located in the western part of Northern India, especially in or about the land of the five rivers.

(iii) Camels have been mentioned in connection with donation etc.

(iv) Viṣṇudh. III. 314 mentions different kinds of rice, of which Rakta-śāli (which is a variety of Śāli rice) is said to be the best.

(v) In giving an account of the distribution of tribes in India, the Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 9) divides this country into several parts, viz., central, eastern, south-eastern, southern, south-western, western, north-western, northern and north-eastern. The localities, comprised in these parts, show that the author of the Viṣṇudharmottara must have lived somewhere about the land of the 'five rivers'.

254 III. 330. 19-20a—

paitāmahe tv asvatantrah pita bhavati dharmatah,
pitāmahiṣite vitte pituḥ putrasya cobbhayoh//
svāmyaṃ tu sadṛṣaṁ jñeyam putraś ced gunavān bhavet/

255 Viṣṇudh. I, chaps. 20, 148, 162, 164, 167-170, and so on.
256 Viṣṇudh. III. 301, 32, and 312, 5.
(vi) The rivers Sarayū, Yamunā, Ikṣumati, Sarasvatī, Drśadvatī, Devikā, Sindhu, Vītastā, Candrabhāgā, Irāvati, Vīpāśā and Satadru, especially the last seven, have been mentioned and praised as divine on many occasions. For instance, the Devikā and the Vītastā have been identified with ‘Umā, wife of Śaṅkara’, and the Irāvati, Satadru and Sarasvatī have been called ‘devi’. As a matter of fact, the author of the Viṣṇudharmottara seems to have created occasions for praising these rivers whenever possible.

(vii) In Viṣṇudh. I. 162. 61-65 the meeting places of the following rivers have been described as highly sacred:—(a) Gaṅgā and Sarayū, (b) Gaṅgā and Soṇa, (c) Gaṅgā and Ikṣumati, (d) Gaṅgā and Yamunā, (e) Gomati and Sarayū, (f) Kauśikī and Gaṇḍakī, (g) Vīpāśā and Devahradā, (h) Vīpāśā and Satadru, (i) Sindhu and Irāvati, (j) Candrabhāgā and Vītastā, and (k) Sindhu and Vītastā.

(viii) In Viṣṇudh. I. 162. 33-35 the confluence of the Candrabhāgā and the Tausī (a small river in Kashmir) is praised as follows:—
sā kadācin mayā sārdham taudsīm nāma nadīma yaya/v,
tasyāś ca samgamaḥ puṇyo yatrasīc candrabhāgāyā/,
candrabhāgā saric-chreṣṭhā yatra śicāmalodakā/,
mahādeva-jaṭā-jûte gaṅgā nipatitā purā/,
candāreṇa bhāgato nyāstā candrabhāgā śmṛtā tataḥ/,
tat-kāla-tapta-sālilā taudsī tattva-nandini/.

(ix) The sacred lake Bindusaras has been mentioned more than once and said to have been created by the drops of water of the Gaṅgā when she was falling on Śiva’s head.
(x) Viṣṇudh. I. 139 states that Viṣṇu assumed the form of Varāha, raised the earth after killing Hiranāyākṣa, and stationed himself on the Varāha-parvata (in Kashmir), and that it was at this place that the custom of offering śrāddha to the deceased was first introduced by him in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.

(xi) A study of the Viṣṇudharmottara shows that the author or authors of this work had an intimate acquaintance with the geography of Kashmir as well as of the northern part of the Punjab. In Viṣṇudh. III. 125. 10 Kashmir has been mentioned as a seat of Viṣṇu.

From the evidences adduced above it is highly probable that the Viṣṇudharmottara was composed somewhere in Southern Kashmir. Bühler and Winternitz also take it to be a work of Kashmir.263

The Viṣṇudharmottara is avowedly a Vaiṣṇava work claiming to deal with the 'various duties of the Vaiṣṇavas'.264 It belongs to the Pāñcarātras and is not 'a production of the Bhāgavata sect' as Bühler takes it to be.265 It recommends the Pāñcarātra method of Viṣṇu-worship, adds great importance to the due observance of 'panca-kāla',266 holds the scriptures of the Pāñcarātras in high esteem,267 and extols one who honours, or makes gifts to, those who are versed in these scriptures.268 According to the Viṣṇudharmottara,269 Nārāyaṇa is the highest deity and Supreme Brahma (paraṁ brahma). He is the original source of both matter and spirit. For the sake of creation he takes to guṇas and appears as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Hara. Viṣṇu, who carries on the work of protection with the help of Lakṣmi, exists in different parts of the universe by assuming different forms through māyā. In the world of mortals he resides with Lakṣmi in Śvetadvipā

264 Viṣṇudh. I. 1, 16 and 23—vaiṣṇavān vividhān dharmān; I. 1. 19—viṣṇudharmān sanātanaṁ.
265 Ind. Ant., XIX, 1890, p. 382.
266 Viṣṇudh. I. 6, 40; II. 61-65; and so on.
267 Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 34; II. 22. 133; III. 73. 48; III. 257. 4; and so on.
268 Viṣṇudh. I. 58. 10 and III. 155. 6.
269 For an idea of Vaiṣṇava theology, see especially Viṣṇudh.I, chaps. 2,6,52, 58, 63 (verses 34-40), 139 (verses 19-24), and so on.
which is said to be situated in the ocean of milk lying on the east of the mountain Meru. The Viṣṇudharmottara calls Nārāyaṇa ‘caturātmak’ and believes in the doctrine of Vyūha as expounded in the Pāncarātra Saṃhitās. It states that by persistently worshipping Viṣṇu with absolute devotion (ekānta-bhāva) according to the Pāncarātra method, one can pass to Svetadvipa after death, reside there for long in a divine form, and then attain final emancipation by entering Vāsudeva after passing successively through the Sun (āditya-maṇḍalam), Brahmā, Aniruddha, Pradyumna and Saṃkarṣaṇa. It lays special stress on image-worship and recommends to the Viṣṇu-worshippers both the Vedic mantras (viz., śāvitrī etc.) and the sectarian ones (‘om namo nārāyaṇāya’ and ‘om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya’ of eight and twelve syllables respectively) but says that women and Śūdras are allowed to use the latter mantras only. As it regards Viṣṇu as ‘sarva-devamaya’ and ‘sarva-rūpadhara,’ it recommends the vows and worship of other deities also and thereby tries to infuse the worshippers of these deities with Vaiṣṇava ideas. It looks upon Kṛṣṇa as one of the manifestations of Viṣṇu and seems to add little importance to cowherd Kṛṣṇa (of Vṛndāvana), who is mentioned very briefly on two occasions only. It adds special importance to the Pāṣupatas, whose scriptures it mentions along with those of the Pāncarātras in more places than one, but it subordinates Saṃkara to Nārāyaṇa. So, it seems that the Pāncarātras had the Pāṣupatas as their most powerful rivals.

The Viṣṇudharmottara is practically free from Tantric influence. It advises the Vaiṣṇavas to worship Viṣṇu and other deities in images, pictures, altars, pitchers (full of water), or lotuses (drawn on the

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270 For clear exposition of the doctrine of Vyūha, see F. O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāncarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, pp. 27ff.

271 Viṣṇudh. I. 65. 32—

sākāre baddha-lakṣas tu sūnyaṁ śaknoti cintitum/
anyathā tu sukaśaṁ syān nirālambasya cintanam//

See also Viṣṇudh. III. 108, 26-27.

272 Viṣṇudh. I. 155. 27-28; I. 157. 16-17; I. 163. 8-11; and so on.

273 Viṣṇudh. III. 126. 3.

274 Viṣṇudh. III. 85. 7ff., and 106. 117-125.

275 Viṣṇudh. I. 74. 34; II. 22. 133-4; III. 73. 48; III. 257. 4; and so on.

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ground) and recommends the use of Vedic or Purānic mantras or both in vows and worship. But it does not recognise the Tantric yantra as a medium of worship, nor does it prescribe the use of Tantric mantras. The Tantric bijas, found in some of the stotras and kavacas contained in the Viṣṇudharmottara, are most probably due to the influence of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, which the Viṣṇudharmottara follows in form and ideas.

Although the Viṣṇudharmottara decries the Pāṣaṇḍas as extremely unholy and detestable, it seems to have been influenced by Buddhism. It recommends the worship of Aiḍūka, Dharma and Vyoman and describes their images. By its recognition of Mayūra, Haṃsa etc. as manifestations of Viṣṇu and by its statement that whenever there is decline of dharma, Vāsudeva is born, according to necessity, among gods, men, Gandharvas, serpents, birds, or others and behaves like those creatures among whom he is born, the Viṣṇudharmottara reminds us of the Jātaka stories.

The Viṣṇudharmottara is written mostly in verse, but some of its chapters, or parts thereof, are written in prose. Regarding the language of this work it may be said that like many other Purāṇas it contains a number of ungrammatical forms. For instance, it has ‘vartā’ for ‘vartamānena’ (I. 1.14), ‘yatrastham’ for ‘yatra tiṣṭhantam’ (I. 4.38), ‘tatrastham’ for ‘tatra tiṣṭhantam’ (I. 6.58 and 61), ‘sandhyāsaha’ for ‘sandhyayāsaha’ (I. 26.8), ‘prathame’ for ‘prathamam’ (I. 139.1), ‘duhitām’ for ‘duhitaram’ (I. 252.8), ‘patnayāḥ’ for ‘patnyāḥ’ (III. 67.15a and III. 103.21), and so on.

276 For the different mediums of worship see Viṣṇudh. II. 90. 9, II. 153. 6, II. 158. 3, and so on. For ‘padma’, see Viṣṇudh. II. 44. 17ff., II. 47. 26ff., II. 50. 20ff. and 77ff., and II. 54. 4.
277 See Viṣṇudh. I. chaps. 137, 196, 238, and so on.
278 See Viṣṇudh. III. chaps. 84, 77 and 75.
279 Viṣṇudh. I. 188. 7 and 9.
280 Viṣṇudh. I. 180. 8; I. 190. 19; III. 118. 7; III. 119. 9; and so on.
281 Viṣṇudh. I. 38. 10-13a and I. 172. 8-10.
282 See Viṣṇudh. I. 237 (partly); II. 166-174 (Paitāmaha-siddhānta); III. chaps. 6, 18-19, 32, 36, 95 (partly), 97-101, 109-117, 344 (partly), 346 (partly), 350 (partly), 352 (partly), and 355 (partly).
3. THE NARASIMHA-PURAṆA

The present Narasimha-puraṇa, which is also called Nṛśimha-(or Nārasimha-) puraṇa, is one of the oldest and most important of the extant Vaiśnava Upapurāṇas. It begins with a salutation to Nāramśa and states that once, in the month of Māgha, some Veda-knowing sages came with their disciples to Prayāga from different


This is a very careless edition based on three Mss which have been referred to simply as क, ख and म, but of which no information or description has been given by the editor.

In this edition, the chapter immediately following chap. 10 is called eleventh at the beginning but twelfth at the end. As a matter of fact, chaps. 11 and 12 have been combined without any demarcation, though Ms छ says that chap. 12 begins from verse 54.

Though I am fully conscious of the fact that no serious chronological deduction should be based on this worthless edition, the absence of any better, or even a second, edition of this Purāṇa has compelled me to utilise it here. I have, however, consulted a number of Mss of this work and have not used any evidence which is not supported at least by most of these Mss.

For Mss of this Purāṇa see


[This Ms, which consists of 63 chapters and was found at Navadvipa, is written in Bengali characters and dated Saka 1567. It begins as follows:—

om namo Nṛśimhäya/
taptä-hätäka-keśägra-jvalat-pavaka-locana/
vajräsikha-nakha-sparśa divyä-simha namo‘stu te//
nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayorah-paripatad-ाṛg-aruniktar-gåtrah//
himakara-girä i va gairika-gåtro naraharä araharah avatu sa ha asmin//
himavad-väsinah sarve munayo veda-paśagah//
trikälajñä mahätmäno naimisäranyä-väsinah//
&c
&c

It ends thus:—

netrair mārtanda-caṇḍais tribhir ana-laśikä nyagvahadbhiḥ pradiptah/
payād vo nārāśimhah kara-khara-nakharair bhinnä-daityaś ciradyah/
kim kimśiṣhas tataḥ kim nara-sadṛśa-vapura deva citraṁ ghrītā
naivaṃ dhik konvaived durutam upanayatam so‘pi satyaṃ hariśah/
cāpaṁ cāpaṁ nakhaṁgam ihaśi ti dahi dahi karkśatvam nakhānām
ity evam daitya-naṭham niha-nakha-kulisair jaghnivān yāh sarōṣāt//
parts of India (viz., Himālaya, Naimiṣāraṇya, Arbudāraṇya, Puṣkarāraṇya, Mahendra mountain, Vindhya mountain, Dharmāraṇya, Daṇḍakaṇṭa, Śrīśaila, Kurukṣetra, Kaumāra-parvata, Pampa etc), had their bath in the holy Ganges, and saw Bharadvāja in his hermitage. When,

iti śrīnarasimhapurūṣe ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokaṣa-pradāyini para-brahma-
varūpiṇa idam ekam sunyeṣpannam dhīyeyo nārāyaṇah sadā nārānyadevāt param
asti kiṃcit/ śrīnarasimhapurūṇam saṃāptam//63//

The list of its contents, as given by Mitra, shows that it lacks the story of
Dhruva as occurring in chap. 31, verses 1-97 of the printed edition; the story
of Prahlāda as given in chaps. 40 (verses 60b-61b), 41-43 and 44 (verses 1-13)
of the printed edition; the description of the characteristic evils of the Kali
age as given in chap. 54, verses 8-61 of the printed edition; as well as chaps. 64
(on the interlocution of Nārada and Puṇḍarīka on the glory of Nārāyaṇa) and
68 (on the glorification of the Narasimha-p.), of the printed edition.

It also seems to lack the story of the Pāṇḍavas’ killing of the demons
Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras on the bank of the Revī for carrying away Draupadi
by force (as given in chap. 33, verses 15-85 and chap. 34, verse 1 of
the printed ed.); and the story of Indra’s getting rid of his female form by muttering
the eight-syllabled mantra ‘om namo nārāyaṇāya’ (as found in chap. 63,
verses 10-119a of the printed ed.).

It inserts a chapter on the praise of holy places (tirthha-praśāmsā) in Ayodhyā immediately after the chapters on Rāma-prādurbhāva.]

(2) Aufrechte, Bod. Cat., pp. 82-83, Nos. 138-139.

(i) No. 138, which consists of 62 chapters and is written in Deva-
nāgari script, begins as follows:—

nārāyaṇaṁ namaskṛtya etc.
tapta-hāṣṭaka-keśaṁta jvalat-pāvaka-locana/
vajrādhika-nakha-sparṣā divya simha namo’stu te//
pūtu vo narasimhasya nakha-lāṅgala-kotayah/
hiranya-kaśīpo vrukṣa aṣṭakaddamamāruṇāḥ//
homabaddhāgninaḥ sarve munayo veda-pāragāḥ/
trakālaṇā mahātmāno nāmīṣāraṇyaavāsināḥ//
&
c
&
c

but its end and final colophon are not given by Aufrecht.

Aufrechte’s description of its contents shows that it not only lacks, like
Mitra’s Ms, the stories of Dhruva and Prahlāda and the description of the
characteristics of the Kali age, but also the topics on Yoga (as found in chap. 61
of the printed ed.), and the enumeration of tirthas (as found in chaps. 65-67
of the printed ed.).

It also seems to lack the story of the killing of the demons Bahuroman
after mutual greetings, they were engaged in ‘talks about Kṛṣṇa’
(kṛṣṇāśrītāh kathāḥ), there arrived a Sūta named Lomaharśana, who
was a disciple of Vyāsa and was versed in the Purāṇas (purāṇajña).
After Lomaharśana had been duly received by the sages, Bharadvaja
thanked him for having narrated to them the Saṃhitā named Vārāha
(i.e. the Varāha-purāṇa) during the great sacrifice instituted by Saunaka
and then wishing to hear from him the ‘Purāṇa-saṃhitā named Nāra-
simha’ put to him the following questions for detailed treatment:

(1) Whence did this universe, with its moving and stationary
objects, originate? Who preserves it? And where will it
go after dissolution?

(2) What is the extent of the earth?

(3) What acts please Narasimha?

(4) How does creation begin, and how does it end?

and Śthūlaśiras by the Pāṇḍavas, and the story of Indra’s getting rid of his
female form by muttering the eight-syllabled mantra.

The story of Rāma-prādurbhāva is given in this Ms in five chapters as
against six (viz., 47-52) of the printed ed. (See also Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713,
described below, which also gives in five chapters the contents of chaps. 47-52
of the printed ed.).

It does not insert any chapter on the praise of holy places in Ayodhya,

(ii) No. 139, which is written in Devanāgarī, is generally the same as
the above Ms but contains chaps. 65-67 (on ārthas) of the printed ed.]


[ (ii) Of these five Ms, the first (Cat. No. 3375), which was copied in
Devanāgarī script in 1798 A. D., consists of 67 chapters. It begins with the
verses ‘tapta-hātaka-keśāgra’ and ‘nakha-mukha-vidalita-’
(v.l.-vilikhita-) diti-
tanayorāḥ’ (with slight variations in readings) and ends thus: —

nṛṣinghāśya-mahādeva-pūjite bhakta-vatsale/
loka-nāthe prabhau tena trailokyā-pūjito bhavet/ 
yo narasimha-vapur āsthitah purā
hitayā lokasaya diteḥ sutaṁ yudhi/
nakhaṁ sutikṣṇair vidadārā vairiṇām
divaukasāṁ tam prānīmāṁ keśavam/ 

iti śṛṅgāśhāvaturanē ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini nāma sattīrtha- 
varṇano nāmāḥhyāyāḥ/ 

It lacks chaps. 64 and 68 of the printed ed.

As Eggeling does not give the contents of the chapters, it is not known
(5) What are the four Yugas? How are these to be reckoned, and what are their characteristics?

(6) What will be the condition of people during the Kali age?

(7) How is Narasimha to be worshipped, and what places, mountains and rivers are sacred to him?

(8) How were the gods, Manus, Vidyādhāras and others first created?

(9) Which kings were sacrificers, and who attained the highest success?

The Sūta consented to narrate the ‘Nārasiṃha Purāṇa.’ Consequently, he saluted his teacher Vyāsa, through whose favour he learnt definitely whether this Ms also lacks the stories of Dhruva and Prahlāda, the story of the Pāṇḍavas’ killing of the demons Bahuroman and Śhūlasīras, the story of Indra’s getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled mantra, and the description of the evils of the Kali age. It is also not known whether it inserts a chapter on holy places in Ayodhya.

(ii) The next two Ms (Cat. Nos. 3376-77), which also are written in Devanāgarī and of which the second one lacks the first Adhyāya, are practically the same as the preceding Ms. Their concluding verses are (with some variations in readings) the same as those of the Ms noticed by Mitra, and their colophon is as follows:

iti śrīnārasiṃhapurāṇa ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyinī para-brahma-
svarūpiṇi idam ekam sunispannam dhyeyo nārāyaṇaḥ sadā/na vāsudevāt param
asti kīṃcit //iti nārasiṃha-purāṇam samāptam//

(iii) The fourth Ms (Cat. No. 3378) is written in Devanāgarī by different hands. It was copied in about 1500-1600 A.D., its last five folios being supplied in 1789 A.D. It begins with the verse ‘nakha-mukha-vilikhita-
diti-tanayorah-.’ In the modern portion of this Ms the story of Indra’s getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled mantra (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.) and the interlocution between Nārada and Pundarika on the glory of Nārāyaṇa (as occurring in chap. 64 of the printed ed.) are given.

(iv) The fifth Ms (Cat. No. 3379—on Rāma-prādurbhāva) is written in Devanāgarī and divided into six sections named after the six Kāñdas (ending with the Laṅkā-kānda) of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is practically the same as chaps. 47-52 of the printed ed.)

(4) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans, College Cat., IV, pp. 29-30 (Ms No. 36) and pp. 184-5 (Ms No. 298). The second Ms has been numbered again as 304.
the Purāṇas,' and then began to deal with the five Purāṇa-topics (viz., primary creation, secondary creation, etc.) by way of answering all the

[(i) Ms No. 36 consists of 63 chapters and is written in Bengali characters. It is 'not old'. It begins with the verses 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and 'nakha-mukha-vilasita-dīti-tanayorah,' and ends thus:
prasanne deva-devese sarva-pāpa-kṣayore bhave/
pakṣiṇaḥ pāpa-baddhās te muktim yānti parām gatim/

nakhaḥ surikṣṇair vvidadāra vairiṇam

divaukanām taṁ praṇamāmi keśavam/
vyāarpbhūdbhinnabhāsvatprthulalitātačchādītā kintvamārgah/
pāṭalaṁ prāpta-pādaḥ prakharatara-nakha-śrotasō nārasimhah/

kara-khara-nakharaiḥ bhimna-vṛtyāś ciraṁ vah/

kim kim siddhas tat kinvah sādrṣa-vapumeta vācitaṁ ghirto
nevādhikah so'pi jivedratamapanyatāṁ sopi nityam hariśah/

cāpam ajārasaṅgāṇaḥ daśarājghnivāṁ yah sa roṣate/]

iti śrīnaraśimhapurāṇe triśaṣṭītamo'dhyāyaḥ samāptam narasiṃha-purāṇam/]
Like Mitra's Ms and like the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713 described below, this Ms lacks, besides chaps. 41-43 and 68 of the printed ed., the following portions of the latter: Nar. 15. 7b-16; 16. 1-4a; 31. 1-97; 32. 20b-21; 33. 1-4a and 15-85; 34. 1; 40. 60b-61a; 44. 1-13; and so on.

(ii) Ms No. 298 (or No. 304) is an old one written in Bengali script and consisting of 67 chapters. It begins with the verse 'tapta-hāṭaka-keśāgra' and ends with the chapter dealing with the 68 holy places sacred to Viṣṇu (vaiśnavāṭaṁ śṛṣṭi = chap. 65 of the printed ed.). It lacks chaps. 41-43 and 66-68 of the printed ed. and also many others like the immediately preceding Ms and the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713 described below.]

(5) Shastri, ASB Cat., V. pp. 711-13, Nos. 4075-81.

[(i) No. 4076.—It is written in Bengali script and dated Śaka 1617. It consists of 64 chapters, of which the 63rd chapter is named 'Tirtha-yātrā-
praśaññā' (= chap. 66 of the printed ed.). The Catalogue gives us no information regarding the contents of the different chapters.

(ii) No. 4076A.—It is written in Bengali characters and dated Śaka 1586. No information regarding the number of its chapters or its contents is given by Shastri.

(iii) Nos. 4077-81.—Of these five Mss the first is written in Kashmiri and dated Samvat 1898, the second is written in Nāgara of the 18th century, and the remaining three are written in Bengali script. Of these remaining three Mss, the first is dated Śaka 1623 and the third is dated Śaka 1639.

The numbers of chapters of these five Mss or their contents are not mentioned in the Catalogue.]
questions with the narration of various relevant stories. So, the present Narasimha-pāya deals with the following topics:

Glorification of Narasimha (also called Viśṇu, Hari, Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, etc.) by identifying him with Nārāyaṇa, the eternal Brahma.


[i] No. 6616.—It is written in Grantha characters of about 1866-67 A.D. and consists of 61 chapters. Its beginning is very defective, and it ends with the verse ‘yo nārasimhaṁ vapur āsthitah purā’. Its colophon runs as follows:—iti śrīnarasimhāpaṭāṇe ekāṣṭitamō’dhīyāyāḥ/śrīlakṣmanārāsimhāpaṭāṇaṁ astu//hariḥ om/kara-kṛtam aparādham kṣantum arhati santeḥ/

(ii) No. 6617.—It is an incomplete Ms written in Bengali characters of about 1800 A.D. It begins with the same verses as those of Eggeling No. 3375.

(iii) No. 6618.—It deals only with geography and is not divided into chapters. It corresponds to chaps. 30 and 31 (verses 98-112) of the printed ed. and lacks the story of Dhruba as found in chap. 31, verses 1-97 of the printed ed.

(7) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323 and 284A.

[i] Ms No. 2713, which was collected from Vaidyavatī in the district of Hooghly, is written in Bengali characters and consists of 68 folios, of which fol. 1 is damaged and fol. 2 is mutilated at the left side. It contains 63 chapters and is dated Saka 1567. It is fairly correct. Like Mitra’s Ms, it begins with the verses ‘taptā-hāṭaka-keśāgra’ and ‘naka-mukha-vilikkita-diti-tanayorah’.

and ends thus:

prasanne deva-devese sarva-pāpa-kṣayo bhavet/
prakṣiṇa-pāpa-bandhās te muktiṁ yuṣṭi pariṁ punah//
yo nārasimhaṁ vapur āsthitah purā
hitāya lokasya diteḥ sutam yudhi/
nakhaiḥ sutikṣṇār vidadāra vairiṇaṁ
divauksaṁ tam praṇamāṁ keśavam//
vyājṛmbhad-bhinna-bhāsvat-ṛṣṭhu-lalita-satēcchādītkendu-mārgaḥ
pāṭā-la-prāpta-pāda-prakharā.nakha-praṭa-keśāhi-bhogah/
netair mārtanda-caṇḍais tribhir anala-śikham udvahadbхи pradiptaḥ
pāyād vo nārasimhaḥ kara-kharā-nakharāri bhinnā-daiyāśa cīraṁyāḥ//
kim kim śiṁhas tataḥ kim nara-sadrśa-vapur deva citraṁ gṛhitō
naiyam dhiṇ ko nu jīvet drutam upanayatāṁ sopi satyam hariṣaḥ/
cāpam cāpam na khaḍgamaṁ jhaṭiti dāhaha karkaṣṭaṁvāma nakhānāṁ
ity evaṁ daiyā-nāthaṁ niṇa-nakha-kuliśāṁ ājñhīvaṁ yah sarosāt//
iti śrīnarasimhāpaṭāṇaṁ ādye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyina parambrahma-
svarūpini idam ekam sunispannam dhīyo naṁ rāyaṇaḥ sadā// na vāsudevāt param
Description of the origin of the cosmic egg (anda) from Brahma (i.e. Nārāyaṇa) according to the Śāmkhya system; Viṣṇu’s presence as Brahmā in this egg for creation. Division of time into nimesha, kāṣṭha, kalā, mukhūtra, ahorātra (day and night), pakṣa (fortnight), māsa (month), ayana, varṣa (year), yuga and kalpa; and measurement of

asti kimecit śrīnaraśiṁhāpurūṇaṁ samāptam/ śrī-rāma-cakravartināḥ pustakam idam/ śrī-gopāla-sārmanāḥ svāksaram idam// subham astu śakābdāh 1567//

terikha 23 jayaśṭha//. aṣṭāmyāṁ śukla-pakṣe tu guru-vāre samāptaś cāyaṁ granthah//

The corresponding chapters in this Ms and the printed ed. are the following:

**Ms** | **Printed ed.**
---|---
Chaps. 1-29 = Chap. 1-29 respectively.
Chap. 30 = Chap. 30 and 31 (verses 98-113).
Chap. 31 = Chap. 32.
Chap. 32 = Chap. 33 (verses 1-14);
      chap. 34 (verses 2-55).
Chaps. 33-37 = Chap. 35-39 respectively.
Chap. 38 = Chap. 40 (except verses 60b-61b); chap. 44 (verses 14-43).
Chaps. 39-44 = Chap. 45-50 respectively.
Chap. 45 = Chap. 51-52.
Chap. 46 (on holy place in Ayodhya) = x
Chap. 47 = Chap. 53
Chap. 48 = Chap. 54 (verses 1-6).

The above table shows that this printed ed.:

- chap. 31, verses 1-97
- chap. 33, verses 15-85
- chap. 34, verse 1
- chap. 40, verses 60b-61b
- chaps. 41-43;
- chap. 44, verses 1-13
- chap. 54, verses 8-61

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Ms lacks the following sections of the

- on the story of Dhruva;
- on the story of the killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras by the Pāṇḍavas;
- on the story of Prahlāda;
- on the characteristic evils of the Kali age;

29
these divisions with respect to men, Pitṛs, Manus, Brahmā etc. Brahma's origin from the lotus in Viṣṇu's navel; origin of Rudra from Brahma's rage; Brahma's creation of Dakṣa and his wife, from whom Śvāyambhuva Manu was born. (—Chaps. 1-3). Origin of the ten

chap. 63, verses 10-119a

—on the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled mantra;

—dealing with the interlocution between Nārada and Pundarika on the glory of Nārāyaṇa;

—on the glorification of the Nārasiṁha-p.

On the other hand, the printed edition lacks chap. 46 (on holy places in Ayodhya) and about 25 verses (on the selection of leaves and flowers for Viṣṇu-worship) of chap. 51 of the Ms.

This Ms deals with the story of Rāma-prādurbhāva in five chapters (viz., 41-45) as against six (viz., 47-52) of the printed ed., chap. 45 of the former consisting of chaps. 51-52 of the latter.

The agreement between this Ms and that described by Mitra is very close, and as both these Ms were copied in Śaka 1567, they are either based on the same original or derived from the same archetype.

(ii) Ms No. 323, which was procured from Ulā in the district of Nadia, is written in Bengali characters and consists of 131 folios, of which fols. 37-40 (containing chaps. 19-27, and verses 1-16 of chap. 28 of the printed ed.) are missing and fol. 131 is wrongly numbered 139. It contains 64 chapters and is dated Śaka 1588.

It begins and ends with the same verses (though with occasional variations in readings) as the preceding Ms, and its final colophon (viz., iti śrī-narasimha-purāṇe ādye dharmārtha-moka-pradāyini parambrahma-svarūpīni idam ekām sunispamnam dhyeyo nārāyanah sadā/na vāsudevāt param asti kiṃcit narasimha-purāṇam samāptam/subbaṃ astu śakābdaḥ 1588/haraye namah govinda namah/) also agrees very closely with that of the latter. (It should be mentioned here that the colophon of its final chapter, which is almost the same as its final colophon, runs thus:—iti śrī-narasimha-purāṇe ādye ... na vāsudevāt param asti kiṃcit prathamo'dhyāyah/).

This Ms lacks the same sections of the printed ed. as the preceding Ms. It also contains, like the preceding Ms, a chapter (viz., chap. 47 on holy places in Ayodhya) and about 50 lines (on the selection of leaves and flowers for Viṣṇu-worship) in chap. 52, which do not occur in the printed ed.

Thus, this Ms seems to have been derived from the same archetype as the
sages Marici, Atri, Aṅgiras etc. from Brahma's mind; Brahma's creation of Satarūpa, who was given in marriage to Manu; creation by the sages except Narada who was given to nivṛtti-dharma; creation by Rudra; creation by Dakśa; descendants of Dakśa's daughters. (—Chaps. 4–5). Description of the saṃsāra-vṛkṣa (tree of rebirths) which causes delusion of the mind; praise of jñāna, Viṣṇu-worship and meditation on Viṣṇu-Brahma as the means of getting rid of all sufferings brought on by rebirths; method and praise of muttering the eight-syllabled preceding Ms. The difference in the number of chapters in these two Mss is due to the fact that the story of Rāma-prādurbhāva is given in the preceding Ms in five chapters as against six (viz., chaps. 41–46) of the present one.

(iii) Ms No. 284A, which was procured from Nalāhāti in the district of Burdwan, consists of 121 folios and is written in Bengali script. It is dated Saka 1742 and contains 53 chapters, of which chaps. 14–53 are not numbered.

It begins with the verses ‘nārayaṇam namaskṛtya’, ‘tapa-hātaka-keśagṛ’ and ‘nakha-mukha-vilikhita-diti-tanayorah’; and ends thus:—

imam stavaṁ yaḥ pāthate sa mānavah prāpno ti viṣṇor anītātmakam hi tatt//
iti śrī-narasimha-purāṇe dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini param-brahma-
svaṁpi vaiśṇavaṁ-saṁjñi-nāṃdhyāyaḥ//
asya śrī-rājasimhasya prakṛtyālīṅgito harih//
rādhā-mohana-rāyasya prito bhavatu sarvadā//
yugma-srutiya-aśva-candrāṅkita-saṅka-mite bhāskare taisa-yāte
natvālekhin murareḥ kajanaḥ-yuga-saṁmah pāda-yugman surācyam/
śrī-rādhā-mohanākhyā-kaśtipa-nararharet nārasimhaṁ purāṇaṁ
gotṛād evānvaṅyama-prabhava-kṛta-mahāyaṇa-santana āśu//

In this Ms, chap. 53 consists of chaps. 57 (verses 8–20) and 65 of the printed edition. In verses 1–16 of chap. 53 of this Ms (which correspond to verses 8–20 of chap. 57 of the printed ed.) king Sahasrānaka asks Mārkandeya to describe to him the duties of the four castes and orders of life (varṇāśrama-dharma). Consequently, Mārkandeya begins to report what Hārita, being requested by some sages to speak on 'varṇāśrama-dharma', 'yoga-sāstra' and 'viṣṇu-tattva' (cf. bhagavan sarvva-dharmmajña sarvva-dharmma-pravaratka/vaṁnān āśramāṇaḥ dharmmān prabhūḥ śāsvatān/samāsād yogā-sāstantu
yaṁ dhyātvā mucyate narah/viṣṇu-tattvam muni-śreṣṭha tvam hi nāḥ paramo
guruḥ/), said to them on these topics. But in these verses Hārita is found only to introduce his subject by briefly narrating the origin of the four castes and the place fit for their residence and to say nothing on Varnāśrama-dharma etc. On the other hand, in verses 17ff. of this chapter (which corresponds to chap. 65 of the printed ed.) Śūta, being requested by Bharadvāja, names the 68 places
mantra 'om namo nārāyaṇāya' for the purpose. (—Chaps. 16-18).

Enumeration of Āditya's 108 names (including Śambhu, Tvaṣṭṛ, Kapila, Mṛtyu, Hari, Hāṃsa, Pratardana, Tāraṇi, Mahendra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Agni etc.) as mentioned by Viśvakarman (chap. 20). 'Short' genealogical lists of the kings of the Solar and the Lunar race, the former ending with Budha (v.l. 'Buddha' in some Mss), son of Saddhodana, and the latter with Kṣemaka, son of Naravāhana and grandson of Udayana and Vāsavadattā (chaps. 22-23). Accounts of the past, present and future Manus and Manvantaras (chap. 24). History of the prominent kings of the Solar and the Lunar race (vaṃśānucarita), especially of those who worshipped Narasimha and performed sacrifices sacred to Viṣṇu. Hence it is sure that in the original Ms from which our present one was copied, verses 1-16 of chap. 53 were followed by chapters on Varnāśrama-dharma, Yoga and Viṣṇu-tattva, i.e. by chaps. 57 (verses 21-30—on the duties of Brahmīns), 58-60 (on the duties of the Kṣatryas, Vaiṣyas and Śūdras, as well as of the students, householders, forest-hermits and yatis), 61 (on Yoga), 62 (on the Vedic procedure of Viṣṇu-worship) and 63 (verses 1-9 and 119-122—on the popular method of Viṣṇu-worship) of the printed ed. It is most probably due to the inadverrence of the scribe that these intervening chapters and verses have been omitted in our present Ms.

As, like the other two Mss, it lacks the following sections of the printed ed., viz.,

- chap. 31, verses 1-97
- chap. 33, verses 15-85
- chap. 40, verses 60b-61b;
  - chaps. 41-43;
  - chap. 44, verses 1-13
  - chap. 54, verses 8-61

we may assume that the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form (as found in chap. 63, verses 10-119a of the printed ed.) and the interlocution between Nārada and Puṇḍarikā on the glory of Nārāyaṇa (as given in chap. 64 of the printed ed.) were wanting in the original Ms from which our present one was copied.

(It should be mentioned here that the corresponding chapters of the Dacca University Mss on the one hand and the printed ed. on the other, differ not only in readings but also occasionally in the numbers of verses. For instance, after verse 31 of chap. 5 the Dacca University Mss have 24 metrical lines which are not found in the printed ed.).]
(chaps. 25-29). Geography of the earth (chap. 30). Glorification of performance of duties towards parents and husband (chap. 14). Glorification of Brahmins and of service rendered to them (chap. 28). Results of giving various articles (chap. 30). Method of worship of Gaṅeśa (chap. 26). Glorification of Narasimha-worship as well as of the different kinds of service rendered to Narasimha and his temple (viz., construction and sweeping of the temple and besmearing it with cow-dung; bathing the image with pure water, milk, curd, honey etc. or with mantra; offer of various articles; recitation of hymns of praise; presentation of flags marked with the figure of Garuda; songs, musical concerts, or theatrical performances etc. held for Narasimha's pleasure; removal of the flowers etc. with which Narasimha has been worshipped; and so on.—Chaps. 32-34). Sins arising out of crossing the flowers

(8) Mitra, Bikaner Cat., pp. 207-8, No. 452.

[This Ms is written in Nāgara and consists of only 41 chapters (so far as their number, given by Mitra in connection with the description of their contents, shows). The corresponding chapters of this Ms and the printed ed. are the following:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms</th>
<th>Printed ed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaps. 1-29 = Chaps. 1-29 respectively.</td>
<td>Chaps. 33 = Chaps. 35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chap. 30 = Chaps. 30; 31 (verses 98-113).</td>
<td>Chaps. 34-41 = Chaps. 36-39; 40 (except verses 60b-61b);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chap. 31 = Chaps. 32.</td>
<td>44 (verses 14-43);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chap. 32 = Chaps. 33 (verses 1-14); 34 (verses 2-55).</td>
<td>45-47.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So this Ms, which ends after dealing with only a few of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, is necessarily incomplete. It lacks the stories of Dhruva, Prahlāda, and the Pāṇḍavas who killed the demons Bahuroman and Shiśuśiras for carrying away Draupadi by force.]


[Of these Mss, the first (No. 10548) consists of 64 chapters and is written in Devanāgari. It begins with the verse 'taptahaṭaka-keśántarjyvalat' and ends with the verse 'yo nārasimham vapur asthitah purā'. Its colophon is as follows: iti śīrmanarasimha-purāṇe adye dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣa-pradāyini para-brahma-svarūpa-nirūpāne catuḥśaṣṭītamo 'dhyāyah. The contents of its different chapters are not given in the Catalogue.

No information regarding the beginnings, ends and contents of the other Mss is given by Sastri.]
etc. with which Viṣṇu has been worshipped (chap. 28). The methods of performing lakṣa-homa and koṭi-homa for the good of the village or the town or the country in which these are performed (chaps. 34-35). Method of consecration of images of Viṣṇu (chap. 56). The Vedic and the popular (sarva-hitā) method of Narasimha-(or Viṣṇu-) worship (chaps. 62-63). 284 Description of the evils of the Kāli age (chap. 54). 285 Duties of the four castes and orders of life (varṇāśrama-dharma—chaps. 57-60). 286 Description and praise of yoga which is to

(10) Chakravarti, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisat Cat., p. 72, No. 1432. *It contains chaps. 1-60 and is complete.*
(11) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 202. [*One of the two Mss is complete and is written in modern Kāśmirī script, while the other deals with Lakṣmi-nṛsīṁha-sahasra-nāma.*]
(14) Lewis Rice, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg, p. 72.
(15) Burnell, Classified Index, p. 188.

284 The mediums of worship are the following:—fire, heart (bhṛdaya), sun, altar and image. (Nar. 62. 5-6. Some Mss read ‘apsv agnau’ for ‘ato’gnau’).

285 Regarding the conduct of people of the Kāli age this Purāṇa says that there will be an intermixture of castes, women will become unruly and licentious, Brahmacārans will drink wine, the members of the higher three castes will disregard the rules of dharma, serve the Śūdras, enjoy widows and Śūdra women, and take food from the Śūdras, people will decry Hari and will not care to remember his name, Śūdras will become pseudo-ascetics (pravrajya-śāṅgīmaḥ) and preach religious doctrines, these Śūdras as well as many flowers among the twice-born will turn Pāśandas, Brahmīns will be eager for receiving gifts, and the Bhikṣuṣ will teach their students with a view to earning their livelihood.

286 In enumerating the duties of the members of the four castes and orders of life this Purāṇa says that a Kṣatriya king should try to attain victory through fair means, that the Śūdras should serve the twice-born, follow agriculture for earning their livelihood, and hear the Purāṇas from Brahmīns, that a twice-born
be practised by one who belongs to the fourth order of life (chap. 61). Enumeration and praise of rivers\(^{287}\) and holy places\(^{288}\) sacred to Viṣṇu (chaps. 65-66). Praise of certain qualities of the mind (chap. 67). Mention and praise of a few Vrataś (viz., Eka-bhakta, Nakta, Sauranakta, Agastyārgha-dāna, etc.—chap. 67). Praise of the Narasimha-purāṇa (chap. 68).

In connection with these topics the following stories have been introduced in this Purāṇa:

The story of the birth of Vasīṣṭha and Agastya from Mitra and Varuṇa when the latter saw Urvāśī in a lake called Pauṇḍarika in a forest in Kurukṣetra (chap. 6); the story of Mārkaṇḍeya who, being destined to die at the age of twelve, worshipped Viṣṇu, according to Bhṛgu’s advice, with the twelve-syllabled mantra (om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya) at Bhadravāṭa on the bank of the river Tuṅga-bhadrā, with the result that even Death had no influence on him, and when Death and his assistants went to Yama to report how, in their attempt to bring Mārkaṇḍeya to the abode of Yama, they had been beaten back by the Viṣṇu-dūtas, Yama reproached them for their conduct towards the Viṣṇu-dūtas, and praised Viṣṇu (also called Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa) as the chastiser even of himself (chaps. 7-12); the story of Yama, who, though repeatedly tempted by his passionate sister Yamī to incest, did not agree to her proposal and was thus able to attain divinity (chap. 13); the story of a Brahmacārin named Deva-śārman who turned a wandering mendicant after his father’s death, began to live at Nandigrāma in Madhyadesa after visiting numerous holy places, became proud of his occult power by being able to reduce to ashes, by an angry glance, a crow and a crane which were carrying should not put on red or blue clothes, and that a teacher should not teach his students during the Mahānavaṁśi, Bharanī-dvādaśi, Akṣaya-ṛṣṭiyā and Māghi Saptami.

287 Viz., Vitastī, Kāverī, Payoṇī, Viṃśā, Śivanādi, Gomati, Sarasvati, Carmanvati, Godāvari, Tuṅgabhadrā etc.

288 Viz., Kokāmukha, Pāṇḍya-sahya, Śalagṛma, Gandhamadana, Kubjāgāra, Gandhadvāra, Sakala, Sāyaka, Puṣkara, Kaseraṭa, Mahāvana, Hālanāgara, Daśapura, Cakra-tīrtha, Devadāru-vana, Kumāra-tīrtha, Ādiyā, Śūkara, Māhiṣmati, Gayā etc.
away his rag, chanced to meet Śāvitṛī, the devoted, and consequently omniscient, wife of a pious and learned Brahmin named Kaśyapa, and was reproached by her for his pride as well as for his neglect of duties to his mother and forefathers (chap. 14); the story of a learned Brahmin, who, after his wife’s death, visited numerous holy places, turned a yāti at the advice of Narasiṁha (who warned him that one who does not belong to any order of life, is not favoured by him), and attained salvation after death (chap. 15); the stories of the birth of the Āśvins and the Maruts, said to have been summarised from those told respectively by Vāyu and by Śakti-putra289 (i. e. Parāśara) in the ‘Vaiṣṇavākhya Purāṇa’ (chaps. 19-21); the story of Ikṣvāku, who, considering renunciation to be the best way of Viṣṇu-worship, went to the hermitage of Gālava and others after eulogising and worshipping Ganeśa according to Vasiṣṭha’s instructions, practised severe penance there, and muttered the twelve-syllabed mantra ‘ōm namo bhagavate vāsudevāya’, with the result that Brahmā revealed himself before king Ikṣvāku, told him how, being directed by a voice from the air, he himself could experience Viṣṇu by worshipping this god as well as by performing his own duties, and gave instructions to Ikṣvāku, who accordingly returned to his capital, did his duties as a householder, worshipped the images of Ananta and Mādhava given to him by Brahmā, and attained the region of Viṣṇu (chaps. 25-26); the story of Sāntanu who, though worshipping Narasiṁha according to the method learnt from Nārada, once passed over Narasiṁhanirmālya (i. e. the followers etc. with which Narasiṁha was worshipped) and was thus disabled from mounting his divine chariot but who regained his power by clearing the remnants of food of Brahmins for twelve years in Kurukṣetra (chap. 28); the story of Indra’s son who used to steal flowers from the garden of a florist named Ravi and was disabled from mounting his chariot in consequence of passing over

289 The printed ed. reads ‘śakti-putreṇa’ (see Nar. 19.5), but the Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713 (fol. 27a) and 284A (fol. 34b) as well as a few others read ‘śakti-putreṇa’. In the Dacca Univ. Ms No. 323, the folios (37-40), containing chaps. 19-27 and verses 1-16 of chap. 28 of the printed ed., are lost. The readings (śakti-putreṇa and ‘śalpa-putreṇa’) given by the Sanskrit College (Calcutta) Mss are corrupt.
Viṣṇu-nirṇāya, placed by the florist near the garden according to Narasimha’s instructions, but who got rid of his disability and went to his heavenly residence after clearing the remnants of food of Brahmins for twelve years in Kurukṣetra (chap. 28); the story of Dhruva’s attainment of high position among the stars and planets through Narasimha’s favour attained by means of Viṣṇu-worship as well as by muttering the twelve-syllabled mantra ‘om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya’ (chap. 31); the story of the demons Śhūlaśiras and Bahuroman, who disguised themselves as ascetics on the bank of the Revā with a view to carrying away Draupadi, and of whom the former was killed by Bhīma, and the latter, when chased by Arjuna, took the form of a four-armed and yellow-robed being with a conch-shell, disc etc. in his hands and narrated to Arjuna how in his previous birth as a Brahmin of ill repute he swept the floor of a Viṣṇu-temple and lighted a lamp there for enjoying the wife of a Brahmin, how being beaten to death by the city-guards he attained heaven and remained there for a long time, how he was reborn as king Jayadhvaja of the Lunar race and rendered service to the Viṣṇu-temple, and how after death he enjoyed various pleasures in the regions of Indra and Rudra and was cursed by Nārada to become a demon on his way to the Brahma-loka (chap. 33); the stories of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu (viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma,290 Balabhadra,291 Kṛṣṇa,292 and Kalki293) including the story of Prahlāda (chaps. 36-54); the story of Śukra’s

290 In connection with the Rāma-story it is said that being ordered by Sugrīva the monkeys searched for Sītā in different places, viz., Kāśmirā, the eastern countries, Kāmarūpa, Kośala, Saptakoṭikānakas, etc. (Nar. 50. 20-21), and that Rāma, before his decisive fight with Rāvana, muttered the Adityahṛdaya mantra which was imparted to him by Agastya (Nar. 52. 95-97).

291 Balabhadra, who is said to be none but Narasimha’s white energy (sītā śakti), is said to have killed Rukmini, king of Kaliagā, by uprooting his teeth.

292 Kṛṣṇa, who is the dark energy (kṛṣṇā śakti) of Narasimha, is said to have killed Naraka and many other Daityas (such as Hayagrīva) of Prāgijyotiṣa.

293 According to the Narasimha-p. Kalki would be born as the son of Viṣṇu-yanas in the great village (mahāgrāma) called Śambhala and exterminate the Mlecchas with a sword by mounting a horse.
regaining his eye which was pierced by Vāmana (chap. 55); the story of Indra, who muttered the eight-syllabled *mantra* and got rid of his female form that was brought on him by the curse of the sage Tṛṇabindu for killing in his hermitage the demoness Dīrghajaṅghā who, under the guise of an extremely beautiful woman, acted as a spy to Kuvera whose wife Citrasenā was stolen by Indra (chap. 63); the story of a Brahmin named Puṇḍarīka, who became a wandering mendicant without entering the second stage of life, settled at Sāligrāma and became an attendant (pāraśada) of Nārāyaṇa by muttering the eight-syllabled *mantra* (ōm nāmo nārāyaṇaṁ), and meditating on the deity according to the instructions of Nārada who introduced himself as a servant (dāsa) of Vāsudeva (chap. 64).

From the contents of the present Narasimha-p. summarised above it is clear that this Purāṇa is meant exclusively for the glorification of Narasimha who is identified with Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) as one of the forms (mūrti) of the latter and is thus called not only Nārāyaṇa but also Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva, Hari, Mādhava, Ananta, Kṛṣṇa, Dāmodara etc. So, Narasimha, though a form of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, is himself the principal god also. It is this supreme deity called Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu or Narasimha) who takes the forms of Brahmā and Rudra for the sake of creation and destruction respectively; and for the work of preservation he takes the forms of (the inferior) Viṣṇu, Narasimha etc. In creation he takes to māyā. Though in this Purāṇa Viṣṇu (or Nārāyaṇa) is described as four-armed, yellow-robed, having a complexion like that of the cloud, and holding a conch-shell, a disc, a mace and a lotus in his hands, he is called nirvikalpa, nisprapañca, advaita, sarvātmaka, ātma-caitanya-rūpa, jyotih-svarūpa, avyakta-svarūpa, ananda-rūpa, cidātmaka etc. and is identified with Brahma of Vedānta and Puruṣa of Śāmkhya.
The Major Vaiśnava Upapurāṇas

It has already been said that the present Narasimha-p is one of the oldest of the extant Vaiśnava Upapurāṇas. It was translated into Telugu about 1300 A.D.⁴⁰⁰ and is profusely drawn upon by the commentators and Nibandha-writers both early and late. For instance, Gadhāhara quotes verses from chap. 58 in his Kālasāra; Nilakṛttha from chaps. 34 and 58 in his Ācāra-mayūkha; Gopālābhaṭṭa from chaps. 8, 9, 18, 28, 32, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58 and 66 in his Haribhaktivilāsa; Anantarbaṭṭa from chaps. 34 and 35 in his Vīdhāna-pārijāta, 1; Narasimha Vājapeyin from chaps. 7, 8, 28, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58 and 63 in his Nityācāra-pradipa; Raghunandana from chap. 62 in his Durgā-pūjā-tattva and from chaps. 8, 18, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58, 62, 63, 66 and 67 in his Smṛti-tattva; Govindānanda from chaps. 30, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss), 58, 62 and 67 in his Varṣa-kaumudi, from chap. 58 in his Sudhī-kaumudi and Śrāddha-kaumudi, and from chap. 30 in his Dāna-kaumudi; Śrīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇi from chap. 58 in his Kṛṣṭya-tattvānava; Rudradhara Upādhyāya from chaps. 30 and 67 in his Varṣa-kṛṣṭya; Vidyākara Vājapeyin from chaps. 8, 15, 32, 58 and 63 in his Nityācāra-paddhati; Śūlapāṇi from chap. 58 in his Dīpa-kalikā; Vācaspati-miśra from chap. 65 in his Tirtha-cintāmaṇi; Vidyāpati Upādhyāya from chaps. 30, 32 and 58 in his Gaṅgā-vākyāvali; Cāṇḍēsvara Ṭhakkura from chaps. 30, 34, 58 and 67 in his Kṛṣṭya-ratnākara, and from chaps. 55 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Gṛhaustha-ratnākara; Mādhavācārya from chaps. 58 and 60 in his commentary on the Paraśara-smṛti; Śridatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 28, 32, 34, 55 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Ācārādārśa (alias Kṛṣṭya-cārā), and from chap. 67 in his Samaya-pradīpa; Madanapāla from chaps. 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Madana-pārijāta; Hemādri from chaps. 26, 30, 58 and 67 in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi; Halāyudha from chaps. 58 and 62 in his Brāhmaṇa-sarasvā; Vallālasena from chaps. 30, 34 and 58 in his Dānasāgara; Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa from chaps. 30, 34, 57 (as occurring in some Mss) and 58 in his Smṛti-candrikā; Aparārka from chaps. 58, 60, 62 and 63 in his com-

300 Farquhar, Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 249.
mentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti; and Lakṣmiṇidhara from chaps. 17, 26, 30, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66 and 67 in his Kṛtya-kalpataru, Vols. I-III, V, VI, VIII and XIV. In his Smṛti-tattva, II, pp. 84 and 284 Raghunandana quotes Nar. 66. 45 and Nar. 30. 29-30a not direct from the Narasimha-p. but from the ‘Tīrtha-kāṇḍa-kalpataru’ and ‘Dāna-ratnākara’ respectively. Though Vallālasena is very particular about the authenticity of the Purāṇas which he draws upon in his Dānasāgara,\(^\text{301}\) he describes the present Narasimha-p. as a work

\(^\text{301}\) Interesting information about the Purāṇas is supplied by Vallālasena when, in his Dānasāgara, he refers to the contents of a few Purāṇic works by way of explaining why he rejected them partly or wholly. Regarding the Ādi-purāṇa he says that though it was well-known for its treatment of gifts divided according to the division of the year, it was slightly touched upon in the Dānasāgara, because its contents were already fully utilised in the Ācāra-sāgara; the Bhāgavata, the Brahmāṇḍa and the Nārada-purāṇa did not contain any chapter on gifts and were consequently set aside; the Linga-purāṇa, whose volume was expanded by the chapters on big donations (mahādāna) contained in the Matsya-purāṇa and which was thus no better than a digest on gifts, was not drawn upon, because the substance of its contents was already obtained from other Purāṇas; the Bhavisya-purāṇa was utilised up to the chapters dealing with the saptami (-kalpa), while those on the aṣṭami and navami (-kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tantric influence; the Viṣṇu-rahasya and the Śiva-rahasya, which were famous among the people, were mere compilations and were consequently not utilised; and though the Bhavisyottara was famous for its customary laws (or was popularly followed) and did not contradict good customs, it was avoided in the Dānasāgara for want of sufficient evidence to prove its authenticity.

Next, Vallālasena names a set of Purāṇas rejected by him as spurious, viz., Tāraka (i.e. Gāruḍa), Brāhma, Agneya, Vaiśnava consisting of 23000 ślokas, and Linga of 6000 ślokas; and in connexion with their contents he says that these works, dealing with initiation, consecration, ways of salvation for the Tantriks, testing of gems, fictitious genealogies, lexicography, grammar etc. and containing irrelevant and contradictory statements, were used as means of deception by Miṇa-ketanas (followers of Minanātha?) and others, who are hypocrites, heretics and pseudo-ascetics. By his remark that due to its wide circulation the Skanda-purāṇa existed in more parts than one, and that three of its parts dealt with the accounts (kathā) of Pauṇḍra, Revā and Avanti, Vallālasena seems to include those three parts among the spurious Purāṇas.—See Dānasāgara, pp. 6-7 (verses 55-68).
dealing prominently with donations\(^{302}\) and utilises it without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity, antiquity and non-Tantric character. These show that by the first half of the eleventh century A. D. the Narasimha-p. attained so much prominence that its authenticity as an ancient ‘Purāṇa’ was not at all questioned. Hence this Purāṇa must have been written not later than 850 A.D.

The mention of a ‘Vārahākhyā Samhitā’ or ‘Vārahā’\(^{303}\) in the Narasimha-p. must not be taken to point to the extant Varāha-p. and thus be used as an evidence in favour of the late date of the present Narasimha. In Nar. I. 14-15 Bharadvāja says, “O Sūta, the Saṃhitā named Vārāha has already been heard from you by these (sages) and ourselves during the great sacrifice of Saunaka; at present these sages and myself want to hear from you the Paurāṇa-saṃhitā named Nāra-
simhā”\(^{304}\), and in Nar. 31.10b-11a Sūta says in connection with geography, “The region of Viṣṇu is situated at a distance double in comparison with that of the region of Brahmā; its glory has been described in the Vārāha by those who think over the (different) regions”\(^{305}\). From these it is clear that the Narasimha-p. speaks of a

\(^{302}\) See Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verses 12ff.)—

\[\ldots\text{kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoh/}
\]

\[uktāny upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-viulhini ca //\]

\[ādyaṃ purāṇāṃ śāmbaṃ ca kālikāhavyaṃ eva ca/\]

\[nāndam āditya-saṃpijñāṃ ca nārasimham tathaiva ca //etc.\]

\(^{303}\) In Nar. 13.111a the printed ed. reads ‘varāhe’, but most of the Mss read ‘vārāhe’ in the corresponding line. See foot-note 305 below.

\(^{304}\) Bharadvāja uvāca—

\[saunakasya mahāsaṭtre vārāhākhyā tu saṃhitā/\]

\[tvattāḥ śrutāḥ purā sūta etair asmāhīr eva ca //\]

\[sāṃprataṃ nārasimhākhyāṃ tvattāḥ paurāṇa-saṃhitām/\]

\[śrotum icchāmy ahaṃ sūta śrotukāmā ime sthitāḥ // Nar. 1.14.15.\]

\(^{305}\) Brahma-lokād viṣṇu-loko dviguṇe ca vyavasthitah;

\[vārahe tasya māhātmyam kathitam loka-cintakāḥ//\]

\[Nar. 31.110b-111a.\]

Most of the Mss read ‘vārāhe’ for ‘varāhe’. (See, for instance, Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 2713, 323 and 284A and Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 and 304).
Varāha-p. which was narrated by Sūta to the sages Bharadvāja and others during the great sacrifice of Saunaka and which dealt, among other topics, with the praise of the region of Viṣṇu. But in the present Varāha-p. there is no mention of Saunaka's great sacrifice as the occasion for the narration of the Purāṇa or of Bharadvāja as one of the interlocutors, nor does this Purāṇa deal with the praise of the Viṣṇuloka. So, the Varāha-p., mentioned in the Narasimha-p., must have been different from the extant Varāha, which was thus unknown to the present Narasimha-p. The original chapters of the extant Varāha-p. being written about 800 A.D., the date of the present Narasimha-p. must be placed earlier.

The verses common to the Narasimha-p. and the present Varāha in their chapters on primary and secondary creation need not be taken to prove the indebtedness of one of these two Purāṇas to the other. These common verses must have been taken by these two Purāṇas from the earlier Varāha-p. which is now lost.

In chaps. 26, 33 (verses 1-14), 34, 35, 56, 62 and 63 (verses 1-9 and 119-122) the Narasimha-p. gives the method of Gaṇeṣa-worship, the Vedic and popular methods of Viṣṇu-worship, the method of consecrating the images of Viṣṇu, and the procedure to be followed in the performance of lakṣa-homa and koṭi-homa. But neither in these chapters nor anywhere else in the whole Purāṇa there is the slightest trace of Tantric influence. This Purāṇa does not mention the Tantriks or the Tantras even for the sake of denouncement. So, it is evident that this Purāṇa was composed at a time when the Tantras did not begin to influence the people very seriously. Now, from an examination of the Mahāpurāṇas we have seen that Tantric influence began to be imbibed by the Purānic works from about 800 A.D. Hence the Narasimha-p. must be dated not later than 700 A.D.

1. 17, 19-20a, 23a = 1.12-15a.
2. 32-33  = 2. 3-4.
3. 35-36a  = 2. 5-6.
4. 1-9a  = 2. 13-20.

3. 10b  = 2. 21a.
4. 11-28b  = 2. 23-41a.
5. 1-6  = 2. 42-47.
6. 5a, 6b-8a  = 2. 49-50.

Though in chap. 36 of the Narasimha-p. Márkaṇḍeya promises to narrate the stories on the following (eleven) incarnations of Viṣṇu, viz., Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki, he gives, in chaps. 37-54, the stories on all these except the Buddha and adds at the end, "I have spoken on the ten incarnations of (Viṣṇu) the destroyer of (all) earthly sins. The devotee of Nṛsiṁha, who always listens to these, attains Viṣṇu" (Nar. 54. 6). So, the only line ‘kalu prāpte yathā buddho bhaven nārāyaṇah prabhuh’ (Nar. 36. 9a), which mentions the Buddha incarnation, is undoubtedly spurious. This line does not occur in most of the Mss of the Narasimha-p. Thus the Narasimha-p. knows the group of the ‘ten’ incarnations of Viṣṇu but is quite ignorant of the Buddha incarnation. An examination of the different lists of incarnations of Viṣṇu shows that the Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu not very much earlier than 500 A.D. Hence the date of the Narasimha-p. is to be placed not later than about 500 A.D.

According to the Narasimha-p. Kṛṣṇa embodies only a part of Viṣṇu’s Sakti. It is for this inferior position of Kṛṣṇa that Yama says in Nar. 9. 3, "I submit to the slayer of (the demon) Madhu; even Kṛṣṇa is not able to restrain me of his own accord". Hence the Narasimha-p. is to be dated earlier than the present Bhāgavata, in which Kṛṣṇa is given a higher position and is even called the Bhagavat himself. As the present Bhāgavata is to be dated in the sixth

308 In the present ed., the verse (No. 7) on the Rāma incarnation is placed before the line (No. 9a) on Paraśurāma, but in most of the Mss this order has been reversed.

309 See Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 41-42.

310 See Nar. 53. 30b-31a (........avatīrya mahitale/sīta-kṛṣṇe ca macchakti kamsādin ghātayisya/), 33a (preṣayāmasa te saktī sīta-kṛṣṇe svake nṛpa), and 66a (itthāṃ hi saktī sīta-kṛṣṇa-rūpe harer anantasya mahābālādhye).

311 Cf. Bhāgavata-p. l. 3. 28a—ete cāmśa-kalāḥ puṣṭaḥ kṛṇas tu bhagavān svayam.
century A.D., the Narasimha-p. is to be placed not later than 500 A.D.

Thus we get the lower limit of the date of this Purāṇa.

Again, in Narasimha-p., chaps. 47-52, a summary of the contents of the Rāmāyaṇa is given in connection with the Rāma incarnation of Viṣṇu; Nar. 29. 3 mentions some of the notable incidents of the Mahābhārata, viz., Arjuna’s receipt of the Pāsūpata weapon from Śaṅkara and the assistance given by him to Agni in consuming the Khāṇḍava forest, the Pāṇḍavas’ residence incognito with Draupadi in Vīrāṭa’s capital, and so on; and in Nar. 29.6 Janamejaya is said to have ‘heard the entire Mahābhārata from Vaiśampāyana, a student of Vyāsa, in order to get rid of the sin arising out of killing a Brahmin (brahma-hatyā).’ Thus the Narasimha-p. knows both the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. In Nar. 19. 5-6 Sūta says to Bharadvāja, “O high-minded one, the origin of the Maruts has already been described elaborately by the son of Sakti (i.e. by Parāśara) in the Purāṇa named Vaiśṇava, and the creation of the twin gods Āsvins has been narrated in minute details by Vāyu. I shall speak to you briefly on this creation. Listen to me.” Thus, the Narasimha-p. mentions two Purāṇas, of which the second is decidedly the present Vāyu-p., which contains

312 As there are a few parallelisms in idea as well as language between the works of Śaṅkara-cārya and the present Bhāgavata-p., some scholars are inclined to date the Bhāgavata after that great Vedāntist scholar. (See Bhāratiya Vidyā, II, pp. 129-139, and IHQ, XXVII, 1951, pp. 138ff.). But these scholars overlook the facts that the present Bhāgavata, like the other Purānic works, has been revised and emended on more occasions than one, and that Śaṅkara-cārya, Māgha and others’ influence must be due to these revisions and emendations. On the other hand, there are evidences to prove the pre-Śaṅkara origin of the earlier portions of the present Bhāgavata. (See Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 55-57).

313 sūta uvāca—
marutāṁ vistareṇokta vaisṇavākhye mahāmatē/
purāne sakti-putrenā purotptitaś ca vāyunā//
aśvinor devayoś caiva śrṣṭir uktā suvistarāt/
samkṣepat tava vaksyāmi śrṣṭim etām śṛṇusva me// Nar. 19. 5-6.
the story of the birth of the Āsvinś in chap. 84 and is declared by Vāyu, but the information regarding the ‘Vaiśnāvākhyā Purāṇa’ in which Śakti’s son (Parāśara) was the narrator of the story of the birth of the Maruts, does not tally fully with the present Viṣṇu-p. which, though narrated by Parāśara, does not contain this story. But this absence of the story of the birth of the Maruts in the present text of the Viṣṇu-p. must not be taken very seriously, because it can be explained away by saying that the particular Ms or recension of the present Viṣṇu-p. which was used by the Narasiṃha-p. contained the above-mentioned story, and also because there are verses common to the Narasiṃha and the Viṣṇu-p. Hence the Narasiṃha-p. must be dated later than the present Vāyu-p. and Viṣṇu-p. That the Narasiṃha-p. was composed later than the Viṣṇu-p. is shown by another piece of evidence. In the Viṣṇu-p. two hairs of Viṣṇu, one black and the other white, are said to have been incarnated as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma respectively. Thus Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are incarnations of exceedingly small portions of Viṣṇu. But in the Narasiṃha-p. it is two Śaktis of Viṣṇu, one black and the other white, which appear in the forms of Kṛṣṇa and (Bala-) Rāma respectively for the destruction of Kaṁsā and others. So, the position of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma as incarnations of Viṣṇu is better in the Narasiṃha-p.

314 This identity seems to be supported by the verses common to the Vāyu and the Narasiṃha-p., viz.,

Vāyu-p. 6. 60-65—cf. Nar. 3. 23-28a, 9. 75ff. —cf. 9. 5. 3ff.

315 For instance,

Narasiṃha-p. 3. 23-28a —cf. 1. 5. 18-24.
5. 3ff. = 1. 8. 1b-2; 7. 3ff.
25. 40b-41a = 1. 6. 39.

316 See Viṣṇu-p. V. 1. 59-60—
evānāṃ saṁstūyamānas tu bhagavān parameśvarah/
ujjahārātmanah keśau sita-kṛṣṇau mahāmune/
urvāca ca surān etau mat-keśau vasudhā-tele/
avatīrya bhuvō bhāra-kleśa-hānīm kariṣyataḥ/

317 Nar. 53. 3ob-31a, 33-34a and 66. For the texts of these verses see foot-note 310 above.
than in the Viṣṇu. Now, the present Vāyu-p., with the exception of those of its chapters which were added later, being earlier than the present Viṣṇu-p., and the Viṣṇu-p. being to be dated about 300 A.D., the date of the Narasimha-p. should be placed not earlier than about 400 A.D. This upper limit of the date of the present Narasimha-p. is supported by its mention of week-days (viz., Arka-divasa and Guru-vāra) in chap. 67 (verses 8 and 10 respectively), because the earliest epigraphic mention of a week-day is found in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D.\footnote{318}

Thus, the date of the present Narasimha-p. is to be placed between 400 and 500 A.D. It is highly probable that this Purāṇa was written in the latter half of this century.

The introductory verses of the Narasimha-p. do not throw any light on the date of this Purāṇa. As all the Mss do not agree in this respect, some of these introductory verses may be later additions. Moreover, the date of these verses is uncertain. The verse ‘tapta-hāṭaka-keśānta’ is the same as Viṣṇudh. I. 196. 18b-19a; and the verse ‘kim kim simhas tataḥ kim,’ being ascribed to Vyāsa in the Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya (p. 13) and Śrīdhara-dāsa’s Sadukti-kārṇāṁṛta (p. 53), seems to have been taken from the Narasimha-p.

That a Narasimha-p. was written at a fairly early date is shown not only by its mention in Alberūnī’s work\footnote{319} as well as in all the lists of Upapurāṇas\footnote{320} except that contained in the Ekāmra-p.,\footnote{321} but also by

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\footnote{318} Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 88-89.
\footnote{319} In his account of India Alberūnī gives two lists of eighteen ‘Purāṇas’; and of these two lists the first, which was dictated to him, consists of the following ‘Purāṇas’:

\footnote{320} For these lists and the approximate date of formation of the group of ‘eighteen Upapurāṇas’, see Chap. I.

\footnote{321} In its list of ‘Purāṇas’ the Ekāmra-p. (chap. i) mentions the ‘Nārasimha’ in place of the ‘Nārādiya’.

The Vaṅga, ed. of the Bhṛddharma-p. (I. 25.20) wrongly mentions the ‘Nṛśimha’ as a Mahāpurāṇa in place of the Mahābhāgavata.
the Matsya-p. (53. 59) which says that the Upapurāṇas, viz., Nārasiṁha, Nandi-purāṇa, Sāmba and Āditya, were ‘well-established in society’ (loke…….sampratṛṣṭhirāḥ), thus testifying to a much earlier date of these Upapurāṇas. But it is very difficult to say whether our present Narasiṁha-p. is the same as that mentioned in these lists and in the Matsya-p. The commentators and Nibandha-writers are, however, quite sure of the identity of the two. Of these, Narasiṁha Vājapeyin even explains the shorter form of the present Narasiṁha-p. saying, “As the number (of ślokas) of the famous Nārasiṁha is not found to be 18000, it seems that a portion has been lost in course of time.”

The above date of the present Narasiṁha-p. must not be taken to be that of the entire Purāṇa as found in the printed edition, because in the printed edition there are chapters and verses which are decidedly later interpolations. In order to be able to find out these spurious portions a list of such chapters and verses as are not found in all the Mss of the Narasiṁha-p. is given below with the mention of those Mss in which they occur and also of those in which they are not found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chaps, and verses of the printed ed.</th>
<th>Mss, in which they are not found</th>
<th>Mss, in which they occur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(On the story of Dhruva).</td>
<td>(2) Aufrechter’s Mss.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Nos. 36 and 304).²²²</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(5) Keith’s Ms (Cat. No. 6618).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6) Dacca University Mss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²²² Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18—prasiddha-nārasiṁhasya aṣṭādaśa-sāhasra-saṁkhyā yady api nopalabhyate kimciṣṭ kāla-kramāt luptam iti pratībhāti.

²²³ It has already been said that the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 of the Narasiṁha-p. was originally numbered 298.
STUDIES IN THE UPAPURANAS

Chaps. and verses of the printed ed. Mss, in which they are not found. Mss, in which they occur.

(7) R. L. Mitra’s Bikaner Ms.
(8) Ms แก่ used in the printed ed.
Most probably also in
(1) Eggeling’s Mss, and
(2) Keith’s Mss (Cat. Nos. 6616-17).

(1) Ms noticed by Mitra.
(2) Aufrecht’s Mss.
(4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.
(5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).
(6) Mitra’s Bikaner Ms.
(7) Ms แก่ used in the printed ed.
Most probably also in
(1) Eggeling’s Mss, and
(2) Keith’s Mss.
Mss แก่ and แก้ used in the printed ed.

(2) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.
(3) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).
(Most probably also in the Mss of Mitra, Aufrecht, Eggeling and Keith; otherwise the number of incar-

Mss แก่, แก้, and also แก่ (?) used in the printed ed.

2. Chap. 33, verses 15-85; chap. 34, verse 1.
(On the story of the Pāṇḍavas’ killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras).

3. Chap. 34, verses 43-55a.
(On lakṣa-homa and koṭi-homa).

(On the Buddha incarnation).

All other Mss.
Chaps. and verses of
the printed ed. Mss, in which they are
not found. Mss, in which they
occur.
nations becomes 11 and 10 as mentioned in
Nar. 54. 6—daśāvatārāh
kathitās tavaiva harer mayā
eetc.).

5. Chap. 40, verses 60b - 61b;
chaps. 41-43;
(On the story of
Prahlāda).

(1) Ms noticed by Mitra.
(2) Aufrecht's Mss.
(3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss
(Nos. 36 and 304).
(4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.
(5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).
(6) Mitra's Bikaner Ms.
(7) Ms फ used in the printed ed.
Most probably also in
(1) Eggeling's Mss, and
(2) Keith's Mss.

6. Chap. 54, verses 8-61.
(On the evils of
the Kali age).

(1) Ms noticed by Mitra.
(2) Aufrecht's Mss.
(3) Cal. Sans. Coll. Mss
(Nos. 36 and 304).
(4) As. Soc. (Calcutta) Mss.
(5) Dacca Univ. Mss (Nos. 2713, 323, 284A).
(6) Mitra's Bikaner Ms.
Most probably also in
(1) Eggeling's Mss, and
(2) Keith's Mss.

7. Chap. 61.
(On yoga).

(1) Aufrecht's Mss.
(2) Mss फ and ख used in
the printed ed.

Mss फ, ख and ग used in the printed ed.

(1) Ms noticed by
Mitra.
(2) Cal. Sans. Coll.
Mss (Nos. 36 and 304).
Chaps. and verses of the printed ed. | Mss. in which they are not found. | Mss. in which they occur.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(In Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A chap. 57, verses 21-30 and chaps. 58-64 of the printed ed. do not occur at all).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Also in Keith's Mss?</td>
<td>(1) Aufrechte's Ms No. 138. (2) Mss क and ख used in the printed ed.</td>
<td>(1) Ms noticed by Mitra.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(On the mental tirthas, and the praise of the Narasimha-p.).

13. Chap. 68.
(On the praise of the Narasimha-p.).

The above table shows that the following chapters, which are not contained in the older and better Mss, are undoubtedly spurious, viz.,

chap. 31, verses 1-97 — on the story of Dhruva,
chap. 33, verses 15-85 — on the story of the Pândavas’ killing the demons Bahuroman and Schûlaśiras,
chap. 36, verse 9a
chap. 40, verses 6ob-61b;
chaps. 41-43;
chap. 44, verses 1-13
chap. 54, verses 8-61
chap. 63, verses 10-119a

— on the Buddha incarnation,
— on the story of Prahlāda,
— on the evils of the Kali age,
— on the story of Indra's getting rid of his female form by muttering the eight-syllabled mantra,
— on the interlocution between Nārada and Pundarīka on the praise of Nārāyaṇa,

chap. 64

chap. 68

whereas the following chapters, viz.,
chap. 34 (verses 43-55a)
chap. 61
chap. 65
chap. 66
chap. 67

— on laksā-boma and koṭi-boma,
— on yoga,
— on the 68 holy places of the Vaiṣṇavas,
— on praise of holy places, and
— on the mental tīrthas, and the praise of the Narasimha-p.,

though eliminated in some Mss, are genuine.

The spurious character of the chapters and verses of the former group is also shown by their position, by the nature of their insertion, as well as by other evidences. For instance, the story of Dhruva in chap. 31, verses 1-97 is inserted so abruptly that none can have the slightest doubt regarding the fact that verses 98-113 of chap. 31 are direct continuations of the verses in chap. 30. As a matter of fact, chap. 30 and verses 98-113 of chap. 31 of the printed ed. form one single chapter in a large number of Mss (such as those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta Asiatic society, and Dacca University). Similarly, the story of the Pāṇḍavas' killing of the demons Bahuroman and Sthūlaśiras in chap. 33 (verses 15-85) and chap. 34 (verse 1) separates verses 1-14 of chap. 33 and verses 2ff. of chap. 34 of the

324 As we have not been able to consult the other Mss of the Narasimha-p., we refer only to those of these three institutions.
printed ed. which deal with the results of offering different articles to Viṣṇu and of rendering various kinds of service to this deity and which thus rightly form a single chapter in the above-mentioned MSS. Regarding the suprious character of verse 9a of chap. 36 much has already been said in connection with the determination of the date of this Purāṇa. As to the chapters and verses on the story of Prahlāda, they are placed between verses 1-60a of chap. 40 and verses 14ff. of chap. 44 of the printed edition which form one single chapter in the above-mentioned MSS as well as in the Ms न used in the printed edition. In these MSS, those verses, which are separated, with modifications, by the chapters on the story of Prahlāda in the printed edition, read, with slight variations, as follows:

gacchadhyam adhunā devaḥ svasthānaṁ vigata-jvarāḥ/
āham adya gamiṣyāmi indrasyendratva-siddhayae //
hiranya-kaśipor nāso bhavatām api vṛddhaye //
yuṣmākāṁ vijayāyaiva ajayāya sura-dviśām //
mārkandeya uvāca //
ity ukta viṣṇunā deva natvā viṣṇum yayur nrpa //
bhagavān api deveśo nārasiṁham athākarot //
bahu-yojana-vistīrṇaṁ bahu-yojanaṁ āyatam //
atiraudraṁ mahākāyaṁ dānavaṁ bhayamkaram //
mahānetram mahāvaktram mahādamśtram mahānakham //
mahābāhum mahāpādam kālagni-sadāṣopam //
kṛtvettham nārasiṁham tu yayau viṣṇus trivikramah //
stūyamāno muni-gaṇair hiranya-kaśipoḥ puraḥ //
nṛsiṁhas tatra gatvā ca mahānādam nanāda ca //
tan-nāda-śravaṇād daityā nārasiṁham aveṭṭayan //
tān hatvā sakalāṁs tatra sva-pauruṣa-parākramāc //
babhaṇja ca sabhāṁ divyāṁ hiranya-kaśipor nrpa //

etc.

e tc.

How these verses have been changed in the printed edition in order to accommodate the chapters on the story of Prahlāda will be obvious from a comparison of these verses with Nar. 40. 60ff. and 44. 14ff. The word ‘yayau’ in the line ‘kṛtvettham nārasiṁham tu yayau viṣṇus trivikramah’, which has been retained in the printed edition, does not agree with what has been said to Viṣṇu in the story of Prahlāda. As
regards the spuriousness of chap. 68 it can be said that the Narasimha-p. really ends with chap. 67, which deals not only with the mental tīrthas but also with the praise of the Purāṇa, and of which lines 24b-25a say, "Having heard (the Purāṇa topics) in company with the snātakas (i.e. the sages who took their holy bath in the Ganges), Bharadvāja remained there after showing proper respect to Sūra, but the (other) sages went away". Further, though in several places of the Narasimha-p. unswerving (acalā, avyabhicārinī) bhakti is mentioned and praised as the means of attaining the blissful state of existence, it is only in some of those chapters which we have taken as spurious that there are mention and praise of dāśya-bhakti. It is also noteworthy that none of these spurious chapters is referred to by any of the remaining chapters, although there are numerous cross references in the latter.

325 See Nar. 7. 33; 9. 6; 10. 49 and 51; 11. 56 and 60; 32. 10; and so on.
326 Cf. prahlādo 'tāhāravid dhīmān deva jaṁmāntāreśv api/
     dāsas tāvāham bhūyāsām garutmān iva bhaktimān//
     Nar. 43. 78b-79a;
     dāso'ham vāsudevasya deva-devasya sārīginaḥ/
     ity ukto nāradenaśau bhakti-paryākulaṁatmanā// Nar. 64. 46;
     jaṁmāntara-sahasreśu yasya syād buddhir īdṛṣī/
     dāso'ham vāsudevasya deva-devasya sārīginaḥ/
     prayāti viṣṇu-sālokyāṁ puruṣo nātra samśayāḥ// Nar. 64. 94-95a.

Also cf. Nar. 64. 116-117.

In Nar. 33. 31 the demon Bahurroman says how in one of his previous births as a Brahmin named Raivata, he was killed by the city-guards in a Viṣṇu-temple and was taken to heaven in a car which was 'prabhu-dāśa-samanvita'.

327 Nar. 6. 2 refers to Nar. 5. 2; Nar. 19. 4 refers to Nar. 5. 46-47; Nar. 20. 1 refers to Nar. 19. 22; Nar. 24. 1 (prathamaṁ tāvat svāyambhuvaṁ manvantaram tat-svarūpaṁ kathitam) refers to Nar. 3. 8-9 and Nar. 5. 20ff.; Nar. 24. 17c (pūrvoktaś chāyāyām utpanno manuh,......) refers to Nar. 19. 13 and 15; Nar. 29. 9b (tasya caritam upariṣṭad bhaviṣyati) refers to Nar. 32ff.; Nar. 32. 1 refers to Nar. 29. 9; Nar. 32. 1-2 and 8 refer to chaps. 36ff. on incarnations of Viṣṇu; Nar. 35. 2 refers to Nar. 34. 47 (on koti-bhūma); Nar. 36. 1 refers to Nar. 32. 1-2 and 8; Nar. 55. 1 refers to Nar. 45. 35-36; Nar. 62. 2 refers to Nar. 58. 92b-93a. The words 'kā vāvastha kalau yuge' in Nar. 1. 20a refers to Nar. 54. 1-6 and not to the section on 'kāli-yuga-lakṣaṇa' occurring in Nar. 54. 8-61.
The above table further shows that there were distinct stages in the process of addition and elimination of chapters and verses. For instance, Ms न (used in the printed ed.) interpolates chaps. 36 (verse 9a), 54 (verses 8-61) and 64, but eliminates nothing; Dacca University Ms No. 284A interpolates nothing but eliminates chaps. 66 and 67; and Aufrecht's Ms No. 139 interpolates chaps. 64 and 68 and eliminates chap. 61. Aufrecht's Ms No. 138 not only combines all the interpolations and eliminations of the Dacca University Ms (No. 284A) and Aufrecht's Ms No. 139 but also eliminates one chapter more, viz., chap. 65. Mss ह and ह (used in the printed ed.) go a step further not only by combining all the interpolations and eliminations of Ms न and Aufrecht's Ms No. 138 but also by interpolating chaps. 31 (verses 1-97), 33 (verses 15-85), 40 (verses 60b-61b), 41-43, 44 (verses 1-13) and 63 (verses 10-119a).

Even among the chapters other than those which have been differentiated above as spurious, there are some which are most probably comparatively late additions. Such chapters are especially Nar. 6 (on the story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya as sons of Mitra and Varuṇa) and Nar. 7-18 (on the story of Mārkaṇḍeya, the story of Yama and Yami, etc. narrated by Vyāsa to Suka). In Nar. 5. 48ff. the names of those thirteen daughters of Dakṣa who were given in marriage to Kaśyapa, are the following:—Aditi, Diti, Danu, Ariṣṭā, Svarasā, Svasā, Surabhi, Vinatā, Tāmra, Krodha-vasā, Irā, Kadrā and Muni; but in Nar. 6. 4-8 the list of the names of the ‘thirteen daughters’ married to Kaśyapa omits Ariṣṭā and Tāmra but adds Kālā, Muhūrta, Śimhikā and Saramā, thus increasing the number to fifteen. Even in the Mss preserved in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Asiatic Society (Calcutta), and Dacca University the names of these ‘thirteen daughters’ are different from those given in chap. 5. 328 It is to be

328 These names, as given in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Dacca University Mss of the Narasimha-p., are as follows: Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kālā (Kāli‘ according to Dacca Univ. Ms No. 284A), Muhūrta, Śimhikā, Muni, Vratā (‘Tāmra’ according to Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713), Krodhā, Surabhi, Vinatā, Surasā (Calcutta. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 304—Svarasā; Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713—‘Sarasā’ after marginal correction), Khasā (according to Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36 and Dacca Univ. Ms No. 2713), Kadrā (or Kadrā), Saramā,
noted that in Nar. 5. 43 Muhūrtā is said to have been given in marriage to Dharma. This disagreement between chap. 5 (which deals with pratisarga and cannot, therefore, be spurious) and chap. 6 seems to indicate the spurious character of the latter. In order to introduce this chapter the interpolator adds verse 2 (mitrā-varuṇa-putratvaṁ vasiṣṭhasya kathāṁ bhavet, etc.) of chap. 5. It is, however, not improbable that only verses 6-8a (containing the names of the ‘13 daughters’) are spurious, and not the entire chap. 6. As to the chaps. 7-18 (on the story of Mārkandeya, etc.), their introductory verse is as follows:

mārkandeyena muninā kathāṁ mṛtyuḥ parājītah/
etad ākhyāhi me sūta tvayaitat sūcitam purā//

Though in chaps. 1-6 of the printed ed. there is no verse containing the mention of Mārkandeya or of the way of his subduing Death, the expression ‘tvayaitat sūcitam purā’ refers to the following verses (which occurred among those 12 verses which have been lost after verse 31 of chap. 5 of the printed ed. but are found in chap. 5 of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta Asiatic Society, and Dacca University Mss):

bhṛgoḥ khyātyāṁ samutpānā lakṣmīr visṇu-parigrahah//
tathā dhātā-vidhātārau khyātyāṁ jātāv sutau bhṛgoḥ//
āyatiś niyatiś caiva meroḥ kanye susobhane/
dhātur vidhātus ca te bhāyeye tayor jātāv sutāv ubhau//,
prānaś caiva mṛkṣanāś ca mārkandeyo mṛkṣanātah/
yena mṛtyur jito vipra purā nārāyaṇāśrayāt//

Hence the absence of the verse containing the mention of Mārkandeya in chaps. 1-6 of the printed ed. is no cause for taking chaps. 7-18 as spurious. These chapters are considered as interpolated, because Nar. 19. 4 refers to Nar. 5. 46-47 ignoring the intervening chaps. 7-18 and because Mārkandeya, who is called the great-grandson of Bhṛgu in the lost verses mentioned above, is mentioned as Bhṛgu’s grandson in chaps. 7-12.329 Of these twelve intervening chapters (7-18), chaps. 7-12 (dealing with the story of Mārkandeya) differ from chaps. 13-18 in certain matters. In the former six chapters (7-12) the use of the twelve-syllabled mantra ‘om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya’

329. See Nar. 7, 10-12, 25, 27 etc.; 8. 3 and 10; 9. 13; 12. 65.
is prescribed more than once; the name 'Kṛṣṇa' for Viṣṇu (also called Nārāyaṇa) is given on many occasions; and the names 'Devakīnandana,' 'Vāsudeva' etc. also are found. Once Yama says,

``sugatim abhilaśāmi vāsudevād
aham api bhagavate sthitāntarātmā/
madhū-vadha-vaśago 'smi na svatantraḥ
prabhavāri saṁyamane mamāpi kṛṣṇah///''

Hence these chapters, though not recognising Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat himself, have a Bhagavata tinge. On the other hand, chaps. 13-18 have a Pāñcarātra stamp, because in these chapters Nārāyaṇa and the eight-syllabled mantra 'om namo nārāyaṇāya' are praised, and there is no mention of the name 'Kṛṣṇa'. That chap. 13 is a later addition is also shown by the absence of praise of Viṣṇu or Vaiṣṇavism in this chapter (dealing with Yama-yaṁi-saṁvāda) except in the line 'cittām me nirmalaṁ bhadre viṣṇau rudre ca saṁsthitam' (spoken by Yama to Yamī) which gives, unlike the other chapters, the same place to Viṣṇu and Rudra. As the interlocutors Śuka and Vyāsa of chaps. 13-18 are first introduced in chap. 7, these chapters are most probably later than chaps. 7-12.

From what has been said above regarding the addition and elimination of chapters and verses in the present Narasimha-p., it is clear that this Purāṇa has been revised on more occasions than one. A comparison between the texts of the same extracts as quoted by different Śṛṃti-writers and occurring in the printed ed., also lends strong support in this direction. The verses and even large extracts,

330 For instance, a comparison between Nar. 34. 6-12 and these very verses as quoted by Narasimha Vājapeyin in his Nityācāra-pradipa, 1, pp. 558-560, shows how single lines of the quoted passage have been expanded into verses in the printed ed. For example, the line 'toyena bhaktā sāmsāpya viṣṇu-loke mahiyate' (in Nityācāra-pradipa, 1, p. 558) = the verse 'snāpya toyena payāsā narasimham narādhipa/ sarva-pāpa-vinirmukto viṣṇu-loke mahiyate///' (Nar. 34. 6); the line 'snāpya dadhānā sakṛd viṣṇum viṣṇu-lokam avāpnyāt' (in Nityācāra-pradipa, 1, p. 558) = the verse 'snāpya dadhānā sakṛd yas tu nirmalaḥ priya-darśanah/ viṣṇu-lokam avāpnoti pūjyamānāḥ surottamaḥ///' (Nar. 34. 7); and so on. Again, a comparison between the texts of the verses quoted from the Narasimha-p. in Madana-pārijāta, pp. 301-2, Śṛṃti-tattva, 1, p. 411 and
quoted by Hemādri from the ‘Narasimha-p.’ on different kinds of Vratas\textsuperscript{331} and donations but not found in the present Narasimha-p., show that the text of this Purāṇa as used by Hemādri was more extensive. Narasimha Vājapeyin explains the smaller bulk of the present Narasimha-p. saying, “As the number (of ślokas) of the famous Nārasimha is not found to be 18,000, it seems that a portion has been lost in course of time.”\textsuperscript{332}

The mention of Tulasī in chaps. 31 (verse 87) and 34 (verses 19 and 23) and in the additional verses contained in the Mss (preserved in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta Asiatic Society, Dacca University, etc.) in their chapters corresponding to chap. 57 of the printed ed., should not be taken to go against the above date of the Narasimha-p. This mention is certainly due to later revisions of the Purāṇa; because, of the above-mentioned chapters containing the mention of Tulasī, chap. 31 (verses 1-97) has been found to be spurious; and Nar. 34. 19 does not occur in the Mss used in the printed ed. Moreover, in chap. 33, which deals with the results of various kinds of service rendered to Viṣṇu and of offering different articles to this deity, there is mention of ‘bilva-patra’ but not of Tulasī; nor is Tulasī mentioned in chaps. 56 (on the method of consecration of the images of Viṣṇu), 62 (on the Vedic method of Viṣṇu-worship) and 63 (on the popular method of Viṣṇu-worship).

It is probably due to the repeated revisions of the present Narasimha-p. that there are disagreements between a number of statements even in those chapters which cannot be taken as spurious. For instance, in Nar. 3. 8 Śvāyambhuva Manu is said to have been the son of Dakṣa and his wife born respectively from Brahmā’s right and left thumbs, but in Nar. 5. 22 Śvāyambhuva Manu is said to have given his daughter Prasūti in marriage to Dakṣa; in Nar. 3. 3-5 Rudra is said to have been born of Brahmā’s rage (roṣa), but in Nar. 5. 4-5 it is said that when Brahmā was thinking of some worthy

Nityācāra-pradipa, I, p. 617 shows that the texts of the Narasimha-p. used by Raghunandana and Narasimha Vājapeyin agree more with that of the printed ed. than with the text used by Madanapāla

\textsuperscript{331} Viz., Narasimha-caturdāśi-vrata, Hari-vrata, Pātra-vrata, etc.

\textsuperscript{332} Nityācāra-pradipa, I, p. 18.
son at the beginning of the Brähma Kalpa, the blue-red (nila-lohita) Rudra is said to have appeared on Brahmā's lap as a child with a body half male and half female; in Nar. 4. 2-4 Brahmā is said to have created from his mind ten sons (viz., Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulaha, Kratu, Pulastya, Pracetas, Bhṛgu, Nārada and Vasiṣṭha), of whom Nārada took to abstention (nivrīti-dharma), but in Nar. 5. 17-19 Brahmā is said to have created nine sons (Marīci and others, except Nārada) who were known as 'nine Brahmās'; and so on.

Though the Narasimha-p. proposes to give 'in brief' (saṃkṣepā) the genealogies of kings which were 'elaborately dealt with in the Purāṇas,' the defects, found in these genealogies, seem to be due as much to the carelessness of the people of later ages in maintaining the correctness of these dynastic lists in their respective Mss as to their attempt at abridgment. For instance, in chaps. 22 and 27, the printed edition as well as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 and Dacca University Ms No. 284A mentions Aja as the son of Dīrghabāhu, but the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and Dacca University Ms No. 2713, though following the printed ed. in chap. 27, give the pedigree of Aja as 'dīrghabāhor dīlipāh dīlipād raghuḥ raghor ajah' in chap. 22; in chaps. 22 and 27, the printed ed. as well as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 and Dacca University Ms No. 284A makes Māndhāṭr the son of Asamhatāśva (v. l. Asamkhīyātāśva in chap. 22 of the printed ed.), but in chap. 27 they give a popular verse in which Māndhāṭr is called Yauvanāśva (i.e. son of Yuvanāśva); the latter pedigree of Māndhāṭr is supported by the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and Dacca University Ms No. 2713 which mention Māndhāṭr as the son of Yuvanāśva in chap. 24 (yuvanāśvān māndhāṭā); after Nar. 27. 1 the Mss used in the printed ed. have lost an extract which is found in a large number of Mss (such as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms Nos. 36 and 304

333 Nar. 22. 2. Also see Nar. 23. 1.
334 The text of this extract, as reconstructed from the Cal. Sans. Coll. and Dacca Univ. Ms, runs as follows: 'tat-patro venaḥ tasya prthuḥ tasya prthāśvah/ prthāśvād asamḥatāśvah/ te catvāro rājāno bhūri-tejasah kramād rājyaṁ kṛtvā dharmato harim ananta-sayanam ārādhya bhaktyā krutubhiś ceṣṭvā svartokām gataḥ/"
and Dacca University Mss Nos. 2713 and 284A); and so on. There are, of course, a few cases in which the disagreements are either to be removed by referring to other better Mss or to be ascribed to the revisions to which the extant Narasimha-p. was subjected. For instance, different pedigrees of Soma are given in chaps. 23 and 28 of the printed edition as well as the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and the Dacca University Mss; in chap. 22 Saudasa's son is called Satrumdana in the printed edition as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 and 304 and Dacca University Ms No. 284A, and Sattrundana in the Dacca University Ms No. 2713, but in chap. 27 he is called Satrasava in the printed edition and the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304, Satreśvara in the Dacca University Ms No. 284A, and Satyasrava in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 36 and Dacca University Ms No. 2713; and so on.

The disagreements in the names and pedigrees of some of the kings in chaps. 22-23 (on the genealogies of the kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties) on the one hand and chaps. 27-29 (on vanśānu-\textit{carita}, i.e. the accounts of the kings of these dynasties) on the other, are not real but are due to the editor of this Purāṇa who has not used a sufficient number of Mss for his edition. For instance, in chap. 22 the name of Prthiśvā's son is given as Asaṃkhyātāśvā in the printed ed. and Asaṃhatāśvā in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304, but in the Dacca University Mss as well as in the Calcutta Sankrit College Ms No. 36 he is named as Saṃhatāśvā, while in chap. 27 he is called Asaṃhatāśvā in the printed ed. as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and Dacca University Mss; in chap. 22 Māndhārī's son is called Purukutsa in the printed ed. as well as in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss and the Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A and 2713, but in chap. 27 Māndhārī's son is named Purukiṣya in the printed ed., Kurupučcha in the Dacca University Ms No. 284A, and Purukutsa in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss and the Dacca University Ms No. 2713; in chap. 22 Dirghabāhu's father is named Anaraṇa in the printed ed. and Anaranya in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and Dacca University Mss as well as in the Ms π used in the printed ed., but in chap. 27 he is called Anaraṇa.
in all these sources; in chap. 22 Padma’s son is Anuparna in the printed ed. and Rūpaparṇa in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms No. 304 and in the Dacca University Mss, but in chap. 27 he is called Rūpaparṇa in all these sources,\textsuperscript{335} and so on.

Though the Matsya-p.,\textsuperscript{336} the Skanda-p.\textsuperscript{337} and the Revā-māhātmya\textsuperscript{338} attach the ‘Narasimha-p.’ to the Padma-p. as a sub-division (upabheda) of the latter, the present Narasimha-p. always calls itself a ‘Purāṇa’\textsuperscript{339} and never an ‘Upapurāṇa’, nor does it attach itself to any Mahāpurāṇa for the sake of authority. As a matter of fact, in chap. 1, verses 33-34 it speaks of the five characteristics of ‘Purāṇa’, viz., 

\textit{sarga, pratisarga, vamśa, manvantara and vamśānucarita} and proposes to deal with all these topics, and in chap. 67 verses 17-18 it says that it has dealt with the five topics, viz., \textit{sarga, pratisarga} etc; but it betrays no knowledge of the Upapurāṇas. So, it is evident that though according to the later tradition the Narasimha-p. is classed as an Upapurāṇa, it is really an independent ‘Purāṇa’ like the Vāyu, Viṣṇu etc.

It has already been said that the present Narasimha-p. knows the extant Vāyu and Viṣṇu and the earlier Varāha-p. Its mention of the word ‘Purāṇa’ in the plural number on several occasions to mean

\textsuperscript{335} Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36 names Padma’s son as Rūpaparṇa in both the chapters (22 and 27).

\textsuperscript{336} upabhедан прavакшyAMI loke ye sampratiśṣhitāḥ/ 
pālme purāṇe tatrotkām narasiṁhopavaranam/ 
taccāstādaśa-sāhasrāṃ nārasimham ihcyate // Mat. 53. 59.

This verse is quoted by Hemādri (in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I, p. 533, and II, i, p. 21), Caṇḍeśvara (in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, p. 31), Narasimha Vājapeyin (in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, I, p. 18), Jiva Gosvāmin (in his commentary, called Krama-saṃdarbha, on Bhāgavata-p. XII, 7. 17-22), and Mītra Mīśra (in his Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14). Caṇḍeśvara and Mītra Mīśra do not quote the first line.

\textsuperscript{337} VII (Prabhāṣa-kh.). i. 2, 79b-80 (these lines are the same as Mat. 53. 59 quoted above); V. iii (Revā-kh.). 1, 48a.

\textsuperscript{338} See Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 65. The Revā-māhātmya claims to be a part of the Vāyu-p.

\textsuperscript{339} See Nar. 1. 15; 1. 24; 1. 29; 67. 17; 67. 21, 22 and 25. See also the chapter-colophons. In the Mss also, the Narasimha-p. is called a ‘Purāṇa’.
distinct Purānic works, shows that more Purāṇas than one came into existence before its composition.\(^{340}\) It is not known whether the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. or the Viṣṇudharmottara is referred to in chap. 10 (verses 54-55) which seems to be a later addition.

A careful examination of the original and the spurious chapters of the present Narasimha-p. shows that this Purāṇa was originally a work of the Pāñcarātra sect with remarkable Bhāgavata inclination. The Pāñcarātras themselves added a few more chapters and extracts at a later date. It was then considerably changed by the Bhāgavatas with further additions and alterations.

The entire Narasimha-p., as we have it now, is not composed in verse. There are a few chapters and extracts which are written in simple prose. These are the following: — Nar. 19. 7-23 (on the birth of the Aśvins); chap. 21 (on the origin of the Maruts); 22. 4-15 (on the names of the kings of the Solar race); 23. 2-13 (on the names of the kings of the Lunar race); 24. 1-36 (on the Manvantaras); 27. 1-12 (on the accounts of the kings of the Solar race); 28. 1-16 (on the accounts of the kings of the Lunar race); 29. 1-12 (on the accounts of the kings of the Lunar race); 30. 2-16 (except 5, which is a verse); 52. 25-31. A portion of chap. 9 is written in Puṣpitāgrā (also called Aupacchandasika).


Like the other Purānic works, the Narasimha-p. also tries to give itself a garb of great sanctity and high antiquity by tracing its descent from Brahmā. In chap. 67, verses 19-22 it gives the following

340 See Nar. 1. 24 (vyāsa-prasādāj jānāmi purāṇānī tapodhanāḥ); 22. 2 (rājūm vamsāḥ purāṇeṣu vistareṇa prakīrtitaḥ); 56. 10b-112; 58. 108.
tradition of inheritance:—Brahmā himself spoke out this Purāṇa to the sages Marīci and others; the next recipient was Mārkaṇḍeya, who then narrated it to a king of the Nāga family; Vyāsa then received it through Narasimha's favour.

Nar. 57 (verses 8 to the end) and 58-61, which deal with the duties of the four castes and orders of life, are found printed word for word under the title Hārīta-samhitā in the Unavīṃśati Saṃhitā. These chapters also appear as Laghu-hārīta-smṛti in Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's Dharmaśāstra-samgraha (Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.). Now, the question arises as to whether it was the Hārīta-samhitā (or Laghu-hārīta-smṛti) which was incorporated in the present Narasimha-p., or the above-mentioned chapters of the Narasimha-p. were given the character of an independent Smṛti work under the title 'Hārīta-saṃhitā' (or 'Laghu-hārīta-smṛti'). An examination of the Hārīta-saṃhitā shows that it was the above-mentioned chapters of the present Narasimha-p. which were taken off and given the form of an independent work under the title 'Hārīta-saṃhitā' or 'Laghu-hārīta-smṛti' which was derived from the name of the original speaker Hārīta. The Hārīta-saṃhitā begins as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ye varṇāśrama-dharmasthās te bhaktāḥ keśavaṁ prati/} \\
\text{iti pūrvaṁ tvayā proktāṁ bhūr bhuvāḥ svar dvijottamāḥ} // \\
\text{varṇānām āśrāmānām ca dharmān no brūhi sattama/} \\
\text{yena saṁtuṣyate devo nārasimhaḥ sanātanah} // \\
\text{mārkaṇḍeya uvāca/} \\
\text{atraḥmaṁ kathāisyāmi purā-vṛttam anuttamam/} \\
\text{ṛṣibhiḥ saha samvādaṁ hārītasya mahātmanah} //
\end{align*}
\]

Of these verses, which are the same as Nar. 57. 8-10, the first shows that something has already been said, of which these verses form a continuation; and in fact the first verse points to Nar. 57. 2-7

\[341\] For the reading 'rājñō nāga-kulasya ha' of the printed ed., the Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms No. 36 reads 'rājñō vai nākulasya ca' and the Dacca Univ. Ms Nos, 323 and 2713 have 'rājñō vai nākulasya ha' and 'rājñō vai nahuṣasya ha' respectively.

\[342\] Edited (with a Bengali translation) by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vaṅgavāsi Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1316 B. S.
wherein Mārkaṇḍeyya, being asked by king Sahasrāṇika, enumerates the characteristics of the devotees of Viṣṇu thus:
viṣṇu-bhaktā mahotsāhā viṣṇuvarcana-vidhau sadā/
saṃyata dhāma-saṃpannāḥ sarvārthān sādhayanti te//
paropakāra-niratā guru-śuśrūṣaṇe ratāḥ/
vaṃśāmācāra-yutāḥ sarveṣāṁ supriyamvadāḥ//

e tc.

Though from a perusal of the Hārīta-saṃhitā we understand that Mārkaṇḍeyya reports to a king named Sahasrāṇika what Hārīta said to the sages on the duties of the four castes and orders of life, nothing is said in the Hārīta-saṃhitā either about the identity of these two persons or about the occasion, time or place in which they met each other. Even the name of the king is given as late as in chap. 7 (verse 20). But it is the Narasimha-p. which tells us who king Sahasrāṇika was and how he met the sage Mārkaṇḍeyya. We have already said that the Narasimha-p. is a work meant for the glorification of the worship of Narasimha. This character is betrayed by the Hārīta-saṃhitā also. Moreover, none of the quotations made in their works by Viśvarūpa, Aparārka, Bhavadeva, Jīmūtavāhana, Devanābhaṭṭa and Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa from Hārīta, Vṛddha-hārīta, Laghu-hārīta, Bhaddahārīta and Svalpa-hārīta is to be met with in our so-called Hārīta-saṃhitā. On the other hand, some of the quotations made by Aparārka from the ‘Nṛsimha-p.’ are traceable in the Hārīta-saṃhitā. For example,

the verses quoted from the ‘Nṛsimha-p.’ in Aparārka’s commentary on the Yājñavalīka-smṛti,

| p. 79 | = | 3. 12; |
| p. 125 | = | 4. 18-20; |
| p. 153 | = | 4. 60-61; |
| p. 189 | = | 4. 71, 72a and 73a; |

These show that the chapters, now known as Hārīta-saṃhitā or

343 See its introductory verse quoted above; see also Hārīta-saṃhitā 3, 9; 4, 75-76a; 7, 19.
Laghu-hārīta-smṛti, originally belonged to the Narasimha-p. These chapters seem to be based on different Smṛti works such as the Parāśara-smṛti and the Hārīta-dharmaśāstra (as known to Devañabhaṭṭa); because Parāśara-smṛti 1.50 (vaiśvadeve tu samprāpte etc.) greatly resembles Nar. 58. 100-101a (akṣete vaiśvadeve tu etc.), and the verse 'anena vidhīnā yo hi āśramān upasevate etc.', quoted from the ‘Hārīta-dharmaśāstra’ in Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 174, slightly resembles Nar. 58. 37 (evaṃ yo vidhīm āsthāya etc.).

Here we should like to say a few words on the contents of the Narasimha-p. as known to some of the Nibandha-writers. In his Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 351 Raghunandana quotes from the ‘Narasimha-p.’ twenty-four metrical lines on general maxims (naya), such as ‘One should give salutary advice to his friend in proper time, even though he may not be asked for it,’ ‘One, who believes the servants of the king or the bastards, do not live long’, ‘One should not allow the remaining part of the enemies, debt and fire to continue, because these increase again,’ ‘One should not begin any work which may create repentance in the end,’ and so on. He also quotes in Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 827 a verse on the proper time for marriage. In his Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 66 Raghunandana quotes from the same source a verse in which ‘Tulasi’ and ‘Kṛṣṇa-tulasi’ have been mentioned as pleasing to Hari. In his Vidhāna-pāñjika, I, p. 451 Anantabhaṭṭa quotes from the ‘Nārasimha’ seventeen metrical lines on dressing a child with clothes for the first time. In his Caturvarga-cintāmani, II, ii, pp. 41-49 Hemādri quotes a large extract of 173 metrical lines on a vow called Narasimha-caturdāsti which was given in the ‘Narasimha-p.’ in connection with the Narasimha-prādehyavā. In this extract Nṛṣimha, being asked by Prahlāda as to how he became devoted to Nṛṣimha and was blessed with good, says that in his previous birth Prahlāda was a Brahmin named Vāsudava and was addicted to a prostitute and that this Vāsudeva performed no other good deed than a Vrata of Nṛṣimha. Prahlāda again asked Nṛṣimha to narrate in details the whole story. Consequently Nṛṣimha said that in the city of Avantī there was a famous Brahmin named Susarman who mastered all the Vedas and performed all his duties. This Susarman had a chaste and devoted wife named
Suśilā, who gave birth to five worthy sons, of whom Vāsudeva was the youngest. Unlike the other brothers, Vāsudeva was addicted to prostitutes, became a drunkard, and stole gold for financing his evil deeds. Once he quarreled with a prostitute and kept awake throughout the whole night without taking food. The prostitute also did so. Thus, Vāsudeva unconsciously performed the Vrata of Nṛśimha, was born as Prahlāda, and became devoted to Nṛśimha. The prostitute became an Apsaras. Next, being asked by Prahlāda to describe the Vrata in details, Nṛśimha did so. Hemādri also quotes verses on Hari-vrata, Pātra-vrata, and offers of different articles such as kaman-ḍalu, fruits, foot-wears, umbrella, clothes etc. to the Piṭras in śrāddha ceremonies. Sūlapāṇi quotes verses on śrāddha in his Vrata-kālaviveka, Śrāddha-viveka and Tithi-viveka. In his Caitanya-caritāmṛta, III, pp. 67 and 289 Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja quotes from the ‘Nṛśimha-p.’ three verses, in one of which it is said that even a Mleccha (i. e. a Muhammadan), who, being attacked by a boar, cries out ‘Hārāma’ ‘Hārāma’ (‘Boar’, ‘Boar’), attains final emancipation. It is needless to say that none of these verses is found in the present Narasiṃha-p.

In his Haribhaktivilāsa, pp. 923-7 and 929-931 Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes, from the ‘Bṛhanarasimha-p.,’ 126 metrical lines on Narasiṃha-caturdāsī-vrata. As all these verses are found ascribed to the ‘Narasimha-p.’ in Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmani, II. ii. pp. 41-49, it seems that either Gopālabhaṭṭa was wrong in his ascription of these verses or the ‘Bṛhanarasimha-p.’ derived some of its extracts and verses from the Narasiṃha-p. In the Ekāṃra-p. (chap.1) the ‘Bṛhanarasimha-p.’ has been clearly distinguished from the ‘Narasimha’, the former being included among the Upapurāṇas and the latter among the principal Purāṇas.

[(A). Many Mss of the Narasiṃha-p. (including those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Dacca University) have the following verses after verse 31 of chap. 5 of the printed edition:—

prītyāṁ pulastya-bhātyāyāṁ dattolis tat-suto‘bhavart/ tasya vai viśravāḥ putras tat-putra rāvaṇādayāḥ///

danṣṭri-danṣṭrā-hato mleccho hārāmeī putaṇaḥ punaḥ punaḥ///

uktvāpi muktim āpnoti kim puṇaḥ śrāddhayā grāhant///
rākṣasā bahavah proktā laṅkāpura-nivāsinah/
yeṣāṁ vadhāya lokeśo viṣṇuh kṣīrodadhau purā/
brahmādyaiḥ prārthito devair avatāram ihākarot//
karddamāś cāmbarīṣaś ca sahiṣṭaḥ ca suta-trayam/
kṣamā tu suṣuve bhāryā pulahasya prajāpateḥ//
kratos tu sannatir bhāryā bālakhilyān asūyata/
śaṣṭis tāṁ sahasrāṇi ṛṣṭiṁ ērdhva-reṭasām//
āṅguṣṭha-parva-mātrāṇāṁ jvalad-bhāskara-tejasām//
pracetaso'tha satyāyāṁ satyasandhās trayāḥ sutāḥ/
jātās tat-putra-paurāś ca ṣataś'o'ṁ sahasrāśaḥ//
ūrjāyiṁ ca vasiṣṭhāsya saptaṭāyantai vai sutāḥ/
rājakātṛordhavabāḥuḥ ca sabalaś cânaghās tathā/
sutapāḥ śukra ity ete sarve saptarśayai bhavan//
bhrgoḥ khyātyāṁ samutpannā lakṣmīr viṣṇu-parigrahah/
tathā dhātṛ-vidhātārau khyātyāṁ jātau sutau bhrgoḥ//
āyatīr niyatis caiva meroḥ kaney suśobhane/
dhātur vidhātus ca te bhārye tayor jātau sutāv ubhau//
prāṇas caiva mrkaṇḍuś ca mārkaṇḍeyo mrkaṇḍutah/
yena mṛtyur jito vipra pura nārayahāśrayāt//
tato vedāśirā jāṁe prāṇasyaśi suto'bhavat/
duṭimān iti vikhyātaḥ saṁjayaśi tato-suto'bhavat//
tato vaṁśo mahābhāga bhārgavo vistaraṁ gatah//

See, for instance, chap. 5 of Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 (fol. 7a-b) and 304 (fols. 6b-7a) and Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A (fols. 8b-9b), 323 (fols. 9b-10a), and 2713 (fol. 7a-b). There are some variations in readings in these Mss, which need not be noted here.

(B) After verse 7 of chap. 57 of the printed edition, many Mss including those of the Calcutta Sanskrit College and the Dacca University) have the following verses:

pusp̣pair arāṇya-sambhūtaiḥ patrair vā giri-saṁbhavaiḥ/
aparyuṣita-nilasindhaiḥ prokṣitair jantu-varjitaioh//
ātmāramodbhavair vāpi puspaip̣ saṁpūjayeddharim/
puspa-jāti-viśeṣais tu bhavet pūnyaiṁ viśeṣatah//
tapah-śila-guṇopeta-pātre vedasya pārge/
daśa dattvā suvarṇāni yat phalam labhate naraḥ/
tat phalam labhate martyo harau kumuda-dānataḥ/

drona-puşpe tathaikasmin mādhavyā nivedite/
daśa dattvā suvarṇāni yat phalam tad avāpnyāt/
evaṁ puṣpa-viśeṣena phalam tad adhikam nṛpa/
jñeyam puṣpāntarathāyā yathā syāt tanniḥodha me/
drona-puşpa-sahasrābhyaḥ khādiraṁ vai viṣīṣyate/
khādirabhyaḥ sahasrābhyaḥ śaṁi-puṣpaṁ viṣīṣyate/
śaṁi-puṣpa-sahasrābhyaḥ bilva-puṣpaṁ viṣīṣyate/
bilva-puṣpa-sahasrābhyaḥ vaka-puṣpaṁ viṣīṣyate/
vaka-puṣpa-sahasrādhi nandyāvartam viṣīṣyate/
nandyāvarta-sahasrābhyaḥ karaviraṁ viṣīṣyate/
karavira-sahasrābhyaḥ śvetam tat puṣpam uttamam/
karavira-śveta-puṣpāt plalāśam puṣpam uttamam/

dalāsa-puṣpa-sahasrādhi kuṣa-puṣpaṁ viṣīṣyate/
kuṣa-puṣpa-sahasrādhi vanamālā viṣīṣyate/
vanamālā-sahasrādhi cempakaṁ puṣpam isyate/
cempakānāṁ puṣpa-satūd aśokaṁ puṣpam uttamam/

aśokānāṁ sahasrādhi samantī-puṣpam uttamam/
samantī-puṣpa-sahasrādhi kubjakāṁ puṣpam uttamam/
kubja-puṣpa-sahasrānāṁ mālatī-puṣpam uttamam/
mālatī-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi sandhyāraktaṁ taduttamam/
sandhyārakta-sahasrāddhi trisandhyāśvetam uttamam/
trisandhyāśveta-sahasrāt kunda-puṣpam viṣīṣyate/
kunda-puṣpa-sahasrāddhi satapatrāṁ viṣīṣyate/
śatapatra-sahasrādhi mallikā-puṣpam uttamam/

mallikā-puṣpa-sahasrāj jāti-puṣpam viṣīṣyate/
sarvāśaṁ puṣpa-jācīnāṁ jāti-puṣpam ihottamam/

jācī-puṣpa-sahasreṇa yo mālāṁ nityaśo dadet/
viṣṇave vidhivad bhaktyā tasya punya-phalam śṛṇu/
kalpa-koti-sahasrāṇaṁ kalpa-koti-śatāṇi ca/
vased viṣṇupure śrīmān viṣṇu-tulya-parākramah/

śeṣānāṁ puṣpa-jācīnāṁ yat phalam vidhinoditam/
tat-phalasyānusāreṇa viṣṇu-loke mahīyate/
pattrany api supuspahi harte pritikaranici ca/
pravaksyami nepa-sreṣṭha śrṇusva gadato mama///
apāmārga-patraṃ prathamamā tasmād bhṛṅgarakaṃ param/
tasmāt tu khādiram śreṣṭhām tātas ca śami-patratkam///
dūrvā-patraṃ tataḥ śreṣṭhām tato pi kuśa-patrakam/
tasmād āmalakaṃ śreṣṭhām tato bilvasya patrakam///
bilva-patraḍ api hares tulasī-patraṃ uttramam///
eteṣāṃ tu yathālabdhaih patrār vā yorecayddharim/
sarva-pāpa-vinirmukto viṣṇu-loke mahīyate///
evaṃ hi rājaṃ narasiṃha-mūrteḥ
priyāṇi puspāni taveritāni/
etais ca nityaṃ harim arcyā bhaktva
naro viśuddho harim eva yati///

See, for instance, chap. 51 of Calcutta Sanskrit College Mss Nos. 36 (fols. 77a-78a) and 304 (fols. 82b-83b) and Dacca University Mss Nos. 284A (fols. 118a-119a), 323 (fols. 114a-115a) and 2713 (fols. 86b-87b). There are many variations in readings in these Mss, but these need not be noted here.

Many of these verses are the same as Bhav. I. 163, 57ff. From the position of these verses in the Narasiṃha-p. it seems that the Narasiṃha-p. is the borrower. As Gopālabhaṭṭa, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, Raghunandana, Govindānanda, Madanapāla and Devaṇabhaṭṭa quote many of these verses in their respective works, it is sure that these verses have been occurring in the Narasiṃha-p. from a time earlier than Devaṇabhaṭṭa.]
CHAPTER IV

THE MINOR VAIŚṆAVA UPAPURĀṆAS

Besides the Vaiśṇava Upapurāṇas examined in the immediately preceding Chapter there were many others which dealt with the cult of Viṣṇu and belonged to comparatively late dates; but of these, only a few have come down to us, the rest appearing to have been extinct on account of their importance being restricted to particular localities or times. As, due to various inconveniences, I could not get access to the manuscripts of all those of these extant Upapurāṇas which have not yet been published, my treatment of these works could not be expected to be exhaustive. I should, however, point out that the minor Vaiśṇava Upapurāṇas, left out of consideration here, are very few (being about two or three in number) and come from very late dates.

From our examination of the Upapurāṇas below we shall see that many of these works were compiled in eastern India, especially in Bengal, under varying circumstances created by the spread of the heresies, mainly Buddhism, and the Tantric cults. A study of the history of Vaiśṇavism shows that this religious faith, being more closely connected with the Vedas than Śaivism, Śāktism etc., has been used in different ages as a corrective of social indiscipline caused and encouraged by the heresies and the popular cults. Moreover, there were changes in the ideas, rites and customs of the Vaiśṇavas with the progress of time, and these also must have given them impetus to compile new Upapurānic works for the guidance of the people.

1. THE KRIYĀYOGASĀRA

In the chapter-colophons of its printed editions as well as of its Mss this work claims to belong to the Padma-p. Hence it has been regarded as one of the Khaṇḍas of the latter and printed accordingly

1 The Variga ed. of this work consists of 26 chapters and is practically the same as that published with the Veṅkaṭ. ed. of the Padma-p.
in the Veṅkaṭ, ed. of the Padma-p. with the words 'atha kriyāyogasārakhaṇḍam ārabhyate'. But really it is a distinct and independent work attached, most probably at a later date, to the Padma-p. for the sake of authority. It begins like other independent Purānic works and styles itself 'Upapurāṇa' in its concluding verse; and nowhere in the

For Mss of this work see

(1) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1224-25, No. 3898 (complete in 25 chapters and ending with the words 'samāptaṃ cedam upapurāṇam iti').

(2) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., p. 14, No. 55 (complete in 25 chapters), and p. 15, No. 56 (incomplete).

(3) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, p. 195, No. 3458, and pp. 199-202, Nos. 3464-69. (Of these Mss, No. 3465 begins from chap. 3 of the printed ed., consists of 24 chapters, and is dated Śaka 1618; Nos. 3466 and 3469 are incomplete; and the rest are complete in 25 chapters each).

(4) Mitra, Notices, III, pp. 113-6, No. 1162 (complete in 25 chapters).


(6) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II, i, p. 919, No. 6625 (containing 24 chapters, of which the last deals with 'atithi-māhātmya' and is the same as chap. 25 of the printed ed.).

(7) Benares Sans. College Cat., p. 328, No. 2140 (incomplete).

(8) Chakravarti, Vaiṣṇava Sāhitya Parishat Cat., pp. 72-73, Nos. 29-31 (of which the first is incomplete, and the last two consist of 25 chapters each).

(9) List of Sans., Jain and Hindi Mss, p. 145.

(10) Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 189B, 202A, 244, 641, 920, 996, 1062D, 1399, 1464, 1670, 1724, 2102, 2107E and F, 2791, 3233, 4042, 4095, 4212, and 4242 (of which, Nos. 189B, 920, 1062D, 1399, 1724, 2107E and F, 4042 and 4242 are incomplete; No. 996 consists of 24 chapters, of which the last one is the same as chap. 25 of the printed edition; and the rest are complete in 25 chapters each).

Chap. 5 of the Mss mentioned above has been split up into chaps. 5-6 in the Veṅkaṭ, and Vaiṣṇa, editions.

It is to be noted that all the Mss of the Kriyāyogasāra, hitherto discovered, are written in Bengali script.


2 Kriyāyogasāra 26. 55—

\[\text{idam atiśaya-guhyam nihaṛtaṃ vyāsa-vaktrād} \]
\[\text{rucirāṃ upapurāṇaṃ prītiḍaṃ vaisnāvānāṃ/} \]
\[\text{etc. etc. etc.} \]
body of its text there is any reference to its connection with the Padma-p. In some of the chapter-colophons of two of its Mss it does not claim to belong to the Padma-p. The Nārādiya-p. (I. 93) also, though giving the names and contents of the different Khaṇḍas of the Padma-p., makes no mention of the Kriyāyogasāra. The independent character of this work is shown definitely by the Bhad-dharma-p. (I. 25.24) which names this work in its list of eighteen Upapurāṇas.

The Kriyāyogasāra begins with three verses containing salutations to Hari, 'lord of Lakṣmī', who is said to have assumed various forms including that of Vyāsa, the author of the Purāṇas. It then states that once Sūta came with his pupils to Naimišāranya where the sages were holding a meeting for the good of the world. One of these sages, Saunaka by name, referred to the evils of the Kali age and requested Sūta to tell them how people could be highly devoted to Hari. Consequently, Sūta reported to the sages what Vyāsa had said to Jamini on 'kriyāyoga-sāra' (i.e. the essence of yoga by work'), which was furnished with various stories as well as with discourses on Nārāyaṇa. Thus the topics of the Kriyāyogasāra have been introduced in chap. 1. The contents of the remaining chapters as are follows.

Chap. 2.—Description of the first creation of the universe.—

Mahāviṣṇu's appearance as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, who were created respectively from the right, left and middle parts of his body; and his Ādyā Prakṛti's assumption of the forms of Brāhma, Lakṣmī and Ambikā in order to urge and help Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra respectively in their works. Brahmā's creation of the five elements as well as of the different lokas including the earth.

Geography of the earth (with its continents, oceans and mountains). Position of Bhāratavarṣa, which is said to be bounded on the north by

In our Veṅkaṭ and Vāṅga editions as well as in some of the Mss of the Kriyāyogasāra the reading 'ruciratara-puṟāṇam' is found in place of 'ruciram upapurāṇam' occurring in the great majority of the Mss mentioned above. Mitra's Ms reads 'sarasaṭara-puṟāṇam' (see Mitra, Notices, III, p. 114).

3 See Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 282 A and 1464.
the Himalayas and on the south by the Vindhya mountain. Praise of Bhāratavarṣa as the ‘karma-dhūmi’ (place of work) for the Vaiṣṇavas (called Bhāgavatas). Praise of Vaiṣṇavas.

Story of Viṣṇu’s killing of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha.

Viṣṇu’s enumeration of the characteristics of Vaiṣṇavas, who are to look upon Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra as equal, to wear garlands made of Tulaśi wood and Dhātri fruits, to mark their limbs with the figures of śaṅkha, cakra, gadā and padma, to bathe regularly in the waters of the Gaṅgā, to study the Bhāgavata (śīstrām bhāgavatam), to construct new Viṣṇu-temples or repair old ones, to plant Pippala (Aśvattha) trees, to serve cows and superiors, to have no regard for the Pāsaṇḍas, to be devoted to Śiva, to worship Viṣṇu, and to do various other works.

Chap. 3.—Praise of ‘kriyā-yoga’ over ‘dhyāna-yoga’. Kriyā-yoga consists of (i) worship of Gaṅgā, Śrī and Viṣṇu, (ii) donation, (iii) devotion to Brahmā, (iv) observance of the Ekādaśi-vrata, (v) regard for Dhātri trees and Tulaśi plants, and (vi) hospitality to guests.

Jaimini’s request to Vyāsa to describe the benefits of the pious acts constituting ‘kriyā-yoga’. Vyāsa’s consequent praise of the Gaṅgā (which is said to be specially sacred at Gaṅgā-dvāra, Prayāga and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama) by narrating the story of a vulture which described to king Manobhadra of the Lunar race its experience of the benefits of bathing and dying in the waters of the Gaṅgā and the outcome of ignoring one’s parents.

Chaps. 4-9.—Praise of the Gaṅgā continued.—Glorification of the waters of, and bath and death in, the Gaṅgā especially at Prayāga and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama; and narration of various relevant stories includ-

4 Kriyāyogasāra 2. 24b-25a—

hemādrī-dakṣiṇaṁ yan vai vindhyādhrer uttaraṁ tathā/ āhus rad bhārataṁ varṣaṁ śubhāsobha-phala-pradam//

5 Kriyāyogasāra 3. 4-5—

gāṅgā śrīr viṣṇu-pūjā ca dānāṁ dviya-sattama/ brāhmaṇaṁ tathā bhaktir bhaktir ekādaśi-vrata //
dhātri-tulasyor bhaktiś ca tathā cātīchī-pūjanam/ kriyā-yogāṅga-bhūtāni prakṛtāṁ samāsataḥ//

6 Such as those of (1) a sinful Fowler named Dhanurdhvaja, who, being enmured of Pālmavati, wife of a merchant named Praṇīthi, drowned himself
ing the highly interesting love-story of Mādhava and Sulocana (both of royal descent), in which there are poetic touches at several places.\(^7\)

(For mention of the images of Viṣṇu and Kārttikeya at Gaṅgāsagara-saṅgama, see verses 104-106 of chap. 4 and verses 161ff. of chap. 6).

Benefits accruing to those deceased persons whose bones are thrown into the Gaṅgā.

Method and praise of Gaṅgā-yātra.

Chap. 10.—Praise of worshipping Viṣṇu (especially with Campaka flowers) and of doing various other pious acts during the month of Māgha.

Chaps. 11-14.—Daily duties which a Vaiṣṇava must do after leaving bed in the morning. Method and praise of worshipping Viṣṇu with the offer of different articles and of rendering various kinds of service to him during the months of Phālguna, Caitra etc. Praise of Viṣṇu-pādodaka, Glorification of Aśvattha trees by identifying them with Viṣṇu. Story of a Brahmin named Dhanañjaya who learnt from

at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā according to the advice of Padmāvatī’s friends, became a second husband to Padmāvatī, passed to Viṣṇu’s region, and attained a form similar to that of Viṣṇu himself (chap. 4): (2) a Rākṣasa named Bṛhatdhīvaja, who, while abducting a married woman named Kesinī with an evil motive, died at Gaṅgā-sagara-saṅgama and was consequently taken by Viṣṇu-dūtas to Vaikuṇṭha (chap. 4); (3) a Brahmin named Dharmasva, who, by sprinkling a dying sinner with the waters of the Gaṅgā and by placing a Tulasī leaf on his body, enabled him to escape the hands of Yamadūtas and attain the region of Viṣṇu (chap. 7); and so on.

\(^7\) See, for instance, the following verses:—

\[\text{vanam parityajyaya kṛśāṇu-bhityā}\
\[\text{jalam praviṣṭā nalini sukhārtham/}\
\[\text{saṃdahyate tatra himānalena}\
\[\text{yad yasya karma na tad anyathā syāt//}\
\]

\[\text{(Kriyāyogasāra 5. 155).}\

\[\text{niśāvaśiśā nalini himākare}\
\[\text{dūrīkṛte caṇḍakareṇa bhāsvatā/}\
\[\text{sugandha-puṣpa-prakārātisundari}\
\[\text{nāpnoti kim bhṛūga-varasya saṅgamam//}\
\]

\[\text{(Kriyāyogasāra 5. 194).}\]
Viṣṇu that by cutting the branch of an Aśvattha tree he hurt Viṣṇu himself.

Praise of painting the figures of śaṅkha, cakra etc. on the different parts of the body. Results of worshipping Viṣṇu with different kinds of flowers and leaves. Story of a pious Brahmin who learnt from Śiva how, in his previous birth as a Śavara, he acquired merit by supplying a lotus to a Brahmin for Viṣṇu-worship.

Chaps. 15-17.—Glorification of Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa). Results of uttering the name of Rāma and of muttering the six-syllabled mantra ‘om nama rāmāya’. Praise of Hari-bhakti. Glorification of the twelve-syllabled mantra ‘om nama bhagavate vāsudevāya’. Enumeration of the 108 names of Kṛṣṇa (17. 98-117). Narration of relevant stories, one of which (given in chap. 17) is clearly based on the story of the attachment of Bilvamaṅgala (author of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta) towards a courtesan named Cintāmaṇi.

Chap. 18.—Praise of Puruṣottamakṣetra.—Praise of the place; praise of food (ānna) which is offered to Viṣṇu and is said to be acceptable to the members of the higher castes even if it is touched by a Cāndāla;\(^8\) worship of Jagannātha, Balabhadrā and Subhadrā; praise of bath in the Indradyumna-saras, Mārkandeya-hrada, Śvetagaṅgā etc. and of visiting Śvetamādhava, Hanūmat, the Akṣaya-vatā tree etc.; praise of receiving cane-strokes until blood comes out in profusion;\(^8\) performance of dola-yātrā, mahāśāna, ratha-yātra and Guṇḍicāmaṇḍapa-yātrā; and so on.

8 ϊ Cafe cāndālaṇāpi saṃśpṛṣṭaṁ grāhyam tatrāṇnam agrajaiḥ/
sākṣād viṣṇur yatas tatra cāndālo dvija-sattama//

Kriyāyogasūra 18. 7.

9 tatra vetra-prahāreṇa śarīrāṁ yasya lohitam/
taṁ vandante dvija-sreṣṭha devāḥ sakrādayo 'khilāḥ//

Kriyāyogasūra 18. 24-28.
Chap. 19.—Praise of revering Viṣṇu and dedicating various kinds of food to him. Praise of Viṣṇu-naivedya. Narration of the stories of Urvīśu (who, although a robber, dedicated to Viṣṇu a cart made of guḍa and was consequently favoured by the deity) and a Brahmīn named Sarvajani (who, in his previous birth, got rid of his birdhood by taking Viṣṇu-naivedya).

Qualifications of persons with whom Viṣṇu is satisfied.


Chaps. 22-23.—Praise of Ekādaśī-vrata; and the rules for its observance. Narration of relevant stories including that of Pāpa-puruṣa (a being made of sins) who is to reside in food on the Ekādaśī Tithi.

Chaps. 24-25.—Praise of a Tulasī plant which is said to be capable of conferring on its devotees the four ends of life. Results of rendering various kinds of service to it.

Praise of Dhātṛi trees, which are said to be as sacred as Tulasī plants. Praise of hospitality to guests.

Narration of relevant stories.

Chap. 26.—Conduct of people during the different yugas, especially the Kali-yuga.

The above contents of the Kriyāyogasāra show that this work is to be valued mainly from the religious point of view. It is a Bhāgavata document on the praise of Viṣṇu-worship. It conceives of Mahāviṣṇu as identical with Parātman and states that this Mahāviṣṇu appears as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra for the sake of creation, and his Ādyā Prākṛti, being the cause of the universe, assumes the forms of Brahmī, Lakṣmī and Ambikā to urge and help Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra respectively in their works. It advocates bhakti, lays special stress on dāsya-bhakti,10 and believes that by devoutly worshipping

10 Cf. tvad-dāsa-dāsa-dāsatvaṁ dāsasya dehi me prabho/ (Kriyāyogasāra 11. 113b), tvad-dāsa-dāsa-dāsanāṁ dāsatvenāpi māṁ vṛtā/ (Kriyāyogasāra 17. 250b).

35
Visṇu one can attain sārūpya, sālokya and kaivalya. It is of opinion that a Cāndāla, who is devoted to Viṣṇu, is really superior to a Brahmin who is not so.\textsuperscript{11} It rarely uses the name ‘Krṣṇa,’ but its mention of Balarāma instead of Krṣṇa in its lists of incarnations (including Buddha and Kalkin) shows that it looks upon Krṣṇa as identical with Mahāviṣṇu himself. It recommends the study of the Bhāgavata-p., calls the Vaiṣṇavas ‘Bhāgavata,’ and preaches the equality of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.\textsuperscript{12} The sectarian mantras mentioned in it are the following: ‘om namo nārāyaṇāya,’ ‘om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya’ and ‘om namo rāmāya.’

That the Kriyāyogasāra is a work of Bengal,\textsuperscript{13} and most probably of its eastern part, can be shown by the following pieces of evidence. (1) Mss of this work are found in Bengal in large numbers, but they are very rare in other provinces. (2) All of the numerous Mss of this work, hitherto discovered and preserved in different places in and outside India, are written in Bengali script. (3) That this work was very popular in Bengal is shown by the fact that it was translated into Bengali by different authors at different times. In the Dacca University collection there are several Mss of Bengali translations of this work by different writers, viz., Ananta Datta, Rāmeśvara Nandi, Prāṇa-nārāyaṇa and Siva-nārāyaṇa.\textsuperscript{14} (4) It was the writers of Bengal who first recognised the Kriyāyogasāra as an authoritative work. The Brhad-dharma-p., which is the first and most probably the only work to include the Kriyāyogasāra among the ‘eighteen’ Upapurāṇas, belongs

\textsuperscript{11} hater abhakto vipre’pi vijnaye ā śvapacādhikāh/
harī-bhaktā śvāpāko’pi vijnēya brāhmaṇādhikāh]\(//\)
Kriyāyogasāra 16. 3.

\textsuperscript{12} Cf. brahma-visṇu-mahēśanāṃ madhye ye bheda-kāraṇāḥ/...
... \(//\)
teṣām ruṣṭo’smy aham sadā\(//\)
Kriyāyogasāra 19. 103b-104a.

\textsuperscript{13} In his Essays Analytical, Critical and Philological (p. 82) Wilson says that the Kriyāyogasāra ‘is most probably the work of a Brahman of Orissa, or Bengal’ and that it ‘does not appear to be known in the South of India’.

\textsuperscript{14} See Dacca Univ. Mss Nos. 4158, 662 and K507 (author—Ananta Datta), No. 1341 (author—Rāmeśvara Nandi), No. K23 (author—Prāṇa-nārāyaṇa), and No. K206 (author—Siva-nārāyaṇa).
decidedly to Bengal. (5) Although the Kriyāyogasāra says that the Gaṅgā is specially sacred at three places, viz., Gaṅgādvāra, Prayāga and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, it gives more attention to the praise of the last one. (6) The fruits and flowers, mentioned in the Kriyāyogasāra, are very common in Bengal. (7) The description of Mādhava’s marriage with Sulocanā, as given in chap. 5 of the Kriyāyogasāra, includes certain rites which are peculiar to Bengal. These rites are (a) the performance of adhivāsa of the bride on the day immediately preceding that of marriage, and the tying of Dūrāv grass to her hand with a few folds of thread on this occasion, (b) the sounding of conch-shells before marriage, and (c) the taking of the bride, seated on a flat seat (pīṭha—popularly called ṛṣer in Bengal) of ‘Gambhāri wood,’ by her paternal blood-relations to the bridegroom in the marriage-pandal at the time of marriage. It is to be noted that Gambhāri wood is very commonly used for making seats, boats etc. in Eastern Bengal and Assam (especially in the districts of Mymensingh, Sylhet, Tipperah etc.). In the vernacular works of mediaeval Bengal, there are numerous references to the use of ‘Gāmāri’ or ‘Gambhāri’ wood for the construction of various things such as boats and flat seats (popularly called ṛṣer and meant for use especially in marriage), and so on. (8) Some words have been used in the same peculiar meanings as they are found to carry in present-day Bengal.—(a) The word ‘prastāva’ has been used in the sense of ‘story,’ ‘account’ etc. in Kriyāyogasāra 6. 125 (sulocanāyāḥ prastāvam kathayāmāsa bhūtale). It should be mentioned here that this word is found to be used in the above-mentioned

15 Kriyāyogasāra 5. 97; 5. 112 (adādhibhāsānāṁ karma śvo vivāho mama dhruvam); 5. 198 (adhibhāsa-sūtrāṇi satīrvarni bhuje mama); and 6. 129 (āthādhibhāsānāṁ karma śvo vivāho mama dhruvam).

16 Ibid., 5. 149.

17 Ibid., 5. 152—
gambhāri-kāṣṭha-racitaṁ pīṭham ēruhyā sundari,/ jñātibhir veṣṭitā yātā vara-sthānāṁ sulocanā/,

18 See, for instance, Bhavānanda’s Harivamāṇi, p. 50 (lines 2058-59—भानान नबान नं होर महारूर गार। बालुक मानुष हसे धोड़ा कतिप पार।) and Mukundarāma’s Kavi-kaṅkaṇa-caṇḍi, p. 395 (गामारिपीठे)

It is needless to say that both these works are written in Bengali.
sense in Eastern Bengal only. (b) The word 'nikaṭa' has been used in the sense of 'to' or 'near' in Kriyāyogasāra 5. 121 (gatvā tannikaṭe ..........) and 160 (asau duḥkhāgata kanyā varasya nikaṭe 'dhunā). (c) The word 'sādhū' has been used in the sense of 'merchant' in Kriyāyogasāra 4.50 (tāṃ sādhū-patnīm ādāya yayuh...). This word has been used in the above-mentioned sense in the Hitopadesa, which is, in all probability, a work of Bengal. (d) The word 'kallola' has been used in the sense of 'rinsing' in Kriyāyogasāra 10.21 (kuryād dvādaśa viprendra kallolāni jalair budhah) and 22. 90 (kallolair mukha-suddhīṃ tu kuryād dvādaśabhir budhah). This word seems to be the Sanskritised form of the word 'कुलकृति' as used in Eastern Bengal to mean 'rinsing.' It has also some resemblance with the word 'कृति' (meaning 'rinsing') used in western and other parts of Bengal. (e) The root 'nī' has been used in the sense of 'grah' (to take) in Kriyāyogasāra 6. 148 (vipattyāṃ yena hastena nayet pāda-rajāḥ khalu/sīraḥ kṛntati tenaiva svāminaḥ prāpya saṃpadam//). (g) Some expressions have been formed in imitation of those in Bengali. As an instance we may cite Kriyāyogasāra 6. 100-101—kanyāyā duśaṇaṃ nāstī nāstī vidyādharasya vā/, mamaiva duśaṇaṃ sarvaṃ yato hūnasya saṅgabhāk// (Cf. Bengali—

The Kriyāyogasāra is not a very early work. It is quite familiar with the names of the zodiacal signs, 19 praises the Tulasi plant on many occasions, mentions the Buddha incarnation in two places, 20 and recommends the study of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata (bhārataṃ vyāsa-bhāṣitam) and the Bhāgavata-p. 21 In chap. 17 it contains a story which is clearly an imitation of that of Bilvamaṅgala. Hence the Kriyāyogasāra cannot be dated earlier than 700 A.D. Again, a

19 Kriyāyogasāra 4. 6, 10, 15 etc.; 13. 75.
20 Ibid., 6, 188; and 11. 94.
21 Ibid., 2, 94 (śalagṛma-sīlā yeśāṃ grhe vasati sarvadā/ sāstrāṃ bhāgavatam caiva jñāyā te vaiṣṇava janāḥ//); and 22, 137 (rāmāyaṇaṃ bhāgavatam bhārataṃ vyāsa-bhāṣitam/ anyāni ca purāṇānī pāṭhyāni hari-
vāsare//).
Ms of this work is dated 1556 Saka\textsuperscript{22}; and the Bhaddhharma-p., which was written in Bengal either in the latter half of the thirteenth or in the former half of the fourteenth century A.D.,\textsuperscript{23} mentions the Kriyāyogasāra in its list of Upapurāṇas and thus recognises this work as highly authoritative. Hence the Kriyāyogasāra must have been written at least two centuries earlier, i.e., not later than the eleventh century A.D. The facts that the Kriyāyogasāra has very little Tantric influence and that, unlike the Mahābhāgavata and the Bhaddhharma-p., it pays no attention to Tantric Sāktism, show that it is to be dated earlier than the Mahābhāgavata\textsuperscript{24} also. It is highly probable that this work was written towards the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century A.D.

The mention of ‘Yavana’ in the line ‘ahanan niśitaiḥ khadgair niśāyāṁ yavanopamah’ (7.62) need not be taken to assign the Kriyāyogasāra to a date posterior to that of Muhammadan conquest of Bengal. As there is no second mention of Yavanas in this work, it seems that the Muhammadans were still outside Bengal and that the author of the Kriyāyogasāra had no direct knowledge of the evils of Muhammadan rule.

A study of the Kriyāyogasāra shows that at the time of composition of this work there was a great spread of the ‘Pāṇḍitas’ who disregarded Viṣṇu\textsuperscript{25} and encouraged people to neglect the Vedas and the Purāṇas,\textsuperscript{26} to dispossess Brahmmins of their landed property,\textsuperscript{27} to

\textsuperscript{22} See Dacca Univ. Ms No. 1670.
\textsuperscript{23} The questions of date and provenance of the Bhaddhharma-p. will be discussed fully in another Volume of the present work.
\textsuperscript{24} The Mahābhāgavata was written about the tenth or eleventh century A.D. For the date of this work see Vol. II of the present work.
\textsuperscript{25} Cf. pākhaṇḍanāṁ samīpe........../.....na kuryād dvija pūjanam/—Kriyāyogasāra 14.3.
\textsuperscript{26} Cf. na vedādhyayanaṁ cakre purāṇāni ca sarvasaḥ/ tatyājottama-samjñāṁ ca pākhaṇḍa-jana sangamāt/—Kriyāyogasāra 17.11.
\textsuperscript{27} Cf. pākhaṇḍa-jana-vākyena mayā bhūmir dvījanmanah/ langhītā .......//—Kriyāyogasāra 6.22.
pākhaṇḍaṁ bodhito ‘yam tu jahāra dvīja-sāsanam.—Kriyāyogasāra 6.27.
punish honest men,⁸ and to do various other acts of violence. It should be mentioned here that by the term 'Pāṣaṇḍa' the Kriyāyogasāra means those people, especially the red-robed Buddhists, who were regardless of the Vedic injunctions and followed the non-Vedic rites and customs.⁹ As the spread of these Pāṣaṇḍas was unfavourable to the Vānāramadharma and Viṣṇu-worship, the Kriyāyogasāra advised people not even to speak with these Pāṣaṇḍas.⁹ It decried those who took beef,¹¹ and preached the Vedic rites as lawful (dharma).¹² It prescribed the use of only the Vedic and the Purānic mantras, encouraged the study of the Vedas and the Purāṇas, praised the performance of the 'five great sacrifices' (pañca-mahāyajña),¹⁴ and added great importance to the observance of the Vedic rules of castes and orders of life. It should be noted that in trying to popularise his religious faith as well as to establish the Vedic rules of life and conduct, the author of the Kriyāyogasāra, like those of the Mahābhāgavata and the Brhadādharma-p., utilised the river Gaṅgā, which he regarded as much sacred as Viṣṇu.²⁵ Although this river played a very prominent part in the religious and cultural life of the Hindus, no importance was attached to it by the followers of the heresies. Aryadeva's Cittaviśuddhi-prakaraṇa clearly shows how much the Buddhists denounced the Brahmanical practice of bathing in the

28 Cf. pākhāndjī-mantrīnāṁ vākyair vinā duṣārī api dvīja,<

... ... daṇḍyaṇe sādhavo janāḥ//.——

Kriyāyogasāra 10. 40.

29 Kriyāyogasāra 17. 77 (ye veda-saṃmataṁ kāryāṁ tyavatvanyat karma kuryate/, nijācāra-vihinā ye pākhāndas te prakirtitāḥ//); and 26. 20b-21a (pāṣaṇḍa-saṅgha-baddhās ca bhaviṣyanti kalau yuge/, raktāmbarā bhaviṣyanti brāhmaṇāṁḥ śūdra-dharmanāṁḥ//).

30 Kriyāyogasāra 9. 16 (pākhāndā-saṅgams eva........varjyet); 17. 67 (tyaja pāṣaṇḍa-saṃsargam); and 22. 129 (na pākhāndalajālāpah kartavyah ......// pākhāndalājāpamātrenā sarvadharmo vinaśyati//).

31 Kriyāyogasāra 4. 83; and 7. 60.

32 Kriyāyogasāra 7. 78 (kāryāṁ veda-niṣiddham yat tat pātakam iti smārtam/, yad veda-saṃmataṁ kāryāṁ tad eva dharmyam ucyate//).

33 Kriyāyogasāra 11. 79ff.

34 Ibid., 22. 136; 17. 70ff.

35 Ibid., 7. 79—yathā viṣṇuḥ tathā gaṅgā gaṅgaiva sarvapāpahā.
Gaṅgā to remove sin and acquire merit.⁶⁶ So, the authors of the Purāṇas spared no pains to establish the sanctity and divinity of this river and to connect it with the Vedic ideas on the one hand and their respective deities on the other.

2. THE ĀDI-PURĀṇA

An Ādyā- or Ādi-purāṇa is mentioned in most of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas and has been drawn upon extensively by almost all the Nibandha-writers. We have also got an Ādi-purāṇa preserved in Mss⁶⁷ and published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, and by Navīna-kṛṣṇa Lāhā (with a Bengali translation), Calcutta. We shall see below that these two Ādi-purāṇas are quite distinct in character and belong to different dates.

36 In the Cittavīśuddhi-prakaraṇa Āryadeva says: “If salvation could be attained by means of Ganges water, then fishermen would all attain salvation, and more particularly the fishes, which are in the Ganges day and night.” (Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 351).

37 For Mss of the Ādi-p. see

(1) Mitra, Notices, II, pp. 18-20, No. 553.

[This is an undated Ms written in Bengali characters and consisting of 25 chapters. It begins with verse 1 (jayati yaśodā-sūnuḥ etc.) of chap. 5 of the printed eds, and ends with the concluding verse (idaṁ mayā te kathitam mahādbhutam etc.) of the latter. Its contents, as given by Mitra, agree generally with those of chaps. 5-29 of the printed eds.]


[No. 3335.—This is a complete Ms written in Devanāgarī script and copied in 1799 A.D. It consists of 52 chapters, but its 52nd chapter, which deals with Kaṃsa-vadha, is called the 51st in the final colophon (iti śrī-ādi-purāṇe nāradā-saunakādi-saṁvāde kaṃsa-vadho nāmaikapiścāsattamo’dhyāyaḥ samāptah). It begins, like Mitra’s Ms, with verse 1 of chap. 5 of the printed eds. but contains a second introductory verse (na khalu bala-vilāsa etc.) which is not found in the printed eds. Its first 25 chapters have general agreement, as regards contents, with Mitra’s Ms and with chaps. 5-29 of the printed eds. Of the remaining chapters, chap. 32 deals with Dhenuka-pūrva-janma-kathana, chap. 39 with Rāsa-kṛṣṇa-vilāsa, chaps. 42-44 with the description of different kinds of nāyakas and nāyikās, chap. 45 with nāma-māhātmya, and the rest with the different deeds and exploits of Kṛṣṇa.

No. 3336.—This Ms also is written in Devanāgarī script. It was copied in
(I). The Ādi-p., published by the Veṇkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, and by Navina-krṣṇa Lāhā, Calcutta, consists of 29 chapters, of which the 1804 A.D. According to Eggeling, it is 'evidently a reproduction of the preceding Ms with all its mistakes and an additional supply of its own'.


[No. 4072.—This is a complete Ms written in Nāgarā script and dated Saṁvat 1869. For a 'full description' of this Ms, Shastri refers to the Ind. Off. Cat., VI, No. 3335.

No. 4073.—This Ms also is complete. It is written in Nāgarā script and dated Saṁvat 1708. It consists of 51 chapters, of which the last one deals with Kaṁsa vadha. Its last colophon ends with the words 'saṁāptaś cāyaṁ pūrva-khaṇḍaḥ'.]

(4) Adyar Library Cat., Part I, p. 159.
(5) List of Sans., Jaina and Hindi Mss, p. 185.
(6) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 199.
(7) Benares Sans. College Cat., pp. 329 and 337.
(8) Bhandarkar, Report, p. 10.
(9) Poleman, Census of Indic Mss, p. 48, No. 1026.

For short Mss of Stava, Māhātmya etc., claiming to be parts of the Ādi-p., see

(1) Shastri, ASB Cat., V, pp. 709-710.

[No. 4074 (Ms No. 3355).—This is a complete Ms dealing with Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya. It consists of 7 folios and is written in Bengali characters of 'the early nineteenth century'. It is quite different from chap. 45 (on nāma-māhātmya) of Ind. Off. Cat., VI, No. 3335 and ASB Cat., V, No. 4072. Its colophon runs as follows: ity ādi-pūrāṇe śriṅgaṭija-saṁvāde śrīviṣṇu nāma-māhātmyam samāptam.

No. 4075 (Ms No. 4022).—This is another Ms of the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya claiming to belong to the Ādi-p., although in its colophon the title of the work is given as 'Vaṁśavāmṛta'. This Ms also is written in Bengali characters 'of the nineteenth century', begins with the same verse as that of the immediately preceding Ms (of the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya), contains an interlocution between Krṣṇa and Arjuna, deals with Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya, and has the same text as that of the immediately preceding Ms.]

(2) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II, Part i, p. 505 (Citrakūṭa-māhātmya) and pp. 905-6 (Vitastā-stava).

(3) Stein, Jammu Cat., p. 199.

first four are found neither in the Ms of the Ādi- ī. noticed by R. L. Mitra nor in those described by H. P. Shastri and Eggeling. It ends with the chapter on yamalarjuna-bhaṅga (breaking of the pair of Arjuna trees), an exploit of the infant Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana. A comparison of this printed Ādi- ī. with Shastri and Eggeling’s Ms shows that the former does not represent the entire Ādi- ī. but contains only a part of it. This fragmentary character of the printed edition is also shown by its chap. 6 which mentions the different incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa’s life from his birth to his exploits at Mathurā and Dvārakā. It is highly probable that Shastri and Eggeling’s Ms also do not comprise the whole work known under the title ‘Ādi- ī.', because these Ms end with Kṛṣṇa’s exploits at Mathurā and record none of the incidents at Dvārakā, and in the second of the two complete Ms of the Ādi- ī. described by H. P. Shastri, the final colophon ends with the words ‘sāmāpta śāyam pūrva-khaṃdaḥ'. Of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Ādi- ī. we know nothing at present. It seems to have dealt with Kṛṣṇa’s exploits at Dvārakā.

The printed Ādi- ī., which calls itself the essence of all the Purāṇas, begins with the verse ‘rajojuše janmani sattvā-vṛttaye’, the first two quarters of which are the same as those of the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa’s Kādambarī. This introductory verse as well as a few others which follow it contains salutations to Viṣṇu and Vyāsa, of whom the former is described as ‘cinmātra-rūpa’ and ‘paramātma-rūpin’ and is called Brahma, when consisting of pure consciousness, and Māyeśvara, when taking the human form, while the latter, who is a form of Viṣṇu, is said to have divided the original Veda and given it to his disciples, to have composed a Purāṇa-saḿhitā after collecting the anecdotes (itihaśa) from the Veda, and to have written the Brahma-sūtra in order to elucidate the meaning of this Purāṇa-saḿhitā, the Bhāgavata- ī. as a commentary on the Brahma-

38 See the chapter-colophons (of the Veṅkahāt ed.), in most of which this Purāṇa is called ‘sakala-purāṇa-sāra-bhūta’.

It should be mentioned here that our reference in the following pages are generally to the Veṅkahāt, ed., unless otherwise mentioned.

39 Ādi- ī. 1, 2a—brahme li yasya ligamair vīvṛtā śīlaṁśo māyeśvarāḥ puruṣa-rūpa-dhāro yadaṁśaḥ/......
sūtra, and the present Ādi-p. to embody the essence of all these works. Next, after praising the Naimiṣa forest as the Viṣṇu-vana (forest of Viṣṇu) and the best of all holy places, this Purāṇa states that once Sūta came to the hermitage of Saunaka in this forest during a twelve-year sacrifice instituted by the latter and was duly received by the sages. (—Chap. 1). When Sūta took his seat, Saunaka praised his presence as productive of immense good, asked him to take rest, and retired to the fire-sanctuary (agni-grha) to perform his own evening duties. (—Chap. 2). When, after taking rest, Sūta returned to Saunaka in company with the sages, the latter described the evils of the Kali age and requested the former to tell them how people could get rid of these evils and to describe, in connection with Kṛṣṇa ‘the lord of cowherdresses’, the essence of the Purāṇas, Itihāsa, Dharmasāstras and the work of Bādarāyaṇa (i.e. the Brahmaśūtra). (—Chap. 3). The other sages also requested Sūta to speak on the way of attaining devotion to Hari. Consequently, Sūta saluted Kṛṣṇa (whom he described as ‘cidānandamaya’ and ‘trimūrtika’) and Vyāsa, and consented to reproduce the Ādi-purāṇa which he had heard from his teacher Vyāsa and which was the essence of all Sāstras. (—Chap. 4).

In chap. 5 we are told that Vyāsa heard from Nārada this Ādi-p. which was proclaimed originally by Sanatkumāra. It is said that once, in course of his wanderings, Nārada came to Vyāsa’s hermitage on the bank of the Sarasvatī and was warmly received there by Vyāsa’s pupils, and that being requested by these pupils to speak on the means of getting rid of Viṣṇu-māyā which steeps the whole creation in nescience, Nārada spoke about Kṛṣṇa, who is one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and of whom he had heard from Kumāra.

41 Speaking of the bad effects of the Kali age the Ādi-p. says that people will become non-believers and look upon the Śālagrāma as a piece of stone meant for measurement of weight, and that one’s wife’s brothers will be one’s best advisers (Ādi-p. 3. 7 and 19).
42 sanatkumārokaṁ idaṁ purāṇam yato na kiṁcit param asti pūrvam, mayā śrutam nāradato badaryāṁ śraddhālunā cādipurāṇa-saṁjñām/ |
Ādi-p. 5. 2.
43 Ādi-p. 5. 3-13.
Thus the topics of the present Ādi-p. have been introduced in the printed edition. The Mss of the Ādi-p., on the other hand, make no mention of Sūta or Vyāsa but simply say that once, in course of his wanderings, Nārada came to Naimiśāranya in order to see Saunaka and others and had a warm reception from the sages living there. It was at their request to speak on the means of getting rid of Viṣṇumāyā that Nārada narrated the contents of the present Ādi-p.

That the present beginning of the printed edition is due to a change made at a later date by the addition of its first four chapters, is shown not only by Shastri and Eggeling’s Mss of the Ādi-p. but also by the mention of Nārada and Saunaka as interlocutors in the colophons of all the chapters from chap. 5 of the printed edition. It is to be noted that in chap. 5 of the printed edition Nārada speaks to Vyāsa and his pupils, and not Saunaka.

Though the beginning of the printed Ādi-p. is different from those of the Mss, it deals, like chaps. 1-25 of the latter, mainly with the story of Kṛṣṇa—the legendary account of the birth of Kṛṣṇa as well as of Baladeva, Vasudeva’s eulogy of Kṛṣṇa and his removing of the newborn child to Nanda’s house, the merry-makings in Nanda’s house on the occasion of Kṛṣṇa’s birth, the ceremony of naming Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva as performed by Garga, and the incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa’s infancy, viz., his killing of the demoness Putanā and of the demon Trnāvarta, his breaking of a cart, his childish sports with his foster-mother Yaśodā as well as with other cowherdesses (such as those of his stealing milk, curd and butter and sharing these with his associates, his breaking of utensils, his escape on more occasions than one from the midst of cowherdresses who tried to capture him, his passing the night with all the gopikās separately in their respective houses, and so on), his defeat in a wrestling competition with Baladeva, and his breaking of a pair of Arjuna trees when he was tied by Yaśodā to a mottar.

In connection with this story, the following topics have been dealt with in the printed editions:—The benefits of worshipping Kṛṣṇa by forsaking all contact with women; characteristics of the devotees of Hari; description and praise of Mathurā-maṇḍala, in which Vṛndāvana is situated; praise of Vṛndāvana, which is called the most favourite
place and the eternal abode of Kṛṣṇa and in which Kṛṣṇa's sports and exploits are always to be experienced through love and devotion; characteristics of a love-messenger (dūti); description of the Kali age; a summary of the Rāmāyaṇa; and Yaśodā's seeing the universe in Kṛṣṇa's mouth.

In order to glorify Kṛṣṇa, a few subsidiary stories have been introduced; viz., Nārada's meeting with Viṣṇu in Sveta-dvīpa and the latter's narration of the story of ten sages who meditated on Kṛṣṇa (the delimiter of gopikās—gopikā-ramaṇa) of Vṛndāvana in order to experience his sports; Nārada's bath in the Mānasa lake, his consequent attainment of an extremely beautiful female form, and his experience of Kṛṣṇa's allaying the jealous anger of Rādhā as well as of his Rāsa-līlā and other sports at Vṛndāvana with the gopīs, especially with Rādhā, the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu; Nārada's attainment of a male body by bathing in the Kṛṣṇa-gaṅgā and his experience of Kṛṣṇa's Vraja-līlā, which is 'nitya' (permanent) and in which Kṛṣṇa tends cattle with his friends and associates and is received in the evening by his foster-mother and other cowherdesses; Viṣṇu's narration to Brahmā of the story of his taking the form of a bee and describing the love-sport (prema-līlā) of the love-smitten (śīnāra-rasa-vihvala-mānasa) Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana with innumerable gopīs who are called the images of his own image (viz., Rādhā)44, with the mention of the lineage of Nanda and Rādhā45 as well as the names of the eight principal female friends of Rādhā, the principal gopī46 who attend upon Kṛṣṇa, and Kṛṣṇa's associates (including Rādhā's four brothers named Vṛṣa-vṛdhn, Manab- saukhya, Stoka-kṛṣṇa and Sudāman) who play and tend cattle with him and never grow old or die; rebirth of Cārumati, daughter of the sage

44 Ādi-p. 10. 35-36 (...svabimba-pratibimbena kriḍate vipine 'niṣam).
45 Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛṣṇa, is said to be the youngest son of Citrasena, who, again, was the youngest son of Kālamedu, the great-grandson of Ābhirabhānu, the lord of gopas, of Mahāvana. Rādhikā was born of Mānavi by Vṛṣabhānu, the great-grandson of Aṣīṣa (Āṣīṣa?), the Mahāgopa, of the village Āṣīṣigrāma. (See Ādi-p., chap. 12).
46 The long list of the names of these principal gopīs includes the following:—Mālata, Madālasā, Citrā, Vetravati, Kalāvati, Sunandā, Viśakhā, Sārikā, Mādhavi, Candrāvali, Bhadrāvali, Campāvati, Tilottamā, Alāyā and Tārāvali.
Kālabhūrī, as the demoness Putanā due to the curse of her husband Kakśivat, who was offended with Cārumati on account of her illicit connection with a Śūdra; rebirth, in the form of the demon Tṛṇāvarta, of the Bhāgavata king Viśvaratha of Drāvida who gave trouble, under suspicion of thieving, to a Brahmin Vaiṣṇava who was returning at night after attending a ‘kīrtana;’ and so on.

In Shastri and Eggeling’s Mss of the Ādi-p., the story of Kṛṣṇa further continues up to the killing of Kaṁsa at Mathurā and includes the following incidents:—Kṛṣṇa’s killing of Vatsāsura, Bakāsura, Aghāsura, Dhenuka, Pralamba and others, and his chastisement of the serpent Kāliya; Brahmā’s experience of Viṣṇu-māyā; Kṛṣṇa’s uplifting of the mountain Govardhana, and his Rāsa-krīḍā; and so on. In these Mss there are also chapters on the praise of gopīs, the different kinds of nāyakas and nāyikās (including a section on ‘svakiya-bheda-varṇana’), the glory of the name of Kṛṣṇa (nāma-māhātmya), the description of the seasons Vasanta, Grīṣṇa, Sarat and Hemanta, and so on. There are also a few subsidiary stories such as that of the previous birth of the demon Dhenuka.

From the contents of the present Ādi-p. indicated above, it is clear that this Purāṇa is solely dedicated to the promulgation of faith in Kṛṣṇa, who, unlike the other gods, is kind to both friends and foes. In this work Kṛṣṇa is regarded not only as an incarnation of Viṣṇu but as the Bhagavat himself and the eternal Brahma. He is the individual and the Supreme Soul and is both one and many. Though, in his supreme state, he is formless and has no beginning or end, he manifests himself in different forms through guṇa. Being ‘rasākrīṣṭa,’ he sports permanently, at Vṛndāvana with gopīs, especially with Rādhā who is called his Parā Vidyā, Parā Śakti, and Hlādini Śakti and who does not seem to be his wedded wife, but no male can experience these sports unless he turns a female. Kṛṣṇa’s Vraja-lilā, on the other hand, is said to be

47 Ādi-p. 12. 13-163; and also 6.7. 9.58, and so on.
48 Ibid., 17. 74.
49 Ibid., 13. 57-58.
50 Cf. Ibid., 13. 52-53—

Nāvalokayitum saktah puṇḍstvena puruṣarṣabha/
atas tavādhikāo’sti strīrūpasya varānane//
open to his male devotees. People are advised to devote themselves solely to the worship of Kṛṣṇa and to look upon women as obstacles in the way of their spiritual development. They are to practise love and devotion in such a way that they should always be ready to do good to others and should not be affected in the least or try for a remedy, even if they are insulted, oppressed, beaten, or killed by others. According to this Purāṇa, 'bhajana' (i.e. kīrtana), based on prema and bhakti, is the best way of Kṛṣṇa-worship and is superior to yoga, dāna etc.; and all the members of the four castes without distinction of age or sex, as well as Antyajas, Pulkasas and Mlecchas are entitled to worship Kṛṣṇa.

The present Ādi-p., as its contents show, can never claim an early origin. None of the numerous verses, ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' by Lakṣmīdharā, Aparārka, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Vallālasena, Hemādri, Madanapāla,Madhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi, Kullūkhaṭṭa, Śīnāthācārya-cūdāmaṇi, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Narasiṃha Vājayeyin, Anantabhaṭṭa, Gadādhara and many other Nibandha-writers in their respective works, is found in the printed Ādi-p. In the Haribhaktivilāsa (of Gopālabhaṭṭa), Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta (of Saṅtana Gosvāmin)

51 Ādi. 26, 38ff.,
52 Ādi-p. 8, 16-18—

ksiptāvamāniṁ dhvastās tāditāḥ piṅgatā api/
na vikriyā prabhavati pratikāram na kurvate//
hitam kurvantī sarveśāṁ karūṇā dina-vatsalāḥ/
tīkṣaṇo‘lpavāco hi mahānto loka-pāvanāḥ/
te priyāḥ śīharer bhaktāḥ prema-mādhvi-kā mahākāḥ//=
53 Ādi-p. 28, 52—
sarve‘dhikārīṇo varṇā śāstramāḥ śīśavāḥ striyāḥ/
antyajāḥ pulkāsā mlecchā ye cānaye pāṇa-yonayah//=
54 On p. 524 of his Haribhaktivilāsa Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes from an Ādi-p. nine verses on the praise of devotees of Kṛṣṇa, and on pp. 612, 634, 678 and 683 he quotes from the same source thirteen more verses on Kṛṣṇa-nāma-māhātmya. In quoting some of these verses he uses the words ‘ādi-purāṇe śīkṛṣṭārjuna-saṁvade’. But none of these verses occurs in the chapter (viz., chap. 45) on ‘nāma-māhātmya’ contained in the MSS of the Ādi-p. described by Eggeling in his Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1184-85, Nos. 3335-36, and by H. P. Shastri in his ASB Cat., V, pp. 708-9, Nos. 4072-73.
55 The Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta quotes from the 'Ādi-p', nine verses in which
and a few other works of the later Vaiṣṇava writers of Bengal a number of verses has been quoted from an ‘Ādi-p.’, and in these quoted verses Kṛṣṇa speaks to Arjuna on the praise of the name and devotees of Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa). Although some of these verses have been ascribed by Gopālāhaṭṭa definitely to a ‘Śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṁvāda’ in the Ādi-pūrāṇa’ (ādi-purāṇe śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṁvāde) and a number of them occurs in the manuscripts of the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya⁵⁶ consisting of a ‘Śrīkṛṣṇārjuna-saṁvāda’ and claiming to belong to the Ādi-p., we are not sure that the Ādi-p., of which this Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya claims to be a part, is the same as that found in the printed editions and the Mss mentioned above. On the other hand, Mītra Miśra, though not quoting any verses from the present Ādi-p., must have been quite familiar with this work; because, after giving two lists of Upapuraṇas from the ‘Kūrā-vatva-p.’ and the ‘Brahmavaivarta-p.,’ Mītra Miśra quotes Mātasya-p. 53. 59b-63 in support of the view that the Upapuraṇas originated from the major ‘Puraṇas’, and then exemplifies this view by naming the Nandikeśvara-p., Ādi-p. and Devī-p., which, he says, were recognised as Upapuraṇas by great men (mahājana-parigṛhitāni) and of which the first and the third are not mentioned in any of the two lists of Upapuraṇas given by Mītra Miśra. Hence it is Kṛṣṇa speaks to Arjuna on the praise of the votaries of Kṛṣṇa, of the devoted gopikās, and of Vṛndāvana, and one of which is the same as a verse quoted from the Ādi-p. in Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 524.

The Laghu-bhāgavatāṁśa, which consists of two Khaṇḍas—Pūrva and Uttara named as Kṛṣṇāṁśa and Bhaktāṁśa respectively, must be the same as the ‘Bhāgavatāṁśa’ which Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja ascribes to Sanātana and from which he learnt ‘bhakti-tattva’ and ‘kṛṣna-tattva’. See Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja’s Caitanya-caritāṁśa, III, p. 111—sanātana kāla grantha bhāgavatāṁśa/ bhakti-tattva kṛṣṇa-tattva jāni yāhā haite//). But in the introduction to their edition of the Laghu-bhāgavatāṁśa Balai Chand Goswami and Atul Krishna Goswami say that this work was written by Rūpa Gosvāmin.

⁵⁶ For the verses ascribed to the ‘Ādi-p.’ in Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 524, p. 612, p. 634, p. 678, and p. 683 see Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya (ASB Ms No. 3355), fol. 2a (lines 2, 4, 8-9), 2b, etc., fol. 5a (lines 3-4), fol. 4a (lines 1-3), fol. 6a (line 9), 6b (lines 3, 6), fol. 2b (line 4), 4a (lines 2, 1, 7-9), 6a (lines 7-8) and 5a (line 8).

The verses ascribed to the ‘Ādi-p.’ in Laghu-bhāgavatāṁśa, pp. 177, 182-3 and 184 do not occur in the Viṣṇu-nāma-māhātmya.
sure that the 'Ādi-p.' also (which Mitra Misra recognised as an Upapurāṇa, because it was recognised as such by great men) must be different from the first Upapurāṇa which is mentioned in the lists with the words 'āḍyaṁ sanatkumāroktam,' and 'āḍyaṁ sanatkumāraṁ ca' respectively. A comparison between the printed Ādi-p. and the present Brahmavaivarta-p. shows that the story of Kṛṣṇa, as given in the latter work, is decidedly of a later date. On the other hand, the present Ādi-p. holds the Tulaśi plant in high esteem and seems to have known the tyranny of the Muhammadans in India. Hence this Purāṇa should be dated between 1203 and 1525 A.D.

Though a late work, the printed Ādi-p. does not attach itself as a part to any Mahāpurāṇa, but claims to be the same as the earlier Ādi-p. which was spoken out by Sanatkumāra. It is needless to say that this claim is wholly untenable. Even the verse, in which this claim has been put forth by the printed editions, occurs in Shastri and Eggeling's Mss in a quite different form without any mention of Sanatkumāra or of the earlier Ādi-p.

In the present Ādi-p., there is mention of the use of bracelets of conch-shell by women, of a proverb in the line 'āḍau ca sakhi hṛtvā gāṁ vinayo na virājate,' of the word 'gāli' used in the sense of 'reproach' on several occasions, of marking a child on the forehead with collyrium for saving it from the harmful effect of others' sight, and of tying a tiger-nail and a hymn of Rāma to a child's neck for saving it from the influence of evil spirits. These, as well as the fact that

57 Ādi-p. 14. 139-140—
asurā yavanāṁśeṣu jātā lokopatāpināḥ/
anītā-niratāḥ sarve saṁgrahi ca prabuddhayaḥ//
palāyamāṇas teṣāṁ hi prajāḥ syur api pūdhāḥ/
pāpurā deṣāntaram cāpi kvacin na sukhitābhavaḥ//

58 Viz., idaṁ purāṇaṁ paramādibhūtaṁ yato na kiṁcit param aṣṭi pūrvam/
śrīnāradēnābhīhitam tu naimīṣa śraddhālave bhārgava-śaunakāya//
(see Ind. Off., Cat., VI, p. 1184).

59 Ādi-p. 26. 3 and 5.
61 Ādi-p. 16. 17; 25. 33 and 57.
62 Cf. Ādi-p. 18. 130—
dṛṣṭi-dōṣa-nivāryā bhāle kajjalakam kuru/
kaṇṭhe vyāghra-nakham caiva rāma-nāmānkitam stavam//
some of the ideas and practices\(^{63}\) of Caitanya of Navadvipa and tenets of Caitanyaism are found mentioned in the present \(\text{Adi-p}.,\) tend to create the impression that this \(\text{Purāṇa},\) like the chapters on Mathurāmāhātmya of the \(\text{Varāha-p}.,\) was written in Bengal by a disciple of Caitanya; but we have already seen that the Haribhaktivilāsa and the \(\text{Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta}\) quote verses from a part claiming to belong to an ‘\(\text{Adi-p}.,\)’ which cannot be said definitely to be different from the present \(\text{Adi}.

(II). Quite different from our present \(\text{Adi-p}.,\) was the earlier \(\text{Ādyā- or Šrāvaka-p}.,\) which is mentioned in most of the lists of eighteen \(\text{Upapurāṇas}\)^{64} and in which Sanatkumāra was the speaker. It seems that Sanatkumāra reported to a king, most probably to Yudhiṣṭhira,\(^{65}\) what he had heard from Vyāsa.\(^{66}\) That the earlier \(\text{Ādyā-p}.,\) and \(\text{Adi-p.}\) were identical, is shown by the following facts: (1) the \(\text{Brāhddharma-p.}\) (1. 25. 23) names the first \(\text{Upapurāṇa} as ‘\(\text{Adi-p}.,\)’;\(^{67}\) (2) while enumerating the works used in writing his Dānasāgara and Adbhutasāgara Vallālasena names an ‘\(\text{Ādyā Purāṇa,}\)’\(^{68}\) but when this \(\text{Purāṇa}\) is referred to or drawn upon by him, it is mentioned as ‘\(\text{Adi-p}.,\)’; (3) in a particular work the same verses are sometimes found ascribed to the ‘\(\text{Adi-p,}\)’ in some Mss and to the ‘\(\text{Ādyā-p,}\)’ in others;\(^{69}\) (4) in some of the long citations from the ‘\(\text{Adi-p,}\)’ in the \(\text{Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi},\) Sanatkumāra appears as the speaker;\(^{70}\) and (5) in their commentaries on \(\text{Raghu-nandana’s Malamāsa-tattva Kāśirāma Vācaspati and Rādhāramaṇa}\)

63 See \(\text{Adi-p. 8. 16-18 and 19-23; 10. 35-36; and so on.}\)
64 For these lists see Chap. I.
65 In a verse of the ‘\(\text{Adi-p.}\)’ quoted in \(\text{Mādhyavacārya’s}\) com. on the \(\text{Parāśara-smṛti, I. ii, pp. 326-7}\) the speaker addresses the hearer as ‘\(\text{Bhārata,}\)’ and in the verses ascribed to the same \(\text{Purāṇa}\) in \(\text{Devaṇabhāṭṭa’s Smṛti-candrikā, V, pp. 194-201}\) the hearer is addressed as ‘\(\text{rajendra,}\)’ ‘\(\text{mahārāja,}\)’ ‘\(\text{Kuru-nandana,}\)’ and ‘\(\text{Yudhiṣṭhira.}\)’ See also \(\text{Sūlapāṇi’s Śrāddha-viveka. p. 137 (ādi purāṇe—yeyam dipāṇvita rājan etc.).}\)
66 In \(\text{Suddhi-kaumudi, p. 40 and Hārālāla, p. 117, verses have been quoted from the ‘\(\text{Adi-p.}\)’ with the words ‘ādi-purāṇe vyāsāḥ’}.\)
67 ādāv ādipurāṇam syād ādityākhyam dvitiyakam.
68 See Dānasāgara, p. 3 (verse 13), and Adbhutasāgara, p. 2.
69 See, for instance, Aparārka’s com. on the \(\text{Yājñ., p. 870,}\)
70 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 518 and 763-8.
Gosvāmi-bhaṭṭācārya take the ‘Ādya Sanatkumāroktā’ (Purāṇa), mentioned in a list of Upapurāṇas derived by Raghunandana from the ‘Kaurma’, to mean the ‘Ādī-p.’. This Ādya-(or Ādī-) purāṇa was also called ‘Sanatkumāra’; ‘Sanatkumāra’ and ‘Sanatkumāriya’ and also perhaps ‘Sanatkumāroktā’ or ‘Sanatkumāra-proktā’ from the name of its chief interlocutor.

The earlier Ādya-(or Ādī-) purāṇa occupied a very exalted position among the Upapurāṇas, so much so that it is assigned the first place in almost all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas as well as in that list of eighteen ‘Purāṇas’ which Alberūnī committed to writing from dictation. Alberūnī’s list (which consists partly of Mahāpurāṇas and partly of Upapurāṇas, viz., Ādī, Narasimha, Nanda, Āditya etc.) shows that by the end of the tenth century A.D. the Ādī-p. not only attained the position of being included in the list of

71 Malamāsa-tattva (ed. Čaṇḍīcarana Smṛtibhūṣana), p. 213—sanatkumāroktam ādīpurāṇam (Kāśirāma Vācaspati); ādīya ādī-purāṇam (Rādhāramaṇa Gosvāmi-bhaṭṭācārya).

72 See Dbb I, 3, 13, and the ‘Brahmavaivarta-p.’ as quoted in the Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14, wherein the first (prathama, ādīya) Upapurāṇa is called Sanatkumāra. It is to be noted that in the great majority of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas the first Upapurāṇa is the ‘Ādya declared by Sanatkumāra’.

A ‘Sanatkumāropapurāṇa’ is drawn upon in the Sivārcana-dipikā which is later than the first half of the seventeenth century A.D. (See Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 866, No. 2853).

73 See Gopāladasa’s Bhakti-ratnākara (Mitra, Notices, IX, p. 32).

74 See Nityācārapradipa, I, p. 19, wherein Narasimha Vājapeyin gives a list of eighteen Upapurāṇas on the basis of that contained in the Kürma-p., but names the first Upapurāṇa as ‘Sanatkumāriya’, and not as ‘Ādya’ like the Kürma-p. See Chap. I (p. 4) above.

75 See the lists of Upapurāṇas (as given in Chap. I), in most of which the first Upapurāṇa is mentioned with the words ‘ādīyaṃ sanatkumāroktam’. See also foot-note 72 above.

76 A good number of verses on Ekādaśi is ascribed to a work called ‘Sanatkumāra-proktā’ in Gopālabhaṭṭa’s Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 773 and Hemādrī’s Caturvarga-cintāmanī, II, i, pp. 993-995, 998, 999 and 1001-2 and III. ii, pp. 149, 160, 178, 181 and 184.

77 Sachau, Alberūnī’s India, I, p. 130.
eighteen 'Purāṇas' but also became prominent enough to be named first of all. Hence the Ādi-p. must have preceded Alberūṇī by a fairly long time. The Vāyu-p. (chap. 104) mentions an 'Ādikā-p.', in a list of eighteen Purāṇas including the Brahma-p. (which also is sometimes called Ādi-p.); Gaṅgādhara, in his commentary on the Dharma-samhitā, quotes from 'Padma-purāṇa, chapter 19' a metrical line which includes the Saiva, Ādi-p. and Devī-bhāgavata among the Upapurāṇas; and the present Saura-p. is said in its chap. 9 as well as in the Revā-khaṇḍa and the Revā-māhātmya to have formed the latter part of a complete work, of which the former part was declared by Sanatkumāra and which was, according to the Revā-kh. and the Revā-māhātmya, also widely known under the title 'Sanatkumāra'. These, as well as the first position of the Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa in all the comparatively early lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas, point to a still earlier origin of this Purāṇa. Hence this Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa must be dated earlier than 700 A. D. As in some of the verses quoted from the earlier Ādi-p. there is mention of the law-giver Manu, as well as of the names of rāsis and week-days, this Purāṇa should not be placed before 500 A. D. It is probable that this work was written during the sixth century A. D. This early origin of the Ādi-p. is supported by its non-Tantric character which is unmistakably indicated by the quotations made from it in the different Smṛti Nibandhas on vrata, pūjā, dāna, etc.

As not even a single Ms of the earlier Ādya- (or Ādi-) purāṇa has been found up to the present time, we shall try to give here some idea of its Smṛti contents on the basis of the verses quoted from it in the commentaries and Nibandhas. An examination of these verses shows that this Purāṇa dealt, among other topics, with the following:—

78 'saivam ādipurāṇam ca devībhāgavatam tathā'.—Shastri, ASB Cat., IV, p. 289.
79-80 See under Saura-p. in Vol. III of the present work.
81 See the verses ascribed to the 'Ādi-p.' in Mādhuvācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, II, ii, p. 321, Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 844, Smṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 287, Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 9, and so on. See also the verse ascribed to a work called 'Sanatkumāra-prokta' in Caturvarga-cintāmani, II, i, p. 998.

Manu is mentioned in a verse quoted in Madana-pārījāta, p. 456.
Selection of countries which are habitable to the members of the four castes; good customs and usages; marriage; cremation; funeral ceremony; periods of impurity due to miscarriage, births and deaths; methods of purification; donations; Vratas; and omnia and portenta.

In his Smṛti-candrikā, I, pp. 18-23 Devaṇabhaṭṭa quotes from the earlier Ādi-p. fifteen verses on the selection of a habitable tract of land. These verses show that this Purāṇa spoke of two kinds of countries,—dharma-deśa and adharma-deśa. The former was distinguished by the presence of antelopes, barley and Kuśa grass as well as of the four castes and orders of life and was to be resorted to by the wise, while the latter was to be shunned by them, because the twice-born could derive no benefit even by performing hundreds of sacrifices there; but the tract of land which lay along the banks of the Ganges was the most sacred of all. A person born in Āryāvarta, no matter whether he was a twice-born man or not, was not allowed to go beyond the rivers Narmadā (in the south), Sindhu (in the north and west) and Karatojā (in the east). Any twice-born man, who crossed the boundary of Āryāvarta for reasons other than visiting the holy places, was to purify himself by observing the Cāndrāyaṇa-vrata. The people of Kānci, Kośala, Saurāṣṭra and Devarāṣṭra, of the two countries known by the name Kaccha, and of Sauvīra and Koṅkaṇa were very much condemned (ninditā bhūṣam); and an Ārya was advised not to reside permanently in those tracts of land which were watered by the 'five rivers' and were known by the name Āraṭṭa. People, who went beyond the Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāśi and to the western side of

82 āryāvarte samutpanno dvijo vā yadi vādvijah/
narmadāṃ sindhu-pāraṃ ca karatojāṃ na laṅghayet;/
āryāvartam atikramya vinā tūrthā-kriyāṃ dvijah/
ājñāṃ caiva tathā pitror aindavena viśuddhatu; /
(ascribed to ‘Ādi-p,’ in Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 20).

The Karatojā is a river in Northern Bengal and flows through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra.

83 These were most probably Marukaccha (modern Cutch) and Kaūsikikaccha (the district of Purnea).

84 The text of the ‘Ādi-p,’ as given by Devaṇabhaṭṭa in his Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 22, reads ‘narmadā-sindhu-kāśināṃ pāraṃ padmasya paścimam’. Though we know that ‘Kāśi’ was the name of the country, of which Benares was
Padma (पारम पद्मस्या पास्चिमम्) and lived there for a period longer than that required for visiting the holy places, were sure to visit the hells after death. No marriage or funeral ceremony, nor any sacrifice was to be performed in Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Vindhya and Mālavaka, in the countries lying on the south of the Narmadā, as well as in those on the north of the Sindhu, and in Paunḍra, Suraśtra, Caidya, Kerala and Magadha. If a twice-born man chanced to go, out of his own accord and not for visiting holy places, to Saurāśtra, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Āvantya, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Kaliṅga or other bordering countries, he was excommunicated and was to be purified by sacraments. These and other impious countries (पाप-देशाः) were inhabited by impious people; so, a twice-born man, who went to these countries, became equally impious.

Going to deal with good customs and usages which were to be followed by the people, this Purāṇa said that the people of the Kali age, being given to sinful acts, were not fit for practising that dharma (law and custom) which was meant for the people of the Kṛta age. Hence a twice-born man of the Kali age was to avoid the following:—Practice of celibacy (as a student) for a long period, carrying a kamanḍalu (as a forest-hermit or as a wandering mendicant), slaughter of cows (in sacrifices), performance of human and horse sacrifices, drinking of wine, sexual union with his own brother’s wife, division of paternal property by allotting the largest share to the eldest son, and marriage with a girl belonging to the same gotra as that of himself or having sapinda relationship with his mother or married to another person before.85 He was to take his meal after his dependants, who consisted

the capital, it seems that the original reading for “काृताम’ was “कोृताम’. The river Kośi or Kāuśiki formed the western boundary of Paunḍravardhana. Cf. the verse ‘himavat-kauśikam vindhyam pāram padmasya paścimam/tIRTHaya trām vinā gatvā punah saṃskāram arhati/’ quoted from the ‘Ādi-p.’ in Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 23.

85 For the relevant verses of the Ādi-p. see Smṛti-candrikā, I, pp. 29 and 221. The verse ‘ūdhāyāh punar udvāhaṁ jyeṣṭhāṃśaṁ govadhaṁ tathā/ kalau paṅca na kurvita bhrātr-jāyām kamandalum/’ is ascribed to the ‘Ādi-p.’ in Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 221 but to the ‘Aditya-p.’ in Mādhavācārya’s com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I, ii, p. 91.
of the poor blood-relations on his father's and mother's side and of other helpless persons living under his care. In taking his meal he was to observe certain rules, viz., he was not to take his meal by sitting or lying on his bed, or from a different seat, or in the morning, midday or evening, or with wet clothes on, or with the wet head, or without the sacred thread, or with his feet placed on a machine (yantra), or with his wife, or in a deserted house, a temple or a fire-sanctuary. A Brahmin might take his meal with his Brahmin wife on his way (to a distant place), but if he took his meal with his wife of a lower caste, he was degraded from his caste. If, at a dinner party, any of the persons rinsed his mouth without leaving his seat, others were to leave their meals at once and wash their hands and mouths. A Brahmin was advised not to take his meal by taking his seat in the same line with other Brahmins or even with his own relatives, because he could not be sure that the latter were not guilty of pātakas.

As regards marriage, it has already been said that the earlier Ādi-p. disallowed the remarriage of a girl, no matter whether she was a widow or not. A person, who had such a girl as his wife, was always considered impure. This Purāṇa was of opinion that the father, who allowed his daughter to be married according to the Gāndharva form or who married his daughter to a suitable bridegroom by accepting money from the latter, attained the region of the Gandharvas after death.

86 For the relevant verses of the Ādi-p. see Smṛti-candrikā, II, pp. 617-618, and Madana-pārijāta, p. 333.
87 brāhmaṇyā bhārayayā sārdham kvacid bhunjita vādhvani/
adho-varṇa-striyā sārdham bhuktvā patati tatkṣaṇāt//
This verse is ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Smṛti-candrikā, II, pp. 617-8, but to the Aditya-p. in Mādhavācārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I, i, p. 425.
88 For the verses of the Ādi-p. on marriage see Smṛti-candrikā, I, p. 221, Hāralatā, p. 15, and Dāna-kaumudi, p. 80.
89 gāndharveṇa vivāhena yas tu kanyāṁ prayacchati/
gandharva-lokaṁ vrajati gandharvaiḥ pūjyate naraḥ//
śulkena dadyād yaḥ kanyāṁ varāya sādṛśāya ca/
kiṁnaraḥ saha giyeta gāndharvasya lokam eti ca//
These two verses are ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Dāna-kaumudi, p. 80, but to the Aditya-p. in Varṣa-kaumudi, p. 575.
A large number of verses on cremation of a dead body has been quoted in Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa's Hāralatā, Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, DeVānabhaṭṭa's Smṛti-candrikā (Part V), Govindānanda's Suddhi-kaumudī, and Raghunandana’s Smṛti-tattva. These verses state that when a twice-born man was on the point of death, he was taken out of the house in which he was lying. He was then bathed, dressed with a sacred piece of cloth, and laid down on the ground with his head turned towards the south. The place, at which he was thus laid, was already strewn over with Kuśa grass. When he breathed his last, his body was bathed, dressed with a piece of cloth, adorned with flowers, garlands etc., scented with perfumes, and furnished with a piece of bell-metal, gold, gem or coral placed in its mouth. It was then taken out of the house by its eastern, northern or western gate according as the deceased person was a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya, and carried by the deceased person’s relatives or other twice-born people to the burning ground, which was generally situated on the bank of a river, or near water. But if there was no water or snow near the burning ground, the persons accompanying the dead body were to talk about water or call out ‘Snow, snow’. While the dead body was carried to the burning ground, a great noise was produced by means of four kinds of musical instruments.90

At the burning ground the dead body was laid down with care, bathed, covered with a piece of cloth, and placed on a funeral pile by the deceased person’s blood-relations on his father’s side or by his kinsmen or other relatives, with its feet turned towards the south.91 In the case of a male, the dead body was placed on the funeral pile with its face turned downwards, but in the case of a female, it was placed on its back. It was then set on fire by the

90 śmaśāna-bhūmiṃ netavyah ... ... \...
... ... ... /
caturvidhena vādyena kuryuh kolāhalaṃ mahat/.
Hāralatā, p. 125 and Suddhi-kaumudī, p. 110.

91 This method of placing a dead body on the funeral pile was followed by Brahmans other than the followers of the Sāma-veda.

The Sāma-veda Brahmans placed the dead body with its head turned towards the south.
proper person. When the dead body was mostly consumed by fire and only a small portion of it remained unburnt, the person, who set fire to it, took in his hand seven pieces of fuel of prescribed lengths, went seven times round the fire by keeping it to his right, and threw those pieces of fuel, one by one, into the fire after each complete circumambulation. He, as well as each of his companions, then gave with an axe seven strokes on the burning fuel by pronouncing the mantra 'kravyāḍāya namas tubhyāṁ etc.' After that, all of them went to the adjoining river without looking to the funeral pyre, took their bath there, and offered libations of water to the departed soul by facing the south. They then returned to the village and waited outside the house until the person who set fire to the dead body went to a neighbouring pool with a club in his hand, 92 took his bath, brought water in an earthen pot, cooked rice with it in the north-eastern side of the house, and offered balls of rice in the prescribed manner to the departed soul at the gate of the house. The person, who thus offered piṇḍas (balls of rice) to the deceased person on the first day of his death, was to offer these in the same way during the remaining nine days also.

If an āhūtāgni twice-born man went abroad after leaving his wife in charge of his fire and died there, his body was preserved until it was brought home and cremated with his own fire. If his body was

92 The text of the Ādi-p. is as follows:

mṛṇmayaṁ bhāṇḍam āḍāya navamī snātah susāmyataḥ/
lagudam sarva-doṣaghnaṁ gṛhitvā toyam ānayet//


But Āniruddhabhāṭṭa explains the second line thus:

lagudam gṛhitveti agrāgāmi-puruṣāntara-hastena lagudam

ghṛitvetayarthah/ 'tayārtham tu tato gacched gṛhitvā

puruṣaṁ purah/ gṛhita-lagudam yatnāt sarva-duṣṭa-
nivāraṇam// 'iti govindarāja-liṅkita-vṛddhaprabhott-
vacanaṁ/ tena lagudha-hastaṁ purusam agre kṛtvā piṇḍa-
rtham mṛṇmaya-bhāṇḍena jalam ānetavyam// (Haḍarata, p. 166).

So, according to Āniruddhabhāṭṭa the club was borne not by the person who was to fetch water from a neighbouring pool for offering piṇḍas to the departed soul but by another member of the party who was to lead the former to the pool.
not available, his bones were brought home, soaked with ghee, covered with wool, and burnt in the above-mentioned manner along with his implements of sacrifice. In the absence of bones, an effigy was made with leaves of Sāra (reed) and Pālāśa, covered with an antelope-skin, tied with a thread of wool, besmeared with finely powdered barley mixed with water, and burnt. If a person, whose effigy was thus burnt by his relatives by taking him to be dead, returned home, he was to kindle the sacred fire afresh and a sacrifice was to be performed for giving him a long life. If a piece of bone was received after his effigy had been burnt, it was burnt with the fire produced by means of those half-burnt pieces of fuel which remained after the burning of the effigy. If no such fuel was available, the piece of bone was thrown into deep water. If, of a twice-born couple who maintained the sacred fire, one died before the other, the body of the former was burnt with the three kinds of fire, viz., Śrauta, Śmārta and Laukīka, while that of the latter was cremated with the Laukīka fire only.93

The bones of a dead person were collected from the burning ground generally on the fourth, fifth or sixth day according as this person was a Brahmīn, a Kṣatriya, or a Vaiśya. According to local customs, his bones could be collected earlier by a day. But if the period of impurity consisted only of three days, the bones could be collected on the second day; and in case of impurity ending immediately (sadyaḥ-śauca), the collection could be made just after the

93  āhitāgnyoś ca dampatyor yas tvādau mriyate bhuvi/
    tasya dehaḥ sapinḍaiś ca dagdhavyas tribhir agnihih/
    paścān mṛtasya dehas tu dagdhavyo laukikāgınīa//

    (Ādi-p. quoted in Hāralata, p. 142).

These lines have been explained by Aniruddhabhaṭṭa as follows:

If, of a twice-born couple who maintained the sacred fire, the husband died before his wife, his body was cremated with the three kinds of fire, viz., Śrauta, Śmārta and Laukīka; and the wife, who died after her husband, was burnt with the Laukīka fire only. But if the wife died before her husband, she was burnt with the three kinds of fire, and the husband was to kindle the sacred fire afresh. If he did so, he was burnt with the three kinds of fire after his death. But if he died before kindling the sacred fire afresh, his body was cremated with the Laukīka fire only. (See Hāralata, pp. 143-4).
burning of the dead body. During this rite of collection of bones (asthi-saṃcayana) Saṃkara and the carnivorous deities residing in the burning ground were worshipped in the prescribed manner with the offer of various kinds of food, drinks, fruits, scents, flowers etc. The bones of the head were then taken by means of pieces of branches of a sacrificial tree, sprinkled with the five products of a cow (pañca-gavya), covered with a piece of silk-cloth, placed in an earthen vessel furnished with a lid, and buried at a sacred place in a forest or at the root of a tree. In opportune times these bones were taken out, placed in a lump of earth together with a piece of gold as well as with honey, ghee and sesame, and thrown into the Ganges by the deceased person's descendants or by his relations on his father's or mother's side.

In case of death of a child aged less than two years, the dead body was adorned by its relatives with ornaments, flowers, scents, garlands etc., placed in an earthen pot, and buried underground in a sacred place outside the village.

In the case of a dying Śūdra, removal from the house was not compulsory even when he was breathing his last. But when, after his death, the dead body was taken out, all the earthen wares of the house in which he died were thrown away. The dead body of a Śūdra was to be removed to the burning ground through the southern gate of the house. As Śūdras had no Śrauta fire to maintain, the method of cremation was necessarily simpler in their case. No Brahmin was allowed to burn a Śūdra, even if the latter was his friend, and if he did so through mistake, he was to purify himself by taking his bath, touching fire, drinking ghee, and observing fast for three consecutive nights. The rite of collection of bones of a Śūdra was to be performed after the tenth day. It might also be performed on the tenth day, if local customs demanded so.

Regarding the methods of disposing of the dead body as prevailing among the Magas and Daradas of those days, there are a few lines quoted in Aniruddhabhaṭṭa's Hāralatā. These lines inform us that the Magas buried their corpses underground. The Daradas, on the

other hand, kept their dead bodies suspended from the branches of such trees as stood far away from human habitations and were leafy enough to protect these dead bodies from rain. After the expiry of a complete year these dried up corpses were brought down from those trees, bathed with the waters of the Ganges, and burnt.\(^{95}\)

A large number of verses of the earlier Ādi-p. is found quoted in the Nibandhas in connection with the determination of the period of impurity to be observed by the deceased person’s relatives and others. The periods of impurity were determined by various factors such as the nature of relation of the persons with the deceased, their occupation, their caste, their motive in cremating a dead body, the caste, age, sex or character of the deceased person, the nature of death, the nature of help the person to be deemed impure rendered in cremating the dead body, acceptance of remuneration for carrying the dead body or cremating it, and so on. Even if a Brahmin, who was not a relative of a deceased Brahmin, lamented with the latter’s relatives before the rite of collection of bones had been performed, he was to take his bath and sip water after the performance of the rite; if he did so for a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya, he was to bathe with all his garments on and became pure on the second day; but by lamenting for a Śūdra, he was to bathe with his clothes on and remain impure for three days. Lamentation for a deceased person after the collection of his bones caused impurity to a Brahmin for a day and a night. In the case of the members of other castes, lamentation necessitated bath with all the garments on, if this lamentation was made before the collection of bones, but if it was made after the collection, they required simple bath for attaining purity.\(^{96}\)

Impurity was also caused to certain relatives by births and miscarriage, and its period varied under different conditions. A man, who

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\(^{95}\) See Hāralatā, p. 126—

\begin{quote}
\begin{itemize}
\item magā bhūmau nikhanyante daradāś ca mṛtān sadā/
\item āsadya vṛkṣe gacchanti luptrakāś ca svabāndhavam//
\item ghana-cchāye sugupte tu tīro varṣāni varṣatī/
\item tatah samvatsare purṇe sarva-sambhāra-sambhṛtāḥ//
\item śūkṣmaṃ tāṃ jāhnavi-toye prakṣipya pradaḥantī ca//
\end{itemize}
\end{quote}

\(^{96}\) For the relevant verses of the Ādi-p. see Hāralatā, p. 91 and pp. 63-64.
had as his wife a woman previously married to another person, was always deemed impure. 97

The numerous verses quoted from the ‘Ādi-p.’ in the Smṛti Nibandhas in connection with śrāddha show that this Purāṇa dealt elaborately with the various points connected with this topic, viz., persons eligible for performing it under different circumstances, the method of its performance, the method of offering piṇḍas, the number of Brahmins to be fed on this occasion, the proper day for performing the śrāddha ceremony of those who committed suicide by starting on a long journey, or fasting, or hanging, or by means of a weapon, fire or poison, enumeration of persons who deserved no śrāddha ceremony (viz., those who were killed by others while abducting the latter’s wives or were killed in a fight with the Cāndālas or such other people, or administered poison, or set fire to others’ houses, or were Pāsandās, or committed suicide out of anger, and so on), the method of performing the śrāddha ceremony at Gayā, and similar other matters. A Brahmin was forbidden to perform the śrāddha ceremony of persons of lower castes, even if the latter were his own sons. If he did so out of passion, greed, fear or affection, he was degraded to the caste of that person whose śrāddha ceremony he performed. Sons, born of Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Sudra mothers, were advised to perform the śrāddha ceremony of their deceased Brahmin father. In case of death of these sons, their own mothers were to perform their śrāddha ceremony, and vice versa.

Though the verses quoted from the ‘Ādi-p.’ in connection with donations are not many, 98 this Purāṇa was certainly not very poor in this topic. In his Dānasāgara Vallālasena says that various kinds of donations were dealt with in the Ādi-p. according to their subdivisions (or, in accordance with the divisions of the year in which these were to be

97 anyapūrva yasya gehe bhāryā syāt tasya nityaśaḥ/
aśaucaṁ sarva-kāreṣu dehe bhavati sarvadā/
dānaṁ pratigrahaḥ snānaṁ sarvaṁ tasya bhaved vrtha/ (see Hāralatā, p. 15).

98 For the verses on donations see Aparākka’s com. on the Yaj., p. 297 (on Kapilā-dāna), Dānasāgara, pp. 276 and 280-286, Dāna-kaumudi, p. 40 (on ḍhūmi-dāna), and so on.
made?), and that in his Dānasāgara he quoted from this Purāṇa only a few verses on donations because he fully utilised its sections on dāna in his Aćārasāgara.99

The earlier Ādi-p. contained chapters on Vratas and festivals also. In Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 47 two verses on Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭami are quoted from the earlier Ādi-p. In his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, ii, p. 518 Hemaṇdi quotes nine metrical lines on Yugādi-vidhi (which required the gift of barley and the performance of homa and Viṣṇu-worship with it), and on pp. 763-8 he quotes 30 verses on pradīpa-vidhi. According to these last-mentioned verses the pradīpa-vidhi was observed for one month from Aśvina-paurṇamāsī to Kārttika-paurṇamāsī. At the end of this period, the Dīpa-mahotsava was performed for three days, during which lamps were lighted in the evening in the houses of the poor as well as in other places, viz., burning grounds, temples, banks of rivers, roads, caityas etc. Gifts of gold, silver, land, cows, paddy, fruits, beds etc. were also made to Brahmans on this occasion.

For the large number of verses on tīrthas (especially Gayā and Vṛddha-tīrtha) see Smṛti-candrikā, V, pp. 194-201. Mādhavacārya's com. on the Parāśara-smṛti, I, ii, pp. 307-8, and Aparārka's com. on the Yāj., pp. 878-9. The chapters on Gayā of the earlier Ādi-p. seem to have formed the basis of chaps. 105-112 (on Gayā-māhātmya) of the present Vāyu-p. in which Sanatkumāra speaks to Nārada on Gayā and which mentions an Ādika-p. in chap. 104 and has retained a few verses from the former.100

99. Dānasāgara, p. 6 (verse 56)—

śrutānī ādipurāṇe tu dānānī anuvibhāgataḥ/
ācārasāgaroktatvān na kirtyaṁ'tra kṛṣṇaṁ॥

(For 'anuvibhāgataḥ' the India Office Ms reads 'abda-vibhāgataḥ).

See also p. 3 (verses 12-14)—

... ... ... tathā kūrpapurāṇādipurāṇayoh/,,
uktānī upapurāṇāni vyakta-dāna-vidhini ca/,,
ādyaṁ puraṇaṁ śāmbaṁ ca kālikāhvaṁ eva ca/,
nāndam āditya-śanījan ca nārasimhaṁ tathaiva ca/,,

100. For instance, Vāyu-p., chap. 110, verses 2-3 and chap. 111, verse 1 are the same as the verses ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Smṛti candrikā, V, p. 194.
Ten verses on omens and portents have been ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Adbhutasāgara, pp. 546, 548, 550 and 552-6. Of these, one (in Adbhutasāgara, p. 546) is ascribed to the Āditya-p. in many of the Mss of the Adbhutasāgara. The remaining nine verses also might have been taken from the Āditya-p. At least the metrical similarity between these verses and those quoted from the Āditya-p. in the Adbhuta-sāgara tends to create such an impression.

It should be mentioned here that a good number of verses of the Ādi-p. has been wrongly ascribed to the Āditya-p., or vice versa. For instance, in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, ii, pp. 348-9 Hemādrī ascribes to the ‘Āditya-p.’ an extract of 29 lines dealing with Sukha-supti-vrata101 and Dyūta-pratipad and having Sanatkumāra as the speaker; the verse ‘saṃmāsābhyantaram yāvat’ is ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Sudhī-kaumudi, p. 43 and Kullākhaṭṭha’s com. on Manu-Śmṛti V. 66, but to the Āditya-p. in Śmṛti-tattva, II, p. 260; the verse ‘vivāha-yajñayor madhye’ is ascribed to the Ādi-p. in Sudhī-kaumudi, p. 67 and Hāralatā, pp. 105-6, but to the Āditya-p. in Kālasāra, p. 272; and so on. On the other hand, the verse ‘madhūkāṃ rāma-tham caiva’ is ascribed to the Āditya-p. in Aparārka’s com., p. 554. Śmṛti-candrikā, IV, p. 205, Mādhavācārya’s com. on the Parāśara-Śmṛti, I, ii, p. 370, Śrāddha-kaumudi, p. 18, and Śmṛti-tattva, I, p. 226, but to the Ādi-p. in Madana-pārijāta, p. 552 and Mādhavācārya’s com. on the Parāśara-Śmṛti, I, ii, p. 373; the verse ‘api dātr-graḥitroś ca’ is ascribed to the Āditya-p. in Nityācāra-pradīpā, I, p. 105 and Kālasāra, pp. 255 and 271 but to the Ādi-p. in Sudhī-

101 The component parts of this Vrata, which was to be observed on the Kārttiki Amāvāsyā, were the following:—Fast at day-time (in case the worshipper was not a child or an invalid); worship of Lakṣmi in the evening; illumination at temples, crossings of roads, burning grounds, pastures, etc.; decoration of market-places with light, clothes, flowers, etc.; feeding of Brahmins and the poor; dining with friends and relatives after wearing new clothes and ornaments; and so on. On the Kārttiki Sukla-pratipad the worshipper was to play at dice in the morning, dine with friends at noon, hear songs and musical concerts after wearing ornaments and using perfumes, decorate the bedroom with light, garlands etc., pass the night with beloved women, and in the morning honour Brahmins, friends and relatives with new clothes.
kaumudi, p. 68; and so on. Even in the same work a particular verse is ascribed to the Adi-p. in some Mss and to the Aditya-p. in others.\textsuperscript{102}

The earlier Adi-p. must have been a Vaiṣṇava work. In a verse ascribed to the Adi-p. in Smṛti-tattva, II, p. 512, all-pervading Viṣṇu is said to have made a rule, according to which the gods did not reside in their respective images under certain conditions;\textsuperscript{103} Aparārka and Govindānanda quote from the Adi-p. a verse which states that the donor of land of the measurement of even a go-carma becomes free from all his sins and attains the region of Viṣṇu.\textsuperscript{104} Viṣṇu is mentioned on many occasions\textsuperscript{105} and Viṣṇu-worship is prescribed in many of the quoted verses;\textsuperscript{106} Saṁkara is spoken of in a verse as a deity residing in the burning ground;\textsuperscript{107} and so on.

3. THE KALKI-PURĀṇA\textsuperscript{108}

This is one of the late Upapurāṇas. It claims to be a continuation of the Bhāgavata-p. and to deal with future


\textsuperscript{103} khaṇḍīte sphuṭīte dagdhe bhraṣṭe sthāna-vivarjite/
yāgahine paśu-sprṣṭe patite duṣṭa-bhūmiṣu//
anya-mantrārṣite caiva patita-sparśa-duṣṭe/
daśasa ceto na cakruḥ saṁnīdhānāṁ divaukasah//
iti sarva-gato viṣṇuḥ parībhāṣām caṅkāra ha/

\textsuperscript{104} See Aparārka's com., p. 1225, and Dāna-kaumudi, p. 40.

\textsuperscript{105} See Aparārka's com., p. 879 (yathā viṣṇur viśokāya tathā tīrtham anāmayam) and p. 879 (saṁkarṣānaṁ vapur viṣṇoḥ caṇḍāgni-bhavadābakam).

\textsuperscript{106} See Dānasāgara, p. 619 (gṛṇena snapitum viṣṇum śaktyā saṁpujyayet tataḥ), and Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II, ii, p. 518 (... ... ... yavair viṣṇum samarcayet).

\textsuperscript{107} Hāralatā, p. 186.

\textsuperscript{108} Besides Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition which we have used in the following pages, there are many more editions, two of which are the following:

1. Jagannathana Tarkālakṣikāra's edition published by Kedar Nath Banerjee, Calcutta 1873; and
events. As a matter of fact, it describes the deeds of Viṣṇu to be performed at the close of the Kali-yuga, when he will be born as Kalki, son of Viṣṇuyāsas and Sumati of Śaṁbhala-grāma. It is divided into three Aṁśās or parts, of which the first two consist of seven chapters each and the third of twenty-one chapters. The contents of these chapters are as follows.

Aṁśa I.

Chap. 1.—Salutation to Vighneśa, who is adored first of all in the Vedic, Tantric and other scriptures. Invocation of Kalki, who is Hari himself.

Saunaka and others of Naimiśāraṇya requested Šūta to speak on the origin and exploits of Kali. Consequently, Šūta referred to the tradition of inheritance of the Bhāgavata-dharma and narrated how he had heard that portion of the topics of the Bhāgavata-p. which Śuka had spoken out to Mārkaṇḍeya and others after the death of king Viṣṇurāta (Parikṣit) and which was concerned with future events. He then spoke on the following topics:—


Chap. 2.—Brahmā’s approach to Viṣṇu, and the latter’s assurance that he would manifest himself in the house of Viṣṇuyāsas at Śaṁbhala.

For Mss of this work see

(1) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1188-89, No. 3338 (complete; written in Bengali script; not divided into Aṁśās, all its chapters being numbered continuously).

(2) Shastri and Gui, Calcutta Sans. College Cat., IV, pp. 8-9, No. 11 (complete; written in Bengali script; not divided into Aṁśās; chapters numbered continuously).

(3) Dacca University Mss Nos. 234 (complete; written in Bengali script) and 4090 (complete; written in Bengali script; dated Saka 1726).

109 See the chapter-colophons, which run as follows:—iti śri-kalki-purāṇe anubhāgavate bhaviṣye,.............. In chap. 1 there are several indications of its claim to belong to the Bhāgavata-p. and to deal with future events.
and that Lakṣmī would be born as Padmā, daughter of king Bṛhadratha of Ceylon. Viṣṇu’s request to the gods to be born on earth.

Viṣṇu’s birth and assumption of a two-handed form. Naming of new-born Viṣṇu as Kalki. Kalki’s determination to free the earth from the influence of Kali.

Chap. 3.—Kalki’s study of the Vedas and the various sciences (including Dhanurveda) with Bhārgava Rāma. His worship and eulogy of Bilvadakeśvara-sīva, with the result that he received a horse, a Śuka bird and a sword from the latter. His return to Saṃbhala-grāma, establishment of Varnāśrama-dharma, and meeting with Viśākhayūpa, king of Māhiṣmati.

Chap. 4.—Kalki’s speech to king Viṣākhayūpa on the origin of the universe from himself as well as on the characteristics of Brahmans (who should practise Varnāśrama-dharma and have Tilaka marks).

Return of the Śuka bird from Simhala with the information that Padmāvatī, daughter of king Bṛhadratha, received a boon from Śiva that she would have Nārāyaṇa as her husband.

Chap. 5.—The Śuka’s further statement that the kings who attended the ‘svayamvara-sabhā’ arranged by Bṛhadratha, turned females as soon as they looked amorously at Padmāvatī, and became her attendants.

Chap. 6.—The Śuka’s return to Simhala at the request of Kalki and meeting with Padmāvatī, who told the bird everything about her ambition.

Chap. 7.—Padmāvatī’s description of the method of worshipping Viṣṇu with the mantra ‘om nama nārāyaṇāya’. Method of Viṣṇu-dhyāna.

Aṃśa II.

Chaps. 1-3.—Padmāvatī’s description of the method of Viṣṇu-worship—continued.

The Śuka’s return to Kalki, who then met Padmāvatī in Simhala and married her.

The transformed kings’ regaining of malehood by bathing in the river Revā. Their eulogy of Viṣṇu by mentioning the names of his ten incarnations including the Buddha.
Chaps. 4-5.—Kalki’s instructions to the kings on Varṇa-
śrama-dharma.

Appearance of sage Ananta before the kings at Kalki’s wish.
Ananta’s description of his own experience of Viṣṇu-māyā at Puru-
ṣottama; and his praise of Kalki as being capable of giving ‘nirvāṇa’.

Chap. 6.—Kalki’s return to Saṁbhala with Padmāvatī and living
in a house built for him by Viṣvakarman. Birth of two sons, named
Jaya and Vijaya, to Kalki. Kalki’s going to the city of Kīkaṭa with a
huge army for chastising the Buddha; and his meeting with the ‘Jina’
who came out of the city with a large number of his followers.

Chap. 7.—Kalki’s fight with the Baudhāyas led by the ‘Jina’. The
Jina’s defeat and death in the fight. The Baudhāyas’ futile attempt to
defeat Kalki with the help of the Mlecchas.

Aṁśa III.

Chap. 1.—Kalki’s victory over the Baudhāyas and the Mlecchas,
and his instructions on bhakti-yoga, karma-yoga and jñāna-yoga to
the latter’s wives, who were up in arms against him.

Chap. 2.—Kalki’s return from Kīkaṭa and meeting with the
Bālakhilya sages at Cakra-tīrtha. His going to the Himālaya at the
request of these sages and killing of the demoness Kuthodari and her
son Viḍānta.

Chap. 3.—Kalki’s meeting, on the Himālaya, with kings Maru
and Devāpi of the Solar and the Lunar race respectively. Maru’s
mention of the names of the descendants of Ikṣvāku down to Rāma.
Story of the birth and deeds of Rāma, son of Daśaratha.

Chap. 4.—Names of Rāma’s descendants including Maru, who
was also called Budha and Sumitra and who was waiting at Kalāpa-
grāma for Viṣṇu’s incarnation at the close of the Kali age.

Devāpi’s mention of the names of the kings of the Lunar race from
Budha downwards. Kalki’s determination to place Maru and Devāpi
on the thrones of Ayodhya and Hastināpura respectively after killing
the Mlecchas and the Pukkasas of those places. His advice to these
two kings to marry the daughters of Viṣākhayūpa and Rucirāśva re-
spectively and help him in re-establishing the Kṛta-yuga. His giving
of two divine chariots to Maru and Devāpi.
Chap. 5.—Kṛta-yuga’s arrival in the form of a ‘maskarin’. His account of the fourteen Manvantaras. Kalki’s decision to fight with Kali in the city of Viśasana.

Chaps. 6-7.—Kalki’s start with Maru, Devāpi and others in his train, and meeting with Dharma, who was driven out of Viśasana by Kali. His decisive war against Kali and his allies, viz., Khaśas, Kāmbojas, Śāvaras, Varvaras, Činas, Pulindas, Colas, Niśadas and others. Kali’s defeat and escape to another varṣa. Kalki’s killing of Koka and Vikoka.

Chaps. 8-13.—Kalki’s arrival at Bhallāṭa-nagara which was ruled by a Vaiṣṇava king named Śaśidhvaja. Śaśidhvaja’s conversation with his wife Susāntā, in which he justified his decision for war by referring to the dvaītādvaita system of philosophy. Śaśidhvaja’s fight with Kalki; and his capturing the latter in an unconscious state to his own house. Susāntā’s eulogy of Kalki. Śaśidhvaja’s giving his daughter Ramā in marriage to Kalki. Story of Śaśidhvaja and his wife’s previous birth as vultures. Method of Viṣṇu-worship. Discourses on Viṣṇu-bhakti. Śaśidhvaja’s narration of the story of Ļvīvīda, who attained liberation by being killed by Balarāma. Śaśidhvaja’s mention of some exploits of Kṛṣṇa.

Chaps. 14-15.—Other deeds of Kalki, viz., his liberating the poison-girl at Kāṇcana-puri, his installing of his followers on the thrones of Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Vāraṇāsvaṭa, Puṇḍra, Anga, Vānga, Kikaṭa etc., his return to Saṁabhala and introduction of the Kṛta-yuga, and his liberating Saśidhvaja who eulogised Māyā at Kokāmukha.

Chap. 16.—Performance of Rājasūya and other sacrifices by Viṣṇuyaśas, Nārada’s instructions to Viṣṇuyaśas on the nature of Māyā and the glory of Kalki. Arrival of Paraśurāma at Saṁbhala.

Chap. 17.—Description of the method of performing the Rukmini-vrata, which Rāma performed for a son at Paraśurāma’s advice. Praise of this Vrata by means of the story of Sarmaśṭhā and Devayānī.

Chaps. 18-19.—Kalki’s amorous sports with his wives, Brahmā and others’ arrival at Saṁbhala, and Kalki’s passing to heaven.
Chaps. 20-21.—Eulogy of Gāṅgā. Contents of the Kalki-p., which is said to consist of six thousand and one hundred verses; praise of studying this work. Conclusion.

The Kalki-p., as its contents show, is purely a Vaiśṇava work, its philosophic standpoint being 'dvaitādvaita'. It knows Viṣṇu's ten incarnations including Balabhadra and the Buddha, and seems to regard Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat himself. It mentions the Tulasi plant once and the ‘Tantras’ on several occasions. By its statement that Kalki defeated the Buddha and his followers and carried on dig-vijaya for the establishment of dharma, this work seems to betray its knowledge of Śaṅkarācārya's activities. That it is a late work is shown definitely by the fact that it is not referred to or drawn upon by any of the numerous Smṛti-writers known to us. It is, however, not to be dated later than the beginning of the eighteenth century A. D. One of its Mss was copied in Saka 1726.

The Kalki-p. must have been written in Bengal. Almost all its Mss, hitherto discovered, are written in Bengali script; and in Amśa I, chap. 2 (verses 38 and 41) it speaks of ‘ten sacraments’ (dāsa saṁskārāḥ) for Brahmīns.

4. THE PURUŚOTTAMA-PURĀṆA

This Upapurāṇa has not yet been printed, but a Ms of a work entitled Puruṣottama-p. has been mentioned in Bühler's Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Private Libraries of Gujarāt, Kāthiāwād, Kachchh, Sindh and Khandeś (2. 14). We do not know of any other Ms of this Upapurāṇa, nor does its title occur in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas known to us.

Of the numerous commentaries, Nibandhas and various other works examined by us in this connection it is only the Kālaśāra of Gadādhara which ascribes a verse to the ‘Puruṣottama-p.’

This quoted verse and the title of its source show that the ‘Puruṣottama-p.’, as known to Gadādhra, was a Vaiśṇava work dealing with the glori-

110 See Kālaśāra, p. 184—

'puruṣottama-purāṇe—
jayasva kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇeti subhadreti sakṛṇ narāḥ/
vadanti mārjane kāle yānti brahma-padaṁ mama//
ification of Puruṣottama-kṣetra (Puri) as well as with the method and praise of the worship of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadra there. As this quoted verse, in which Kṛṣṇa himself seems to be the speaker, is found neither in the chapters on Puruṣottama-kṣetra of the present Brahma-p. nor in the Puruṣottama-māhātmya\textsuperscript{111} of the Viṣṇu-khaṇḍa of the Skanda-p., the ‘Puruṣottama-p.’ drawn upon by Gadādhara must have been a distinct work. Gadādhara’s quotation from this work shows that it was written not later than 1200 A.D.

As the above-mentioned Ms of the Puruṣottama-p., lying far beyond our reach, could not be examined, it is not possible for us to say whether or how far this Upapurāṇa is the same as that used by Gadādhara in his Kālaśāra.

5. THE BRHANNĀRADIYA-PURĀṆA

This work, which was printed on more occasions than one,\textsuperscript{112} can hardly claim to have had a very early origin. Yet it attained consider-

\textsuperscript{111} In Puruṣottama-māhātmya, chap. 31, there is a verse
(No. 86—jayasva rāma kṛṣṇeti jaya bhadreti yo vade/,
   jaya kṛṣṇa jagannātha nāthety uccārayan mudā/
   snāna-kāle sa vai muktim prayāti dvija-sattamāḥ/)
which resembles much the verse of the Puruṣottama-p., mentioned above. But in this verse of the Puruṣottama-māhātmya it is Jaimini, and not Kṛṣṇa, who is the speaker.

\textsuperscript{112} So far as I know, this work was published twice by the Vaṅgavāśi Press, Calcutta (the second edition having appeared in 1316 B.S.) and once by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1891 A.D.

Both these editions consist of 38 chapters and have generally the same text, although there are occasional variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters.

The Vaṅga. ed. is printed in Bengali characters. Yet, to avoid confusion in references, I have used it in the present work, because in my Purānic Records also I used it (in discussing its date and relation with the present Nārādiya-p.) in preference to the ASB ed., in which the verses have not in all cases been properly numbered. For instance, verses 80-85 of chap. 13 have been numbered in this edition simply as ‘80/81’ without any demarcation, and verses 26-47 of chap. 24 have been wrongly numbered as 16-37. However, in using the Vaṅga. ed. I have always taken particular care to compare its readings with those of the
able popularity as an interesting handbook of religious and ethical value, and this is evident from the discovery of its Mss\textsuperscript{113} (written in different characters) from different parts of India.

Being meant exclusively for the Vaiṣṇavas it begins with a salutation, in two verses, to Upendra (Krṣṇa) of Vṛndāvana, who is said to be the original deity (ādi-deva) consisting of pure consciousness and ASB ed. and to see that no deduction is made from any verse, the text of which is not supported by both these editions.

113 For these Mss see especially

(1) Aufrecht, Bod. Cat., pp. 9-11, Nos. 47-49 (all complete in 38 chaps.), of which No. 48 is written in Devanāgarī and No. 49 in Bengali scripts.

(2) Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853, pp. 129-130, No. 452 (consisting of 39 chaps.).

(3) Mitra, Bikaner Cat., p. 225, No. 479 (written in Nāgara).

(4) Shastri, Nepal Cat., p. 24 (No. 845 द, which ends in chap. 30 and is written in Maithila script), p. 25 (No. 910 द, which is written in Maithila script and dated La.-Saṃ. 429), and p. 29 (No. 1001 द, which also is written in Maithila script and is dated La.-Saṃ. 425).


(6) Dacca University Mss Nos. 548 (incomplete), 605B (incomplete), 625 (complete), 937 (complete; dated Śaka 1648), 1013 (complete; dated Śaka 1646); 1317 (incomplete), 1667 (complete; dated Śaka 1578), 1704 (complete; dated Śaka 1689), 2670 (complete; dated Śaka 1614), 2712 (complete; dated Śaka 1618), 3836 (complete), 4091 (complete; dated Śaka 1725), 4234 (ending in chap. 37; dated Śaka 1609), 4329 (complete).

All these Mss are written in Bengali script, and in the complete ones the work consists of 38 chapters.

(7) Eggeling, Ind. Off. Cat., VI, pp. 1208-9, Nos. 3368-73 (all complete in 38 chapters and written in Devanāgarī). Of these, Nos. 3368, 3369 and 3370 are dated 1535, 1747 and 1769 A.D. respectively.

(8) Keith, Ind. Off. Cat., II, pp. 914-5, Nos. 6612-13 (both being complete in 38 chapters). Of these two Mss, the former was copied in Bengali script in 1775 A.D. and the latter in Grantha characters in 1866-67 A.D.

(9) M. Rangacharya, Madras Cat., IV, i, pp. 1453-54, No. 2139 (breaking off in the 38th chapter; written in Telugu), and p. 1454, No. 2140 (complete in 38 chapters; written in Grantha characters).
also appearing in parts as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa and others for the sake of creation. It then introduces its topics by narrating the story of Saunaka as follows:

Saunaka and many other sages practised austerities and worshipped Viṣṇu with great devotion in the Naimiṣa forest, some of them trying to please the god by austere practices, some by following the path of knowledge (jñāna), and some by cultivating the highest type of Bhakti. Once these and innumerable other sages met in a conference to find out the best means of attaining the four ends of life, viz., Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. Finding that the sages were about to put to him questions as to what the sacred places and the Tīrthas were, how people could attain final liberation and unswerving devotion to Hari, and in what way the three kinds of actions bore fruit, Saunaka referred them to Sūta, the best Paurāṇika, who was engaged in worshipping Janārdana by various sacrifices at Siddhāśrama. Saunaka said that Sūta, son of Lomaharsaṇa, was a pupil of Vyāsa and, being instructed by the latter in all the Sāstras, used to speak out in the Purāṇas the essence of the Vedas, Vedāngas and other works and that with the decrease of Dharma in the different Yugas Madhusūdana appeared as Vyāsa and divided the Veda. Being thus informed of Sūta’s learning and wisdom, the sages thanked Saunaka and went to Siddhāśrama where Sūta had undertaken to perform the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice for the pleasure of Nārāyaṇa. After Sūta had taken his holy bath at the conclusion of the sacrifice, the sages requested him to speak to them on the source and nature of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe, the method of pleasing Viṣṇu by worship, the practice of Varnāśrama-dharma, the right way of receiving guests, the means of attaining final liberation, and the nature of Bhakti and its attainments. Consequently, Sūta proposed to speak out ‘the extensive (bṛhat) Purāṇa named Nāradiya’ (or, ‘the Bṛhannārada Purāṇa’)114 in which Nārada spoke to Sanatkumāra and which contained topics on Nārāyaṇa and was imbued with the Vedic ideas. He praised this work.

114 Bnār. 1. 36 (purāṇam nāradiyākhyam bṛhad vedārtha-saṃmitam), and 1. 66 (... bṛhannārada-nāmadheyaṁ paraṁ purāṇam......). In the ASB ed, the latter verse reads ‘idaṁ nārada-nāmadheyaṁ’ (for ‘bṛhannārada-namadheyaṁ’).
in high terms as yielding all the ends of life and decried and condemned to hell those who found in the Purāṇas nothing but ‘artha-vāda’.\[115\] (Chap. 1). Being asked as to how and where Nārada met Sanatkumāra and what the former spoke to the latter, Śūta said that once Sanatkumāra and the other sons of Brahmā went to the peak of the mountain Meru and prepared to take their holy bath in the Ganges known by the name of Sītā, when Nārada arrived there singing the names of Hari and eulogising the sacred river. Sanatkumāra praised Nārada as the best devotee of Hari and requested him to speak on a number of religious topics including the origin of the universe. In compliance with this request Nārada began by eulogising Hari with the mention of his ten incarnations including Rāma (the carrier of the ploughshare), Isāna, and another not expressly named but appearing from his description to be none but Kalki. (Chap. 2).

Thus the contents of the Bṛhannāradīya-p. have been introduced in chaps. 1-2. The remaining chapters deal with the following topics:

The process of origin of the universe from Mahāvisṇu (also called Nārāyaṇa) who assumes the forms of Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and Rudra by taking to the three Guṇas (Rajas, Sattva and Tamas respectively), and also appears as Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Kāla for the sake of creation. Description of Viṣṇu’s Parā Śakti, which is differentiated into Vidyā and Avidyā and is said to permeate the whole world and to effect its creation, preservation and destruction. People’s naming of this Śakti variously as Umā, Laksīnī, Bhārati, Giriśa, Ambikā, Durgā, Bhadrakāli, Cāndi, Vaisṇavī, Brāhmi, Māheśvari, Kaumārī etc. and as Māya (or

115 Ibid., 1, 56-59—
nindāyāṁ kalahe vāpi hy asantaḥ pāpa-tatparāḥ //
  puraṇeṣv arthavādatvam ye vadanti narādhamāḥ //
tair arjitāni punyāni tadvad eva bhavanti vai //
  samasta-karma-nirmala-sādhanāni narādhamah //
puraṇānī arthavādena śrutvā narakam aśnute //
yāvad brahmā śrījaty etaj jagat sthāvara-jāṅgamam //
tāvat sa pacyate pāpi narakāgniśu saṁcitatam //
Also 1, 61—
puraṇeṣu dvija-śreṣṭhāḥ sarva-dharma-pravakṛtṛu //
  pravadany arthavādatvam ye te narakā-bhājanāḥ //.
Mahāmāyā) for creating infatuation and as Prakṛti for effecting the origin of the universe.

Names of the seven upper worlds (Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ etc.) and the seven lower worlds (Atala, Vitala etc.). Geography of the earth;—position of the mountains Meru and Lokāloka which bound the seven oceans and of which the former is situated at the middle of the earth and forms the resort of all the gods and the latter lies at the farthest end of land;\textsuperscript{116} division of the earth into seven continents (dvīpas, viz., Jambu, Plakṣa etc.); names of the oceans surrounding these continents; relative position and extents of the continents and the oceans; position of Bhāratavarṣa, which is said to be lying on the north of the salt-ocean and on the south of the Himādri. Praise of Bhāratavarṣa as the best place for pious work and for Viṣṇu-worship. (-Chap. 3).

Praise of faith (śraddhā) and devotion (bhakti), which form the basis of Dharma and ensure success in all enterprises. Eloquent praise of faithful observance of āśramācāra (customs enjoined by one’s order of life), without which neither the Veda nor devotion to Hari or Maheśvara is of any avail to one. Benefits of association with good men, especially with the sincere devotees of the Bhagavat. (-Chap. 4).

Characteristics of the best Bhāgavatas, who include those devoutly worshipping Siva, bearing the sectarian mark Tripundra, and putting on Rudrākṣas. (-Chap. 5).

Glorification of the river Gaṅgā, especially at Prayāga, where this sacred river meets the Yamunā, and at Vārānasi.

Praise of reading and hearing the Purāṇas with devotion.

Mention of persons (including teachers and expounders of the Vedas and the Purāṇas) who are to be regarded as Gurus; classification and praise of Gurus. (-Chaps. 6 and 9).

Praise of bhūmi-dāna (11. 120ff.). Qualifications of persons to whom gifts should be made. (-Chap. 12).

Praise of various pious acts which please Viṣṇu and Siva; providing Brahmins with means of livelihood; digging tanks, wells etc.; construc-

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 3. 44—

bhūtale madhyame meruḥ sarva-deva-samāśrayah/
lokālokaḥ ca bhūmy-ante tan-madhye saptā sāgarāḥ/;
tion and preservation of temples meant for Viṣṇu or Śiva; dedication of orchards, and of flower-gardens meant for the public or for deities; plantation of Tulasī plants and making arrangements for their preservation; bathing of Viṣṇu or Śiva with various articles and on different occasions; worship of these deities with various kinds of flowers and with the offer of different articles (including food materials); gift of cows, food, wealth, virgin girls (in marriage), books etc. to Brahmans; medical treatment of diseased persons, especially of Brahmans; rendering of various kinds of service to Viṣṇu or Śiva, their temples, and to Brahmans; and so on. (-Chap. 13).

Names of hells, and description of terrible punishments undergone by the sinners there. Persons to be considered guilty of mahā-pātakas, viz., Brahma-hatyā, surā-pāna, svarna-steya, etc. Enumeration of sins leading to different hells and deserving different kinds of punishment. (-Chap. 14).

Observance of devotional Vratas on Sukla-dvādaśī and Paurṇamāśi Tithis for a year by worshipping Viṣṇu under particular names in the different months from Mārgaśirṣa (Agrahāyaṇa) and bringing these Vratas to a conclusion after a year by worshipping Viṣṇu in Sarvato-bhadrā Maṇḍalas on the full-moon days of the months of Mārgaśirṣa and Kārttikeya respectively. Performance of homa, keeping awake at night, and dance and music (both vocal and instrumental) form some of the most essential parts of these Vratas. (-Chaps. 16-17).

Description of other vows, viz., Dhvajāropana-vrata (requiring the hoisting of a flag and the worship of the Sun, Garuḍa and the Moon as well), Hari-paṅcaka-vrata (which is to be observed for five days from the Suklaikādaśī Tithi of every month from Mārgaśirṣa), Māsopavāsa-vrata (i.e. the vow of observing fast for a month), and Ekādaśī-vrata (-Chaps. 18-21).

Elaborate treatment of Varṇāstrama-dharma (including śrāddha, prāyaścittra, and tithi-nirṇaya for the efficacy of the Śrauta and the

117 Ibid., 13. 55—sarva-lokopahogārtham puṣpārāmaṁ jāneśvara/ kurvate devatārtham ā teṣāṁ puṇya-phalam śṛṇu//
Smārta rites), said to have been made in accordance with the prescriptions of Manu and others. (-Chaps. 22-28).

Description of the path of Yama (yama-mārga), which is said to be very pleasant for the virtuous but extremely dangerous and painful for the sinners. Nature of these pleasures and sufferings; and the pious acts (such as gift of various things including betel leaves, service to parents and others, reading of Purāṇas, and so on) which cause the pleasures. (-Chap. 29).

Account (in prose) of the course of rebirth of creatures, first as stationary objects of nature (such as trees, creepers, mountains, etc.) and then as worms, insects, beasts and human beings in succession. Gradual rise in caste, profession, and physical and financial condition of human beings in their successive births. Description of the course of development of the foetus in the mother’s womb. Painful experiences of a human being in the different stages of his life. (-Chap. 30).

Ways of attaining final liberation.—Distinction of yoga into Kriyā-yoga and Jñāna-yoga; detailed treatment of yoga, with the names of thirty kinds of āsanas (modes of sitting for the practice of yoga); characteristics of persons to be regarded as sincerely desirous of final liberation. (-Chap. 31).

Praise of rendering devotional service to Viṣṇu and his temples untiringly by body and mind or even unintentionally on rare occasions. (-Chaps. 32-37).

Names and extents of the four Yugas. Conduct of people in the different Yugas, especially in Kali. Praise of reading or hearing the Brāhmanārādiya-p. (-Chap. 38).

Besides the above contents the Brāhmanārādiya-p. has a number of stories, which include the following.

Mrkṣṇaḍu’s practice of severe austerities at Sālagrama, and Mārkanaḍeya’s birth as his son and practice of the Bhāgavata-dharma at Sālagrama according to Viṣṇu’s instructions. (-Chaps. 4-5).

Birth of Sagara in Aurva’s hermitage, after the Haihayas and the Tālajāṅghas had dethroned his proud and jealous father Bāhu, son of Vṛka, and administered poison to his mother with the intention of killing him in her womb and Aurva had consoled Sagara’s mother and
prevented her from burning herself to death after Bāhu’s demise in the forest; Sagara’s education, military or otherwise, from Aurva, and his crushing defeat of the Sakas, Yavanas and others, whom Vasiṣṭha saved from annihilation by Sagara by turning them extra-Vedic and compelling the Pārśnikas (Pārasikas?) to shave off their heads, the Yavanas to have long hair, and the others to have shaved heads and long beards; Sagara’s marriage with Keśinī and Sumati, daughters of a king of the Kauśika family of Vidarbha; birth of Asamañjasā to Keśinī and of sixty thousand sons to Sumati as a result of Aurva’s boon; reproachable conduct of Asamañjasā and the other sons of Sagara, and the tyrannised gods’ approach to Kapila for redress; birth of Anśumāt to Asamañjasā; Sagara’s performance of a Horse Sacrifice, and Kapila’s reducing all the sons of Sagara to ashes for their misbehaviour to him for the sacrificial horse, which was kept in his hermitage by Indra; Anśumāt’s bringing the horse from Kapila’s hermitage; birth of Dilipā from Anśumāt, of Bhagīratha from Dilipā, and of Sudāsa in the family of Bhagīratha, Sudāsa’s son being Saudāsa Mitrasaha.

Dharmarāja’s instructions to Bhagīratha to rescue his burnt ancestors from hells by means of the waters of the Gaṅgā; Bhagīratha’s consequent worship of Viṣṇu in the Himalayas, and his bringing down the Gaṅgā by propitiating Śiva in accordance with the instructions

Among the verses said by Aurva to prevent Sagara’s mother from self-immolation occurs the following one:

bālāpaśyāś ca garbhiniyo hy adṛṣṭa-ṛtavas tathā/
rajasyalo tāją-sute nārohanti citāṁ subhe// (7.65).

This verse has been quoted in Śrināthācārya-cūḍāman śi’s Kṛtya-tattvāraṇa (fol. 936), Govindānanda’s Śuddhi-kaumudi (p. 83), and Raghunandana’s Smṛti-tattva (II, p. 236).

In his commentary (II. i, p. 59) on the Parāśara-smṛti-Mādhavācārya also quotes this verse but ascribes it to the ‘Nārādiya-p.’

(This verse is the same as Nār, 1. 7. 52).

119 Bnār. 8 39—

cakāra pārśnikāṇ munḍān yavanān lamba-mūrdhajān/
anyāṃś ca śmāśrulan munḍān anyān veda-bahiśkṛtān//

In the ASB ed. the word ‘yavanān’ has been spelt as ‘javanān’.
received from Bhṛgu living on the bank of the Godāvari. (Chaps. 7-8 and 13-15).

Saudāsa Mitrasaha’s turning a Rākṣasa for twelve years as a result of Vasiṣṭha’s curse brought on him by a Rākṣasa who caused Saudāsa to offer human flesh to Vasiṣṭha by appearing first in the form of Vasiṣṭha and then in that of Saudāsa’s cook and thus took revenge for Saudāsa’s killing, during a hunting expedition in a forest on the bank of the Revā (Narmadā), his female mate sporting with him in the form of a tigress. Saudāsa’s having the name Kalmāśapāda for throwing on his own feet the waters with which he was going to curse Vasiṣṭha for the mischief done by him, Saudāsa’s eating up of a Brahmin sage on the bank of the Narmadā, and the latter’s wife’s curse to Saudāsa to continue to be a Rākṣasa for long and to meet death, during sexual enjoyment. Saudāsa’s curse to the Brahmin woman to be a Piśācī. Saudāsa and the Brahmin woman’s meeting with a Brahma-rākṣasa, who was formerly a Brahmin, named Somadatta, of Magadha; Saudāsa and others’ regaining higher states of existence by coming in contact with the waters of the Gaṅgā. (Chap. 9).

Aditi’s austerities after the gods’ defeat in a war120 with Bali, and Viṣṇu’s birth to her as Vāmana and redemption of the kingdom of heaven for the gods. Origin of the Gaṅgā from the waters with which Vāmana’s feet were washed by Bali. (Chaps. 10-11).

Unconscious performance of the Dhvajāropaṇa-vrata by a reckless Śūdra named Mātali and a Niṣāda woman named Kokilini, who, after death, passed to the region of Viṣṇu and were then reborn respectively as king Sumati of the Lunar race and his queen Satyamati. (Chap. 18).

King Dharmakīrti’s degradation by coming under the influence of the Pāśaṇḍas, but his rebirth to sage Gālava as his extremely pious son by unconsciously performing the Ekādaśī-vrata. (Chap. 21).

120 In describing this war the Brhamnāradiya-p. names a large variety of missiles, which are as follows: Drughana, Bhindipāla, Khadga, Paraśu, Tomara, Parigha, Churikā, Daṇḍa, Cakra, Śaṅku, Muṣala, Ankuśa, Łāṅgala, Paṭṭiśa, Śakti, Upala, Satagni, Prāsa, Ayodana, Muṣti, Sūla, Kūṭhāra, Pāsā, Kṣudra-yāṣṭi (or, Kṣudra and Yaṣṭi), Bhṛvacchara, Ayomukha, Tunḍa, Cakra-danḍa, Kṣudra-paṭṭiśa, Nārīca.—Bnār. 10. 23-27.
Devamāli’s repentance after earning a large fortune by unlawful means, his spending half of his wealth in benevolent work, and his attainment of final liberation at Vārānasi by worshipping Viṣṇu according to the instructions of a sage named Jānanti. (-Chap. 33).

Sumāli’s constant help to his reckless and licentious brother Yajñamāli, and his rescuing the latter from hellish tortures by offering to him a part of his religious merit. (-Chap. 34).

The above contents of the Brhannāradīya-p. show that it is a Vaiṣṇava work dealing exclusively with the praise and worship of Viṣṇu, who is very often named as Nārāyaṇa and sometimes also as Vāsudeva, Hari, Janārdana etc., but very rarely as Kṛṣṇa. According to this work the highest deity in his supreme state is Mahāviṣṇu (very often called Nārāyaṇa), who is described as ‘avyaya’, ‘ananta’, ‘sarvavyāpin’, ‘nirdvandva’, ‘nirmama’, ‘māyāśīta’, ‘sadānandaika-vigraha’, ‘jñāna-svarūpa’, ‘jagac-caitanya-kāraṇa’ and so on, and said to be existing as one and many. It is he who assumes the forms of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra by taking to the three Guṇas and creates the universe by means of his Parā Sakti (Supreme Active Power), which is differentiated into Vidyā and Avidyā, the former being the intellect (buddhi) that knows no distinction between the cognisor and the cognisable and makes one perceive the unity of all objects and the latter making the universe appear as different from the god and causing miseries and rebirths. The Sakti of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, which is also called Māyā or Mahāmāyā for creating infatuation of beings and Prakṛti for effecting the origin of the universe and is popularly

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121 For this name (Kṛṣṇa) see Bnār. 2, 9, 11; 3-59; 15-71; 21, 73; 32, 41.
122 Bnār. 3, 1, 25, 61-63, 29, 72-76, and so on.
123 Ibid., 3, 27—bhinnābhīnna-svarūpena sthito vai paramesvarah.
124 Ibid., 3, 8—jñātè jñeyādy-upādhis tu yadā naśyati sattamāḥ/sarvaika-bhāvanā buddhīḥ sā vidyety abhidhiyate/.
125 Ibid., 3, 7—yadā viśvām mahāviṣṇor bhinnatvena pratiyate/tadā hy avidyā saṁsiddhā tadā duḥkhasya sādhani/
Also ibid., 3, 9a—eṇaḥ māyā mahāviṣṇor bhinnā saṁsāra-dāyin.
126 Ibid., 3, 28—yasya sākṣtir mahāmāyā jagad-viśrambha-kāriṇī/ viśvopatti-nidānāvat prakṛtiḥ procyate budhainh/ See also ibid. 3, 9a (quoted above) and 3, 15 (quoted below).
known by various names such as Umā, Lakṣmī, Bhāratī, Durgā etc., is all-pervading like the god himself; and it is only by means of Yoga that one can perceive the identity of the god with his Māyā or Avidyā Sakti and thus get away from the latter, which is not unreal nor real nor both, resorts to the Indescribable (Being), and creates the sense of diversity of Paramātman.

The Brhatnāradīya-p. recommends the painting of the sectarian mark Urddhavapauṇḍra on all occasions (except Śrāddha according to some) but severely denounces as extremely sinful and unfit for Śrāuta and Śmārta rites those persons who mark their limbs with the figures of the Śaṅkha (conch-shell), Cakra (disc) etc. or of the Liṅga (Phallus) created by the application of heat. It prescribes the use and muttering of the great eight-syllabled Mantra ‘om namo nārāyaṇāya’ said to be eternally expressive of the god, praises Bhakti with its ten gradations, speaks very highly of serving the god like a

127 Ibid., 3. 12-15—
yathā harir jagad-vyāpi rasya śaktis tathā mune/
dāha-śaktir yathāṅgāre svārāyaṁ vyāpya tiṣṭhati//
umeti kecid āhum tāṁ śaktim śakṣmiti cāpāre/

128 Ibid., 31. 69-71—
māyino māyāṁ bhedaṁ paśvantī paramātmanī/
tasāṁ māyāṁ tyajaṁ yogān mumuksuḥ vipra-sattamāḥ//
nāsad-rūpā na sad-rūpā māyā vai nobbhayātmikā/
anirvācyāśritā jñeyā bheda-buddhi-pradāyini//
māyāvājñāna-sabdena śabdyeate muni-sattamāḥ/
tasāṁ ajñāna-vicchede bhaved vigata-māyinām//

129 Ibid., 24. 44-45, which include the following line—urdhavapauṇḍram
da tulasīṁ śrāddhe nechchanti kecana.

130 Ibid., 14. 136-142.
131 Ibid., 15. 18, 21, 37-39; 17. 8; 38. 99.
132 Ibid., 15. 43—
vācyo nārāyaṇaṁ proktā mantraś tad-vācakaḥ smṛtaḥ/
vācya-vācaka-sambandho nitya eva mahātmanah//

servant,\textsuperscript{134} and lays special stress on \textit{avyabhisarini bhakti} (unswerving devotion), which arises from pious acts and forms the basis of jñāna yielding final liberation.\textsuperscript{135} In its opinion, a Cāndāla who is sincerely devoted to Viṣṇu is superior to a Brahmin, and a Brahmin having no devotion for Viṣṇu is worse than a Cāndāla.\textsuperscript{136} It contains a good number of hymns mostly in praise of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa\textsuperscript{137} and speaks of innumerable incarnations of the god, of which only the following ten have been named: Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Jāmadagnya, Rāma Dāsarathi, Rāma (Muṣali, also called Nandasūtāgraṇa), Isāna and Kalki.\textsuperscript{138}

In its discourse on the way of attaining final liberation (mokṣa) in chap. 31 the Brāhannāradiya-p. deals elaborately with Yoga consisting of Kriyā-yoga and Jñāna-yoga, of which the former requires the worship of all-pervading Viṣṇu in images, twice-born people, the earth, fire, sun, pictures etc. and forms the basis of the latter.\textsuperscript{139} As a matter of fact, worship of Viṣṇu in images forms the preliminary step to the realisation of the god and is meant for 'ignorant people, who always worship the Lord of the Universe in images of stone etc.'\textsuperscript{140} It takes jñāna to be the same as \textit{buddhi} purified by the total destruction of

\textsuperscript{134} Bnār. 14. 204.

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid., 1. 13; and 31. 27—
jñāna-labhyām paraś mokṣaṁ prāhuśa tattvārtha-cintakāḥ/
tajjñānaṁ bhakti-mūlaṁ ca bhaktiḥ sat-karmajā tathā//.

\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., 32. 39, and 35. 12.

\textsuperscript{137} Ibid., 2. 20-53; 4. 55-63; 4. 84-89; 5. 24-32; 11. 19-39, 71-79; 15. 57-64; 36. 3-38.

\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., 2. 31-41. See also ibid., 11. 77-78 for some of the names.

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid., 31. 31-33—
yogas tu dvividhaḥ proktaḥ karma-jñāna-prabhedaḥ//,
kriyā-yogam vinā nṛṣṇam jñāna-yoga na sidhyati/
kriyā-yoga-ratas tasmāc chṛaddhayā harim arcayet//,
pratimā-dvija-bhūmy-agni-sūrya-citra-dīśudvijah//
arcaṇeddharam eṣuṣ viṣṇuḥ sarva-gato yataḥ//.

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid., 2. 48—ajñā yajanti viśveṣaṁ pāśānādisu sarvadā//.
sins by supreme faith (parā śraddhā) and extols Yoga saying that it is only the Yogins who acquire jñāna yielding mokṣa. On the authority of the Atharva-veda it distinguishes Ātman (or Brahma) into Para and Apara, of which Para Ātman is beyond the Guṇas and Apara Ātman has Āhamkāra; and Yoga is said to be the perfect realisation of the unity of Para and Apara Ātman. As to the correct practice of Yoga it says:

śanaiḥ śanair vijetavyāḥ prāṇāḥ matta-gajendravat, anyathā khala jāyante mahāroga-bhayāṃkarāḥ / (31. 128).

"Like intoxicated lordly elephants the vital airs should be controlled by and by, otherwise they become dreadful by (creating) dangerous diseases."

Going to speak on devotional service to Viṣṇu the Bṛhattanadiya-p. extols the sanctity and efficacy of the waters and mud of the Ganges and urges people to maintain the Tulasī plant in their houses, to salute and worship it with great devotion, and to wear its wood and leaves on their ears. A very small particle of Ganges-water in which a Tulasī-leaf has been placed, is said to purify twenty-one generations (9. 133, 138); gift of land with Tulasī plants in it is highly praised (11. 127); and even Viṣṇu is said to wear a 'Tulasimālā' (31. 138).

141 Ibid., 31. 29-30— śraddhayā parayā caiva sarva-pāpaṃ prāṇasyati //

142 Ibid., 31. 31— jñānāṃ ca moksādaṃ prāhun tajjñānāṃ yogināṃ bhavet.

143 Ibid., 31. 57-58— ātmanāṃ dvividhāṃ prāhun parāpara-vibhedatāḥ,

dve brahmaṃ veditavye iti cāharvani śrutih //

144 See ibid., chaps. 6, 9 and 37, especially 6. 30 (on the benefits of besmearing the head and body with the mud of the Ganges) and 14. 218-9 (on the benefits of throwing the hair, bones, nails, teeth or ashes of a deceased person into the waters of the sacred river).

145 Ibid., 6. 65; 11, 62; 23. 59-69; 14. 191; 37. 52-53; 37. 65; and so on

146 Ibid., 5. 53; 13. 65.
One of the striking features of the Brhadārādiya-p. is that it repeatedly praises Siva-worship and declares the unity of Siva and Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. Among the best Bhāgavatas it includes those persons who love and worship Siva, constantly meditate upon him, mutter his five-syllabled Mantra (namaḥ śivāya), offer costly sacrifices to him as well as to Hari with great devotion, utter the names of these two deities, carry the sectarian mark Tripūndra, and wear Rudrākṣas (5. 56-61). It gives out Siva to be a form of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa (15. 74) and regards as venerable that Brahmīn who looks up, without any idea of distinction, to the Lord of gods (devēśa) consisting of Nārāyaṇa and Siva’ (3. 63). Severely denouncing those who distinguish between these two gods it says:

"The Phallus (liṅga) assumes the form of Hari, and Hari bears the form of the Phallus. There is not the slightest difference (between them), (and) one who makes (any) distinction, acquires sin.

"(Only) the sinners merged in the ocean of nescience find distinction in the eternal god designated as Hari and Saṃkara.

"It is that imperishable god, the Lord of the worlds and the Cause of causes, who devours up the universe at the end of a Yuga by assuming the form of Rudra.

"Rudra protects the entire universe in the form of Viṣṇu; and Hari creates it by assuming the form of Brahmā and (then) devours it himself.

"The man who differentiates between Hari, Saṃkara and Brahmā, suffers in hell as long as the moon and stars exist.

"It is the decided opinion of the holy scriptures that one who looks upon Hara, Hari and Vidhātṛ as one, attains supreme bliss."¹⁴⁷

In Brhadārādiya-p. 14. 214-5 Dharmarāja (Kāla) says to king Bhagīratha, "Worship Hara and Viṣṇu, O king, by taking them to be one. The person who distinguishes (between them) becomes guilty of misdeeds of the magnitude of decades of thousands of Brahmīn-murder. Siva is (the same as) this Hari in person, (and) it is Hari who is Siva himself. One who makes any distinction between them suffers in crores of hells" (14. 214-215).

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 6. 41-46.
We have already seen how the Brähnârâdiya-p. extols even a Cândâla who is sincerely devoted to Viṣṇu-Nârâyâna and takes him to be superior to a Brahmin who is not so. But this attitude relates simply to religious fervour and does not mean that the Brähnârâdiya-p. has no respect for the Vedas and the Vedic views of life and conduct. On the other hand, it prescribes the study of the Vedas to the members of the higher three castes (22. 20, 23-25), declares these works to be as much superior to other scriptures as Keśava is to the other gods (32.9), repeatedly identifies them with Viṣṇu-Nârâyâna,\(^{148}\) takes Dharma to be rooted in them (4. 17, 27. 64), and urges people to practise, for the satisfaction of Nârâyâna, the duties enjoined by these sacred works (3. 80, 27. 64). It includes among the superiors (guravah) those people who study the Vedas and correctly explain their meanings to others, and assigns to them the foremost position among those who are specially venerable (9. 89-90, 98). In its opinion, a teacher of the Vedas is to be saluted first of all (23.35), and one becomes a Sûdra and goes to hell by studying scriptures excluding the Vedas (23. 66). It regards Gâyatri as destructive of all sins and as the mother of the Vedas (6. 61-65), severely denounces those who hate or sell these works,\(^{149}\) and advises people not to invite under any circumstances in a Śrāddha ceremony a Brahmin who is ‘bereft of the Vedas’ (26. 35).

It is very natural that with its high regard for the Vedas the Brähnârâdiya-p. should extol ‘Smṛti’ which records Dharma rooted in the Vedas. As a matter of fact, it urges people to follow their own Gṛhya-sūtras in kindling fire (agnyādhanã) and performing bôma and other Gṛhya rites including the sacraments (22. 10a, 26.50ff., 23.9), encourages them to practise Dharma as declared in the Smṛtis (24.46), looks upon the sellers of these works as great sinners like those of the Vedas (12. 9), and prescribes the observance of Vratas and other religious rites on Tithis determined in accordance with the directions of the Smṛtis (27. 63). It firmly believes in caste-system, knows the distinction between the various castes and subcastes, and fully recognises the supremacy of Brahmins in society. It warns with residence in hell

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\(^{148}\) Ibid., 4. 17, 23. 68, and so on.

\(^{149}\) Ibid., 4. 17; 12. 4-5, 8-9; 14. 49.
those who take, enhance or collect the revenue of a village belonging to a Brahmin and all those who support others in doing so (14. 122-124). In its account of the gradual improvement attained by creatures in their successive births it mentions the following castes, of which each succeeding one is taken to be superior to that immediately preceding it:

Carmakāra, Caṇḍāla, Vyādha, Rajaka, Kumbhakāra, Lohakāra, Suvarṇakāra, Tantravāya, Vānik, Śikhāja (?), Dhāvaka, Lekhaka, Bhṛtaka, Sāsanahārin (30. 2).

It assigns the Śūdras and women to a very low position in the social fabric. About these important members of the Hindu society it says:

“A twice-born man who, being invited by a Śūdra, takes his meal, is known as a drinker of wine and thrown outside (the pale of) all (Śrauta and Smārta) Dharma (14. 39).

“Or, a twice-born man who, being asked by a Śūdra, takes his meal, is known as a drinker of wine and deprived (of the right of performing) all (Śrauta and Smārta) work (14. 40).

“... ... ...

“A man who bows down to a Liṅga or (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by a Śūdra, has no escape (from sin) even by (practising) decades of thousands of penances (14. 54).

“One who salutes a Liṅga or (an image of) Hari touched by a Śūdra, undergoes all (kinds of) suffering till the moon and the stars exist (14. 55).

“... ... ...

“By saluting a Liṅga worshipped by an Ābhira one goes to hell, O king, even though one may be versed in the Vedas or know the meanings of all Śāstras (14. 56b-57).

“One who salutes a Liṅga or even (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by women, lives in Raurava (hell) with a crore of his generations up to the end of a kalpa (14.58).

“A Śūdra or women must not touch a Liṅga from the time it is established according to (the right) procedure by those versed in the mantras (14.59).
"Neither women nor those invested with the sacred thread, nor the Sūdras, O lord of men, have the right of touching (an image of) Viṣṇu or Saṁkara (14. 60).

... ... ... ... ...

"A man who salutes a Liṅga or (an image of) Viṣṇu consecrated by a Sūdra, meets with endless miseries in this very world, not to speak of the next one (14. 62).

"One who salutes a Liṅga or (an image of) Viṣṇu worshipped by an Ābhīra, meets with destruction, O lord of men. What is the good of speaking anything more? (14. 63).

"By touching (an image of) Kēsava or Siva a Sūdra, one not invested with the sacred thread, women, and a 'fallen' man (patita) suffer in hell (14. 64).

... ... ... ... ...

"There is no atonement for those who ... ... have association with Sūdra women, (and) nourish their body with food received from Sūdras, ... ... (14. 66-67).

... ... ... ... ...

"A man who reads the Vedas in the proximity of women and Sūdras, goes to hells successively during thousands of crores of kalpas" (14. 144).

The Brhannāradiya-p. warns students against having any contact with Sūdras (23. 32); and in connection with one's profession in distress it says;

"Even in dire distress a twice-born man must not take to the profession of Sūdras. If an intutated twice-born man does so, he is looked upon as a Cāndālā.

"Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas (viṣāḥ) are well-known as 'twice-born' people. And they have four stages of life, there being no fifth" (23. 31-32).

From the above statements about the Sūdras and women it appears that these members of the Hindu society were seriously influenced by the ideas and practices of the extra-Vedic sectaries, especially the Buddhists and the Tantriks. As a matter of fact, the Brhannāradiya-p. amply testifies to the great spread of Buddhism and Tantricism, which threatened the very basis of the Varnāśramadharma of the Vedas. It
uses the name ‘Pāsānda’ for the Buddhists and the Tantriks and defines it saying:

“As the Baudhās decry the Vedas, they are called Pāsāndins” (14. 70).

“Those who have ceased to perform the sacrifices to the gods and Pitr̐s and strayed from the Vedic way (of life), are well-known as Pāsāndas and undergo a multitude of sufferings” (14. 186).

“A Pāsānda is so called by the wise on account of his forsaking the duties of his own caste” (22. 9).

“One who, after forsaking his own (lawful) work, takes to the work of others, is known as a Pāsānda and thrown outside (the pale of) all (Śrauta and Śmārta) Dharma” (23. 2), and

“That cunning twice-born mortal, who does not perform Śaṁdhyā (i.e. the morning, noon and evening prayer) in times when there is no calamity, is known as a Pāsānda and placed outside all (Śrauta and Śmārta) work” (25. 29).

That in the above passages the name Pāsānda was applied for the Tantriks also is shown by the mention at several places of the worship of the Liṅga or the images of Viṣṇu and Śiva by the Pāsāndas. For instance, in chap. 14 the Brhannārādiya-p. says that ‘by saluting a Liṅga worshipped by the Pāsāndas one is reduced to the state of a Pāsānda even though he may be versed in the Vedas and know the meanings of all Sāstras’ (verse 56), and that ‘(a twice-born man) must not worship even in dream (an image of) Viṣṇu or Saṁkara (which has been) worshipped by those who have forsaken the customs and usages (ācāra) of their own orders of life’ (verse 61). As these extra-Vedic sectaries did not follow the Vedic way of life and disproved the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices by puzzling argumentation, and as association with them made others acquire their habits (21. 53-55), the Brhannārādiya-p. repeatedly warns people against talking,150 or having any other kind of contact, with them. It says:

“One who enters the house of a Baudhā even in great distress, has no escape (from sin) even by (practising) hundreds of penances.

“The Baudhās are called Pāsāndins, because they decry the Vedas.

150 Ibid., 17. 20 (pāsāndālāpa-varjitah).
So, a twice-born man, if he has (any) regard for the Vedas, must not look at them.

"(One acquires sin), in case one enters the house of a Baudhā knowingly or unknowingly. There is no escape (from sin), (if one does so) knowingly. This is the decision of Śāstras". (14. 69-71).

Going to deal with the duties (dharma) of the different castes and orders of life 'as prescribed by Manu and others' (manvādyaiś coditaṁ ca yat—22. 6), the Bṛhannārādiya-p. encourages the due performance of Yuga-dharma by all the castes151 but names a number of lawful practices which, being considered unfavourable for the attainment of heaven and disliked by the people, have been forbidden by wise men in the Kali age. These practices have been mentioned in the following verses:

"karmanā manasā vacā yatnād dharmān samācaret/
asvargyaṁ loka-vidvīṣṭam dharmam apy ācares na tu/
samudra-yātra-svīkāraḥ kamaṇḍalu-vidhāraṇam/
dvijānāṁ asavarṇāsu kanyāsūpayamas tathā/
devareṇa sutotpattir madhuparke pāṣot vadhāḥ/
māṁsa-dānaṁ tathā śṛāddhe vānaprasthāsramas tathā/
dattākṣatāyāḥ kanyāyāḥ punar-dānaṁ parasya ca/
dīrgha-kālaṁ brahmacaryāṁ naramedhāsvamedhakau/
mahāprasthāna-gamanaṁ gomedaṁ ca tathā makham/
imān dharmān kali-yuge variyān āhur maniśināh/"

(22.12-16).

"One should carefully practise dharma (lawful duty) by work, mind and word, but one should not perform an act which, though legal, is unfavourable for (the attainment of) heaven and is disliked by the people.

"Undertaking of sea voyage; carrying of a kamaṇḍalu; marriage of twice-born people with girls of other castes.

"Raising of issue by the husband’s brother; killing of an animal in Madhuparka; offering of meat in Śṛāddha; the stage of a forest-hermit.

"Offering again (in marriage), to another (bridegroom), of a married

151 Ibid., 22. 11a—yuga-dharmāḥ parigrāhyā varṇair etair yathocitam.
girl whose marriage was not consummated; celibacy (i.e. studentship) for a long period; (performance of) human sacrifice and horse sacrifice. “Starting on a great journey; and cow sacrifice.—These lawful acts have been declared by the wise as forbidden in the Kali age.”

As to the Ācāras (customs and usages) deserving practice, the Bṛhannārādiya-p. attaches much importance to those enjoined by one’s caste and order of life and decries wilful negligence of these, saying:

“One who gives himself up to devotion to Hari without transgressing one’s own ācāra, goes to the abode of Viṣṇu which is seen by gods.

“O powerful sage, one who, while performing the duties declared by the Vedas and required by one’s own order of life, engages himself in meditation on Hari, attains final beatitude.

“Dharma arises from ācāra, and Acyuta is the lord of Dharma. Being worshipped by one who is engaged in (the practice of) ācāra enjoined by one’s stage of life Hari gives everything.

“He who, though being a master of Vedānta together with the Aṅgas, falls from his own ācāra, is known as ‘patīta’ (fallen from his caste), because he is outside (the pale of Srauta and Smārta) work.

“He who deviates from ācāra enjoined by his own order of life, is said to be ‘patīta’, no matter whether he is given to devotion to Hari or engaged in meditation on him.

“O best of the twice-born, neither the Veda nor devotion to Hari or Maheśvara purifies that fool who has fallen from ācāra.

“Neither visit to holy places, O Brahman, nor residence in sacred Tirthas, nor performance of various sacrifices saves one who has discarded ācāra.

“Heaven is attained by (the practice of) ācāra, happiness is attained by (the practice of) ācāra, and final release is attained by (the practice of) ācāra. What is not attained by (the practice of) ācāra?”

The Bṛhannārādiya-p. further adds:

“Viṣṇu is not satisfied with one who sticks only to Bhakti after
giving up (all religious) works, because he is to be worshipped with ācāra.

"In all sacred scriptures ācāra has the first consideration. Dharma arises from ācāra, (and) Acyuta is the lord of Dharma.

"Hence such devotion to Hari is to be practised as does not go against one’s own Dharma. Dharma and Artha do not yield happiness to those who do not follow sadacāra (practice of good men)."\(^\text{153}\)

Feeling that faithful practice of ācāra may not be possible for all under all circumstances this work says:

"sva-grāme pūrṇam ācāram pathy ardham muni-sattamāḥ / āture niyamo nāsti mahāpadi tathaiva ca / /" (25. 16).

"Complete ācāra (is to be practised) in (one’s) own village, half (of the same) on the way (during a journey), O best of sages, and there is no rule in times of illness as well as in great distress."

But it does not attach the same importance to all kinds of ācāra. It recommends ‘vṛddhācāra’ (practice of old men) as acceptable (vṛddhācāraḥ parigrāhyah—24. 45) and says that ‘grāmacāra’ (peculiar practices of villages) may be followed without going against the prescriptions of Smṛtis.\(^\text{154}\)

As regards ‘desācāra’ (i. e. the peculiar practices of different countries) this work says:

"desācārāḥ parigrāhyāḥ tat-tad-desiyajair naraḥ/ anyathā patito ājneyaḥ sarva-dharma-bahiṣkṛtah//" (22. 17).

"The (peculiar) practices of (different) countries should be followed by the people born in those particular countries. Otherwise, one is known as ‘fallen’ (patita) and extermed from all (Śrauta and Smārta) Dharma."

Among the peculiar customs then prevailing in the Hindu society the Brhannāradiya-p. mentions the following; difference of opinion as regards right for upanayana (investiture with the sacred thread) of the Kūṇḍas, Golakas, idiots and others, or of their sons;\(^\text{155}\) a

\(^{153}\) ibid., 14. 209-211.

\(^{154}\) ibid., 22, 11—grāmacāras tatha grāhyah śmṛti-mārgavirodhataḥ.

\(^{155}\) ibid., 23. 65—kūṇḍa-golakayoḥ kecij jaśādinām ca sattamāḥ/ vadanti copanayanaṁ tat-putresu ca kecana//
householder’s wearing of two sacrificial threads with an upper garment,\(^{156}\) two golden ear-ornaments (called kuṇḍāla), a turban (uṣṇīṣa), and footwears of wood and leather (pāduke cāpy upānahau);\(^{157}\) prohibition to a householder against wearing a single piece of cloth and keeping his hair loose during worship, ācamana, bath, etc. (24. 25), against riding camels or cars drawn by these animals (24. 26), against touching the shade of a lamp, a beadstead, and one’s body, and also a piece of cloth used for tying the hair, and dusts of goats and cats,\(^{158}\) and against passing by a cow, a horse, an assembly, a crossway and a temple by keeping them to the left;\(^{159}\) covering the earth with grass and carrying in hand a piece of wood at the time of passing stool or making water (25.4); and so on.

As to the position of certain members of the Hindu society the Bṛhatnāradīya-p. gives us interesting information. According to this work the following persons were looked down upon for their profession: a Nakṣatra-pāṭhaka (also called Nakṣatra-pāṭha-jīvin), i.e. one studying the stars; a Devalaka (temple-priest); a Grāma-yājaka (one serving as a priest for a village); a Loka-yājaka (public priest); a Bhiṣak or Bhiṣak-sāstropajīvin (physician); a Gāyaka (singer); and a Kāvya-kartṛ (composer of poems). About these persons the Bṛhatnāradīya-p. makes the following statements: A gift made to a Nakṣatra-pāṭhaka becomes futile (12.6), and he does not deserve salutation (23.38) or invitation in a Śrāddha ceremony (26.11); taking of food offered by a Devalaka is equal to the drinking of wine (14.38); a Grāma-yājaka does not deserve salutation (23.37) or invitation in a Śrāddha ceremony (26.12); the Bṛhatnāradīya-p. should not be read to a Loka-yājaka (1.48); one should bathe with one’s garments at the sight of a Bhiṣak (24.30); and a Gāyaka, a Kāvya-kartṛ and a Bhiṣak-sāstropajīvin should not be invited in a Śrāddha ceremony (26.17).

156 Ibid., 24. 19—yajnopavita-dvitayaṃ sottariyaṃ ca dhārayet.
157 Ibid., 24. 20-22.
158 Ibid., 24. 32—dipa-khaṭvā-tanu-cchāyā keśa-vastramī ghatodakam/ āja-mārjāra-reṇuś ca hanti puṇyaṃ purā-kṛtam/।
159 Ibid., 24. 35—gām asvam ca sabhāṃ caiva tathaiva ca catuspatham/ devatāyatanāṃ caiva nāpasavyam vrajad dvijah/।
In connection with penance (prāyaścitta) treated of in chap. 28 the Brāhannārādiya-p. names three varieties of wine (surā)—gauḍī, mādhvi and paśṭi (28.25) and eleven varieties of liquor (madya), viz., tāla, pānasa, drākṣa, kharjura-saṁbhava, mādhuka, śaila, āviṣṭa, maireya, nārikela, gauḍī and mādhvi (28.32-33). It declares all kinds of wine as untouchable and undrinkable to the members of the four castes, both male and female, and says that by taking wine (surā) as medicine for curing a disease one has to undergo two courses of Cāndrāyaṇa and to be invested with the sacred thread again (28.30), that food coming in contact with wine, water kept in a jar which contained wine, and articles of food soaked with wine, are to be considered as equal to wine itself (28.31), and that one guilty of adultery with the Sūdra wife of one’s teacher (guru), must practise the Prājāpatya Vrata for three years (28.68). Like the Pāṇcarātra Saṁhitās, the Brāhannārādiya-p. prescribes the performance of Prāṇāyāma or the muttering of the Gāyatrī as atonement for sin caused by certain acts, viz., stealing of small quantities of gold (of the weights of a trasareṇu, a nīśka, a rājasarṣapa, a gosarṣapa, and a yaua), touching of certain persons (viz., a woman in her monthly courses, a Cāṇḍāla, one guilty of a Mahāpātaka or heinous crime, a recently delivered woman, an outcast, and such washermen and others as have not washed their hands and mouths after taking food), and hearing their voice in the course of a Vrata, etc. (28.92). According to this work the weight of a suvarṇa is as follows: 8 trasareṇus = 1 nīśka, 3 nīskas = 1 rājasarṣapa, 3 rājasarṣapas = 1 gosarṣapa, 6 gosarṣapas = 1 yaua, 3 yauas = 1 krṣṇala, 5 krṣṇalas = 1 māsa, 16 māsas = 1 suvarṇa.

In describing Yuga-dharma in chap. 38 the Brāhannārādiya-p. says that no division of the Veda was made in the Kṛta-yuga (38. 8), that Nārāyaṇa was white in the Kṛta-yuga, red in Tretā, yellow in Dvāpara, and black in Kali, and that the Veda was divided in the

160 Ibid., 28. 47-50.
161 Ibid., 28. 87-88.
162 Ibid., 28. 36-39.
163 Ibid., 38. 13, 14, 16 and 21.
Dvāpara age (38. 17). As regards the conduct of the people of the Kali age this work makes, in the forms of prophecies, a number of interesting statements, some of which are as follows:

"sarit-tīre buddha-hālair vāpayisyanī cauṣadhiḥ/ alpaṁ alpaṁ phalaṁ tāsāṁ bhāvisya kalau yuge/ //

...........

na vratāni carisyaṁtī brahmāṇa veda-nindakaḥ/ na yakṣyaṁtī na hoṣyantī hetu-vādaṁ vināśitaḥ/ //

...........

na kasyacid abhimatō viṣṇu-bhakti-paras tathā/ deva-pūjā-parāṁ dṛṣṭvā upahāsāṁ prakurvaṭe/ //

...........

kaleḥ prathama-pāde 'pi vinindante hariṁ nāraḥ/ yugānte 'pi harer nāma naiva kaścit smarisyati/ //

...........

kuhakair aksarais tatra hetu-vāda-viśāradāḥ/ pāsaṇḍiṇo bhāvisyaṁtī cāturāramya-nindakaḥ/ //

na ca dvijāti-sūstruṣāṁ na sva-dharma-pravartanaṁ/ karisyaṁtī tada śūdraḥ pravrajya-līṅgino 'dhamaḥ/ //

śūdra dharmaṁ pravakṣyaṁtī kūta-yukti-viśāradāḥ/ //

aśauca-yukta-matayaḥ para-pakvānna-bhojinah/ bhāvisyaṁtī durāmānāḥ śūdraḥ pravrajitās tathā/ //

utkoca-jīvinaś 164 tatra mahāpāpa-ratās tathā/ bhāvisyaṁtī atha pāsaṇḍāḥ kāpālā bhikṣasvās tathā/ //

dharma-vidhvaṁsa-sīlānāṁ dvijānāṁ vipra-sattamāḥ/ (śūdra dharmaṁ pravakṣyaṁtī pravrajya-līṅga-dhārinah/ //) 165 ete cānye ca bahavaḥ pāsaṇḍā vipra-sattamāḥ/ brahmāṇaṁ kṣatriyaṁ vaiṣyā bhāvisyaṁtī kalau yuge/ //
gīta-vādyya-parā viprā veda-deva-parāṁnukhāḥ/ bhāvisyaṁtī kalau prāpte śūdra-mārga-pravartinah/ //

....

....

....

164 In the Viṣṇudharma (chap. 105) there is mention of "Utkocas" (or Utkaucas) as a class of heretics. See pp. 149 and 150 above.

165 This line (śūdra dharmaṁ pravakṣyaṁtī etc.) occurs not in the Viṣṇuga ed., but in the ASB ed., of the Brāhmanāradiya-p.
viśvāsa-hīnāḥ pīṣunā veda-deva-dvijātiṣu/
asāṃskṛtokti-vaktāro bahu-dveṣa-ratās tathā///

bhaviṣyantī kalau prāpte rājāno mleccha-jātayāḥ///

veda-nindā-parāś caiva dharma-sāstra-vinindakāḥ/
śūdra-vṛttyā ca jīvānti dvijā naraka-bhāgīnāḥ///

nagareṣu ca grāmeṣu prākāreṣv adhikā janāḥ/
caurādi-bhaya-bhītāś ca kāṣṭha-yantrāni kurvate///
durbhikaṣa-kara-pīḍādhir ativopadrutā janāḥ/
godhūmaiddhyam yavānnādhyam desām yāsyantī duḥkhitāḥ///
pāpa-jālena nirataḥ (niyataḥ?) pāṣaṇḍa-jana-saṅgīnāḥ/
yadā dvijā bhaviṣyantī tada vrddhiṃ gataḥ kalih///

"(People) will cause (men) with set ploughs (buddha-hāla) to sow herbs on the banks of rivers, but the output of those (herbs) will be very scanty in the Kali age (38. 43).

The Brahmins, denouncing the Vedas, will not observe (any) vows, nor, being spoiled by (heretical) reasonings, will they perform any sacrifice or boma (38. 46).

A person sincerely devoted to Viṣṇu will not be liked by any one, and people will ridicule (the devotees of Viṣṇu,) finding (them) given to the worship of the god (38. 49c-50a).

Even during the first quarter of the Kali age people will decry Hari, and at its end also none will remember his name (38. 52).

Being influenced by the roguish experts in (heretical) dialectics with (promises of) final beatitude people will become Pāṣaṇḍins and decry the four stages of life (38. 54).

166. Bnār. 38. 43, 46, 49b-50a, 52, 54-61, 64, 74b, 79, 85-87, 91.
At that time the vile Śūdras, bearing the signs of mendicancy, will not serve the twice-born people, nor will they practise their own dharma (38. 55).

The Śūdras, skilled in puzzling argumentation, will instruct dharma (38. 56).

The wicked Śūdras will have unholy mental tendencies, turn wandering mendicants, and subsist on food prepared by others (38. 57).

Living on bribe and being given to heinous crimes they will become Pāśaṇḍas, Kāpāla and Bhikṣus (38. 58).

O best of Brahmins, the Śūdras, bearing the signs of mendicancy, will instruct dharma to the twice-born men habituated to its destruction (38. 59).

In the Kali age, O best of Brahmins, these and many other Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas will become Pāśaṇḍas (38. 60).

After the Kali age comes up, the Brahmins given to song and instrumental music but averse to the Vedas and the gods, will set themselves to the path of the Śūdras (38. 61).

... ... ... ... ...

(They will become) faithless and slanderous about the Vedas, gods and twice-born (men), utter unrefined speech, and be engaged in hostility with many (people) (38. 64).

... ... ... ...

After the Kali age comes up, persons belonging to the Mleccha tribes will become kings (38. 74b).

... ... ... ...

Being given to the denouncement of the Vedas and decrying the Dharma-śāstras, the twice-born (people) will live by (following) the profession of the Śūdras deserving residence in hells (38. 79).

... ... ... ...

Being afraid of thieves etc. the majority of people in cities and villages will set machines of wood in walls (or ramparts) (38. 86).

Being very much affected by the sufferings caused by famine and taxation people will feel distressed and migrate to countries rich in wheat and barley-food (38. 87).

... ... ... ... ...
"When, being bound by a multitude of sins, the twice-born people will associate with the extra-Vedic people (pāṣaṇḍa-jana), then Kali will grow (in power) (38. 91)."

From the above statements it is evident that at the time when the Bṛhannārādiya-p. was composed there was a great spread of the extra-Vedic faiths, especially Buddhism and Tantricism, which seriously affected the social discipline required for the Dharma rooted in the Vedas.

Following the Bhagavad-gītā the Bṛhannārādiya-p. (3. 78ff.) encourages selfless work, which is to be done only for the satisfaction of Viṣṇu and not with a desire for the reward. It advises people to work untiringly and to dedicate all their actions to Viṣṇu in case they desire to enjoy their fruits in the next world (3. 77). Like many other Purāṇas this work has a pessimistic view of life and takes the body to be ‘rooted in sin’ and ‘engaged in doing sinful acts’ (31. 6). In chap. 29 it gives an account of the sufferings of the sinners in the path of Yama and describes Citra-gupta, an officer of Yama, thus:

"pralayāmbudhi-nirghoṣah aŋjanādri-sama-prabhah/
vidyut-prabhāyudhair bhīmo dvāvinśad-bhuja-saṃyutah//
yojana-traya-vistāro raktākṣo dīrgha-nāsikah/,
damśtrā-karāla-vadano vāpi-tulya-vilocanah//
mṛtyu-jvarādibhir yuktas citragupto vibhiṣaṇah/" (29.50-52a).

"Having a thundering voice like the roar of the ocean at the dissolution (of the universe), possessing splendour like that of a mountain of collyrium, looking dreadful with weapons shining like lightning, and having twenty-two hands, an extent of three yojanas, red and well-like eyes, a long nose, and a mouth made dreadful by large teeth, Citragupta, attended by Death, Fever and others, looks extremely terrible."

We shall now discuss the date of composition of the present Bṛhannārādiya-p.

From the analysis of the contents of this work given above it is evident that it is a purely sectarian work lacking all the characteristics of a Mahāpurāṇa. Its title ‘Bṛhannārada’ or ‘Bṛhannārādiya’, occurring
in the body of the chapters as well as in the colophons, indicates that it is not the original Nāradiya-p., the words ‘bṛhat,’ ‘vṛddha’ etc. being found to be prefixed to the titles of comparatively late works only. As the present Nāradiya-p. incorporates all the chapters of the Bṛhannārādiya, we cannot agree with Winternitz in holding that the Bṛhannārādiya-p. ‘is generally so called to distinguish it from the Nārada-or Nārādiya- Upapurāṇa’. That this work is merely an Upapurāṇa and not the same as the genuine Nārādiya-p., is shown definitely by the Matsya, Skanda and Agni-p., of which the first describes the Nārādiya-p. as follows:

“yatṛāha nārado dharmaṁ bṛhat-kalpāśrayāṇi ca/
paṇcaviṁśat-sahasrāṇi nārādiyaṁ tad ucyeṭe//”

(Mat. 53.23)

“That (Purāṇa,) in which Nārada proclaims the (religious) duties as well as (other matters) connected with the Bṛhat Kalpa and (which contains) 25000 (verses), is called Nārādiya”.

167 See Brā. 1, 36 and 66, and 38: 132. See also foot-note 114 above.
168 The chapters of the Bṛhannārādiya-p., as occurring in the Nārādiya-p., are as follows:

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<tr>
<td>chap. 1-11</td>
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<td>12, 1-12</td>
<td>= cf. 12, 1-28</td>
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<td>13, 1-5</td>
<td>= x</td>
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<td>13, 6-39</td>
<td>= 12, 29-58</td>
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<tr>
<td>= 12, 59-98 (on the story of king Virabhadra of Gaudadesa, whose minister Buddhisāgara excavated a dried up tank).</td>
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<tr>
<td>13, 40-212</td>
<td>= chap. 13</td>
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<td>= chap. 14 (on occasions for impurity, and the requisite penances for purification).</td>
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<td>chap. 14-17</td>
<td>= chap. 15-18</td>
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<td>18, 1-50</td>
<td>= chap. 19</td>
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<td>18, 51-131</td>
<td>= 20, 3-86</td>
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<td>chap. 19-24</td>
<td>= chap. 21-26</td>
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<tr>
<td>chap. 25 (except verses 24-26)</td>
<td>= chap. 27 (except verses 23h-65a on snāna and samdhyā with the performance of nyāsa).</td>
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<td>chap. 26-34</td>
<td>= chap. 28-36</td>
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<td>35, 1-70</td>
<td>= chap. 37</td>
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<td>35, 71-129</td>
<td>= x, 38</td>
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<tr>
<td>chap. 36-37</td>
<td>= chap. 39-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38, 1-126 (except verses 127-149)</td>
<td>= chap. 41 (especially except verses 116-122).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The Skanda (VII. i.2.43) and the Agni-p. (272.8), which do not differ materially from the Matsya in laying down the characteristics of the Nāradiya-p., describe this work thus:

"yatāhā nārado dharmān bṛhat-kalpaśrayāṁ tv iha
(Agni-p.—bṛhat-kalpaśritān iha)/
paścavimśat-sahasrāṇi (Agni-p.—paścavimśa-sahasrāṇi)
nāradiyaṁ tad ucyate/;"

"That (Purāṇa,) in which Nārada proclaims such (religious) duties in this world as were connected with the Bṛhat Kalpa and (which contains) 25000 (verses), is called Nāradiya".

From these descriptions it is evident that the Nāradiya-p., as known to the Matsya, Skanda and Agni-p., had Nārada as the principal speaker, described the (religious) duties connected with the Bṛhat Kalpa, and contained 25000 verses. But in the Brāhannāradiya-p., though Nārada is said to have spoken to Sanatkumāra on various kinds of (religious) duties, there is no mention of the Bṛhat Kalpa, and the number of verses is only about 3600. Moreover, the Ekāmtra-p. and the Brhadharmap-p. clearly distinguish the Brāhannāradiya from the Nāradiya-p., naming both of them side by side in their lists of Upapurāṇas; and the manner in which the Śmṛti-writers refer to and quote verses from this Upapurāṇa as well as from the Nāradiya, shows that it was known to them under the title Brāhannāradiya-p. and not as Nāradiya. So, there is little scope for doubt that our Brāhannāradiya is an Upapurāṇa quite distinct from the Nāradiya-p.

This work names the Rāsis (zodiacal signs) and the week-days on more occasions than one, and betrays its knowledge of the Mārkaṇḍeya-p. in the following verse:

"ārādhitro jagannātho mārkaṇḍeyena dhimatā/
purāṇa-saṁhitāṁ kartuṁ dattavān varam acyutah/;" (5.4).

170 For these lists see Chap. I (pp. 13 and 10) above.
171 For the names of the Rāsis see Brāṇ, 6.31, 6.39, and 27, 22-25, and for those of the week-days see ibid., 13, 80, 88, 89 and 91 (Bhānu-vāra, Soma-vāra, Indu-vāra).

No work preceding the Yājñavalkya-smṛti betrays any knowledge of the
"Being propitiated by the wise Mārkaṇḍeya, Acyuta, the lord of the world, granted (him) a boon to compile a Purāṇa-saṁhitā".

A comparison of the description of the conduct of the people and the activities of the Pāṣaṇḍas in the Kali age, as given in Brāhmarādiya-p., chap. 38, with that occurring in Viṣṇudharma, chap. 105, shows that the account of the former work is clearly based on that of the latter, from which it derives a good number of peculiar verses. It is cognisant of Viṣṇu’s Sakti and says that this Sakti permeates the whole world and effects its creation, preservation and destruction, and that she is identical with Umā, Lakṣmi, Durgā and others and also with Prakṛti and Māyā (or Mahāmāyā) which subjects all creatures to rebirths. Thus, the Brāhmarādiya-p. records a developed Sakti theory, which points to a date posterior to that of the Jayākhyasaṁhitā and not earlier than about 550 A. D. By its statements that even Ajāmila, a sinner and drunkard, earned freedom from sins and attained the highest region by simply uttering the name ‘Nārāyaṇa’ (which was given to his youngest son) and that the great elephant (gajendra) got free from the clutch of the crocodile by praising the god Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, the Brāhmarādiya-p. clearly

Rāsis, which, therefore, appear to have been unknown to the Indians down to the beginning of the second century A.D.

The earliest dated mention of a week-day has been traced in the Era inscription of 484 A.D. (See Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 88-89).

172 See, for instance, Brāh. 38. 52, 54-58, 64b, etc., for which, as occurring in the Viṣṇudharma, see foot-note 108 on pp. 149-150 above.

We have already seen that the date of composition of the Viṣṇudharma is to be placed between 200 and 300 A.D. (See p. 143 above).

173 This Saṁhitā is dated about 450 A.D., and in it Lakṣmi, Jayā, Kṛttī and Māyā are called Viṣṇu’s Sakti but are not said to play any part in creation.

174 Brāh. 2. 44—

surāparo ’pi yannāma kirtayitvā hy ajāmilaḥ/
prapeḍe paramaṃ sthānaṃ ... ... \//.

Also 11. 29—

ajāmilo ’pi pāpatmā yan-nāmocchāraṇoddhṛtaḥ/,
prāptavān paramaṃ dhāma ... ... \//

175 Ibid., 2. 28—yan-nāma-saṁkirtanato gajendra grāhogra-bandhān mumuce sa eva/, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... \//
refers to Bhāgavata-p. VI. 1-2 and VIII.2-4 respectively. It knows Bhāravi’s Kirātārjunīya and Bhaṭṭi’s Rāvana-vadha (alias Bhaṭṭi-kāvyā), some of the expressions of which it imitates here and there. It derives a complete verse from Bhartrhari’s Niti-śataka and composes two others in imitation of a verse of his Vairāgya-śataka. It speaks very highly of the Tulasī plant and, unlike other early works, deifies it and inculcates its worship. So, this Upapūrāṇa cannot be dated earlier than about the last quarter of the seventh century A. D. The doctrine of nonduality and illusion, summarily referred to in Bṛ. 31. 57ff., shows that it could not have been written much earlier than Śaṅkarācārya.

Again, a Ms of the Bṛhannāradiya-p., lying in the Dacca University Library, is dated Saka 1578 (=1656 A.D.); another, preserved in the Durbar Library, Nepal, bears the date La-Saṃ.425 (=1544 A.D.); and a third, kept in the India Office Library, London, is dated 1535 A. D. The Text of this work, as preserved in these

177 Compare, for instance, Bṛ. 18. 108 (samyag-viveka-śunyatavam ā paddaḥ hi paddam mahat) and 32. 29 (vapur vināśa-nilayam ā paddam paramaṃ paddam) with Kirātārjunīya 2. 30 (avivekaḥ param ā paddam) and 11.12-13 respectively, and Bṛ. 7. 9-10 (iyāja so śvamedhān vai ... ... / ātarpayat surān sarvān ... ... /, aramsta niti-śatṣeṣu vyājesta paripāṇaḥ/ mene kṛtārtham āṭmānaṃ ... ... /) with Rāvana-vadha 1.2 (so śdyaita vedāṃ tridaśān ayaśtra pitṛṇ atārṣī samamāṃstā bandhūn/ vyājesta śadvargam aramsta nitrā samuḥbhātamental avadhaḥ arīṃ ca /)

178 Bṛ. 35. 37—

mṛga-mīna-sajjanānāṃ trṇa-jala-saṅtosa-vihita-vṛttinām/, lubdhaka-dhivara-piśūnā niśkāraṇa-vairino jagati/

This verse is the same as verse 50 of Bhartrhari’s Niti-śataka.

179 Bṛ. 32. 26-27—

he janāḥ kiṃ na paśyadhvam āyuso ’rdham tu nidrayā/, hṛtāṃ ca bhoganādyāiṣ ca kiya bhun samāḥrtaṃ/, kiyad āyur bāla-bhāvād vṛddha-bhāvāt kiyaddhṛtām/, kiyad vīṣaya-bhogaiṣ ca kādā dharmān karisyathā/

Compare these verses with the following verse (No. 49) of the Vairāgya-śataka:

āyur varṣa-śātaṃ nṛṇāṃ parimitaṃ rātrau tad-arḍham gataṃ
tasyārthasya parasya cārdham aparāṃ bālatva-vṛddhatvayoh/ etc.

179-181 See foot-note 113 above.
Mss, tallying fully with that given by the printed editions, the Brhan-
naradiya-p. cannot be dated later than the middle of the fifteenth
century A. D. As Bhāskara (or Bhairava)\textsuperscript{182} draws upon chap. 13
of the Brhan-naradiya-p. in his Ācāra-nirnaya-bhāskara-samgraha, Mitra
Mīśra upon chaps. 2, 4, 11, 13, 24 and 25, in his Viramitrodaya,
Anantabhaṭṭa upon chaps. 13, 14 and 22-24 in his Vighhāna-pārijāta,
Sūra Mīśra upon chap. 25 in his Jagannātha-prakāśa,\textsuperscript{183} Gopāla-bhaṭṭa
upon chaps. 1-6, 11, 13, 18, 21, 23, 28, 32, 34, 35, 37 and 38
in his Haribhakti-vilāsa, Raghunandana upon chaps. 7, 14, 22 and
24 in his Smṛti-tattva, Gaṇapatī (of Mithilā) upon chaps. 14 and 15
in his Gaṅgā-bhakti-tarāṅgini, Govindānanda Kavikaṇkapācārya upon
chaps. 7, 14 and 25-27 in his Vṛṣa-kaumudi, Śrāddha-kaumudi and
Suddhi-kaumudī, and Śrīnātha-śāra-cūḷāmaṇī upon chaps. 7, 14 and
24 in his Kṛṣya-tattvārṇava,\textsuperscript{184} and as Śūlapāṇi refers definitely to and
quotes a line from chap. 16 with the mention of the title ‘Brhan-
naradiya’ in his Vṛata-kāla-viveka,\textsuperscript{185} the Brhan-naradiya-p. can by no
means be placed later than 1300 A. D. It has already been said
that the Bṛhad-dharma-p., which was written in Bengal most probably
in the last half of the thirteenth century A. D.,\textsuperscript{186} names both the

\textsuperscript{182} In the ASB Ms (No. 5946) of the Ācāra-nirnaya-bhāskara-samgraha,
which is the only Ms of this work hitherto discovered, the name of the author
has been given as Bhairova in the second introductory verse and as Bhāskara
in the final colophon. But unfortunately both the introductory verses and the
final colophon were added in a later hand.

As the name ‘Bhāskara’ occurs in the title of the work, we have preferred it
to ‘Bhairova’ given in the second introductory verse.

\textsuperscript{183} This is an extensive Smṛti work composed at Indraprastha (Delhi) in
Samvat 1654 (= 1598 A.D.) under the patronage of Jagannātha, a scion of the
Solar dynasty, who was born in Samvat 1603 (= 1547 A.D.).

\textsuperscript{184} A complete list of the quoted verses will be given in the final Volume
of the present work.

\textsuperscript{185} See Vṛata-kāla-viveka, p. 20—bṛhan-naradiyokta-mārgaśīrśā-dvādaśa-
māsiya-dvādaśivrata-sa ‘mārgaśīrṣe śubhe māsi dvādaśyāṁ samuposītah’ ityādi-
vacanena ...

The quoted line is much the same as Bnār. 16, 4.

\textsuperscript{186} A detailed discussion on the date and provenance of the Bṛhad-
dharma-p. will be made in a subsequent Volume of the present work. See,
Bṛhannārādiya and the Nārādiya-p. in its list of Upapurāṇas. The Uttara-khaṇḍa (of the Bengal Śiva-p.), which was composed in Bengal not later than the twelfth century A. D., 187 names a 'Nārādiya' Purāṇa called 'Bṛhannārāda' and distinguishes it from the major Purāṇa called Nārādiya, saying:

"nāradoktaḥ purāṇam tu nārādiyaṁ pracakṣate/
tasmād anyān nārādiyaṁ bṛhannārada-saṃpjñakam//" 188

"But the Purāṇa spoken out by Nārada (people) call Nārādiya. The Nārādiya other than that (Purāṇa) is named Bṛhannārada'.

Like the Bṛhaddharma-p., the Ekāmra-p. also names both the Bṛhannārādiya and the Nārādiya-p. in its list of Upapurāṇas; and we shall see afterwards that the Ekāmra-p. was written in Orissa some time during the tenth or eleventh century A.D. 189 So, the Bṛhannārādiya-p. has to be dated not later than the middle of the tenth century A.D.

Here we should like to examine the mutual relation between the Bṛhannārādiya-p. and the present Nārādiya and see whether this relation renders us any help in making a nearer approach to the date of composition of the former work.

We have already seen how the present Nārādiya-p. incorporates all the chapters of the Bṛhannārādiya with the exception of a few verses. There is no doubt that it is the Nārādiya-p. which borrows these chapters from the Bṛhannārādiya. As a matter of fact, the present Nārādiya-p. is practically an Upapurāṇa in which there is no mention of the Bṛhat Kalpa and Nārada appears not as a speaker anywhere in its two Parts (called Pūrva-bhāga and Uttara-bhāga) but however, Hazra in Journal of the University of Gauhati, Vol. VI, 1955, pp. 245-263.

187 A detailed analysis of the Bengal Śiva-p. and a full discussion on its date will be made in Vol. III of the present work. For a preliminary study of this work see Hazra in Our Heritage, Vol. I, 1953, pp. 59-61 and 66-68.

188 Dacca University Ms No. 4233 (of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Śiva-p.), chap. 23 (fol. 152a).

189 The questions relating to the date and provenance of the Ekāmra-p. will be discussed in Vol. III of the present work. See, however, Hazra in Poona Orientalist, XVI, 1951, pp. 70-76.
as a hearer, to whom Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra and Sanātana speak respectively in the four sections (Pāda) of the First Part (Pūrva-bhāga) only. Now, the question arises as to when the Nārādiya-p. incorporated the Brāhṇārādiya to form the first section of its First Part. An Examination of the Śmrī commentaries and Nibandhas shows that several hundreds of verses on Śrāddha, Tithi-nirṇaya, Gaṅga-māhātmya, Gaṅga-snāna, etc. have been quoted from the ‘Nārādiya-p.’ or ‘Nārādiya’ in Devanābhaṭṭa’s Śmrī-candrikā, Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī, Bhāguri’s Śmrī-sāra-samuccaya (fol. 41b), Sridatta Upādhyāya’s Samaya-pradipa (fol. 10a), Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakura’s Kṛṣya-ratnākara (p. 637) and Tithi-nirṇaya (fol. 12a), Mādhavācārya’s commentary on the Parāsāra-śmrī, Madanapāla’s Madanapārijāta (pp. 265, 507, 539), Vidyāpati Upādhyāya’s Gaṅga-vākyāvali, Rudradhara Upādhyāya’s Varṣa-kṛtya (pp. 157-158), Keśananda Agamavāgīśa’s Tantrasāra (I, p. 47), Vācaspati-miśra’s Tirtha-cintāmaṇī, Raghunandana’s Śmrī-tattva, Gopāla-bhaṭṭa’s Haribhakti-vilāsa, Gaddhāra’s Kālasāra, Mitra Miśra’s Viramitrodaya, Sūra Miśra’s Jagannātha-prakāśa (fols. 74b, 78b, 79a), and many other works. Most of these quoted verses occur in the Uttarabhāga of the present Nārādiya-p.; but only a very few lines can be traced in Pūrva-

190 For a list of these verses see Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 315-317. The verses ascribed to the ‘Nārādiya-p.’ or ‘Nārādiya’ in

(1) Caṇḍeśvara’s Tithi-nirṇaya, fol. 12a = Nār. I, 23. 8.

(2) Vidyāpati’s Gaṅga-vākyāvali, p. 259 = Nār. II, 38, 38.

(3) Gaṇapati’s Gaṅga-bhakti-taraṅgiṇi, fol. 5b = Nār. II, 39. 25b-26a.

fol. 15b = Nār. II, 38, 34.

fol. 52a = Nār. II, 38, 38.

191 Viz., two lines ‘yāni kāṇi ca pāpāni etc.’ (= Nār. I, 23, 8) quoted in Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī, II, i, p. 995, and III, ii, p. 153, Caṇḍeśvara’s Tithi-nirṇaya, fol. 12a, and Gaddhāra’s Kālasāra, p. 127, seven lines from aśvayuk-suklanavami etc. (= Nār. I, 25, 54b-55) quoted in Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī, III, i, p. 255, two lines ‘bālapatyāṣ ca garbhinyāḥ etc.’ (= Nār. I, 7, 52) quoted in Mādhavācārya’s commentary on the Parāsāra-śmrī (II, i, p. 59); eight lines (= Nār. I, 28, 2b, 20b, 63-64a, 67 and 69a) quoted in
bhāga, chaps. 1-41 (which, as we have already seen, are very much the same as Brhannāradiya-p., chaps. 1-38), although among these chapters there are some which deal elaborately with the said topics (viz., Śrāddha, Tithi-nirñaya, Gaṅgā-māhātmya, Gaṅgā-snāna, etc.). It is particularly remarkable that of the numerous verses ascribed to the 'Nārādiya-p.' or 'Nārādiya' in Devañabhaṭṭa's Śruti-candrika, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's Gaṅgā-vākyāvalli, Gopāla-bhaṭṭa's Haribhakti-vilāsa, Gaṇapatī's Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgini, and Śūra Miśra's Jagannātha-prakāśa, not a single occurs in the first section (comprising chaps. 1-41) of Nārādiya-p., Pūrva-bhāga, and that, of more than a century of verses quoted by Hemādri from the same work, only nine lines (quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmani II. i, p. 995. III. i, p. 255, and III. ii, p. 153) agree with Nārādiya-p. I. 23. 8 and I. 25. 52b-55. Similar is the case with Raghunandana, Gadādhara and several others, very few of whose quotations from the 'Nārādiya-p.' are traceable in the first section of Nārādiya-p., Pūrva-bhāga. This shows that the 'Nārādiya-p.,' known to Devañabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and many others, constitutes a part of the Uttara-bhāga of the present Nārādiya-p. and did not comprise the Brhannārādiya. The rare coincidences between the verses ascribed by these writers to the 'Nārādiya-p.,' on the one hand, and those of chaps. 1-41 of Nārādiya-p., Pūrva-bhāga, on the other, must be explained by saying that these particular verses occurred in the original Nārādiya-p. now lost to us, and that they have been retained in the Brhannārādiya-p. but lost from the 'Nārādiya-p.' known to Devañabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and others. As a matter of fact, the Uttara-bhāga of the present Nārādiya-p. begins abruptly without introducing the interlocutors Vasiṣṭha and Māṇḍhāṭṛ or explaining the occasion for Vasiṣṭha's narration of the Purāṇa topics. This shows that the 'Nārādiya-p.' known to Devañabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and others has not been preserved completely in the Uttara-bhāga of the present Nārādiya.

From the above discussion it is evident that the determination of

Govindānanda's Śrāddha-kaumudi, pp. 79, 83, 169 and 172; and five lines (=Nār. I. 27. 66, 30. 9b-13a, and 13. 98a) quoted in Raghunandana's Śruti-tattva, I, pp. 369 and 543, and II, p. 365.
the period of incorporation of the Brahmārādiya-p. into the present Nārādiya is useless for any chronological deduction with respect to the former work. We are, therefore, obliged to place the date of its composition between 750 and 900 A.D. As this work does not appear to have any major interpolation, this date may safely be taken to be that of all its parts.

Though being a comparatively late work and having its origin in a society which saw a great spread of Buddhism and Tantricism, the Brahmārādiya-p. is entirely free from Tantric influence. It recommends the drawing of the Sarvatobhadra-maṇḍala and its painting with various hues in certain religious rites but does not include the Tantric Yantra among the mediums of worship, not does it prescribe any Tantric Mantra or symbol or recognise the authority of the Tantric works.

Although we have got no correct knowledge about the provenance of the Brahmārādiya-p., there is little doubt about the fact that it was composed somewhere in Northern India. It repeatedly mentions and praises Prayāga and the confluence of the Gāṅgā and the Yamunā, and especially Vārānasi and the Śiva-liṅga there, refers, on one occasion, to the use of cars drawn by camels (uṣṭra-yāna—Bnār. 24, 26), and names the following twelve rivers as specially sacred: Godāvari, Bhīmarathi, Kṛṣṇā, Revā, Sarasvatī, Tuṅgabhadrā, Kāverī, Kālindī, Bāhudā, Vetravatī, Tāmraparṇī and Satadru (most of them belonging to Southern India). On the other hand, it is the Ekāṃra-p. (written in Orissa) which is the earliest work to name the Brahmārādiya-p. and to recognise it as an authoritative Upapurāṇa. Following the Ekāṃra-p., two Purāṇic works of Bengal, viz., the Utta-kañḍa (of the Bengal Śiva-p.) and the Bṛhadhārma-p., recognise the authority of the Brahmārādiya-p. without a shade of doubt. Among the Smṛti-writers it is Śūlapāṇi of Bengal who is the first to draw upon this work; and it is remarkable that the comparatively early Smṛti-writers

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192 See Bnār. 16, 83, and 17, 27.
193 Viz., Pratimā, Dvija, Bhūmi, Agni, Śūrya, Cītra, etc. Bnār. 31, 33.
194 See Bnār. 1, 41, 6, 5, 6, 9, 6, 37, and so on.
195 Ibid., 6, 37, 6, 48, 33, 74, 34, 54-55, and so on.
196 Ibid., 6, 32-33.
recognising the authority of the Bṛhadārādīya-p. belong mostly to Bengal and very rarely to Mithilā, that this work came to be accepted as an authority on Dharma in other parts of Northern India much later, and that it was unknown in Southern India to a still later period. So, it seems that some person from the land about the Narmadā or Vārānasī migrated to the eastern part of Orissa or the western part of Bengal and wrote the Bṛhadārādīya-p. immediately after settling there. It is perhaps for this reason that this work refers very often to the use and gift of betel-leaves and denounces the stealing of betelnuts (14. 43) and makes no mention of the rivers and holy places of Bengal, Orissa or Mithilā.

The Bṛhadārādīya-p. contains a number of interesting lines and verses including the following:

(a) 

\[
\text{saśāṁkaḥ sarvadā duḥkhī niḥśaṁkaḥ sarvadā sukhi/ sarva-bhūta-hito dānto niḥśaṁkaḥ sarvadaiva hi//} (4.74).
\]

(b) 

\[
yasya mātā gṛhe nāsti bhātyā cāpriya-vādinī/ aranyāṁ tena gantavyām yathāranyāṁ tathā gṛham/ // (10.44).
\]

(c) 

\[
yasya mātā gṛhe nāsti putrā dharma-parāyaṇāḥ/ sādhvi ca striḥ pati-prāṇā yātavyām tena vai vanam// (10.48).
\]

(d) 

\[
ātma-buddhiḥ 'ubhakari guru-buddhir viśeṣatāḥ/ para-buddhir vināśāya stri-buddhiḥ pralayaṃkari// (11.93).
\]

(e) 

\[
tyaja durjana-saṁsargaṁ bhaja sādhu-saṁgāgamam/ kuru punyam ahotāram smara viṣṇum sanātanam// (15.17).
\]

(f) 

\[
nā jātu kāmaḥ kāmānām upabhogena śāmyati (31.99).
\]

(g) 

\[
piśumardahā phalādhiyo 'pi kākair evahe bhujyate (34.13).
\]

(h) 

\[
sujano na yāti vairām para-hita-buddhir vināśa-kale 'pi/ chede 'pi candana-tarur vāsayati mukham kuṭhārasya/(35.34).\]

The great popularity of the verses (b) and (d) in Bengal seems to point to this province as the place of origin of the Bṛhadārādīya-p., which belongs to the Bhāgavatas.

197 See ibid., 13.142 (on praise of tāmbūla-dāna), 19, 8 (on offer of tāmbūla to Viṣṇu in Haripaṇcaka-vrata), 24.36 (prohibition to take tāmbūla in an impure state), 26.3 (tāmbūla—not to be taken by one performing Śrāddha), 26.78 (offer of tāmbūla to the Brahmins fed in a Śrāddha ceremony), 29.33 (pleasure enjoyed by a giver of tāmbūla).

198 This verse has been ascribed to Ravigupta in Sāṅgadārā-paddhati, p. 38 (No. 237), but quoted anonymously in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣītāvali, p. 38 (No. 241).
CHAPTER V

SOME LOST SAURA AND VAIŚṆAVA UPAPUṆĀNAS

For more than two thousand years the Purāṇas have constituted a living literature in India, being intended to guide the common people in their religious and social life in different ages and also sometimes in different localities. The political changes and religious movements, which ancient and mediaeval India experienced not infrequently, could not be expected to allow the life of the people to remain static, but great care was taken by the Brahmins to preserve as far as possible the Vedic basis of religion and society under changed circumstances. As it was not possible for these leaders of the Hindu society to ignore totally the environments and the influence of the age, they had often to make a compromise between the old and the new life, and this spirit of compromise was responsible for the total extinction of some of the Purānic works and for changes and modifications in others. Among the principal Purāṇas the genuine Brahma, Brahmavarnivarta and Garuḍa-purāṇa are still untraceable, the present Purāṇas of the same titles being spurious works of later dates. The loss sustained by the Upapurāṇa literature also is not negligible, and this will be evident from the number and nature of the extinct works treated of in the following pages and in the other Volumes of the present work. Of these extinct Upapurāṇas, not a single is now found to exist in manuscripts or printed forms. Isolated verses or extracts from some of these Upapurāṇas have been preserved as quotations in the Smṛti Nibandhas, but the rest are known merely by name either from the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the Purānic and other works, or from the treatises on Vrata, Māhātya, etc. which claim to be parts of these. It is, however, not quite impossible that manuscripts will be discovered some day of one or more of these Upapurāṇas which we now take to be extinct.

Our highly imperfect knowledge of the vast area of India and the literary activities of her people in the different ages of her history, stands seriously in the way of our preparing an exhaustive list of the
lost Upapurāṇas. So, we have been compelled to limit our treatment of these lost works only to those few Upapurāṇas which have been named, described or drawn upon in various works, especially in those of the Purāṇa and the Smṛti literature. Of these few works, again, we supply information, in the following pages, only about those which have been known to have belonged definitely to the Sauras and the Vaiṣṇavas. The former sectaries, as the Bhaviṣya-p. indicates, began their literary activity quite early, but their output was very scanty unlike that of the Vaiṣṇavas, whose numerical strength has been balanced by their zealous literary activity in all ages.

We shall now record our information about the extinct Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas separately in two groups (A) and (B).

(A)

1. THE SAURADHARMA

This work has been mentioned in the Bhaviṣya-p. together with the ‘eighteen Purāṇas’, ‘the Biography of Rāma’ (i.e. the Rāmāyaṇa), the Mahābhārata, the Viṣṇudharma, the Śivadharma and other sacred works which are to be known by the technical term ‘Jaya’. So, according to the Bhaviṣya-p. it was an early work dealing with the duties of the Sauras. But unfortunately its title has not been included in any of the lists of Upapurāṇas known to us. Yet we have taken it to be an Upapurāṇa for two reasons. Firstly, it appears to have

1 See Bhav. I. 4. 87b-89—

aṣṭādaśa-purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṁ tathā//
viṣṇudharmādayo dharmāḥ śivadharmāḥ ca bhātā//
kāṛṣṭaṁ vedantam pañcamam tu yan mahābhārataṁ smṛtam//
saurā dharmāḥ ca rājendra nāradokta mahipate/
jalēti nāma eteṣaṁ pravadanti maniṣṭaḥ//

(The printed ed. wrongly reads ‘śrautāḥ’ for ‘saurāḥ’ in the fourth line. Cf. Bhav. I. 216, 36-37 quoted on p. 113 above).

The above verses, as quoted in Lakṣmīdharā’s Kṛtya-kalpataru (I. p. 25), Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī (II. i, pp. 19-20), Caṇḍeśvara’s Kṛtya-ratnakara (p. 30), Raghunandana’s Smṛti-tattva (I. p. 71), Narasimha Vājapeyin’s Nityācāra-pradīpa (I. p. 22), and Mitra Miśra’s Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa (p. 17), read the second line as ‘viṣṇudharmādi-sāstrāṇi śivadharmāḥ ca bhārata’ and the fourth line as ‘saurās ca dharmā rājendra mānavoktā mahipate,’
had the form and contents of a Purānic work; and secondly, the Viṣṇudharma, Viṣṇudharmottara, Śivadharmottara and Śivadharmottara have been regarded as minor Purāṇas by various authorities.

The Sauradharmottara has been drawn upon in Ananta-bhaṭṭa’s Vidhāṇa-pārījāta (II, p. 696), Gadādhara’s Kālasūra (p. 129), Gopālā-bhaṭṭa’s Haribhakti-vilāsa (p. 773), Gaṇapati’s Gaṅgā-bhakti-tarāṅgiṇī (fols. 30b and 31a-b), Raghunandada’s Smṛti-tattva (I, p. 142, and II, pp. 41 and 48), Śrīnāthācārya-cūḍāmaṇī’s Kṛtya-tattvārṇava (fols. 77b-78a), Vācaspati-miśra’s Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi (p. 2), Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (II. i, p. 1000, II. ii, pp. 552-7, and III. ii, pp. 114, 150, 179), Śālapāṇi’s Vrata-kāla-viveka (p. 18), and in the Saṃvatsara-pradīpa (fol. 39a). So, this work cannot be dated later than 1000 A.D. We shall see below that the Sauradharmottara, which must have been written later than the Sauradharmottara, preceded Jīmūtavāhana by a few centuries. Hence the Sauradharmottara must have been written earlier than 800 A.D.

We cannot push the above date farther up, because we are not sure that the Sauradharmottara, drawn upon by the Smṛti-writers, was the same as the ‘Saura Dharma’ mentioned in Bhav. I.4.89 and I. 216. 37. Some of the verses, ascribed to the Sauradharmottara in the Smṛti Nibandhas, show that in this work, as known to the Smṛti-writers, Vasiṣṭha spoke to king Māndhātṛ at least in some of its parts, but according to the Bhaviṣya-p. Nārada (or Mānava) spoke out the ‘Saura Dharmas’ or the (religious) duties of the Sun-worshippers’.

As the Viṣṇudharma and the Śivadharmottara, mentioned in the Bhaviṣya-p., belonged to the Vaiṣṇavas and the Saivas respectively, there can be little doubt about the fact that the ‘Saura Dharma’, known to the Bhaviṣya, must have dealt principally, if not entirely, with the duties of the Sun-worshippers. From the evidence of the quoted verses also we understand that the Sauradharmottara, as known to the Smṛti-writers, was a work of the Sauras and that at least in some parts of this work Sūta reported what he had heard fromVyāsa on the interlocution between Vasiṣṭha and Māndhātṛ. Most of these quoted

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2 For the relevant verses of the Bhaviṣya-p, see the immediately preceding foot-note and also p. 113 above.
verses relate to fasting on the Ekādaśī Tithi, two to the religious duties in the month of Māgha (māgha-kṛtyāni), and one to the earables in the Kāmya-vrata; and there is one long extract, quoted in Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 552-7, which deals with the Sūrya-vrata to be performed every month from Mārgaśīrṣa by placing a golden image of the Sun in a silver chariot. In the verses ascribed to the Sauradharmā in the Vidhāna-pārijāta and the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi there is mention of the Tulasi plant, of which three leaves are to be eaten up by the persons observing the Kāmya-vrata and the Sūrya-varta every month from Mārgaśīrṣa.

2. THE SAURADHARMA MOTTARA

This work also, like the Sauradharmā mentioned above, should be regarded as an Upapurāṇa, although no writer has called it so. It has been drawn upon in Gopāla-bhaṭṭa’s Haribhakti-vilāsa (pp. 776, 808), Raghunandana’s Smṛti-tattva (II, p. 50), Caṇḍeśvara’s Tithi-nirṇaya (fols. 12a, 13a, 13b), Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (III, ii, p. 249) and Jīmūtavāhana’s Kālaviveka (pp. 432-3, 443, 444, 447). So, it must have been written not later than 900 A. D.

The Sauradharmottara does not seem to have been rich in Smṛti materials. Only a few verses have been quoted from it in the Smṛti works, and all these verses relate to Ekādaśī-upavāsa.

3. THE SŪRYA-PURĀṆA

In his Tithi-nirṇaya (fol. 2a) Caṇḍeśvara quotes a verse (saṃkrāntyāṃ ravi-vāre ca tathā cendu-parikṣaye, etc.), which he ascribes to the ‘Sūrya-purāṇa’; Weber describes a Ms of the ‘Kṛṣṇa-paṇcamī-śrauddha-vidhi’ which claims to belong to the ‘Sūrya-purāṇa’; and in the Berlin Ms of the Bhaiṣṣyottara there is a chapter on Putrakāma-kṛṣṇa-paṇcamī-vrata which, in its colophon, names the ‘Sūrya-purāṇa’ as its source. As neither the said verse quoted by Caṇḍeśvara nor the chapters on Kṛṣṇa-paṇcamī-śrauddha-vidhi and Putra-kāma-

3 See Weber, Berlin Cat. of 1853, No. 1127, p. 325 (colophon—iti sūrya-purāṇe kṛṣṇa-paṇcamī-śrauddha-vidhiḥ samāptah).
4 Ibid., No. 468, p. 135 (see the colophon of chap. 50).
kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-vrata occur in the present Sāmba-p. and as no other writer is found to refer to or draw upon the Sāmba-p. under the title 'Sūrya-p.', there is little scope for doubt that the Sūrya-p. was a distinct work. Its title as well as its mention in the Bhaviṣya-p. as the source of the said chapter on Putra-kāma-kṛṣṇa-pañcamī-vrata shows that the Sūrya p. belonged to the Sauras and was an early work. But unfortunately none of its Mss has come down to us.

According to D. R. Bhandarkar, a Sūrya-p. quite distinct from the Bhaviṣya-p. is known to the Brahmins, called Sevaks, living round about Jodhpur. As no Ms of this work is known to have been discovered as yet, we are in complete darkness about its nature and contents. The fact that the Sevaks, who call themselves Sākadvipa Brāhmaṇas, ‘know that their story is told in the Nāmagrantha of the Sūrya-puraṇa and also in the Bhaviṣya-puraṇa’, shows clearly that this Sūrya-p. was a Saura work. It may be mentioned in this connection that in his Tīthi-nirṇaya Caṇḍeśvara quotes a few verses by expressly naming the Bhaviṣya-p. as their source and that the verse of the ‘Sūrya-p.’ quoted in Caṇḍeśvara’s Tīthi-nirṇaya occurs neither in the present Bhaviṣya-p. nor in the Bhaviṣyottara.

(B)

1. THE ĀDI-PURAṆA

This work, which was also called Ādya-puraṇa, Sanatkumāra, Sānatkumāra, Sanatkumāriya, Sanatkumāroktā and Sanatkumāraprokta, was quite distinct from the present Ādi-p. published from Calcutta (with a Bengali translation) by Navīna-kṛṣṇa Lāhā in 1891 and from Bombay by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press in Saka 1829 and preserved in Mss in all parts of India. It occupied a very exalted position among the Upapurāṇas and was a Vaiṣṇava work composed between 500 and 700 A.D. and probably during the sixth century.

For full information about this work see under ‘Ādi-p.’ in Chap. IV above.

5 See p. 100 above. Also Ep. Ind., IX, p. 279.
2. THE ĀNGIRASA-UPAPURĀṆA

The title of this work is found included in none of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas except that given in the Ekāmra-p.,* nor does any comparatively early Smṛti-writer, except Gopāla-bhaṭṭa, draw upon or refer to it in his work. The only verse,† which Gopāla-bhaṭṭa quotes from it in his Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 677, says that if, being afraid of rebirths, any one pronounces the name ‘Vāsudeva’, he is sure to become free from these and attain the region of Viṣṇu.

The title of this work and the quoted verse mentioned above indicate that this Upapurāṇa was narrated by the sage Āṅgiras and that it dealt primarily with the praise of Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva.

Gopāla-bhaṭṭa’s quotation from this Upapurāṇa and the mention of its title in the Ekāmra-p. (which is drawn upon by Gadādhara in his Kālasāra and mentioned in the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Bengal Siva-p.*) show that it was written earlier than 1000 A.D., most probably in Western Bengal or Orissa. But as it is not mentioned in any other list of eighteen Upapurāṇas, and as none of the comparatively early Nibandha-writers is found to draw upon or refer to this work, it must have been composed at a date not much earlier than 900 A.D.

3. THE BṛHAD-VĀMANA-PURĀṆA

A ‘Vāmana’ Upapurāṇa is mentioned in some of the lists of Upapurāṇas, but there is not a single list which mentions the Bṛhad-vāmana-purāṇa. None of the comparatively early authors is found to draw upon or refer to this work. It is only in the Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta that six verses have been ascribed to the ‘Bṛhad-vāmana’. In the first of these quoted verses Kṛṣṇa refers to his indescribable mental

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6 For this list see Chap. I (p. 13) above.
7 vāsudeveta manuṣa uccārya bhava-bhitirāh/
tanmuktāh padam āṇoti viṣṭor eva na saṁśayaḥ//
8.9 The periods of composition of these works will be discussed fully in Vol. III of the present work.
condition at the remembrance of his Rāsa-līlā 10, and in the remaining five, Brahmā speaks to ‘Bṛgu and others’ on the glory of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, for the dusts of whose feet Brahmā practised austerities for sixty thousand years.11 From these quoted verses we understand that this Upapurāṇa was a Vaiṣṇava work and dealt primarily with the sports of the cowherd Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana.

As the present Vāmana-p. does not contain any of these quoted verses or deal with any topic connected with the cowherd Kṛṣṇa, it cannot be the same as the Bṛhad-vāmanā. The Vāmana-upapurāṇa also, if there were any Upapurāṇa of this title, must have been different from the Bṛhad-vāmanā. The latter, as evidenced by its non-mention in any comparatively early work, must have been written at a late date.

4. THE BṛHAD-VIṢṇUDHARMA

This work has not been mentioned in any of the lists known to us, but about eight verses have been quoted from it in Jīmūtavāhana’s Kālaviveka, p. 460. As in his Kālaviveka Jīmūtavāhana has drawn upon the Viṣṇudharmottara and the Viṣṇudharmottarāṁṭa also, the Bṛhad-viṣṇudharma must be a separate work. It must have been based

10 Laghubhāgavatāṁṛta, p. 173 (I, No. 531)—śrī-bṛhad-vāmane—
   santi yady api me prajyā līlās tās tā manoharaḥ/
   na hi jāne smṛte rāse mano me kīḍāṁ bhavet/./

11 Laghubhāgavatāṁṛta, p. 182 (II, Nos. 31-32)—śrībṛhadvāmane ca bhṛgvādin prati śrībrahma vākyam—
   śaṣṭi-varṣa-sahastāṁ mayā taptam tapāḥ purā/
   nanda-gopa-vrāja-striṇāṁ pāda-ṛṣṇapalabihaye//
   tathāpi na mayā prāptās tāśāṁ vai pāda-ṛṣṇavah//,
   bhṛgvādin-vākyam—
   vaiṣṇavānāṁ pāda-rajo gṛhyate tvad-vidhair api/
   santi te bahavo loke vaiṣṇavā nāradādayaḥ//,
   teṣāṁ vīhāya gopināṁ pāda-ṛṣṇa tvayāpi yat/,
   gṛhyate saṁśayo me ’tra ko hetus tad vada prabho//,
   śrībrahma-vākyam—
   na striyo vrāja-sundaryah putra śreṣṭhāḥ śrīyo ’pi tāḥ/,
   nāhaṁ śivaḥ ca śeṣaḥ ca śriś ca tābhiḥ samāḥ kvacit//.
on the Viṣṇudharmottara, because the verses, quoted from it in the Kālaviveka, agree with Viṣṇudharmottara I. 161. 1-8 and have Mārkaṇḍeya and a king (Vajra?) as the interlocutors.

Jimūtavāhana's quotations from the Bhād-viṣṇudharma show that it must have been written not later than 900 A.D. As it was based on the Viṣṇudharmottara, it cannot be dated earlier than 600 A.D.

5. THE BHĀD-VIṢṆU-PURĀṆA

This work is mentioned as 'Bhād-vaṇśava' in the list of Upapurāṇas given in the Ekaṅnra-p.12 and is drawn upon under the title 'Bhād-viṣṇu-purāṇa' in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (III. i, pp. 704, 711, 726-7), Haribhakti-vilāsa (pp. 449, 495, 658, 661, 685), (Gopāl-bhaṭṭa's) Satkriyā-sāra-dipikā (pp. 45, 46, 98, 108), (Sanātana Gosvāmin's commentaries) Bhāt-tośiṇi and Vaṇśava-tośiṇi12a (on Bhāg. X. 21. 10), (Sanātana-Gosvāmin's) Lāghubhāgavatāmṛta (p. 147—I, No. 397, and pp. 163-4—I, No. 471), and (Ratnākara Miśra's) Prāyaścitā-sāra-saṁgraha13. In the Lāghubhāgavatāmṛta this Upapurāṇa is also named as 'Bhād-vaṇśava'.

Hemādri's knowledge of the Bhād-viṣṇu-p. shows that this work must have been written not later than 1000 A.D. We do not know whether this Bhād-viṣṇu-p. was the same as the spurious 'Vaṇśava Purāṇa' known to Vallālasena.14 This 'Vaṇśava Purāṇa' contained 23000 verses and was, therefore, an extensive (bṛhat) work.

The Bhād-viṣṇu-p. was undoubtedly a Vaṇśava work dealing with

12 For this list see Chap. I (p. 13) above.
13 Shastri, ASB Cat., III, p. 579, No. 2530 (Ms No. 8520). The Ms is dated 1661 Śaka,
14 Dānasāgara, p. 7 (verses 63-66)—
tārasyaṁ purāṇam aparāṁ brāhmaṁ āgneyam eva ca,
trayaṁviṁśati-sāhasraṁ purāṇam api vaṇśavam//
śat-sahasra-miṭam lingam purāṇam aparāṁ tathā,
dikṣā-pratisthā-paśaṇdayuktiratnapariksanaṁ//
mṛṣa-vamānucaritaiḥ kośa-vyākaraṇadībibhyah//
asanātaka-kathābandha-parasparavirodhah//
tan-miṇaketenādināṁ bhānda-paśaṇḍa-liṅginām//
loka-vaṇcananam ālokya sarvam eva vadvhiritam//,

45
the praise and worship of Viṣṇu. In his Haribhakti-vilāsa Gopaṃbhaṭṭa quotes from this work seven verses which say that the water, which is placed before the eyes of Keśava and is mixed with Tulasī leaves, or with which the Śalāgrāma stone has been bathed, is extremely sanctifying,¹⁵ that no twice-born man should hesitate to partake of the food and drink offered to Viṣṇu, because such food and drink are never affected by anybody’s touch,¹⁶ that the mention of Viṣṇu’s name is highly sanctifying and beneficial and is able to destroy much more sin than a sinner can commit,¹⁷ and that the muttering of the word ‘vāsudeva’ can give one final emancipation.¹⁸ In the Laghubhāga-vatāṃṭa Viṣṇu is called ‘ṇityāvatāra’, ‘ṇitya-mūrti’, ‘ṇitya-rūpa’, ‘ṇityaśvarya-sukhānubhū’ etc. and Kṛṣṇa’s exploits at Vraja are said

¹⁵ Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 449—

bṛḥad-viṣṇu-puranē—

‘tirthaḥbhikam yajña-śaṭac ca pāvanaṃ
dalaṃ sada keśava-drṣṭi-saṃsthitam/
chinatti pāpam tulasi-vimiśritam
viṣṇuesaḥ caktra-śilā-vidinirmatam//?  

¹⁶ Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 495—

bṛḥad-viṣṇu-puranē—

‘naivedyaṃ jagadiśasya anna-pāṇādikam ca yat/
bhakṣyābhakṣya-vicāraś ca nāsti tad-bhakṣaṇe dvijāḥ//,
brahmavan nirvikāraṃ hi yathā viṣṇus tathaiva tat/,
vikāram ye prakurvanti bhakṣaṇe tad dvijātayah//,
kuṣṭha-vyāḍhi-saṃyuktah putra-dāra-vivarjitaḥ/
nirayaṃ yānti te viprā yasmān nāvartate punah//,

¹⁷ Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 661—

sarva-rogośamanam sarvopadrava-nāśanam/
sāntidam sarva-riṣṭanām harer nāmānukirtanam//,

Ibid., p. 658—

nāmno ‘syā yāvati śaktiḥ pāpa-nirharanehareh/,
tāvat kartūṃ na śāknoti pātakaṃ pātaki janaḥ//

With this second verse the following Bengali saying may be compared:—

एकार रामनामेत पाप हरे ।

जीवेर फिक साध्याण्डैं तत पाप करे ॥

¹⁸ Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 685— ... ... kva japo vāsudeveti mukti-bijam anuttamam,
to have been described elaborately in the Bhādat-viṣṇu-puṇāṇa,19. According to the verse20 quoted from the ‘Bhādat-viṣṇu-puṇāṇa’ in Sanātana Gosvāmin’s commentaries Bhādat-toṣiṇī and Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī (on Bhāg. X. 21. 10), Nanda’s wife had two names, Yaśodā and Devakī, and it was for this reason that she had friendship with Devakī, wife of Sauri (Vasudeva). That the Bhādat-viṣṇu-p. dealt also with penance, funeral ceremony etc., is evidenced by its verses quoted in the Prāya-ścitra-sāra-saṃgraha and the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī. Of these two works the latter has 30 metrical lines on gifts of umbrellas, chowries, mirrors, combs, young cows with calves, female buffaloes, bulls, camels, goats, sheep etc. to the departed forefathers, the recipients of all these gifts being the Brahmins.21 In the Satkriyā-sāra-dipikā (pp. 45, 46, 98, 108) five verses have been ascribed to the ‘Bhādat-viṣṇu-puṇāṇa’. In one of these verses the Sātvatas have been advised neither to worship the Pīṭh and the gods other than Viṣṇu nor to do any other kāmya karmā;22 one verse prescribes the worship of the gods and Pīṭh to those persons who are not Sātvatas; in one verse the sanctifying power of the Cāndrayaṇa-vratar and the Dwādaśa-vārṣika-vratar has been put forth; and in the remaining two, Viṣṇu has been described as the cause of all kinds of bliss. It is to be noted that in the verse ascribed to the ‘Bhādat-viṣṇu-p.’ in Satkriyā-sāra-dipikā, p. 46, the word ‘rājendra’ has been used in the Vocative Case and that in explaining this verse Gopāla-bhaṭṭa takes this word to mean ‘Yudhiṣṭhira’. So, in the Bhādat-viṣṇu-p. somebody spoke to Yudhiṣṭhira on the topics mentioned above.

In his Notices of Sanskrit Mss, II, pp. 68-69 (No. 635) R. L. Mitra describes a Ms of the Karma-vipāka which, in its colophon,

19 Laghubhāgavatāmṛta, p.147 (I, No. 397), and pp. 163-164 (I, No. 471-śriḥad vaiṣṇ Ave—vraje dvāravatisthasya prādurbhavo mura-dvīṣah/ bhādatviṣṇupuṇāṇād av ascakṛd bahudhocate//).
20 vae nāmnī nanda-bhāgyāya yaśodā devakity api/ atāḥ sakhyam abhūt tasyā devakyaṁ sauri-bhāgyayā/ //
21 Caturvarga-cintāmaṇī, III. i, pp. 704, 711, 726-7.
22 Satkriyā-sāra-dipikā, p. 45—
da darbha-dhāraṇam kuryāt na ca saṃkalmam ācearet/ na kāmyaṁ sātvato mārgaṁ saṃbhudevādi-pūjanam//,
claims to be an extract from the Bhṛgu-saṁhitā belonging to the Bhad-
viṣṇu-p. The date of this Ms is 1687 Saka (= 1765 A. D.), and in
it Bhṛgu speaks to Bharata, son of Sākuntalā, on the diseases and other
evils resulting in this life from sins committed in a previous one, as
well as on the expiations meet for their removal.

6. THE BHĀNNAṆARASIMHA-PURĀṆA

We have said above\textsuperscript{23} that the Ekāmra-p. clearly distinguishes
between the 'Nārasiṁha' and the 'BhānnaṆarasimha' by including the
former among the principal Purāṇas and the latter among the Upa-
purāṇas. In his Haribhakti-vilāsa Gopālabhaṭṭa is found to ascribe
about a century of verses to the Narasiṁha-p. and 63 verses (on Nara-
simha-caturdaśi-vrata) to the BhānnaṆarasimha-p. So, according to
Gopālabhaṭṭa also, the BhānnaṆarasimha-p. was distinct from the
Narasiṁha-p. But as the 63 verses, quoted by Gopālabhaṭṭa from the
'BhānnaṆarasimha-p.', have been ascribed to the 'Narasiṁha-p.' in
Hemādri’s Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, II. ii, pp. 41-49, it is probable that
either Hemādri took these two Purāṇic works to be identical, or the
extract on the Narasiṁha-caturdaśi-vrata occurred in both these works.
It should be mentioned here that none of the 63 verses, mentioned
above, is found in the present text of the Narasiṁha-p.

As the BhānnaṆarasimha-p. is mentioned in the Ekāmra-p., it must
be dated earlier than the eleventh century A.D.

7. THE DAURVĀSASA-UPAPURĀṆA (alias ĀŚCARYA-UPAPURĀṆA?)

This work is mentioned in all the lists of Upapurāṇas except those
contained in the Ekāmra-p. and the Bhṛddharma-p.\textsuperscript{24} In some of
these lists it is named as ‘Durvāsasokta’; the Saura-saṁhitā of the
Skanda-p. calls it ‘Durvāsah-samprokta’; and Narasiṁha Vājapeyin
names it as ‘Durvāsah-purāṇa’. In the lists of Upapurāṇas contained
in the Kūrma-p., Garuḍa-p., and Skanda-p. VII (Prabhāśa-khaṇḍa) as
well as in those lists which are ascribed to the Kūrma-p. in the
Malamāśa-tattva, Vīramitrodāya, Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi and Sabda-
kalpadruma, this Upapurāṇa is described as ‘durvāsasoktam āścaryam.’

\textsuperscript{23} See Chap. III (under Narasiṁha-p.) above.
\textsuperscript{24} For these lists see Chap. I above,
We are not sure whether the word ‘āścarya’ is the title of the Upapurāṇa ‘narrated by Durvāsas’, or it is merely an adjective denoting the nature of this Upapurāṇa. Rādhāramana Gosvāmi-bhāṭṭācārya, in his commentary on the Malamāsa-tattva, takes the word ‘āścarya’ to be the title of the Upapurāṇa ‘narrated by Durvāsas’.

According to the Revā-khana (of the Skanda-p.) and the Revā-māhātmya the ‘Daurvāsasa’ Upapurāṇa belonged to the ‘Bhāgavata’ Purāṇa. So, this Upapurāṇa must have been a work of the Vaiṣṇavas.

The mention of this Upapurāṇa in all the comparatively early lists of Upapurāṇas shows that it must have been written before 800 A.D. and that it attained great popularity at an early date. As no Ms. of this Upapurāṇa or of any tract on Vrata, Māhātmya etc. claiming to belong to it, has been discovered as yet, and as none of the commentators and Nibandha-writers is found to draw upon or refer to this work, it is not possible to say anything about its contents. It seems that this work became extinct even before the tenth century A.D.

8. THE KAUṢIKA- (OR KAUṢIKI-) PURĀṆA

This work has been mentioned in Bhavānanda’s Hari-vanśa, a popular work composed in Bengali verses in the district of Sylhet or Tipperah some time between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. According to Bhavānanda, the Kauṣika-p. (also called Kauṣiki-p. in some of the Ms of the Hari-vanśa) contained the following story.

When descending to the earth with the purpose of relieving her of her burden, god Nārāyaṇa asked Garuḍa which form he would assume to accompany him to the land of mortals. Garuḍa was not willing to change his form during such a dangerous period. So, he assured

25 Malamāsa-tattva (ed. Candīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—āścaryam āścaryākhyam,
26 daurvāśasaṁ paṇcamaṁ ca smṛtaṁ bhāgavate sadā.—Skanda-p. V. iii (Revā-kh.), 1. 49b, and Revā-māhātmya (as described by Aufrecht in his Bod. Cat., p. 65).
27 See Hari-vanśa, p. 186 (line 7966) and p. 187 (line 7992).
29 Ibid., pp. 184-187 (lines 7901-7992).
Nārāyaṇa that he would present himself to serve as a mount as soon as Nārāyaṇa would remember him in times of his need. But Nārāyaṇa did not like to remain separated from Garuḍa for a long time. He said to Garuḍa:

"Hear, Oh eater of snakes, hear now the wish of my heart. When I shall be passing some time at Gokula as a child, a part of yours will remain with me. You will be born as a cuckoo, [and] I shall constantly hear [your] high, sweet note. When, after my killing of Kaṁsa by going to Mathurā, king Jarāsandha will challenge me to war, I shall remember you on that very day. As you do not agree to accompany me by forsaking this body [of yours], the cuckoo will give up its life without finding me, and all its energy and strength will pass into you".

Now, Nārāyaṇa was born on earth as Kṛṣṇa, and a part of Garuḍa became a cuckoo. In course of time, when Kṛṣṇa was away in Mathurā and Rādhā was pining for him, the cuckoo, being unable to bear his separation, searched for him in all possible places and at last went to Rādhā's house with the hope of finding him there. But dire disappointment was in store for the cuckoo. It gave up its life as a result of the rude shock, and its soul passed to Vaiḍukṛṣṭha and entered the body of Garuḍa.

From the mention of Rādhā in the above story as given by Bhavānanda it appears that the Kauśika- (or Kauśikī-) purāṇa, known to him, was a Vaiṣṇava work written at a comparatively late period. The total absence of any mention of this Purāṇa in any work other than Bhavānanda's Hari-vanśa shows that it was a work of local origin and highly limited recognition.

9. THE LAGHU-BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṇA

It is only the Ekāmra-p. which includes the name of this work in its list of Upapurāṇas. In his Haribhakti-vilāsa (pp. 657, 660, 667, 685) Gopāla-bhaṭṭa quotes from this work six verses on the praise of pronouncing the name of Govinda (or Hari). So, this work must have been written in Western Bengal or Orissa not later than 1000 A.D. but most probably not before 800 A.D. Its title as well as the quoted verses shows that it was a work of the Vaiṣṇavas. In
the verse from it in Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 685 the word ‘nīpa’ has been used in the Vocative Case. So, in this Upapurāṇa somebody, whose name is unknown to us, spoke to a king (whose name also we do not know) on the benefits of pronouncing the name of Hari.

10. THE MĀGHA-PURĀṆA

A Purānic work of this name has been mentioned in the colophon of a Ms of the Bāla-gopāla-stuti ascribed to Śrī-paramahāṁśa-parivrājaka-śīrṣa-da-Bilvamaṅgala’.90 The words ‘iti māgha-purāṇe bhagavad-vākyam’, used in this colophon, tend to indicate that the Māgha-p. had the Bhagavat (Viśnu or Kṛṣṇa) as one of its speakers. As we have not yet met with any second mention of this Purāṇa anywhere, we are in complete darkness about its nature and contents and do not know whether it was the same as the “Māgha-smṛti” mentioned by Jīva Gosvāmin in his commentary on the Bhāgavata-p. It is, however, sure that this Magha-p. is not the same as the Māghamāhātmya belonging to the Padma-p., Uttara-khaṇḍa.

11. THE PRABHĀSA-PURĀṆA

This Upapurāṇa is mentioned as ‘Prabhāsaka’ in the list of Upapurāṇas contained in the Ekāmra-p.; and from this work Sanātana Gosvāmin quotes one metrical line on the praise of the name of Kṛṣṇa in his commentary Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇi,91 and Gopāla-bhaṭṭa has a complete verse on the same topic in his Haribhakti-vilāsa.92 So, this Prabhāsa-p. must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D. Its non-mention in the other lists shows that it was a comparatively late work.

From the title of this Upapurāṇa as well as from Sanātana Gosvāmin

30 For information about this Ms see O. C. Ganguly in Malaviya Commemoration Volume, 1932, pp. 285-9.
31 See Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇi on Bhāg, X, 8, 13—
uktaṁ ca prabhāsa-purāṇe—
madhura-madhuram etan maṅgalaṁ maṅgalanāṁ /
32 Haribhakti-vilāsa, p. 689—
prabhāsa-purāṇe nārada-kusadhvaja-saṁvāde śrībhagavad-uktau—
nāmāṁ mukhyataram nāma kṛṣṇākhyam te paraṁtapa/
prāyaścittam aṣeṣānāṁ pāpāṇāṁ mocakaṁ param//,
and Gopa-la-bhaṭṭa’s quotations from this work we understand that it was a Vaśāna work dealing with the praise of Kṛṣṇa and Prabhāsa-kṣetra, and that in it Nārada narrated to (king) Kuśadhvaja what he had heard from Kṛṣṇa. Beyond this we have got no further information about this Upapuruṇa.

The Prabhāsa-p. must not be taken to be the same as the Prabhāsa-khandha of the Skanda-p. In the latter work, the lines, ascribed by Sanātana Gosvāmin and Gopa-la-bhaṭṭa to the ‘Prabhāsa-puruṇa’, are not found, nor is there any interlocution between Nārada and Kuśadhvaja.

12. THE VIŚNUDHARMOTTARĀMRTA

The name of this work is not mentioned in any of the lists of Upapuruṇās known to us, nor is it referred to or drawn upon in any work except Jimūtavāhana’s Kālaviveka, which has two verses33 from it on p. 464. The absence of these two quoted verses in the Viṇuddharmottara, shows that the Viṇuddharmottarāmrta was a separate work; but its title indicates that it was based on the Viṇuddharmottara.

The Viṇuddharmottarāmrta must have been written later than the Viṇuddharmottara but a few centuries earlier than Jimūtavāhana. Hence it is to be dated between 600 and 900 A. D.

13. THE VRIDDHA-PADMA-PURĀNA

This work has been mentioned as ‘Vṛddha-pādma’ in Śri-anantācārya’s Prapannāmrta.34 According to Śri-anantācārya, this ‘Vṛddha-pādma’ contained stories about Rāmānuja and the Alvar saints of Southern Indian. So, it seems to have been a late work. It is neither mentioned in any of the lists of Upapuruṇās nor referred to or drawn upon by any of the Smṛti-writers, early or late.

33 These two verses are the following:

dvādaśi sravaṇa-yuktā sṛṣṭed eva daśaḥ yadi/
sa eva vaiśānaḥ yoga viṣṇu-sūkhala-saṁjñitah//
tasmin uposya vidhivan naraḥ saṁkīrnā kalmaśaḥ/
prāṇam eva anuttaram āṇdhau mañusti-durlabhah//

34 Prapannāmrta (Veṅkaṭ. ed.), chap. 73, verses 24-29, and chap. 75, verses 5-6.
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